MPSA

Midwest Political Science Association 67thAnnual National Conference April 2-5, 2009

Thursday, April 2-8:00 am

1-10 Reacting to Candidates' Religion (Co-sponsored with Politics and Religion, see 54-23)

Room Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair James M. Penning, Calvin College

penn@calvin.edu

Paper Framing Faith: How Voters Responded to Candidates'

Religions in the 2008 Presidential Campaign

In this paper we test how voters respond to information, framed in different ways, about a candidate's religious affiliation.

David E. Campbell, University of Notre Dame

dave campbell@nd.edu

John Green, University of Akron

green@uakron.edu

Quin Monson, Brigham Young University

Quin.Monson@byu.edu

Paper Mitt Romney and the Role of Mormon Stereotypes in the 2008 Republican Presidential Primaries

An analysis of Americans' stereotypes of Mormons and the effects they had on evaluations of Mitt Romney, Republican candidate for President in 2008, perceptions of his electoral chances, and voters' choices in the early primary contests.

Monika L. McDermott, Fordham University mmcdermot@fordham.edu

Paper Let Not the Faithful Be Forgotten: How Religious Cues Influence Citizen Perceptions of Political Candidate

This paper examines religion as a cue and asks how religious cues influence voter perceptions of political candidates. We use an experimental design to test the influence of written and picture cues on voter evaluations of candidates.

Cynthia R. Rugeley, Texas Tech University

cindy.rugeley@ttu.edu

Stefanie Gonzalez, Texas Tech University

stefanie.gonzalez@ttu.edu

Alma Morton, Texas Tech University

alma.morton@ttu.edu

Paper Church or State? The Effect of Religious Cues on Political Judgments

Using original data collected through Time-Sharing Experiments in the Social Sciences, I manipulate the religion of candidates to test how religion affects perceptions of ideology and which respondents are more likely to react to religious cues.

Elizabeth Simas, University of California, Davis

ensimas@ucdavis.edu

Paper Faith of His Fathers: Barack Obama, Islam, and the Impact of Religious Background Cues on Vote Choice in the 2008
Presidential Election

Using an experimental survey, we examine the impact of cues - middle name, childhood religion, and current religion- about the two presidential candidates' religious backgrounds and orientations on 2008 voting preferences.

Kerem Ozan Kalkan, University of Maryland, College Park

kkalkan@gvpt.umd.edu

John C. Green, University of Akron

green@uakron.edu

Geoffrey C. Layman, University of Maryland, College Park glayman@gvpt.umd.edu

Disc. Carrie Marie Nordlund, Lake Forest College

nordlund@lakeforest.edu

Maurice M. Eisenstein, Purdue University, Calumet

m eisens@calumet.purdue.edu

3-6 <u>Elections and Political (In)Stability</u>

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Fabrice Lehoucq, University of North Carolina, Greensboro

Fabrice Lehoucq@uncg.edu

Paper Riots, Frames and Votes: The Effect of Riots in Swinging Indian Elections

This paper uses an entirely new dataset of riots and votes from 1998-2002 in the Western Indian state of Gujarat, as well as multilevel modeling and qualitative research to demonstrate the extent of riots in swinging the 2002 elections.

Steven I. Wilkinson, University of Chicago

swilkinson@uchicago.edu

Chris Haid, University of Chicago

haid@uchicago.edu

Beyond the Bhutto Assassination: Competitiveness and Paper Electoral Violence at the Constituency- and Polling-Station Levels in Pakistan's 2008 National Assembly Election

Tests the proposition that electoral violence increases with electoral competitiveness using election results from 7,135 polling stations and an original dataset of over 500 incidents of intimidation and violence during Pakistan's 2008 elections.

Megan Elizabeth Reif, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor reifm@umich.edu

Attack Politics: Elections and Political Violence in the World Paper

This paper investigates the relationship between elections and political violence around the world.

Irfan Nooruddin, Ohio State University nooruddin.3@osu.edu

When Will Parties Comply with Electoral Results?

The paper models the parties' decisions about accepting electoral results. It uses a hierarchical model since the factors that play a role in these decisions pertain to the country, the elections and the individual parties.

Svitlana Chernykh, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign chernykh@uiuc.edu

Post Election Protests and their Consequences Paper

Uses the causes of post-election protest to investigate their consequences for political stability.

Emily Beaulieu, University of Kentucky

emily.beaulieu@uky.edu

Dynamics of Political Party Violence in South Asia Paper

This paper proposes a theory of spatial and temporal variation in political party induced violence in democratizing countries and evaluates this theory in the varied contexts of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Nawreen Sattar, Yale University nawreen.sattar@yale.edu

Jose Antonio Cheibub, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Disc. cheibub@illinois.edu

5-15 **Evolution of Legal Institutions (Co-sponsored with** Judicial Politics, see 42-31)

Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room Raul A. Sanchez Urribarri, Tulane University Chair

sanchezu@tulane.edu

Paper Sovereign Law, Subversive Law: State Responses to Competing **Legal Systems**

State sovereignty is reinforced through formal law, which shapes people's understanding of the world and grants legitimacy to power arrangements. Non-state legal systems may challenge the state's sovereignty by eroding its perceived legitimacy.

Oren Litwin, George Mason University

olitwin@gmu.edu

Paper Comparing Common, Continental and Islamic Law, Juries, Judges and the State: Criminal Procedure in the Modern Society and Realistically Addressing Procedural Safeguards in the Age of Terrorism

This paper examines the history of basic procedural safeguards of defendants in America and compares them to comparable notions under both Continental and Islamic Law. The right to a fair hearing, counsel, self-incrimination and the use of evidence.

Roger J. Cusick, Empire State College, SUNY rjc1028x@aol.com

Paper The Phantom Node: An Analysis of Semi-Centralized Property **Protection Mechanisms**

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that a wider variety of property protection mechanisms exist within a state than has been originally thought. I demonstrate that semi-centralized property protection mechanisms can exist within a state.

Julie Ann VanDusky, University at Binghamton, SUNY jvandus1@binghamton.edu

Decentralization, Property Rights and Sustainable Forest Paper Management

The study seeks to understand the effect on decentralization on local property rights and forest resources in Mpigi District, Uganda. The study uses forest and socioeconomic data collected from 8 forests managed under different institutions.

Evelyn Lwanga Namubiru-Mwaura, Indiana University nelwanga@yahoo.com

Raul A. Sanchez Urribarri, Tulane University Disc.

sanchezu@tulane.edu

6-5 The Impact of Political Information

Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room

Chair David Campbell Docherty, Wilfrid Laurier University

ddocherty@wlu.ca

Paper The Lenin Problem: Information, Transformation, and **Leadership in Labor Unions**

We develop a formal model of leadership and information transition in organizations to account for variation in labor unions' levels of costly activism with little obvious material benefits for members. We present historical and survey evidence.

John Stephen Ahlquist, University of California, Los Angeles jahlquist@irle.ucla.edu

Margaret Levi, University of Washington

mlevi@u.washington.edu

So What?: How Information Heterogeneity Affects Vote Choice Paper and Why We Should Care

This paper examines the influence of political information heterogeneity on vote choice and how electoral complexity, such as electoral system, number of competitive parties, and changes in party leadership, affects the information-vote relationship.

Jason Roy, McGill University iason.rov@mcgill.ca

Political Awareness and Context Complexity: A Cross-National Paner **Exploration**

This paper studies the influence of the political environment over individuals level of political awareness. Cross-national analysis indicates that increasingly complex environments decrease -on average- individuals' knowledge of the political world.

Matias Andres Bargsted, University of Michigan bargsted@umich.edu

Seeing Is Not Always Believing: Measuring Corruption **Paper Perceptions and Experiences**

This paper explores the relationship between individual experiences with corruption and their perceptions of corruption using Transparency International data from 60 countries.

William Mishler, University of Arizona mishler@email.arizona.edu

Raymond M. Duch, Nuffield College, Oxford Disc.

raymond.duch@nuffield.ox.ac.uk

7-1 **Explaining European Parties' Policy Positioning and Electoral Support**

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Bonnie Meguid, University of Rochester Chair

megu@mail.rochester.edu

Party Organizations and Electoral Performance in Central and **Paper Eastern Europe**

This study explores to what extent parties' support reflects the extensiveness and capacity of their internal organization. The analysis is based on original qualitative and quantitative data on parliamentary parties in Estonia, Hungary and Poland.

Margit Tavits, Washington University, St. Louis tavits@wustl.edu

Paper The Dynamics of Voter Preferences and Party Leader Positions

How and why do the policy positions of parties change? We analyze the questions: when do parties shift their ideological positions? Are all parties equally likely to respond to opinion shifts? What are the electoral consequences of policy shifts?

Sara Binzer Hobolt, University of Oxford

sara.hobolt@politics.ox.ac.uk

Robert Klemmensen, *University of Southern Denmark* rkl@sam.sdu.dk

Paper Rethinking the Impacts of Party Policy Shifts

Political parties sometimes make high profile policy shifts. My findings identify effects of party shifts relating to voter utilities, party membership, and financial support. The implications are important for theories of party competition.

Jane Green, *University of Manchester* jane.green@manchester.ac.uk

Paper The "Third Way" at a Dead End? An Empirical Study of Germany's Left

This paper examines the economic policy positions and strategies of Germany's left-wing parties, focusing on the tension between traditional policy-orientation and organization, and the "third way" agenda which prescribes rightward-oriented reform.

Andrea Haupt, DePaul University AHAUPT1@depaul.edu

Paper Which Voting Subconstituencies React to Party-Centered Media Reports and to Economic Conditions?: A Cross-National Analysis of Eight Western European Polities, 1973-2003

We analyze how voting subconstituencies defined in terms of political interest, age, and social class adjust their partisan loyalties in response to both party-centered media reports and objective economic conditions.

James Adams, University of California, Davis

jfadams@ucdavis.edu

Michael Clark, Northern Illinois University

a1564229@wpo.cso.niu.edu

Malcolm Easton, University of California, Davis

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Lawrence Ezrow, University of Essex

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Spyros Kosmidis, University of Essex

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Anja Neundorf, University of Essex

skosmi@essex.ac.uk

Disc. Heather Stoll, University of California, Santa Barbara hstoll@polsci.ucsb.edu

7-6 The Politics of European Integration

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair F. Peter Wagner, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater

wagnerp@uww.edu

Paper Institutional Hokey-Pokey: The Politics of Multispeed

Integration in the European Union

Spatial analysis of bargaining in a multispeed Europe

Christian Brogaard Jensen, University of Iowa

christian-jensen@uiowa.edu

Jonathan Benjamin Slapin, Trinity College, Dublin

slapinj@tcd.ie

Paper Globalization and Opposition to European Integration

This paper examines the impact of globalization on country-level support for European integration using an annualized indicators of globalization with Eurobarometer data. Comparisons are drawn between Western and Eastern European member states.

David Rossbach, University of Mississippi

dorossba@olemiss.edu

Paper Deep Integration in North America and the European Union: An Evaluation of Critical Perspectives

This paper examines Canadian criticism of North American integration and compares this with British criticism of European integration. The paper outlines the similarities in the critics' arguments and then seeks to account for their differences.

John B. Sutcliffe, University of Windsor

sutclif@uwindsor.ca

Paper Regional Attachment and Support for the European Union: Explaining the Emergence of "A Europe of Regions"

This paper builds on previous research on euroscepticism and support for the EU to develop a theory connecting regional attachment and support for the EU at a time when devolution and subsidiarity are features of EU policies towards member-states.

Mwita Chacha, University of Georgia

mcchacha@uga.edu

Disc. Alina Stefania Ujupan, European Commission

alina-stefania.ujupan@ec.europa.eu

8-14 Challenges to Democratic Consolidation in Latin America

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Alejandra Rios-Cazares, CIDE

alejandra.rios@cide.edu

Paper Authoritarian Enclaves and Economic Development in a

Neoliberal World

A subnational comparative analysis of the economic growth patterns of Argentine provinces and Mexican states from 1990 to 2005. The paper offers evidence for a substantial impact of subnational political transitions on economic growth patterns.

Jonathan Hiskey, Vanderbilt University

j.hiskey@vanderbilt.edu

Mason Moseley, Vanderbilt University

mason.w.moseley@vanderbilt.edu

Paper The Politics of Constitutional Amendments in Latin America's New Democracies

The paper tests the hypothesis about a trade off between constitutional rigidity and amendment flexibility in Latin America and find that long and detailed constitutions are not a source of ingovernability.

Marcus Andre Melo, Federal University of Pernambuco marcus.melo@uol.com.br

Paper The Role of Interests, Power Groups and Interest Groups in Consolidating Latin American Democracy: A Framework for Analysis

This paper presents an analytical framework for understanding the development, current role, and likely future prospects for interest groups in Latin America and their crucial role in relation to the success of democracy.

Clive S. Thomas, University of Alaska, Juneau

CSThomas@uas.alaska.edu

Ronald J. Hrebenar, University of Utah

ron.hrebenar@poli-sci.utah.edu

Paper Legal Dissent: Constitutional Proposals for Cambio in Cuba

The Revolution is 50, Raúl has succeeded Fidel, and many Varela Project dissidents are in jail. What hope for Cambio in Cuba? "Legal dissent" - constitutional proposals, a legislative agenda and grassroots civil rights organizing - may be the key.

Ana Cristina Maldonado, St. Thomas University Law School maldonado.ac@gmail.com

Disc. Benjamin Goldfrank, Seton Hall University

goldfrbe@shu.edu

9-1 Media and Politics in Southeast Asia

Room Medinah on the 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Danie Stockmann, Leiden University Chair

DStockmann@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Dissidence vs Governance: The Role of Information and Paper

Communication Technologies in Malaysia and Burma

Conrad's paper examines how information and communication technologies aid Burmese and Malaysian dissident movements and the governments that seek to limit their popularity.

Brittany Conrad, California State University, Fullerton

bconrad@csu.fullerton.edu

Media, Market, and Politics in China Paper

By exploring the policy and regulation changes of the media industry in China's rapidly developing market since the 17th Party Congress, this paper aims to interpret China's political changes in recent years

Xi Chen, University of Texas, Pan American chenx@utpa.edu

Controlling the State after Transition: Explaining Choice

Mechanisms for State Accountability in Asia

How do politicians in new democracies control the state apparatus? This paper examines the different ways that politicians try to restructure the state in Asia so as to increase the state's accountability to citizens and elected politicians. Jeeyang Baum, University of California, San Diego

jbaum@ucsd.edu

The Southeast Asian Lens: The Role of the Regional Media in Paper

Framing the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election

Ferree's paper analyzes the Indonesian, Malaysian, and Singaporean media's framing of the 2008 US presidential election.

Jordan D. Ferree, California State University, Fullerton jordanferree@csu.fullerton.edu

Indonesian Media Framing of Resource Conflicts in Aceh and Paper **Papua**

Momsen's paper analyzes how the Indonesian media frames resource conflicts in Aceh and Papua and how that, in turn, impacts secessionist movements in those provinces.

Sara Momsen, California State University, Fullerton

smomsen@csu.fullerton.edu

Danie Stockmann, Leiden University Disc.

DStockmann@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

10-3 **Democratization in Africa**

Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room

Chair Alemseged Abbay, Frostburg State University

aabbay@frostburg.edu

The Travails of an Emerging Democracy: The Turbulent 2007 Paper

General Elections in Nigeria

The paper presents problems that manifested in Nigeria's 2007 elections. Post elections survey data involving 4,820 respondents are presented and analyzed to show the grave implications of these problems on Nigeria's fledgling democracy.

Terlumun Moses Aluaigba, Bayero University, Kano

aluaigba@yahoo.com

Paper The Impact of Alternation: A Comparative Analysis of Satisfaction with and Support for Democracy: Evidence from

Nigeria, Ghana and Senegal

Using data conducted in Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal in 2005, I find that conventional wisdom on assessments of democracy in Africa falls short. In large, appraisals of democracy are contingent on whether alternation of political parties has occured.

Joel O. Olufowote, Southern Illinois University jolufowote@yahoo.com

Nationalism and Democratization in Tanzania **Paper**

> This paper disusses Julius Nyerere's nationalism in post-colonial Tanzania and its contribution to the country's stability and

democratization in the post-Nyerere regimes.

Eun Kyung Kim, University of California, Los Angeles

liprib612@ulca.edu

Paper Running to Vote and Voting to Run: The Impact of Multi-

Party Elections on Human Rights and the Prospects of

Democratization in Africa

The desire for good governance by the African civil society is frustrated by the outcome of ambitious Western democratization in the continent. This paper discusses the correlation between multiparty elections and human rights in Africa.

Timothy Addai-Balag'kutu Adivilah, West Virginia University

tadivila@mix.wvu.edu

Disc. Jennifer Romine, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

jeromine@illinois.edu

11-7 **Human Rights in the Middle East**

Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room

Neil A. Englehart, Bowling Green State University Chair

neile@bgsu.edu

Examining Islam and Human Rights from a Sufi Perspective **Paper**

This paper argues that Sufism, the mystical tradition of Islam's message emphasizes service to mankind, along with the Oneness of God, is an important approach within the discussion of the Islam

and human rights framework.

Fait Muedini A. Muedini, University at Buffalo, SUNY

fmuedini@buffalo.edu

Dissidence in the Maghreb Between Human Rights Activism **Paper** and Political Affiliations

The contrast between political activism and human rights activism

in the Maghreb.

Tarek Kahlaoui, Rutgers University

tkahlaoui@gmail.com

Paper A Comparative Study of the Post- 9/11 National Security States in the West and in the Middle East: Contributions of the

Critical Security Studies Approach

The paper tries to evaluate how post- 9/11 era resulted in "national security states" and crippled basics rights in the name of "more security" through the prism of Critical Security Studies approach.

Ahmet Selim Tekelioglu, Boston University

astekeli@bu.edu

Disc. Neil A. Englehart, Bowling Green State University

neile@bgsu.edu

12-2 **Legislative Behavior**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Jennifer Clark, University of Houston Chair

jclar2@central.uh.edu

Paper Priming the Electorate: How the Conservative Government

Targeted Its "Statements by Members" in the 39th Parliament:

A Comparative Content Analysis

A comparative study examining "Statements by Members" in the 38th and 39th Parliaments of Canada. The paper highlights how Conservative Members of the House of Commons strategically used this time to prime the electorate and gain partisan advantage.

Evan Sotiropoulos, Independent Practitioner

esotiropoulos@gmail.com

Paper District Compactness and Electoral Volatility in Canada and the

United States

Districts in Canada are typically drawn with greater compactness than US districts. Are less compact districts correlated with increased volatility? Trends across redistricting cycles in Canada are examined, with comparisons made to the US.

Tony L. Hill, Massachusetts Institute of Technology tlh@mit.edu

Minority Government in Canada: Impediment to, or Impotence 14-1 Against, the Government's Legislative Agenda?

One would expect a Canadian prime minister to be less successful at enacting his legislative agenda when he leads a minority government, yet this is not always the case. At times, the reverse even seems to be true. Why is this?

Andrew McKelvy, American University andrew.mckelvy@american.edu

Legislative Voting in the Canadian Parliament Paper

The paper applies a Bayesian Markov Chain Monte Carlo estimation methodology to scale division votes in the 35th and 38th Canadian Parliaments over a multidimensional policy space.

Jean-Francois Godbout, Simon Fraser University godbout@sfu.ca

Bjorn Hoyland, University of Oslo bjorn.hoyland@stv.uio.no

Disc. Michael Bobic, West Virginia Wesleyan College

bobic m@wvwc.edu

Joseph Patten, Monmouth University

ipatton@monmouth.edu

13-7 Parties of Power and Powers of Parties: The Role of **Political Parties in Post-Communist Countries**

Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room Holley E. Hansen, University of Iowa Chair

holley-hansen@uiowa.edu

Paper The Origins of Dominant Parties: Regional Legislators and United Russia, 2001-2008

When will elites commit to a nascent dominant party? This paper examines the decisions of Russia's regional legislators to join United Russia in the period from 2001-2008.

Ora John Reuter, Emory University

oreuter@emory.edu

Paper Measuring Political Party Relevance in Post-Communist States

We use a new measure of party relevance in order to explore mechanisms that shape organizational persistence and system-level stability, yielding new insights into the relationship between party system development and democratic consolidation.

Regina Smyth. Indiana University

rsmyth@indiana.edu

Christopher Kam, University of British Colombia

ckam@interchange.ubc.edu

Parties of Power and their Success: Explaining Regime Paper Divergence in Russia and Ukraine

This paper seeks to explain why Russia and Ukraine have diverged in terms of their regime types over the past several years. Special attention is paid to the respective roles and characteristics of "parties of power" in the two countries.

Brandon Marcus Wilkening, Indiana University

bmwilken@indiana.edu

Uncertain Partners of Democracy: Political Parties in Ukraine Paper

Do political parties encourage or impede democratic developments in transitional countries? This paper demonstrates that Ukrainian parties have both facilitating and hindering effects on democratic transformations in this nation.

Andrey A. Meleshevich, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

ameleshe@ukma.kiev.ua

Disc. Carol Skalnik Leff, University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign leffc@illinois.edu

> Holley E. Hansen, University of Iowa holley-hansen@uiowa.edu

Inequality: Varieties and Sources

LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room

Nancy Brune, University of Nevada, Las Vegas Chair

nancy.brune@unlv.edu

The Global Decline in Educational Inequality **Paper**

This paper documents and explains the large and pervasive global

decline in educational inequality.

Sven E. Wilson, Brigham Young University

sven wilson@byu.edu

Clayne Pope, Brigham Young University

clayne_pope@byu.edu

Foreign Investment, Income Inequality, and Political Violence: **Paper**

A Cross National Analysis of Less Developed Countries

The presence of foreign subsidiaries in less developed countries exacerbates income inequality, which results in increased political violence in less developed countries.

Jeffrey Kentor, University of Utah

kentor@soc.utah.edu

Distributive Politics in the Era of Globalization Paper

This paper studies the impact of globalization and domestic political conditions (i.e. government ideology, democracy, federalism, and labor union strength) on income inequality in both developed and less developed countries.

Eunyoung Ha, Claremont Graduate University

eunyoung.ha@cgu.edu

Sven E. Wilson, Brigham Young University Disc.

sven_wilson@byu.edu

14-26 **Corporate Governance and Varieties of Capitalism**

Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room

Michel Goyer, University of Warwick Chair

Michel.Goyer@wbs.ac.uk

Paper The Political Economy of Investor Protection: An Application to Polish Pension Funds

This paper explores the role that Poland's national pension system has played in shaping Poland's shareholder-friendly corporate governance rules and securities laws.

Andrew Kerner, Emory University

akerner@emory.edu

Capital Mobility, Corporate Governance and Contextualized **Paper** Relationships: The Divergent Transformation of Capitalism in

France and Germany

This paper examines the investment allocation of hedge and mutual funds in France and Germany. The argument presented highlights the importance of the firm-level institutions to account for the ability of firms to attract funds from investors.

Michel Goyer, University of Warwick

Michel.Goyer@wbs.ac.uk

Comparing Two Non-Western Models of Economic Paper Development: The Cases of Syria and Dubai

This manuscript draws from my 2008 visit to Syria and Dubai, focusing on their different economic positions. Dubai is becoming a world center of investment while Syria tries to escape from Arabic Socialism and I am trying to understand why.

James E. Hanley, Adrian College

jhanley@adrian.edu

Controlling the Flow: Foreign Direct Investment Policies and **Paper Inflows in Developing Countries**

FDI policies have not been adequately included in statistical research on foreign investment in developing countries. This paper introduces a new variable of foreign equity openness and tests factors affecting both openness and inflows.

Michael Hess, Texas Tech University

michael.hess@ttu.edu

Disc. Michel Goyer, University of Warwick

Michel.Goyer@wbs.ac.uk

15-1 Information, Reputation, and Bargaining

Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room Dick Chadwick, University of Hawaii Chair

chadwick@hawaii.edu

Paper **Isolation and Evaluation of Three Mechanisms for Mediation:** Information Transmission, Side Payments, and Audience Costs

Using a series of models, a large-N study, and field work, I show that mediation behind closed doors allows leaders to avoid audience costs that would be paid if diplomatic concessions were made

Shawn Ling Ramirez, University of Rochester

sramire2@mail.rochester.edu

The Credibility of Domestic Dissent in Coercive Diplomacy: Paper Do Decision-Makers Draw Inferences about State or Leader

Resolve?

Domestic political dissent is typically believed to handicap the credibility of coercive diplomacy. I develop and test a psychological theory that provides evidence that this conventional wisdom may be flawed.

Seth Michael Goldstein, Ohio State University sethgoldstein2@gmail.com

Dangerous Triads: Is Multi-level Crisis Bargaining More Paper **Dangerous?**

> Conceptualizing these events as multi-level war bargaining processes, this paper examines and empirically tests the propensity of conflict onset and duration for crises involving internal and external challengers.

Jamil A. Sewell, University of Kentucky jamil.sewell@uky.edu

Disc. Dick Chadwick, University of Hawaii

chadwick@hawaii.edu

16-19 **Regional Security Structures**

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am John Furman Daniel, Georgetown University Chair

ifd42@georgetown.edu

Envisioning Different Regional Orders: Explaining Limited Paper Regionalism in East Asia

> With specific reference to China, Japan, and South Korea, this paper examines the domestic contexts in which policymakers in each country articulate different regional visions, with different meanings attached to regionalism.

Il Hyun Cho, Cleveland State University i.cho@csuohio.edu

NATO of the East?: An International Relations Analysis of the Paper **Shanghai Cooperation Organization**

This paper evaluates the Shanghai Cooperation Organization's existing record of multilateral military-security activities. It provides an IR-theory driven analysis, and concludes that the SCO is not currently balancing against the US and its allies.

Robert Mate, Marquette University robert.mate@marquette.edu

Regional Power Structure and the Possibility of War Paper

> To analyze region power structure specifically, I choose three regions: Asia, South America and Middle East. How much level power structure in each region is similar or different from each other and how they are different from global power structure?

Chansuk Kang, University of Arizona

kang1@email.arizona.edu

The Origin of the Hub-and-Spoke System in the Asia-Pacific

The paper studies why a multilateral collective defense did not develop but instead the hub-and-spoke system emerged in the Pacific during the early Cold War period. The paper argues that the lack of cooperation among capable allies was a key.

Tatsuva Nishida, Harvard University tatsuya nishida@ksgphd.harvard.edu

Disc. John Furman Daniel, Georgetown University

jfd42@georgetown.edu

17-19 The Onset and Initiation of Violent Conflict

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor. Thur at 8:00 am

Kimberly B. Cowell-Meyers, American University Chair

kcowell@american.edu

Paper Inclusive Institutions and Civil War Onset in Resource-Rich

Countries

The present paper explores the effect of establishing multiple political parties on the internal conflict potential of resource-rich

Tim Wegenast, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)

wegenast@giga-hamburg.de

Paper Elections and Civil War Onset

> We investigate the little-noticed trigger of elections for civil war onset. We note that historically, elections brought mobilization and civil war, while more recently, electoral fraud is a more common signal for mobilization.

Ronald A. Francisco, University of Kansas

ronfran@ku.edu

Erik Herron, University of Kansas

eherron@ku.edu

Paper Reliable Allies and Conflicts (Un)Initiated

This research considers the effect state reputations for alliance reliability and the likelihood of conflict initiation.

Jacob Daniel Kathman, University of Mississippi

kathman@olemiss.edu

Different Region, Different Model, Same Civil War? **Paper**

To analyze whether civil war breaks or not, most studies use a general model. The object of this paper is to discover the regional difference of civil war onset mechanism by carrying out a medium-N study to compare the same model between regions.

Yuta Kamahara, Keio University kamachankamachan@gmail.com

Disc. Susan Hannah Allen, University of Mississippi

shallen@olemiss.edu

17-30 **Formal Models of Conflict Dynamics**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Chair

Stephen Gent, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

gent@unc.edu

Volunteer Armies, The Draft, and Support for War **Paper**

> In a formal model including volunteerism and voting, we derive conditions under which the draft will dominate the volunteer military in terms of support for war and conditions under which the opposite will be true.

Patrick L. Warren, Clemson University

patrick.lee.warren@gmail.com

Leopoldo Fergussun, Massachusetts Institute of Technology leonoldo@mit.edu

Monica Martinez-Bravo, Massachusetts Institute of Technology mmb@mit.edu

Rulers and Generals

Formal model: Autocrats suffer from a commitment problem that prevents their generals from using their local knowledge on the battlefield. This leads to an autocratic disadvantage in war. WWII illustrations.

Jeremy Thomas Kedziora, University of Rochester

jkedzio2@mail.rochester.edu

Randall W Stone, University of Rochester

randall.stone@rochester.edu

Paper A Model of In-group Pressure and Inter-group Conflict

In this paper, we provide a formal model that explains the stability and evolution of intergroup relations in situations where in-group peer pressure affects individual choices.

Abe Gong, University of Michigan

agong@umich.edu

Joshua Gubler, University of Michigan

jgub@umich.edu

Paper Deterring the Defender: When the Best Offense is a Strategic Offense

This research uses ICOW data, 1816-2001, to evaluate Werner's (2000) formal model on challenger claim salience on deterrence success, arguing that if the challenger makes a less salient claim, a multilateral conflict can be avoided.

Vanessa A. Lefler, University of Iowa

vanessa-lefler@uiowa.edu

Disc. Stephen Gent, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill gent@unc.edu

18-7 <u>Counter-Terrorism, Counter-Insurgency, and Foreign</u> Policy: New Approaches

Room Sandburg Boardroom 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Neill A. Mohammad, University of Michigan neilla@umich.edu

Paper On Counterinsurgency: Understanding Power and Violence in International Relations

This paper analyzes the Surge and its impact in Iraq. Beginning with Hannah Arendt's understanding of violence and power, this paper encourages a better counterinsurgency strategy and proposes a general challenge to traditional views of power in IR.

Kevin D. Benish, University of Wisconsin, Madison kdbenish@gmail.com

Paper Overstating Poppy: The Counter Narcotics, Counter Terrorism and Development Policy Nexus in Afghanistan

Are US counter narcotics, counter terrorism and development goals in Afghanistan best achieved simultaneously or sequentially? I recommend a three-phase sequencing scheme that leverages positive externalities and accounts for necessary conditions.

Elizabeth Anne Bennett, Brown University elizabethannebennett@yahoo.com

Paper When Ideology Trumped Interests and Ideas: Terrorism and American Foreign Policy in the Muslim World

Foreign policy starts with a meta-policy of interpretation of the events and actors that the eventual policy will address. Thus how the policy triggers are interpreted predetermines the policy options and also legitimizes the policy itself.

Muqtedar Khan, *University of Delaware* mkhan@udel.edu

Paper Are Conservative Protestant Beliefs Within the U.S. Military Impeding the Effectiveness of U.S. Counterinsurgency Operations?

Conservative Protestant beliefs, widely held among the U.S. military, may be hindering the effectiveness of recent counterinsurgency efforts and such beliefs, when expressed publicly, may even be exploited to the insurgents' strategic gain.

James N. Szymalak, George Mason University jszymala@gmu.edu

Disc. Elias Götz, University of Aarhus elias@ps.au.dk

19-2 Political Economy of International Court

Room Empire on the Lobby Level, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Christopher Way, Cornell University

crw12@cornell.edu

Paper Follow the Litigator: The Reputational Effects of Past WTO Disputes on Future Dispute Initiation

Empirical tests confirm that governments look at past WTO disputes to determine which policies of trading partners to challenge before the WTO in the future. Therefore, the WTO generates reputations that become costly for non-compliant governments.

Todd Allee, University of Illinois

tallee@uiuc.edu

Paper Legal Protection for Sale: International Legal Standing, Domestic Politics, and Foreign Direct Investment

We offer a theoretical model of the impact of the design of international legal regimes on foreign direct investment (FDI).

Leslie Johns, University of California, Los Angeles

ljohns@polisci.ucla.edu

B. Peter Rosendorff, New York University

peter.rosendorff@nyu.edu

Michael Gilligan, New York University

mg5nyu@gmail.com

Paper Reputation, Retaliation, and International Law

This paper examines the mechanisms by which international law affects policy preferences. Multi-country experiments show that legalization increases the reputational cost of breaking commitments and heightens the probability of foreign retaliation.

Michael Tomz, Stanford University

tomz@stanford.edu

Paper Supranational Institutions and Supranational Law: European Court of Justice Influence on the Development of European Union Law

A core question in the international organizations (IO) literature is whether these organizations influence state behavior. In this paper, we test four theories of IO influence using a novel dataset covering all decisions by the ECJ from 1960-2000.

Clifford J. Carrubba, Emory University

ccarrub@emory.edu

Matthew Gabel, Washington University, St. Louis

mgabel@wustl.edu

Disc. Christopher Way, Cornell University

crw12@cornell.edu

19-19 Cooperation Among Multiple International Institutions

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Gabriele Stella Ruoff, ETH Zurich

ruoff@ir.gess.ethz.ch

Paper Human Trafficking and the Role of Intergovernmental Organizations

The purpose of this paper is to address the roles and effectiveness of numerous international intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) by assessing their efforts to diminish the various forms of global slavery present in the world today.

Lauren Johnson, Hope College

lauren.johnson@hope.edu

Virginia Parish Beard, Hope College

beard@hope.edu

Paper International Organizations and Global HIV/AIDS Policy: Diverging Perspectives and a Crisis of Coordination

This paper examines the intersection between international organizations, the United States and other G8 members and how these intersections and divergences have framed and shaped global HIV/AIDS policy.

Andrea Nicole Messing-Mathie, Northern Illinois University amessing@niu.edu

Paper Overlapping Institutions and Developing State Health Policy

International cooperation leads to efficient outcomes, yet cooperation in health has resulted in overlapping authority among international institutions and hindered of creation and implementation of effective health policy within developing states Carie A. Steele, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

csteele3@uiuc.edu

Disc. Gabriele Stella Ruoff, ETH Zurich

ruoff@ir.gess.ethz.ch

21-18 Stereotypes and Political Evaluations

Room Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair Rosario Aguilar-Pariente, University of Michigan
rosarioa@umich.edu

Paper Conflicting Stereotypes and Voters' Evaluations of African-American Republicans

This paper uses experiments to examine how voters process information about a candidate whose race conflicts with the stereotype of his party and argues that voters have difficulty processing information about steroeype-inconsistent candidates. **Philip Paolino**, *University of North Texas*

paolino@unt.edu

Paper Prime Time: Implicit Priming, Candidate Traits, and the 2008 Presidential Election

We use an original experimental design to examine implicit primes and candidate evaluations in the 2008 Presidential Election. The goal of the paper is to further understanding of how implicit priming of candidate traits alters political behavior.

Rolfe Daus Peterson, *University of California, Davis* rdpeterson@ucdavis.edu

Carl L. Palmer, *University of California*, *Davis* clpalmer@ucdavis.edu

Paper It Don't Matter if You're Black or White? Exploring the Content of Stereotypes of Black Politicians

We argue that common stereotypes of blacks used in past research (e.g., lazy, violent) do not apply to perceptions of black politicians. We find that black politicians are different enough to warrant their own group of the larger group "blacks."

Monica C. Schneider, Miami University of Ohio

schneimc@muohio.edu

Angela L. Bos, College of Wooster

abos@wooster.edu

Disc. Antoine Banks, University of Maryland

abanks@gvpt.umd.edu

22-8 Election Experiences

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Chair Herbert Weisberg, Ohio State University

weisberg.1@osu.edu

Paper 1: Voter ID in the 2008 General Election

This paper examines variations in the implementation of voter identification laws across the 50 states in the 2008 presidential election.

R. Michael Alvarez, California Institute of Technology rma@hss.caltech.edu

Andrew Sinclair, California Institute of Technology jsinclair08@gmail.com

Paper Voter Confidence in the 2008 General Election

This paper examines the growing literature on voter confidence and considers the administrative, political, and socio-economic factors that affect whether a voter is confident that their ballot is counted accurately.

Morgan Llewellyn, California Institute of Technology mllewell@gmail.com

R. Michael Alvarez, California Institute of Technology rma@hss.caltech.edu

Paper Paper 4. The Voting Experience: Precincts vs Absentee Voting

There is a large and growing literature on the precinct voting experience. Much less consideration has been given to the absentee voting experience. This paper compares the two to determine factors that affect the voting experience across modes.

Thad E. Hall, *University of Utah* THADHALL@GMAIL.COM

Paper Voting Technology in the 2008 General Election

Voting technology has been a key issue in the study of election administration since the 2000 election. This paper examines how different voting technologies may affect the experience that voters have at the polls in the 2008 elections.

Charles Stewart, Massachusetts Institute of Technology cstewart@mit.edu

Paper Is There Racial Discrimination At The Polls?

This paper examines the critical question of whether black and white voters have similar experiences at the polls on election day and if there are systematic factors that explain these differences. **Stephen Ansolabehere**, *Harvard University*

sda@gov.harvard.edu

Disc. Michael McDonald, George Mason University mmcdon@gmu.edu

23-1 Assessing the 2008 American National Elections

Room Adams on the 6th Floor. Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Janet Marie Box-Steffensmeier, Ohio State University

steffensmeier.2@osu.edu

Paper Campaign Finance in the 2008 Elections

Part of Steve Schier's Roundtable proposal on the 2008 Elections.

Robert G. Boatright, Clark University

rboatright@clarku.edu

Paper The 2008 Presidential Nominations

This overview of the 2008 presidential nominations contrasts the Democratic with Republican contests and compares the 2008 contests to earlier nominations.

Barbara Norrander, University of Arizona

norrande@u.arizona.edu

Paper The Significance of the 2008 Elections

This paper considers the 2008 election within the broader context of American electoral and political development.

Nicol C. Rae, Florida International University raen@fiu.edu

Paper Partisan Surge and Decline in Congressional Elections: The Case of 2008

This paper is a brief overview of the 2008 congressional elections, emphasizing national and local factors.

Roger H. Davidson, *University of California, Santa Barbara* publius10@cox.net

Disc. Steven E. Schier, Carleton College

sschier@carleton.edu

John Coleman, University of Wisconsin

coleman@polisci.wisc.edu

23-100 Roundtable: Inside Campaigns: Political Scientists in the Paper **Electoral Trenches**

Watertower on the 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room

This rountable is a discussion with political scientists working directly in campaigns as volunteers, campaign managers, and candidates. The discussion focuses on what these experiences reveal for the discipline and lessons for the classroom.

Panelist James Robert Bowers, St. John Fisher College

jbowers@sjfc.edu

Tari Renner, Illinois Weslesvan University

trenner@iwu.edu

Kevin Anderson, Eastern Illinois University

kranderson@eiu edu

Michael A. Smith, Emporia State College

msmith3@emporia.edu

Chapman Rackaway, Fort Hays State University

crackawa@fhsu.edu

Stephen Daniels, American Bar Foundation

sdaniels@abfn.org

24-2 **Candidate Characteristics and Electoral Success**

Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room

Walter Thomas Casey, University of Texas, Dallas Chair

caesaigh@caesaigh.org

Political Inheritance Under the Single Non-transferable Vote Paper **Electoral System in Japan**

This paper investigates the trends in political inheritance in Japan under the single non-transferable vote (SNTV) electoral system. Daniel Markham Smith, University of California, San Diego danielsmith@ucsd.edu

Paper The Harsher the Better: Micro Evidence on Political Competition and Politicians' Selection

Individual data on Italian politicians suggest that more political competition - higher contestability of majoritarian districts - is positively correlated with candidate ability (education, income before entering politics, experience in government).

Vincenzo Galasso, Bocconi University

vincenzo.galasso@unibocconi.it

Tommaso Nannicini, Bocconi University

tommaso.nannicini@unibocconi.it

Second-Class Incumbents: incumbency Advantage in Scottish Paper Parliament Elections, 2003 and 2007

With the creation of the Scottish Parliament a new electoral system (mixed-member proportional) came to the UK. This paper examines effects of the different types of incumbency - constituency and list MSPs - on Scottish Parliament elections.

Martin Battle, Murray State University

martin.battle@murraystate.edu

Primaries in Proportional Representation Systems: Girls Paper **Against Boys**

We consider the use of primary elections for producing party lists in a proportional representation system, which provides a unique opportunity to study the effects of gender on candidate success while minimizing the effects of party ideology.

Indridi H. Indridason, University of California, Riverside

Asdis Jona Sigurjonsdottir, University of Iceland ajs1@hi.is

Who Goes to Europe: Strategic Candidate Nomination to the **European Parliament**

National parties nominate candidates to stand for election to the European Parliament. We argue that parties strategically choose which individuals to run. To test the argument, we use a data on the career paths of MEPs.

Stephen Meserve, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign meserve@illinois.edu

Daniel Pemstein, University of Illinois/Harvard University dpemstein@iq.harvard.edu

William Bernhard, Unviersity of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign bernhard@illinois.edu

Disc. Juan Pablo Micozzi, Rice University

jmicozzi@rice.edu

25-16 The Politics of Fear and Trust

Room LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Hyun Jung Yun, Texas State University Chair

como35@gmail.com

Paper Political Trust: Levels of Government, Institutions, and Types of Trust

This research explores three types of variation in political trust. First, variation across levels of government. Second, trust across national government institutions. Third, trust in the national government using different referents for trust

Joseph Gershtenson, Eastern Kentucky University

joe.gershtenson@eku.edu

Dennis L. Plane, Juniata College

plane@juniata.edu

Indifference or Indignation: How Political Trust Conditions Paper Citizens' Responses to Congressional Scandals

I draw upon panel and cross-sectional survey data surrounding prominent congressional scandals to argue that individuals' underlying political trust conditions how they respond to political scandals

Logan Dancey, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities dance009@umn.edu

When and Why Are Voters Confident Their Ballots Will Be **Counted? Election Administration vs Generalized Trust in** Government

In this paper, we challenge the conventional wisdom that "voter confidence" is a primarily driven by features of the electoral context. Instead, we conceptualize voter confidence as part of a constellation of attitudes comprising social trust.

Paul Gronke, Reed College and Pew Charitable Trusts

paul.gronke@gmail.com James Hicks, Reed College james.hicks@reed.edu

Christopher N. Lawrence, Texas A&M International University Disc. christopher.lawrence@tamiu.edu

Race, Ethnicity and Political Participation (Co-26-11 sponsored with Race, Class, and Ethnicity, see 29-22)

Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room

Dara Z. Strolovitch, University of Minnesota

dzs@umn.edu

Who Are They? The Real Challenges Mexican Immigration Paper Poses for Democracy in America

This paper seeks to contribute to the question of Latino political participation in the US. Its findings are based on a survey of the organizers of the 2006 Latino mass demonstrations in California.

Narayani Lasala-Blanco, Columbia University

ml2362@columbia.edu

Paper Arab American Political Participation

The Detroit Arab American Study is analyzed using a multiple regression model to ascertain the impact of education, duration of residency and age on three modes of participation.

Ihsan A. Ihsan, *Alkhatib* ehsankhatib@hotmail.com

Paper What Empowerment? Institutional Political Inclusion and Political Activism Among Black Americans

This work explores the influence that empowerment has on the social and political behavior of both African Americans and Blacks of Caribbean descent.

Wassim Tarraf, *Wayne State University* ai2483@wayne.edu

Ronald E. Brown, *Wayne State University* aa4723@wayne.edu

Paper Explaining Political Participation of Asian Americans: Beyond Individual-Level Factors

This paper investigates the relatively low level of political participation among Asian Americans. In particular, I identify the contextual factors that explain variation in political participation within this group by using multilevel data.

Saemyi Park, *University of Wisconsin*, *Madison* spark38@wisc.edu

Paper When Little White Lies and Mentiritas Matter: The Differential Effect of Vote Overreporting Bias on Models of Participation

Study is the first comparative analysis of extent to which vote overreporters bias White, Latino and Asian American models of voter turnout. The data suggest that overreporting is a problem but that the bias is not uniform across race/ethnicity.

Ricardo Ramirez, *University of Southern California* ricardo.ramirez@usc.edu

Disc. Melissa R. Michelson, California State University, East Bay melissa.michelson@gmail.com

26-18 Social Capital and Political Participation (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-28)

Room Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am **Chair Kaat Smets**, European University Institute

kaat.smets@eui.eu

Paper Quality or Quantitity? Group Membership, Involvement and the Dimensions of Social Capital

We examine how different forms of involvement in associations contribute to dimensions of social capital. Our findings may contribute to understanding the mechanisms that link associations with the formation of social capital.

Miki Caul Kittilson, Arizona State University

Miki.Kittilson@asu.edu

Russell Dalton, University of California, Irvine rdalton@uci.edu

Paper Linking Institutions' and Political Participation

This paper seeks to explore the effect of 'linking institutions'-political parties, unions, churches and non-governmental
organizations-on individual electoral and non-electoral participation. **Disc.**

Michael Jones-Correa, *Cornell University* mj64@cornell.edu

Paper Leadership and Role Differentiation in the Development of Social Capital

Understanding how institutional innovations may promote social capital formation requires a greater focus on individual agency. New institutions create the infrastructure for network formation, but specific leaders knit the networks together.

Christopher Weare, *University of Southern California* weare@usc.edu

Kyu-Nahm Jun, *Wayne State University* kn.jun@wayne.edu

Paper Union Membership and Voter Turnout Across Nations

Using individual-level data from 32 nations and controlling for a battery of traditional predictors of turnout, we find union members are more likely to vote than non-members. The magnitude of the effect on voting is comparable to that of education.

Patrick Flavin, University of Notre Dame

pflavin@nd.edu

Benjamin Radcliff, University of Notre Dame

radcliff.1@nd.edu

Disc. Traci Burch, Northwestern University/American Bar Foundation t-burch@northwestern.edu

27-2 <u>Media, Political Socialization, and Generational Effects</u>

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am **Chair Staci Lynn Rhine**, *Wittenberg University*

srhine@wittenberg.edu

Paper A Differential Effect of Media on Political Attitudes of Younger and Older Adults

I examine the influence of television on political interest, knowledge and cynicism between younger and older adults and argue that young adults are more susceptible to media malaise whereas older adults are more susceptible to media mobilization.

Sue Ann Skipworth, University of Mississippi

saskipwo@olemiss.edu

Paper From the Classroom to the Kitchen Table: An Experiment in Building Youth Political Efficacy

Using an experiment conducted in four New Jersey high schools, we test whether exposure to articles about politics and discussion about those articles in the classroom and at home builds internal political efficacy among high school students.

Timothy Vercellotti, Western New England College

lvercellotti@wnec.edu

Elizabeth C. Matto, Rutgers University

ematto@rci.rutgers.edu

Like Parents, like Citizens: The Role of Television News, Family Discussion and Parents' Political Participation on Mexican Children's Political Socialization

This model explores the role of television news, family discussions and parental participation in building civic awareness and participation. Data comes from children in 6th year. Results reinforce the central role of parents in building citizens.

Juan Enrique Huerta, McGill University/Tecnologico de Monterrey

jehuerta@itesm.mx

Paper Teaching the Teacher: A "New Media and Politics" Class for the YouTube Generation

This project presents what one instructor learned by teaching a "New Media and Politics" class including topics covered, techniques to promoting student involvement and observations by students and the instructor.

Stephen C. Brooks, University of Akron

sbrooks@uakron.edu

John Barry Ryan, University of California, Davis

jbrryan@ucdavis.edu

Craig Leonard Brians, Virginia Tech University

cbrians@vt.edu

27-24 Media Coverage of Elite Communication and Behavior

Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room Shoon Kathleen Murray, American University Chair smurray@american.edu

Paper The Invisible Crowd: Media Lobbyists at an International Summit

This presentations aims to describe "media lobbyism", a tactical repertoire resorted to by some NGOs in order to garner attention from the decision-makers. It emphasizes the modalities and tries to assess the efficiency of this mediated pressure.

Etienne E. Ollion, ENS-EHESS, Paris

etienne@uchicago.edu

Making the News Polls: The Relationship Between the News, Paper Polls, and Elites

The polling agenda is produced through the interactive effects of the news agenda; legislative and interest group activity; and potentially long term interests of the polling unit.

Jennifer Oats-Sargent, University of Illinois

jenniferoats@fastmail.us

Branding Kyoto: The Rhetorical Uses of the Kyoto Protocol by Paper American and Canadian Legislators, 1998-2008

An interdisciplinary analysis of the rhetorical meaning of Kyoto as a political device in Canada and the United States. The paper is significant to environmental policy discourse and how legislators construct policy debates around political symbols.

J. P. Lewis, Carleton University

jlewis3@connect.carleton.ca

Jay Dolmage, West Virginia University

Jay.Dolmage@mail.wvu.edu

Norman Wickett, Pennsylvania State University

norman.wickett@gmail.com

Paper The Politics of Ego: Senatorial Front Office Presentation of Self to their Constituents

In this paper, the authors examine United States Senators' presentation of self to constituents by systematically examining the extent to which senators focus on their state or themselves in the images they display in their Senate office lobbies.

Brendan J. Doherty, United States Naval Academy

doherty@usna.edu

Jessica C. Gerrity, Washington College

jgerrity2@washcoll.edu

Steven Livingston, George Washington University Disc.

sliv@gwu.edu

28-20 The State's Impact on Women's Rights and Women's Issues

Room Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Pedro G. dos Santos, University of Kansas Chair

Obstacles to, and Opportunities for, Advancing Women's Rights: Paper **Examining Government Action in Nigeria**

This study applies the framework for analyzing government action on women's rights developed by Htun & Weldon (2007). Examining various areas of women's rights, the framework explains why different factors explain change on different issues.

Mala Htun, New School for Social Research

HtunM@newschool.edu

S. Laurel Weldon, Purdue University

weldons@purdue.edu

Cheryl O'Brien, Purdue University

cobrien@purdue.edu

Agenda Control and Policy Output: Does Government Control **Paper** of the Agenda Interfere with Women's Influence in the Policy Process?

In this study I explore how government control of the legislative agenda affects the ability of female office holders to pursue femalefriendly policy.

Amy L. Atchison, University of Tennessee

aatchiso@utk.edu **Paper** Gender, Political Ambition, and Legislative Politics in Latin

How do factors related to legislative careers, such as progressive political ambition and seniority status, affect the likelihood of female legislators in Latin America introducing and supporting women-friendly policies?

Amy K. Moreland, Texas Tech University

amy.moreland@ttu.edu

America

The Hybrid State and Women's Political Citizenship: The Policy Paper Feedback Model Within and Between Countries

This paper establishes the power of a hybrid state to influence public opinion and political behavior both within and between countries.

Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University

e.mcdonagh@neu.edu

Disc. Nao Kodate, King's College London

naonori.kodate@kcl.ac.uk

29-100 Roundtable: Rollout of 2008 National Asian American

Spire on the 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room

The principal investigators of the 2008 National Asian American Survey present the preliminary findings of this first-ever national study of Asian American voter preferences, political opinions, political behavior, and civic engagement.

Panelist Jane Junn, Rutgers University

junn@rci.rutgers.edu

Janelle Wong, University of Southern California

janellew@usc.edu

Karthick Ramakrishnan, University of California, Riverside

karthick@ucr.edu

Taeku Lee, University of California, Berkeley

taekulee@berkeley.edu

30-1 Ironic Utterances, Noble Lies and Deceptive Discourse

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Andrew Hertzoff, California State University, Sacramento ahertzof@csus.edu

Paper The Irony of Socratic Irony: Plato's Euthydemus

A consideration of an expanded meaning of Socratic irony to be found in Plato's Euthydemus: the irony of action as well as of

Martin J. Plax, Cleveland State University

m.plax@csuohio.edu

Paper Questioning Socratic Irony: Plato, Strauss, and Ironic **Democratic Practice**

This essay argues that Plato's ironic endorsement of Socrates inaugurates a kind of ironic yet political "writing Socrates." In conversation with Leo Strauss's work, I advance an argument for such a view of Platonic irony as a democratic practice.

Joel A. Schlosser, Duke University

joel.schlosser@duke.edu

Persuasion and Deceit in a Polarized Society: A Reconsideration of Sophocles' Philoctetes

Sophocles suggests in Philoctetes that deception is not justified in democratic discourse no matter how high the stakes for the regime. Instead, unpersuadable interlocutors must find common ground outside politics if they are to resolve conflict.

Jerry Herbel, Georgia College & State University jeherbel@cox.net

Paper Plato's Noble Lie

Plato's Noble Lie -- while central to achieving the goals of the Republic -- is notably absent from the Statesman and Laws. The author explores the possible reasons for this change and how it forms a more thorough account of his relation with truth.

David Lay Williams, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point david.williams@uwsp.edu

Andrew Hertzoff, California State University, Sacramento Disc.

ahertzof@csus.edu

Keith Mataya, University of California, Los Angeles keithmataya@aol.com

32-14 **Contradictions in Liberal Principles and Practice**

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Walter Feinberg, University Of Illinois Chair

wfeinber@illinois.edu

Paper When Free Speech Meets Free Association: The Case of the Boy Scouts

Freedom of speech and freedom of association may conflict. Groups whose message offends others should expect consequences in terms of support for their mission. I focus on the Boy Scouts, with some attention to Bush's faith-based initiative.

Emily R. Gill, Bradley University

gill@bradley.edu

Democracy and Future Generations Paper

In this paper I examine whether we can reconcile the demands of justice between generations with the institutional requirements of democracy. I argue that we cannot.

Michael Kates, New York University

michaelkates@nyu.edu

Unsafe in Civil Society: Questioning Locke's Vision Paper

The liberal promise of safety and security is regularly challenged in American society. This paper explores the causes and consequences of this apparent incompatiblity, and whether or not it indicates the failure of a key aspect of liberalism.

Stephanie M. Walls, Mount Union College

wallssm@muc.edu

The Means of Militant Democracy Paper

Using the example of Reconstruction, this paper explores the repressive means used to defend democratic regimes against popular threats and the normative implication of the fact that those means may undermine the very regime they are used to defend.

Alexander Simon Kirshner, Yale University

alexander.kirshner@yale.edu

Steven Douglas Maloney, University of St. Thomas Disc.

steven.maloney@stthomas.edu

32-15 Constitutionalism, the Self, and Political Order

Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Room Chair Philip Benesch, Lebanon Valley College

benesch@lvc.edu

Paper The Least Dangerous Branch and the Ends of American

Constitutionalism: Publius on the Judiciary

An unelected judiciary is a peculiar thing in a representative democracy and the case for it must be a careful one if it is to withstand the assaults of time and tumult. The Federalist remains a powerful and serious primary text on the subject.

Ryan P. Williams, Claremont Graduate University

rpw.williams@gmail.com

When are Veto Points Democratic? The Case of Judicial Review

For many democratic and jurisprudential theorists, judicial review is cast as a "deviant" institution in democracies. Instead of using this frame, we examine the democratic status of judicial review compared to other veto points in democracies.

David Jeffrey Watkins, Seattle University

djw172@gmail.com

Scott Lemieux, Hunter College slemieux02@gmail.com

Paper George Grant: Liberalism as Technology, Conservatism as Liberalism

This paper examines Canadian philosopher George Grant's critique of liberalism as it reveals itself in America. While similar to that of some American conservatives, his account is ultimately incompatible with a conservatism rooted in the Founding.

Patrick G. Collins, Clarmont Graduate University pgmcollins@hotmail.com

Is Cooperation a Prisoner's Dilemma?: Implications for Paper

Governance

We discuss Becker, Buchanan, Hardin, Binmore and Gintis. Using the Prisoner's dilemma to explain cooperation may lead to an overemphasis on sanctions-based governance. This view is at odds with liberal theory grounded in concepts of legitimacy.

S. M. Amadae, Ohio State University

amadae.1@osu.edu

Daniel Lempert, Ohio State University

dalempert@gmail.com

Adam Joseph Pernsteiner, University of South Carolina Disc.

pernstei@mailbox.sc.edu

34-1 **Political Theologies: Ancient and Modern**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Julie Cooper, University of Chicago Chair

jecooper@uchicago.edu

Paper Divine Transcendence and Universal Humanity: The Axial Age and its Political Implications

This paper examines the influential concept of an "axial age" within world history, marked by the emergence of understandings of transcendence, and it considers how this concept can change our understanding of modern political theologies.

Peter Brickey LeQuire, University of Chicago

pbl@uchicago.edu

Paper Political Theology After the End of Politics and the Flight of the

Through an examination of philosophical responses to the restoration of the Delphic Oracle under the pax Romana, I consider what forms political theology might take in times of widespread peace and religious skepticism.

Hugh Liebert, University of Chicago

liebert@uchicago.edu

Paper Machiavelli's Argument for a "Political Theology"

machiavelli defines "theology" as a set of convictions that serves political ends; this implies that the best theology serve the political good. Achiavelli intends to inaugurate a theology centered on political rather than transcendent aims

Nicolas Matte, Ehess/Centre Raymond Aron

geminicolas@hotmail.com

God's Political Education Paper

A study of the character of God in the Book of Samuel as it relates to His education in political matters, with the aim of providing a new understanding of the political teaching of that biblical book.

Aaron Robert Tugendhaft, New York University atugendhaft@gmail.com

Disc. Lindsay Knight, University of Chicago

lindsayk@uchicago.edu

34-21 Politics of Commodification

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Roberto Veneziani, Queen Mary, University of London

r.veneziani@gmul.ac.uk

Paper Reification and Patriarchy: Towards a Unified Critical Theory

Marxism, feminism, and race theory can be brought into a unified critical social theory through the theoretical concept of reification, which is the epistemological and materialistic expression of what Maria Mies argues happens in 'life production'.

Murray W. Skees, University of North Florida

murrayskees@yahoo.com

Lisa Yount, Savannah State University

yountlisa@gmail.com

Paper Undoing the Subject: Deleuze and the Makings of a Sustainable Life

Although Deleuze's political philosophy is often interpreted to be impossible to reconcile with a political philosophy of sustainability, this essay will focus on Deleuze's essay on D.H. Lawrence to show that this reading is incorrect.

Jeffrey Allen Bell, Southeastern Louisiana University jbell@selu.edu

Paper Crisis and Non-Identity in Marx and Adorno

Adorno is closer to Marx than is often claimed as he is continuing Marx's investigation into the subject/nature dialectic. The manner in which Marx traces the internal contradictions of capitalism is the template for Adorno's negative Dialectics.

Elliott Paul Buckland, York University ebuck@yorku.ca

Disc. Jennifer Lin, Johns Hopkins University jennifer.lin@jhu.edu

35-1 International Conflict

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, University of Chicago

bdm@uchicago.edu

Paper International Reputation with Dynamic Resolve

This paper investigates reputation formation when a state's resolve has some chance of being different in its next dispute.

Anne E. Sartori, Northwestern University a-sartori@kellogg.northwestern.edu

Paper Institutions, Arming and Fighting

The problem of designing institutions to influence arming and fighting is considered. Game-free results establish that institutions can only influence war-fighting through their effect on the incentives to arm.

Adam Meirowitz, Princeton University

ameirowi@princeton.edu

Kris Ramsay, Princeton University

kramsay@princeton.edu

Paper Anticipation, Optimism, and War

This paper presents a game-theoretic model of belief formation in crisis bargaining. The model differs from the existing literature, which constrains beliefs to be informational and excludes the possibility that desire motivates beliefs.

William Minozzi, Ohio State University minozzi.1@osu.edu

Paper An Agent-Based Model of War Expansion and Diffusion

In this paper I present an agent-based computational model that incorporates both war expansion, third party joining in ongoing wars and war diffusion, how the participation by third parties influences the geographic size of wars.

Kyle Alan Joyce, *University of California, Davis* kjoyce@ucdavis.edu

Disc. Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, University of Chicago

bdm@uchicago.edu

36-7 Methods for Sequential Event and Duration

Room Chicago on the 5th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Suzanna Linn, Pennsylvania State University

slinn@la.psu.edu

Paper Once, Twice, Three Times a Maybe: Some Models for Ordinal Events Data

This paper considers model for ordinal and sequential events data.

Bradford S. Jones, University of California, Davis

bsjjones@ucdavis.edu

Suzanna Linn, Pennsylvania State University

suzanna.linn@gmail.com

Alexander K. Mayer, University of California, Davis

akmayer@ucdavis.edu

What Comes of Experience? Sequence Analysis of Political Careers

Uses sequence analysis methods to study mayoral careers in 15 large U.S. cities from 1801 to 1980. Relates differences in premayoral experiences to decisions about whether to stay, retire or move to another office.

Scott MacKenzie, *University of California*, *San Diego* samackenzie@ucsd.edu

Paper How Prediction Markets Can Save Event Studies

The results of event studies are notoriously sensitive to both choices made by researchers and external events. In this paper we show how each of these may bias the results of event studies and how prediction markets can mitigate these biases.

Erik Snowberg, California Institute of Technology

snowberg@caltech.edu

Justin Wolfers, University of Pennsylvania

jwolfers@wharton.upenn.edu

Eric Zitzewitz, Dartmouth College

Eric.Zitzewitz@dartmouth.edu

Paper Estimating Interdependent Duration Models with Applications to Government Formation and Survival and War-Joining Decisions

We present a generalized duration model of interdependent event histories that allows for both causal relationships in the length of spells within event categories across sample units and across event categories within sample units.

Jude C Hays, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

jchays@illinois.edu

Aya Kachi, University of Illinois

akachi2@illinois.edu

Disc. J. Tobin Grant, Southern Illinois University

grant@siu.edu

Luke Keele, Ohio State University

keele.4@osu.edu

37-2 Using New Technologies to Examine the Policy Agenda

Room Ho

Honore on the Lobby Level, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair John D. Wilkerson, University of Washington

jwilker@u.washington.edu

Paper Comparing Topic Coding Techniques in the Policy Agenda Setting Projects

This paper compares 3 topic coding techniques for policy agenda research: manual coding, Boolean key word search, and software assisted issue coding. We do this in 2 languages and for both EU and Dutch documents.

Gerard Breeman, Wageningen University

gerard.breeman@wur.nl

Arco Timmermans, *Leiden University* atimmermans@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Paper Media Coverage of Congressional Policymaking and Congressional Approval

Past research of the public's approval of Congress suggests that actual policy accomplishment decreases public approval. We propose a study that examines the media's coverage of Congress and its relationship to public approval of Congress.

John D. Wilkerson, University of Washington

jwilker@u.washington.edu

Paper Comparing Front and Inside Page Newspaper Coverage in Public Policy Debates

Reviews the differences between topics of newspaper stories appearing on the front page of the New York Times to those on inside pages; relevant to the use of media indicators for public policy studies.

Frank R. Baumgartner, Pennsylvania State University Frankb@psu.edu

Amber Boydstun, University of California, Davis aboydstun@ucdavis.edu

Michelle Wolfe, University of Texas, Austin wolfemi@u.washington.edu

Disc. Daniel Diermeier, Kellogg School of Management d-diermeier@kellogg.northwestern.edu

38-11 Who Runs? Who Wins?

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair Isa Camyar, University of Louisiana, Lafayette

ixc2997@louisiana.edu

Paper Too Much Democracy? How the Selection Rules You Use Affect the Candidates You Get

Based on surveys of plurality district congressional candidates in Mexico, the paper analyzes whether candidates selected in primaries are systematically more moderate or more extreme than the median candidate within each party.

Kathleen Marie Bruhn, University of California, Santa Barbara bruhn@polsci.ucsb.edu

Paper Risk Taking and Redistricting: How a Party's Willingness to Accept Risk Leads to Seat Gains and Losses

This work demonstrates how parties' willingness to accept risk results in seat losses and gains in the short term (i.e. the first election after redistricting) and in the long run over the course of the ten year redistricting cycle.

Aaron Dusso, *George Washington University* aaron444@gwu.edu

Paper Running Nowhere: Third Party Presidential Campaigns in 2008

This paper looks at the presidential campaigns of third party candidates in 2008. Based on systematic research into the candidates, this paper sheds light on their motivations, the campaigns they wage, and their ultimate "success" at the ballot box. **Brian Brox**, *Tulane University*

bbrov@tulono odu

bbrox@tulane.edu

Paper Does EMILY's List Predict Electoral Success?

Electing women requires advocacy, recruitment, and training in addition to identifying and funding candidates and such support must come from a diverse social network of citizens that believe in electing women.

Rebecca J. Hannagan, *Northern Illinois University* rhannaga@niu.edu

Jamie Pamelia Pimlott, Niagara University jamie.pimlott@gmail.com

Disc. John J. McGlennon, College of William & Mary jjmcgl@wm.edu

Melody Crowder-Meyer, Princeton University mcrowder@princeton.edu

39-2 Unilateral Politics

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Brian D. Feinstein, Harvard University

bdfeinst@fas.harvard.edu

Paper New Uses for Unilateral Powers and A New Direction for National Monuments

The survival of President Clinton's proclamation creating the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument reinforced the president's unilateral power under the Antiquities Act and functionally reestablished a new kind of unilateral power.

Brandon Rottinghaus, University of Houston

bjrottinghaus@uh.edu

Michelle Belco, University of Houston

mbelco@earthlink.net

Paper Captured: Presidents Evading Congress via Executive Agreement

Although Congress overwhelmingly influences the use of executive agreements, Presidents still evade Senate advice and consent at key points in history. This paper identifies the most egregious evaders and discusses the net effect of such evasion.

Randall D. Smith, University of Illinois, Chicago rsmith14@uic.edu

Paper Policy Memoranda and the American Presidency

This paper examines the use a presidential directive that has received remarkably little scholarly attention, the presidential memorandum, and offers an empirical analysis of its use as a policy instrument by modern American presidents.

Carlos E. Diaz-Rosillo, Harvard University

cdiaz@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Explaining Executive Orders: Presidency-Centered Model vs President-Centered Model Revisited

How do the presidential characteristics and institutional constraints interactively affect presidential decision to issue orders? An integrated model that considers both of these effects simultaneously and their interaction is proposed.

Sejin Koo, *Texas A&M University* kiki4643@politics.tamu.edu

Paper Vulnerability and Responsiveness in U.S. Disaster Policy: 1953-2005

Relying on materials from multiple sources, I examine the impact of media sensitivity and demographic, social, economic, and political vulnerability on the presidential disaster decisions by Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower through George W. Bush.

Richard Steven Daniels, California State University, Bakersfield rdaniels@csub.edu

Disc. Darren A. Wheeler, University of North Florida

dwheeler@unf.edu

Tiberiu Dragu, Stanford University

tdragu@stanford.edu

40-2 Resolving Differences: Conference Committees in the U.S. Congress

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Ryan J. Vander Wielen, Temple University

rvwielen@temple.edu

Paper The Determinants of Cooperation and Conflict in Legislative Conference Committees

The goal of the present research is to uncover the exact causes of cooperation in conference. A variety of explanations are empirically tested.

Jordan Michael Ragusa, University of Florida jragusa@ufl.edu

Paper Who Goes to Conference: The Role of Partisanship in the Selection of House Conference Delegates in the Post-Reform Era

Statistical analyses indicate that partisan factors from inside and outside the House chamber have increasingly influenced speakers' choices of majority caucus conference delegates at the expense of standing committees' traditional prerogatives.

Alan Rozzi, Santa Clara University arozzi@scu.edu

Paper The Conference Stage and Legislative Organization: A New Approach to the Study of Congressional Conference Committees

This study presents a new method for classifying conference committees. The results show that making such a distinction in empirical models sheds new light on this enigmatic and understudied area of congressional politics.

James Robert Bourbeau, University of Connecticut james.bourbeau@uconn.edu

Paper Pretended Legislation: Explaining Conference Committee Frequency in the United States Congress

The paper presents the conditions under which legislation will pass through a formal conference committee in the U.S. Congress.

Daniel Blyth Magleby, *University of Michigan* dmagleby@umich.edu

Disc. Ryan J. Vander Wielen, *Temple University* rvwielen@temple.edu

40-19 History of Congress III: Parties and Personalities

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Anthony J. Madonna, University of Georgia

ajmadonn@uga.edu

Paper Personalty Interests at the Constitutional Convention: New Tests of the Beard Thesis

We test both a narrow and a broad version of the Beard thesis using four votes from the Constitutional Convention. Beard claimed these votes were the most important for those who owned personalty.

Keith Dougherty, University of Georgia

dougherk@uga.edu

Jac C. Heckelman, West Florida University

heckeljc@wfu.edu

Paper Party Leadership in the U.S. House of Representatives in the Age of Committees, 1947-1970

I gather congressional "action" data from the Washington Post to show that party leaders in the U.S. House during the age of strong committee chairs have been underestimated and overlooked in previous scholarship.

Marija Anna Bekafigo, *University of Southern Mississippi* marija.bekafigo@usm.edu

Paper A House Less Divided? Secession, Party Size, and Constituency in the 35th-38th Congresses

Explores the effect of party size changes caused by secession in the Civil War-era House by identifying the constituency basis for shifts in member party support and in voting positions.

Scott R. Meinke, *Bucknell University* smeinke@bucknell.edu

Paper Malapportionment and Party Voting in the House of Commons, 1836 to 1901

Through democratic electoral reform, party leaders consolidated power and eliminated party mavericks in the nineteenth century House of Commons.

Andrew Reeves, *Boston University* areeves@bu.edu

Disc. Matthew N. Green, Catholic University of America greenm@cua.edu

Anthony J. Madonna, University of Georgia ajmadonn@uga.edu

41-5 Financing Congressional Elections

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Joseph Sempolinski, Yale University

joseph.sempolinski@yale.edu

Paper Political Parties, Interest Groups, Money, Elections and Health Care Policy: The 2008 Iowa State Legislative Elections

This paper looks at the role of groups concerned with health care policy on the 2008 Iowa State Legislative Elections relying on campaign finance data and interviews with group and party leaders.

Arthur Sanders, *Drake University* arthur.sanders@drake.edu

Paper Has McCain-Feingold Reduced the Influence of Money in Politics? Evidence From Stock Price Changes for Firms of Different Sizes

By examining changes in stock prices, we estimate the impact of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA). We find that the BCRA has reduced the influence of donations from large firms, but that a significant effect remains for smaller firms.

Andrew Healy, Loyola Marymount University ahealy@lmu.edu

Gena Gammie, Loyola Marymount University ggammie@lion.lmu.edu

Paper Give and Take: An Analysis of Congressional Leadership PAC Networks

This paper investigates leadership PAC contributions for each election cycle from 1996-2006 by developing measures and maps that allow consideration of the changing roles of members of Congress, with regard to position within each chambers.

Andrea McAtee, University of South Carolina mcateea@mailbox.sc.edu

Paper Are Family Politicians Better Fundraisers? An Analysis of Fundraising Totals in Congressional Elections: 1978-2008

Familial candidates are suspected to be advantaged over non-familial contenders in fundraising capabilities. I test this assumption by comparing familial and non-familial candidates' fundraising totals in Congressional elections from 1978-2008.

Kimberly L. Casey, University of Missouri, St. Louis klwc4b@umsl.edu

Disc. Matt Grossmann, Michigan State University matt@mattg.org

42-18 Testing Influences on Supreme Court Decison Making (Co-sponsored with Law and Jurisprudence, see 43-13)

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair Lawrence Baum, Ohio State University
baum.4@osu.edu

Paper Plain Meaning in Supreme Court Decision-Making

This paper examines the influence of legal text in the decisions of the United States Supreme Court by comparing the results of survey responses predicting the textual application of federal statutes to votes in actual Supreme Court decisions.

Mitch Pickerill, *Washington State University* mitchp@wsu.edu

Paper Why Supreme Court Justices Cite Legislative History: An Empirical Investigation

This paper investigates empirically whether Supreme Court justices cite legislative history for legal or ideological reasons and finds evidence that both types of considerations are relevant.

David Law, Washington University, St. Louis davidlaw@wustl.edu

David Zaring, Wharton School of Business zaring@wharton.upenn.edu

Paper Lower Court Influence on U.S. Supreme Court Opinion

We examine whether, and under what conditions, lower courts influence the content of Supreme Court opinions using plagiarism software to compare lower court opinions with the majority opinions of the Supreme Court during the 2002-2004 terms.

Bryan Calvin, University of North Texas

btcalvin@unt.edu

Paul M. Collins, University of North Texas

pmcollins@unt.edu

Pamela C. Corley, Vanderbilt University

pamela.corley@vanderbilt.edu

Paper The Last Vestiges of Stare Decisis: Testing the Effect of

Precedence on Members of the Supreme Court

Our paper provides evidence that the principle of "stare decisis" acts as a limited constraint on judicial decisionmaking.

Andrew Povtak, Kent State University

apovtak@kent.edu

Kevin D. McKinzie, Kent State University

kmckinzi@kent.edu

Paper Understanding the Determinants of Justices' Votes in Freedom of Religion Cases

Using a social-background model and time-series analysis, this study analyzes the influence of Supreme Court Justices' faith traditions and ideological preferences on decision-making in freedom of religion cases from the Vincent to Rehnquist Courts.

Mary L. Carver, *University of Missouri, St. Louis* mlcr29@umsl.edu

Disc. Justin Wedeking, University of Kentucky

justin.wedeking@uky.edu

Lawrence Baum, Ohio State University

baum.4@osu.edu

43-1 Law Across the Globe

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair Sanghamitra Padhy, Davidson College

sapadhy@davidson.edu

Paper The Politics of Lynching: Citizen Security and Vigilante Justice in Bolivia and Guatemala

In Bolivia and Guatemala, citizens have 'taken justice into their own hands' through the lynching of alleged criminals. While violent in nature, lynching must also be interpreted as a form of protest against an exclusionary legal system.

Cybele Christine Kotonias, Macalester College ckotonias@macalester.edu

Paper Bloodstains on a "Code of Honor": The Murderous Marginalization of Women in Radical Islamic Regimes

"Honor" killings, condoned by various governments, take place all over the world. They are both immoral and illegal and should be broadly condemned.

 $\textbf{Kenneth Lasson},\ \textit{University of Baltimore}$

klasson@ubalt.edu

Paper Confounding Concepts: The Judicial Recognition of the

Constitutional Right of Aboriginal Self-Government in Canada

In Canada, the courts have held that the Constitution only protects Aboriginal rights that are practices integral to the culture of the claimant. I argue that looking at practices fails to account for the normativity of a right to self-government.

Senwung F. Luk,

senwung.luk@gmail.com

Paper Property Rights, Courts and Democracy in the People's Republic

Since 2007, the Chinese government has adopted a law granting individuals rights to control their property. Surprisingly the government has respected court decisions that supported the public's rights to resist eminent domain.

Shannon Ishiyama Smithey, *Westminster College* smithesi@westminster.edu

Paper Justice Under Mao: A New Look at Chinese Legal Institutions, 1949-1979

Study based on documents and interviews of the Chinese criminal justice system during the Maoist period

William Hurst, University of Texas, Austin

whurst@austin.utexas.edu

Disc. Sanghamitra Padhy, Davidson College

sapadhy@davidson.edu

44-5 Global Regulation and International Economic Law

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Joan MacLeod Heminway, University of Tennessee

jheminwa@tennessee.edu

Paper Men with Guns

This paper examines international regulations governing private military corporations. The argument here is that the current law impedes effective regulation and an alternative framework is proposed.

John Hoffman Riley, *Kutztown University of Pennsylvania* riley@kutztown.edu

Michael Gambone, Kutztown University of Pennsylvania gambone@kutztown.edu

Paper Private Parties: Hidden Actors of WTO Dispute Settlement

This paper presents a formal model of how states select which trade violation cases to bring to the WTO. The model gives causal weight to the role of private parties in WTO disputes and explicates the implications of the private-public relationship.

Ryan David Brutger, University of Chicago

rbrutger@gmail.com

Paper The Politics of Indigenous Autonomy Across Mexico

I explore the conditions by which state legislatures in Mexico to grant different levels of subnational autonomy to indigenous populations as an electoral strategy.

Ricardo Vudoyra-Nieto, Washington University, St. Louis vudoyra@wustl.edu

Disc. Joan MacLeod Heminway, University of Tennessee

jheminwa@tennessee.edu

Sungjoon Cho, *Illinois Institute of Technology* schol@kentlaw.edu

45-7 American States and Local Relations

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Samuel Harvey Clovis, Morningside College

clovis@morningside.edu

Paper On the Size of Political Jurisdictions: Preference Matching in Local Governments

This paper examines the preference matching argument for small governments. Using survey data we find that the smaller the political jurisdiction is, the better the match is between local politicians' and their voters' preferences for local services.

Matz Dahlberg, Uppsala University

matz.dahlberg@nek.uu.se

Eva Mörk, Uppsala University and IFAU

eva.mork@ifau.uu.se

Hanna Ågren, Uppsala University and Ministry of Finance hanna.agren@finance.ministry.se

Paper States Taking of Local Revenues To Balance Budgets: California Strategies and Defenses

State governments have used local revenues to make up budget shortfalls or transfer money from one local government entity to another. What are the strategies used by states to raid local revenues to make up state revenue shortages?

Allen Kingsley Settle, California Polytechnical State University asettle@calpoly.edu

Paper The Impact of Symbolic Action: Local Government's Refusal to Paper Comply with State and Federal Laws

Many states are passing defiant symbolic ordinances on a variety of rights-related issues. This paper will attempt to identify correlations between these actions and changes, if any, to the countervailing state and federal laws that they defy.

Lori Riverstone-Newell, *Illinois State University* lrivers@ilstu.edu

Disc. Grant W. Neeley, University of Dayton grant.neeley@notes.udayton.edu

46-1 Local Policy Diffusion and Innovation Room Hancock on the 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Chair Allen Brierly, University of Northern Iowa

AlBrierly@aol.com

Paper A Case Study of the Diffusion of E-Government in Local Government

Mostly informed by the literature on the diffusion of innovation in combination with qualitative and quantitative approaches, this study explains the adoption of e-government in the City of Seattle, Washington.

Tony E. Wohlers, *Cameron University* awohlers@cameron.edu

Paper Living Wage Ordinances: The Role of Local Advocacy Coalitions in Public Policy Diffusion

Living Wage ordinances in American cities have received attention by scholars of urban politics. This paper improves on previous studies by presenting the most complete analysis to date, using original datasets and different statistical techniques.

Heidi J. Swarts, *Rutgers University, Newark* swarts@andromeda.rutgers.edu

Bogdan Vasi, Columbia University

bv2125@columbia.edu

Paper Do Policy Networks and Policy Entrepreneurs Matter for Charter School Policy Adoption in Colorado?

This research studies if policy networks and policy entrepreneurs influence school districts' adoption of charter school policy in CO. The prediction of this study is that two factors significantly support the adoption of charter school policy in CO

John Lee, *University of Colorado*, *Denver* johnjeongho.lee@gmail.com

Paper The Diffusion of Policy Innovation: Education-Based Economic Renewal and the Kalamazoo Promise

The Kalamazoo Promise is a place-based, universal scholarship program that puts education at the center of economic development. I examine how and why communities nationwide are emulating the program and what they hope to achieve with their efforts.

Michelle Miller-Adams, Grand Valley State University millmich@gvsu.edu

Disc. Kathleen Hale, Auburn University halekat@auburn.edu

47-1 Who Calls the Shots?: Interest Advocacy in Health Care

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair Christopher Witko, St. Louis University
cwitko@slu.edu

Paper They Were for it Before They Were Against It: Instability Within the HPV Vaccine Advocacy Coalition

This paper analyzes the internal dynamics of the pro-HPV vaccine coalition, explaining how members' conflicting goals impede their ability to achieve a comprehensive HPV vaccine policy.

Mitzi L. Mahoney, Sam Houston State University pol mlm@shsu.edu

Paper Giving Girls a Shot: An Examination of State Policies Addressing the HPV Vaccination

This project seeks to understand the agenda setting process associated with the HPV vaccine. Looking specifically at Merck & Co., producer of the vaccine, this paper examines the pharmaceutical company's ability to affect state legislative activity.

Kellee J. Kirkpatrick, University of Kansas kellee@ku.edu

Let's Have a Baby, Can We Have Your Sperm/Egg/ Baby? Lesbian and Gay Parental and Adoption Rights in Industrialized Democracies

This paper examines the relative importance of institutions and movement resources in the duration until policy change occurs using event history modelling. The policies examined are parental and adoption rights for lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals.

Megan Elizabeth Osterbur, University of New Orleans

mosterbu@uno.edu

Paper

Disc. Christopher Witko, St. Louis University cwitko@slu.edu

47-20 Morality, Religion, and Policy

Room Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am **Chair Lilly J. Goren**, *Carroll University*

lgoren@cc.edu

Paper The Religious Factor in Explaining Alcoholic Beverage Control in U.S. Counties

Multivariate analysis explains why 261 "dry" counties prohibit the retail sale of alcoholic beverages as compared to the vast majority of "wet" counties that allow their sale. It is hypothesized that religion should be most important and it is.

Raymond Tatalovich, Loyola University, Chicago

rtatalo@luc.edu

John Ferndreis, Loyola University, Chicago

jfrendr@luc.edu

Paper Because the Bible Tells Me So: Explaining the Propensity to Moralize on Policy

What factors influence the propensity of Americans to attribute their policy preferences to their moral values? We assess hypotheses regarding education, religion, and ideology. Our data come from a 2005 telephone survey of 701 Illinoisans.

Christopher Z. Mooney, University of Illinois, Springfield cmoon1@uis.edu

John Transue, University of Illinois, Springfield itran8@uis.edu

Richard G. Schuldt, University of Illinois, Springfield rschul@uis.edu

Paper Party Realignments Over Morality Issues Since 1950 in the New Zealand Parliament

The way in which MPs, when given unwhipped votes, realign around non-traditional policy axes during morality policy votes is examined in the context of the New Zealand parliament.

David G. Lindsey, *University of Auckland* dlin015@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Disc. Richard E. Matland, Loyola University, Chicago

rmatlan@luc.edu

Jinney Smith, *Lycoming College* smithj@lycoming.edu

48-1 Legislative Politics and Economic Policy

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair Jeffrey A. Jenkins, University of Virginia

jajenkins@virginia.edu

Paper The Politics of Indexation

In this paper, I investigate the political conditions under which federal programs are indexed to inflation. I derive conclusions that have significant implications for the efficiency of legislative policymaking.

Allison Jean Sovey, *Yale University* allison.sovey@yale.edu

Paper The Politics of Recession: How the Public Drives Economic Policy

To whom, or what, does Congress listen in matters of economic policy? I argue that electoral pressures prevent Congress from setting policy that would get out ahead of major economic crises as well as create sound policy in response to them.

Barry Pump, University of Washington

bpump@u.washington.edu

Paper What's All the Beef About the Pork? Congressional Earmarking and Its Economic and Political Significances

Earmark spending has significant issue-salience among contemporary voters and politicians. Is the focus on earmarks important for economic reasons or is it a political divergence from more significant federal budget expenditures and social policies?

Jon Christien Gubera, Georgetown University jgubera@hotmail.com

Disc. Bob Chirinko, University of Illinois, Chicago chirinko@uic.edu

49-12 Climate Change and Energy Policy

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair William D. Kay, Northeastern University

w.kay@neu.edu

Paper Influences on Climate-Change Policy Adoption Among the U.S. States

The authors examine variations among climate-change policies in the U.S. states and explore the influence of key socio-economic, political, organizational, and environmental factors on state actions.

Tabitha Cale, Louisiana State University

tcale1@lsu.edu

Margaret Reams, Louisiana State University

mreams@lsu.edu

Paper Picking A Winner? Innovation in Renewable Energies and the Political Creation of Niche Markets in Germany

The paper analyses a case of successful innovation in the energy sector of Germany: Photovoltaics. It argues that successful policy innovation depended on an evolving advocacy coalition that gradually expanded beyond its environmental core.

Gerhard Fuchs, University of Stuttgart gerhard.fuchs@sowi.uni-stuttgart.de

Paper The Politics of Climate Change: A Comparative Study of Local Community Responses

Combining Political Science with civic engagement principles, the University of Alaska students and faculty compared climate change policies in three international communities and created a Climate Action Plan for adoption by the city of Anchorage.

Mara E. Kimmel, *University of Alaska*, *Anchorage* afmekl@uaa.alaska.edu

Kimberly Pace, University of Alaska, Anchorage afkjp@uaa.alaska.edu

Paper The Municipal Climate-Change Response in North America: Negotiating the Logics of Collective Action and Public Choice

This paper comparatively examines how urban municipalities in Canada and the United States negotiate the logics of collective action and public choice when formulating and implementing climate-change response policy frameworks.

Ajay Sharma, University of Western Ontario asharm4@uwo.ca

Disc. John A. Hoornbeek, Kent State University

jhoornbe@kent.edu

50-1 The Public Management of Higher Education

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Luciana Dar, University of California, Riverside

luciana.dar@ucr.edu

Paper Managing Higher Education: A Comparison of Public and Private Universities

This study examines how public and private sector universities are governed with a 2008 original survey of university presidents related to networks, delegation, accountability and external influences.

Kenneth J. Meier, Texas A&M University

kmeier@polisci.tamu.edu

Alisa K. Hicklin, University of Oklahoma

ahicklin@ou.edu

Laurence J. O'Toole, University of Georgia

cmsotool@uga.edu

Paper Exploring Multiplex Relationships in Science and Engineering Fields: A Social Network Perspective

This paper addresses the question: What determines multiplex relationships among academics in science and technology fields? This paper borrows from literature on human and social capital; develops and tests a model of academic multiplexity.

Yamini Jha, University of Illinois, Chicago

yjha2@uic.edu

Eric W. Welch, University of Illinois, Chicago

ewwelch@uic.edu

Paper What Happens to Active Representation When We Finally "Close the Gap?"

This paper examines whether theories of representative bureaucracy still apply when some inequities are resolved. Our analysis explores the effect of increased female faculty representation on the outcomes of female students in higher education.

Vicky M. Wilkins, University of Georgia

vwilkins@uga.edu

 $\textbf{Alisa K. Hicklin}, \ \textit{University of Oklahoma}$

ahicklin@ou.edu

Paper Diversity and Representative Bureaucracy

This paper seeks to explain the role of diversity on student performances. Surveying students in public universities, this paper asks whether the presence of minority faculty members in academic institutions influence academic performances.

Sarah-Seong wu, *University of Tennessee* swu1@utk.edu

Disc. Laura Langbein, American University

langbei@american.edu

51-1 Politics and History of the Civil War Era

Room Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Janet L. Coryell, Western Michigan University

janet.coryell@wmich.edu

Paper We Are Coming Father Abraham, 300 Thousand Strong, Or Somewhere Thereabouts: Buffalo and the "Militia Draft" Crisis of 1862

The Lincoln Administration made two calls for 300,000 troops each in the summer of 1862. Buffalo's political, civic and ethnic leaders struggled to raise their local quota in a great testing of their nascent political and civil society institutions.

Michael Stephen Pendleton, Buffalo State College pendlems@buffalostate.edu

Paper Turn Out the Lights the Party's Over: Analyzing the Southern Walkout at the 1860 Democratic Party Convention Using James Ceaser's Party Classifications

James Ceaser's party typology is applied to the 1860 Democratic Convention debates. The rhetoric and platforms of the competing factions reveal patterns that fit within the typology thus providing valuable insights into the historic party split.

Darren Patrick Guerra, Vanguard University of Southern California

dguerra@vanguard.edu

Dustin Jon Guerra, California State University, Long Beach dust3gee@ix.netcom.com

Paper Subversive of the Constitution: The True Nature of the Southern State's Rights Claims

The Southern states' rights issue that led to the Civil War, contrary to modern interpretation of events, was actually a movement that advocated a larger, more intrusive government meant to propagate slavery throughout the nation and abroad.

Dustin Jon Guerra, Community Christian College dust3gee@ix.netcom.com

Disc. Michelle L. Hartman, Saint Peter's College mlhartphd@aol.com

54-1 Attitudes on Cultural Issues

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Jerry Hopkins, East Texas Baptist University

jhopkins@etbu.edu

Paper Believers and Neighbors: Individual and National-level Religious Affiliation as Predictors of Attitudes Toward Abortion and Homosexuality in Europe

An analysis of individual and aggregate-level religious affilation (Catholic, Muslim) on European attitudes toward abortion and homosexuality.

Ted G. Jelen, *University of Nevada*, *Las Vegas* jelent@unlv.nevada.edu

Paper Religious Fundamentalism and Stem Cell Research

This paper explores the relationship between religiosity, religious affiliation and support/opposition to embryonic stem cell research in the United States.

Geoffrey C. Rogal, *Northern Illinois University* nomad14005@comcast.net

Paper Religious Affiliation and Two California Propositions: A Natural Experiment Assessing the Impact of Religious Values on Controversial Ballot Questions

This paper assesses the impact of the use of religious frames comparing the vote on religiously salient ballot questions on the California ballot in 2004 and 2008 with the denominational demography of each California county.

Matthew David Owings, *University of Missouri, St. Louis* mdod39@umsl.edu

Paper Politicization of Religion and the Scientific Literacy: Comparison of the United States, France and Poland

A comparative analysis of the processes of politicization of religion in the United States, France and Poland and the impact of these processes on societal responses to the theory of evolution.

Barbara Ann Strassberg, Aurora University

barbara.strassberg@sbcglobal.net

Disc. Jerry Hopkins, East Texas Baptist University

jhopkins@etbu.edu

65-4 Is Speculative Fiction Realer than Real?

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair Charles Rubin, Duquesne University

rubin@duq.edu

Paper Techne and Eros: Ishiguro's Never Let Me Go

This essay examines Kazuo Ishiguro's portrayal of a late-twentieth century society that has produced human clones to serve as organ donors to the non-cloned human beings.

Constance Hunt, Michigan State University huntc@msu.edu

Paper From Utopia to Science Fiction

An historical overview of the emergence of literature recognizable as science fiction from out of the utopian tradition.

Tobin L Craig, *Michigan State University* craigt@msu.edu

Paper <u>Utopian Fiction: Recovering the Political Science of the Imagination</u>

This paper argues (1) that the imagination is necessary for a truly scientific study of politics and (2) that the imagination has a powerful influence on political life and thus demands more careful attention from political scientists.

Nathaniel William Schlueter, Hillsdale College nschlueter@Hillsdale.edu

Disc. Charles Rubin, Duquesne University

rubin@duq.edu

Matthew J. Franck, Princeton University mfranck@radford.edu

Thursday, April 2-10:00 am

Economic Voting (Co-sponsored with Comparative Politics: Political Behavior, see 6-15)

Room Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Noam Lupu, Princeton University

nlupu@princeton.edu

The Dynamics of Economic Voting: A Theoretical Framework Paper for Comparative Analysis

This paper advances an integrative theoretical framework for analyzing diachronic and cross-national variation in the economic vote. I analyze panel data from both developed and developing countries to test the validity and utility of this framework.

Austin Hart, University of Texas, Austin

austinhart.ut@gmail.com

Comparing the Effect of Economic Attitudes and the Real Paper **Economy on Vote Choice**

We examine the extent to which endogeneity bias inflates reported economic vote magnitudes. In order to calibrate this endogeneity bias we estimate similar multi-level models with objective and subjective measures of economic performance.

Raymond M. Duch, Nuffield College, Oxford

raymond.duch@nuffield.ox.ac.uk

David A. Armstrong, Oxford University david.armstrong@politics.ox.ac.uk

Voting, Income Inequality, and Political Polarization Paper

This paper develops an econometric model of the effect of income on voting that is consistent with standard political economy models of tax and transfers. We also explore the sources of cross-national variation in the effects of income on voting.

Nolan McCarty, Princeton University

nmccarty@princeton.edu

Jonas Pontusson, Princeton University

jpontuss@princeton.edu

Teppei Yamamoto, Princeton University

tyamamot@princeton.edu

Paper **Uncertainty and Economic Voting**

I test the idea that better informed voters are better able to use their economic interests at stake and engage in prospective economic voting than less informed ones. Using individual income data I find support for this claim.

Joan Serra, University of Chicago jserra@uchicago.edu

Disc. Renan Levine, University of Toronto renan.levine@utoronto.ca

2-1 **Causes and Consequences of Changes in Elite Policies** and Mass Policy Opinion in Advanced Democracies

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

G. Bingham Powell, University of Rochester Chair

gb.powell@rochester.edu

Homogeneity and Heterogeneity in Public Responsiveness to Paper

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 US, UK, and Canada.

Stuart Soroka, McGill University

stuart.soroka@mcgill.ca

Christopher Wlezien, Temple University

wlezien@temple.edu

Selective Responsiveness: Party Policy Change in Response to **Subconstituency Preferences**

I argue that parties tend to respond disproportionately to the policy preferences of their supporters and to subconstituencies composed of the religious, ethnic, and sociodemographic groups of voters that have traditionally supported the party.

Zeynep Somer-Topcu, University of California, Davis

zsomer@ucdavis.edu

Executive Selection and Political Knowledge in Advanced Paper Democracies

I demonstrate that citizens in different democracies differ in their abilities to order parties on a left-right scale. I propose that these differences occur because of the ways in which executives get selected across parliamentary democracies.

Randolph T. Stevenson, Rice University

stevenso@rice.edu

The Structure of Policy Attitudes in France Paper

We examine the longitudinal structure of policy preferences which underlie public opinion in France. Using surveys of preferences as basic data, we solve for the underlying dimensions which explain those reported preferences.

James A. Stimson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

istimson@email.unc.edu

Cyrille Thiébaut, University of Paris

thiebautcyrille@free.fr

Vincent Tiberj, Sciences-po Paris

vincent.tiberj@sciences-po.fr

Paper Of Time and the Development of Partisan Polarization and **Depolarization: An Analysis of British Party Positioning and** Voter Partisanship, 1970-2005

We analyze the British public's response to the policy polarization - and subsequent depolarization - of the Labour and Conservative parties over the period 1970-2005.

James Adams, University of California, Davis

jfadams@ucdavis.edu

Jane Green, University of Manchester

jane.green@manchester.ac.uk

Caitlin Milazzo, University of California, Davis

ccmilazzo@ucdavis.edu

Disc. Sara Binzer Hobolt, University of Oxford

sara.hobolt@politics.ox.ac.uk

G. Bingham Powell, University of Rochester

gb.powell@rochester.edu

Politics, Governance, Religion, and Economic 3-1 Development

Room

Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Thomas B. Pepinsky, Cornell University

pepinsky@cornell.edu

Political Islam's Economic Advantage: Evidence From **Paper**

We investigate the link between the economy and political Islam, which we term the hypothesis of "political Islam's economic advantage." Using survey experiments from Indonesia, we show that this advantage is real, but limited.

Thomas B. Pepinsky, Cornell University

pepinsky@cornell.edu

R. William Liddle, Ohio State University

liddle.2@osu.edu

Saiful Mujani, Lembaga Survei Indonesia

saifuljohn@yahoo.com

Paper Revisiting East Asian Developmental States: Good Governance and Industrial Policy in Korea

This study intends to revisit East Asian developmental states by exploring shifts in industrial policy in Korea and explain why most policies had failed and suggest the indicator of good governance in new industrial policy.

Haeran Lim, Seoul National University

hrlim@snu.ac.kr

Late Industrialization in International Perspective: Historical Reflections on Turkish and Indian Industrialization

My paper argues that technology and local links to the international economy define the contours of late industrialization. In both India and Turkey, industrialization varied within the two countries and did so over time.

Caroline Elizabeth Arnold, Brooklyn College, CUNY CArnold@brooklyn.cuny.edu

Kevin M. Morrison, Cornell University Disc.

morrison@cornell.edu

3-23 The Politics of Health and HIV/AIDS

Medinah on the 6th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room Chair Abhishek Chatterjee, University of Virginia

ac7y@virginia.edu

Paper Political Liberalization and Policy Change: The Evolution of the HIV/AIDS Policy in Nigeria

The paper examines the validity of the theory linking democratization and social policy using the example of the evolution of the HIV/AIDS policy in Nigeria from 1987 through 2007.

Jakub Kakietek, Emory University jakub.kakietek@emory.edu

Marginal Origins: The Political Geography of HIV/AIDS in Paper **Thailand**

This paper seeks to understand how the political geography of the HIV/AIDS epidemic was historically configured in Thailand.

Diana Young hwa Kim, University of Chicago

yhkim11@uchicago.edu

Impact of Aid Effectiveness Reforms on African HIV/AIDS Paper **Civil Society Organizations**

Which of the financing mechanisms enables NGOs to make the greatest impact in HIV prevention? We observe outputs of core evidence-based HIV prevention services of traditionally marginalized high-risk groups such as sex workers and homosexual men.

Damilola Adebiyi, University of Michigan/University of Vlora dadebiyi@umich.edu

Ridvan Edmond Peshkopia, University of Kentucky/University of Vlora

ridvanpeshkopia@yahoo.com

Kim Yi Dionne, University of California, Los Angeles Disc. kimg@ucla.edu

4-1 **Transitional Justice**

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Chair Darren Davis, University of Notre Dame darren.davis@nd.edu

Paper **Lustration as a Trust-Building Mechanism**

> Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic emerged from the transition with a deficit of trust. The paper uses original survey data to evaluate whether the transitional justice mechanism of lustration has remedied the deficit of trust in these countries.

Monika Nalepa, University of Notre Dame mnalepa@nd.edu

The Determinants of Transitional and Postransitional Justice Paper Politics: The Case of Spain

The paper explores the determinants of individual level attitudes towards restorative policies aimed to address human rights violations of the past. It uses empirical evidence from an original survey recently implemented in Spain.

Laia Balcells, Yale University laia.balcells@yale.edu

Paloma Aguilar, UNED University

paguilar@ceacs.march.es

Hector Cebolla, UNED University hcebolla@ceacs.march.es

Dictating Justice: Military Courts and Judicial Reform in Latin Paper America

Militarization of judicial systems has a profound impact on the extent and timing of human rights trials. This comparative study of Argentina and Colombia sheds light on the role of military courts in transitional justice efforts in the region.

Brett J. Kyle, University of Wisconsin, Madison

bjkyle@wisc.edu

Andrew G. Reiter, University of Wisconsin, Madison areiter@wisc.edu

Transitional Justice and the American South Paper

Transitional justice is the effort of democratizing governments to acknowledge and expunge atrocities in their pasts. This paper compares the efforts of many developing nations to bring about transitional justice with those of the American South.

Earl Sheridan, University of North Carolina, Wilmington

sheridan@uncw.edu

Disc. Gemma Sala, Grinnell College

salag@grinnell.edu

5-3 **Institutions and Public Goods**

Madison on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room Mikhail Filippov, Binghamton University Chair

filippov@binghamton.edu

Paper Political Entry, Public Policies, and the Economy

This paper presents a theory of competition for political leadership between incumbent leaders and their challengers in which the possible equilibrium political market structures range from unchallenged dictatorship to competitive democracy.

Kevin K. Tsui, Clemson University

ktsui@clemson.edu

Casey B. Mulligan, University of Chicago

c-mulligan@uchicago.edu

The Stakes Are High: Incentives for Legislative Party Leaders **Paper** and Public Good Production

In this paper, I develop a game-theoretic model and empirical test to assess how the institutionalized stake of legislative party leaders affects the ability of legislative parties to provide public goods to their members.

Rene Lindstaedt, Trinity College, Dublin

rene.lindstaedt@tcd.ie

Paper Solving the Tragedy of the Commons Without Even Knowing It: How Populations of Dumb Agents Can Evolve Smart

Institutions

I present an agent-based model that explores under what conditions and by which mechanism informal institutions can arise that solve the tragedy of the commons.

Hans Christian Siller, Yale University

chris.siller@yale.edu

Private Choice in a Public Context: The Role of Rationality in **Paper Altruistic Action**

Private choice in a public context may be the determining factor in success or failure of public programs. A rational choice perspective in the very private choice of organ donation encourages an exchange of diverse viewpoints and prescriptions.

Bette Simon Brassfield, University of Colorado

betteb@earthlink.net

Mikhail Filippov, Binghamton University Disc.

filippov@binghamton.edu

5-22 Interbranch Relations

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair James Je Heon Kim, California State Polytechnic University,

Pomono

jjkim@csupomona.edu

Paper Decrees vs Statutes: Lawmaking in Brazil

Under what conditions are decrees chosen over statutes? I argue that the choice depends on the allocation of legislative prerogatives and on legislators' valuation of their prerogatives. I address previous

findings test hypotheses using a new dataset **Valeria Palanza**, *Princeton University*

vpalanza@princeton.edu

Paper Blame the President: The Role of Presidential Power on

Democratic Accountability

We examine whether strong presidents undermine democratic accountability by weakening independent oversight agencies. We use data for the region from 1900-2004 and employ event history models to disentangle the effects of presidents on democracy.

Erika Moreno, Creighton University

erikamoreno@creighton.edu

Kathleen Pitts, Creighton University

kathleenpitts@creighton.edu

Paper Impeachment and Presidential Politics in New Democracies

This paper analyzes when legislators attempt to initiate an impeachment, and how and why such attempts develop.

Young Hun Kim, *University of Oklahoma* younghunkim@ou.edu

Paper Changing Executive-Legislature Relations in Korea: Roles of Prime Minister for Executive Success on National Assembly

The current stage of democratization in Korea requires the reorganization of political institutions under the semi-presidential system. I hypothesize that Prime Minister could be a key player for the effective executive-legislature relationship

Younkyoo Kim, HanYang University

YOUN2302@hanyang.ac.kr

Hyung Lae Park, Jackson State University

hyung.l.park@jsums.edu

Disc. Rory Costello, University of Twente

r.d.costello@utwente.nl

James Je Heon Kim, California State Polytechnic University,

Pomona

jjkim@csupomona.edu

7-2 Parliaments and Parliamentary Behavior

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Christian Brogaard Jensen, University of Iowa

christian-jensen@uiowa.edu

Paper Committee Assignment Politics in Multi-Party Parliaments

The paper addresses questions on committee assignment politics in multi-party parliaments with minority governments. The empirical analysis is based on data from the Danish Folketing.

Martin Ekmar Hansen, University of Vienna

martin.hansen@univie.ac.at

Paper Measuring Party Cohesion in the European Parliament

This article aims to develop a new measure of national party cohesion in the European Parliament(EP) by examining institutional features of its party system. The measure satisfies observational equivalence, as well as the validity requirement.

JeongHun Han, Seoul National University gurus72@gmail.com

Paper Servants of the People or Masters of the Government? Explaining Parliamentary Behaviour in EU Affairs

The paper develops a novel explanation for parliamentary behaviour in EU affairs based on agency theory by conceptualising the dual roles of MPs in parliamentary systems, agents of the voters and principals of the government, as distinct 'role sets'.

Katrin Auel, *University of Oxford* katrin.auel@politics.ox.ac.uk

Paper Voting Defection in the European Parliament: Theory and Evidence

We build a game-theoretic model to explain what determines the voting defection of each MP in the European Parliament and derive several hypotheses, which are largely consistent with our empirical findings

Fang-Yi Chiou, Academia Sinica

fchiou@gate.sinica.edu.tw

Bjorn Hoyland, University of Oslo

bjorn.hoyland@stv.uio.no

Disc. Christian Brogaard Jensen, University of Iowa

christian-jensen@uiowa.edu

Nicholas J. Clark, Indiana University

nijclark@indiana.edu

8-18 <u>Latin American Party Systems: Crisis, Collapse, and Change</u>

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Monica Pachon, University of Los Andes, Colombia

mpachon@ucsd.edu

Paper Apocalypse Not Now? The Argentine Party System After the 2001-2002 Crisis

It argues that the crisis that affected Argentina between 2001 and 2002 has not resulted in the collapse of the party system because of existing political culture, the resiliency of Peronism, and the appearance of new partisan organizations.

Luis F. Clemente, University at Albany, SUNY

luisfra1974@hotmail.com

Paper Institutional Reform and Political Parties in Post-Fujimori Peru

This article states that party weakness in Peru after 2002 is partially explained by the implementation of several institutional reforms, particularly state decentralization and a law to regulate political parties.

Alberto Vergara, University of Montreal

vergarapaniagua@gmail.com

Paper Growing Apart or Staying Together? Multilevel Politics and Party Cohesiveness in Mexico

The paper explores how Mexican political parties adapt to the rise of multilevel politics and, more specifically, how party cohesiveness is affected by changes in the environment of parties.

Imke Harbers, Leiden University

Iharbers@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Paper 21st Century Democracy in the "Two Mexicos" The 'Poor' South and the 'Rich' North: Political Factionalism or Political Cohesion? Economic Structures, Rules and Opportunities in

Oaxaca and Nuevo Leon

Comparing the cases of Oaxaca and Nuevo León during the first six years of the 21st century, this paper explains the phenomenon of political factionalism in Mexico – or its absence in the form of political cohesion – and identifies its main causes.

Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera, New School for Social Research CorrG795@newschool.edu

Paper How Democracy Truly Works in the Dominican Republic: A Qualitative Analysis

This chapter studies actual party-voter relations in the DR during the 2008 presidential election.

Edward Gonzalez-Acosta, New School for Social Research gonze459@newschool.edu

Disc. Karleen Jones West, West Virginia University

KaJones@mail.wvu.edu

8-200 **Poster Session: Latin American Politics**

Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room

Political Mobilization and the Construction of a New National Post. 1 **Identity in Bolivia**

This paper explains the disintegration of the post-1952 Bolivian political order and argues that its replacement represents a new political and social order that has legitimated itself through the construction of a new Bolivian national identity.

Dwight Hahn, John Carroll University hahn@jcu.edu

Post. 2 Organizations and Governance in Curação

The purpose of this article is to present a case study of the Corporate Governance is a small Caribbean island like Curação.

Miguel Patrick Goede, University of the Netherlands, Antilles m.goede@una.an

Intellectuals and Public Opinion in Contemporary Mexico

This paper offers a sociological description about contemporary Mexican intellectuals and their participation in public opinion, pointing out who these intellectuals are and the most important topics they discuss about politics and democracy.

Luis Ochoa-Bilbao, Benemerita Universidad Autonoma de Puebla luis.ochoa@fdcs.buap.mx

Economic, Social and Political Scenarios of Mexico in the Next Two Decades

This research proposal is aimed to analyze the foreseeable economic, social and political scenarios for México by the year 2030. Starting from the analyzes recent economic, social and political developments.

José G. Vargas-Hernandez, University Center for Economic and Social Science jvargas2006@gmail.com

Post. 5 Women's Justice? Gendered Crimes In Policing and **Prosecution in Latin America**

Statistical analysis of case resolution in gendered versus nongendered crimes in Latin America. Attention has been paid to large numbers of unsolved crimes against women in several countries. This paper tests whether those failures are typical.

Rachel Bowen, Ohio State University, Mansfield bowen.208@osu.edu

9-3 **How China Confront the Contemporary Global Order**

Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room

Lawrence C. Reardon, University of New Hampshire Chair

chris.reardon@unh.edu

Concluding the Complex Learning Process: Chinese Elites' Paper **Acceptance of Outwardly-Oriented Development**

During the complex learning process between 1979 and 1987, elites confronted anomalies in the long-term revolutionary development paradigm. Based on the success of the coastal development strategy, elites embraced outwardly-oriented development.

Lawrence C. Reardon, University of New Hampshire chris.reardon@unh.edu

The New Face of Chinese Industrial Policy: Making Sense of Paper Anti-Dumping Cases, 2001-2006

The paper contributes to debates on national industrialization strategies in Asia and within the field of Chinese political economy.

Yu Zheng, University of Connecticut

yu.zheng@uconn.edu

Regina Abrami, Harvard Business School rabrami@hbs.edu

Sino-U.S. Relations and Chinese Satisfaction With the World **Paper**

This paper assesses the likelihood of US-Sino conflict through an assessment of China's satisfaction with the current international order, exploring the political military order and the current economic order.

Paul J. Bolt, United States Air Force Academy

Paul.Bolt@usafa.edu

David H. Sacko, United States Air Force Academy

David.Sacko@usafa.edu

Adam K. Gray, United States Air Force Academy adamkgray@gmail.com

China's New Preference for Hard Legalization: Delegating **Disputes and the Evolution of China's Bilateral Investment Treaties**

This paper examines why China has granted more legal rights to private foreign investors and agreed to delegate disputes resolution to the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes in Bilateral Investment Treaties since 2001.

Jing Tao, Cornell University

jt265@cornell.edu

Disc. Andrew C. Mertha, Cornell University

am847@cornell.edu

10-2 **Economic Development in Africa**

Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room

Sema Hacer Kalaycioglu, Dogus University, Istanbul Chair

selaycioglu@dogus.edu.tr

The Politics of Economic Policy Changes in Sub-Saharan **Paper** Africa: Domestic Elites' Ideas and the Shift to Neoliberal Economic Reforms in Kenya,1995-2008

The differing trajectory of economic policy reforms from 1995 in the last two regimes in Kenva, under President Moi and President Kibaki, can only be understood by appreciating the role that ideas play in policy outcomes.

Godfrey Wachira, Purdue University gwachira@purdue.edu

Paper South African Trade Strategy in the Intersection of Cross-**Regional and Inter-Regional Trade Groupings**

This study addresses the theoretical problem of the South African government's (SAG) simultaneous application of three trade strategies providing effective means whereby the government may improve its international trading position

Catherine Anne Long, Boston University

catlong@bu.edu

Deniz Gungen, Boston University

deniz.gungen@gmail.com

Paper Empowering the African Union: Toward an African-American and Vietnamese People-Centered Strategy for Global Prosperity

There are credible arguments made that some donor governments and multilateral institutions routinely pay tribute to their assumed innovative intervention schemes, while those assumptions are rarely tested against research findings.

Kurt Eric Munroe, National Sun Yat-Sen University tianchi99@hotmail.com

Paper Higher Education for Development or Underdevelopment? The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa

Interrogates the development implications of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa and argues that its promise has remained illusory because it suffers from a total disharmony and mismatch between its curricula and the development environment.

Raphael Obi Ogom, DePaul University rogom@depaul.edu

Disc. Mary Kay Gugerty, University of Washington

guguerty@u.washington.edu

11-14 **Change and Stasis in MENA Regimes**

Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room

Elsa Dias, University of Colorado, Colorado Springs Chair

edias@uccs.edu

Competing Ideologies and Their Impact on Transitions: Paper

Explaining the Absence of Democracy in Tunisia

Tunisian authoritarianism, although attributable to many factors, stems in part from challenges to the state political ideology. The role of competing ideologies in preventing or slowing down democratic transitions can be seen in the Tunisian case.

Michael Koplow, Georgetown University

mkoplow@gmail.com

Transition to Nowhere: The Frustration of the Reform Paper Movement in Khatami Era Iran

This research applies O'Donnell and Schmitter's discussion of "transitions" to the case of Khatami Era Iran. It is argued that Iran did not go through a transition, but instead the emergence of a mercantile bourgeoisie halted the push for reform.

Cyrus Ali Contractor, University of Oklahoma

cvrus@ou.edu

The Ritualization of Power and the Challenge of the Opposition Paper Forces in Morocco

The paper examines the use of rituals of power in Morocco and its impact on the strategies adopted by opposition forces.

Mohamed Daadaoui, Oklahoma City University

mdaadaoui@okcu.edu

The Collapse, Transformation and Refashioning of Turkish Paper Progressivism as a Response to the Rise of Political Islam

The rise of and transformation of political Islam brought up a redefinition of progressivism in Turkey and divided progressives into two based on their interpretation of AKP. Turkish progressivism transformed as response to its changing environments.

Dogan Gurpinar, Sabanci University dogang@su.sabanciuniv.edu

Disc. Sean Yom, Harvard University yom@fas.harvard.edu

Mass Politics Beyond Elections: Civil Society and Social 13-17 **Movements in Post-Communist Countries**

Room Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Chair Christiane Olivo, University of Northern Colorado

christiane.olivo@unco.edu

The Splendor and Misery of Civil Society in Central and Paper Eastern Europe

This paper systematically reviews the various ways in which civil society has been conceptualized and employed in the literature focusing on the past two decades of Central and Eastern Europe Egle Verseckaite, Johns Hopkins University

egle@jhu.edu

Paper The Strength of Civil Society in Eastern Germany: A Case-Study of Voluntary Associations in Leipzig

This paper examines the role of voluntary associations in the East German city of Leipzig. It focuses on the extent to which associations promote civic competence, create civic networks and are able to influence city government.

Christiane Olivo, University of Northern Colorado christiane.olivo@unco.edu

Paper Rose Colored Promises: Assessing the Progress of Democracy in **Georgia Since the Rose Revolution**

During the Rose Revolution, many promises were made by the leaders of the revolution regarding democratic reforms and constitutional guarantees. This paper assesses the extent to which these promises were kept by the new government of Georgia.

Scott Nissen, Indiana University snissen@indiana.edu

Disc. Oana Ileana Armeanu, University of Southern Indiana

oiarmeanu@usi.edu

Christiane Olivo, University of Northern Colorado

christiane.olivo@unco.edu

13-200 Poster Session: Post-Communist Politics

Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room

Post. 6 **Ethnic Challenges to the Corporatist Theory of Democratic**

State and nation building in the context of labor struggle.Lack of explanation of different labor organizations development during transitions. Nation-state building process must be involved into the

corporatist analysis of labor in post-Soviet area. Evgeni Klauber, University of Delaware

klaubere@udel.edu

14-2 **Sources of Trade Protection: Part I**

Room Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Chair Regina M. Baker, University of Oregon

genie@uoregon.edu

Paper The Real Exchange Rate and the Demand for Protection

The paper studies the last 30 years of US trade politics to demonstrate that variation in protectionist pressures is a function of the real exchange rate. Protectionism strengthens as the currency appreciates and subsides as the currency weakens.

Thomas Oatley, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill oatley@unc.edu

Paper The Logic of Dispute Initiation in Regional Trade Agreements: The Case of NAFTA

I analyze the factors that influence industries to initiate disputes under NAFTA Chapter 19. I argue that the likelihood of success, the expected benefit from success and the cost of the dispute influences their decision to engage in initiation.

Martha Thomas, Pennsylvania State University mst170@psu.edu

Unemployment Insurance and Trade Policy Paper

I argue that generous unemployment insurance reduces opposition to trade liberalization. I support this hypothesis with data on U.S. state unemployment insurance laws and Congressional votes on trade bills.

Daniel Yuichi Kono, University of California, Davis dykono@ucdavis.edu

Paper How to Protect the Protected?: A Theory of Special Protections Policymaking in the U.S.

We argue that the specific form of protection policy, either simple tariffs or complex Nontariff barriers, is determined by the level of commitment problems between legislators and interest groups. The case of the U.S. is specifically examined.

Hye Young You, University of Chicago

youhy83@uchicago.edu

Jon C Rogowski, University of Chicago

jrogowski@uchicago.edu

The Constraints of Diffusion in Explaining Trade Policy **Paper** Liberalization

Tests of diffusion processes are criticized for simply capturing large scale trends. This quantitative analysis of trade policy hones in on a specific requirement of diffusion, observability, to identify both the potential and limits of diffusion.

Alexandra Gibbons Guisinger, University of Notre Dame Guisinger.1@nd.edu

Disc. Regina M. Baker, University of Oregon

genie@uoregon.edu

15-18 China's Foreign Policy

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Yongwook Ryu, Harvard University

yryu@fas.harvard.edu

Paper China's Rise: The Forgotten Chapter on its Soft Power

China's recent acquisition of soft power resources and its ability to employ them. We explore Beijing's recent reinstitution of Confucianism domestically and abroad, providing a case study of China's International Confucius Institute project.

Jennifer Cheung, Cornell University

hx0001@gmail.coim

Paper The Political Economy of China's Post-Cold War Grand Strategy

I will develop a comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding the dynamics of China's grand strategy. More specifically, I will examine the impact of modernization and political reforms that affect China grand strategy.

Jun Wei, *University of Chicago* weijun2000@gmail.com

Paper China's "Olympic Diplomacy"

This paper will explore the foreign policies taken by Chinese government to ensure the success of Olympic Games and the interaction between Chinese government and Chinese people during the process.

Dazhi Liang, *Marquette University* liangdazhi861024@hotmail.com

Paper Minorities and Instability: Why China Supports Surrounding States

In this project I examine the effect of minority presence on crossborder economic transfers between China and North Korea. I use recent data from Chinese sources to analyze the effects of political events from 1990 to present upon trade and aid.

Jihyeon Jeong, *University of California, San Diego* jeong8@ucsd.edu

Disc. Yongwook Ryu, Harvard University yryu@fas.harvard.edu

16-22 Foreign and National Security Policies: Examining Behaviors and Outcomes

Room Sandburg Boardroom 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Carol Atkinson, Vanderbilt University c.atkinson@vanderbilt.edu

Paper State Response to Foreign Policy Failure: China, the United States, and Energy Security in Africa

When a foreign policy program is failing, when do states change that policy? I analyze the energy security policies of the US and China in three African countries to understand how and when states learn from foreign policy failure.

Andrea Elizabeth Jones-Rooy, *University of Michigan*, *Ann Arbor* ajonrooy@umich.edu

Paper U.S. Foreign Policy: Explaining the Unilateral and Multilateral Uses of Force

Building on the works of Meernick (2000) and Ostrom and Job (1986), this paper conceptualizes the uses of force by the United States as a bimodal curve.

Fubara Tam David-West, *University of Texas*, *Dallas* ftd051000@utdallas.edu

Paper Crisis Stability and Nuclear Signaling Between India and Pakistan: An Evaluation of the 2001-02 Crisis

Pakistan and India remained indifferent to nuclear signals from the other during the 2001-02 nuclear stand off. Signaling, even though highly provocative, does not induce crisis instability into their bilateral equation.

Moeed Wasim Yusuf, *Boston University* moeed@bu.edu

Paper Smart Border Security: Are Our Existing Initiatives Working? Border Security Between Friends in A Post 9/11 World

A look at existing border security accords, initiatives and proposals between US and Canada. An in depth analysis of what is working, what is not working and what we need to make our borders secure.

Sharon Jones, Columbia College

jones@columbiasc.edu

Disc. Thomas Chadefaux, University of Michigan

chadefau@umich.edu

16-200 Poster Session: International Security

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Post. 10 Toward an Agnostic Theory of International Relations

What happens to liberal theories when the mechanisms they depend on are used in ways realists predict? We examine liberal mechanisms from a realist perspective to show that these liberal mechanisms can produce realist effects or outcomes.

John Busch, University of Notre Dame

jbusch@nd.edu

Daniel Lindley, *University of Notre Dame* dlindley@nd.edu

Post. 11 Unpacking the State Failure - Terrorism Relationship

This study examines splits state failure into 12 individual indicators and uses regression analyses to determine the specific types of state failures that produce international terrorism. It concludes by discussing scholarly and policy implications.

James Anthony Piazza, University of North Carolina, Charlotte jpiazza@uncc.edu

Post. 12 Nation Building and International Security: The New Enthusiasm for Fixing Failed States

Explores plans and programs to mitigate the harmful effects that failed or failing states might have on international security, including those that aim to prevent failing states from collapsing and to repair those that have already failed.

Christopher Preble, Cato Institute

cpreble@cato.org

Justin Logan, University of Chicago

loganj@uchicago.edu

Post. 7 Nuclear Weapons and Rogue States: The People Speak

Allegations of certain rogue nations gaining access over fissile materials is a great concern for the United States and the world. Using an experimental design, this study will test the effects of public opinion in shaping policy.

Sudeshna Bhattacharyya, *Texas Tech University* sudeshna.bhattacharyya@ttu.edu

Post. 8 Framing Separatism as Terrorism: Lessons from Kosovo

The paper analyzes the issue of framing of ethno-nationalist contestations as terrorist threats. It examines opportunities such discourse presents for governments and looks at challenges such framing poses for democratic principles of governance.

Elena Pokalova, Kent State University elena.pokalova@gmail.com

Post. 9 Crafting Long Distance Relationships: British Alliance Choices in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

This paper examines British choices to ally with Ottoman Turkey and Imperial Japan over other potential regional partners in the context of the literature on extraregional balancing and offensive realism

David W. Kearn, Jr., St. John's University

kearnd@stjohns.edu

Evan Braden Montgomery, *University of Virginia* em9d@virginia.edu

Disc. Aylin Gunay Gurzel, Bilkent University

aygurzel@yahoo.com

Paul Poast, University of Michigan

poastpd@umich.edu

17-1 The Causes and Consequences of State Fragility

Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room Cameron G. Thies, University of Iowa Chair

cameron-thies@uiowa.edu

Paper State Fiscal Capacity and State Failure in the Developing World

This paper investigates the relationship between state fiscal capacity and state failure in the contemporary developing world using a simultaneous equations framework.

Cameron G. Thies, University of Iowa

cameron-thies@uiowa.edu

Paper State Failure, Refugees and the Spread of Terrorism

I argue that while forced migrants may not be the actual perpetrators of terrorism, there is a high correlation between their presence in failing and failed states and the emergence of dangerous terrorist groups and organizations.

Tiffiany Howard, University of Nevada, Las Vegas tiffiany.howard@unlv.edu

Territorial Disputes and the Process of State Death Paper

When do states die and why? Our expansion and refinement of current research seeks to add the concept of territorial disputes to the state death literature. We hypothesize that states will die when they become involved in territorial disputes.

John Van Benthuysen, University of Illinois, Chicago jvan1984@yahoo.com

Brandon Valeriano, University of Illinois, Chicago bvaler@uic.edu

The Political Economy of Contemporary Sovereignty Paper

This paper posits the current pervasiveness of civil war and failed states as a consequence of the contemporary sovereignty regime. The consequence shall be divided into institutional economics explanations and a market model of norm distribution.

Alan Pies,

alpies@comcast.net

Cameron G. Thies, University of Iowa Disc.

cameron-thies@uiowa.edu

17-2 The Role of Non-State Actors in Conflict

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Steven J. Brams, New York University

steven.brams@nyu.edu

The Compellence Dilemma Paper

We analyze the dilemma states face in their decision to use punitive measures against hosts of non-state actors. The threat of punishment provides incentives for hosts to cooperate but also has a deleterious effect on a host's future capacity.

David Carter, Pennsylvania State University dbc10@psu.edu

Three to Tango: Coercion and Violent Non-State Actors Paper

Violent non-state actors increasingly present considerable international security threats. This paper examines the efficacy of coercing states into taking action against violent non-state actors that are based within their borders.

Keren E Fraiman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology keren@mit.edu

Paper **Employing Force: The Decision to Use Extra-State Actors in Inter-State Wars**

We build a model that determines the prospects for using private actors in combat on behalf of the state. From this model, we hypothesize and test certain conditions that increases the likelihood of using extra-state actors.

Michael A. Allen, Binghamton University michael.allen@binghamton.edu

Julie Ann VanDusky, University at Binghamton, SUNY jvandus1@binghamton.edu

Simulating Learning in Insurgent/Counterinsurgent Warfare **Paper**

This paper presents an agent-based simulation of governmentinsurgent conflict, focusing on how the accuracy and effectiveness of military forces can exacerbate insurgencies, and examining how strategy change and military learning can help.

Scott Bennett, Pennsylvania State University

sbennett@psu.edu

Steven J. Brams, New York University Disc.

steven.brams@nyu.edu

18-100 Roundtable: Shaping Strategy: Civil-Military Relations and Foreign Policy

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

> Using Risa Brooks' masterful new book, Shaping Strategy (Princeton University Press, 2008) as a basis for discussion, this roundtable engages the issues surrounding civil-military relations

and foreign policy performance.

Panelist Miriam F. Elman, Syracuse University

melman@maxwell.syr.edu

Risa Brooks, Northwestern University

r-brooks3@northwestern.edu

Miriam Fendius Elman, Syracuse University

melman@maxwell.svr.edu

Sebastian Rosato, University of Notre Dame

srosato@nd.edu

Michael Desch, University of Notre Dame

Michael.Desch.4@nd.edu

19-1 **Delegation to IO's: Explanations and Complications**

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Chair

Andrew Cortell, Lewis and Clark College

Paper **Delegation Cascades in International Human Rights Institutions**

"Norm cascades" suggest that states become more likely to join international agreements as the total number of joiners increases. With the convention against Torture, we find that diffusion is strongest among states who share regime type and region.

Darren Hawkins, Brigham Young University

dhawkins@byu.edu

Jay Goodliffe, Brigham Young University

goodliffe@byu.edu

James Vreeland, Georgetown University

jrv24@georgetown.edu

Paper **Building Blocs and Building Peace: Why Some Regional Economic Organizations Reduce Conflict but Others Don't**

Using an original dataset, I find that the pacifying effect of economic cooperation through regional institutions depends on the degree of cooperation, interaction among high-level officials, and institutional independence.

Yoram Haftel, University of Illinois, Chicago yhaftel@uic.edu

Paper The Role of Intergovernmental Organizations in Institutional

Employing an original dataset of intergovernmental organizations, I find that that IGOs created with input from other IGOs are more insulated from states' influence that are those created by states alone. This has important implications for states.

Tana Johnson, University of Chicago

tana@uchicago.edu

Delegation of European Development Aid Paper

This paper focuses on European countries' decision to delegate some of their development aid to international institutions. I examine the factors that influence donors' multilateral aid allocations to different institutions.

Elena V McLean, Texas A&M University

elenamclean@polisci.tamu.edu

Disc. Andrew Cortell, Lewis and Clark College apc@lclark.edu

19-5 Setting Standards: The Impact of UN Regulatory Regimes

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Anu Hannele Bradford, University of Chicago Law School

abardford@uchicago.edu

Paper Transnational Political Action and Corporate Responsibility: The Case of the Global Compact

We develop and test a theoretical model of firms' participation in and compliance with the human rights, labor, environmental and anti-corruption standards entailed in the UN Global Compact, using data on the world's 2000 largest companies.

Patrick Bernhagen, University of Aberdeen

P.Bernhagen@abdn.ac.uk

Neil J. Mitchell, University of Aberdeen

N.Mitchell@abdn.ac.uk

Paper The Scramble for the Arctic: The United Nations Convention on

the Law of the Sea and Extending National Seabed Claims

I examine the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and recent expansive territorial claims in the Arctic. I review competing national claims and the status of the Law of the Sea Treaty in the United States.

Jon D. Carlson, *University of California, Merced* jcarlson3@ucmerced.edu

Chris Hubach, University of California, Merced

chubach@ucmerced.edu

Joe Long, University of California, Merced

jlong2@ucmerced.edu

Kellen Minteer, University of California, Merced

kminteer@gmail.com

Shane Young, University of California, Merced

syoung 5 @ ucmerced.edu

Paper One Eye for a Thousand: A Critical Analysis of the United Nations Drug Control Regime

This paper analyzes the United Nations Drug Control Regime in terms of its effectiveness in reducing drug production and consumption with a focus on the regime's goals of abuse prevention and alternative development.

Ross Chergosky, University of Hawaii, Manoa

chergosk@hawaii.edu

Kevin Buntrock, University of Hawaii, Manoa

buntrock@hawaii.edu

Disc. Anu Hannele Bradford, University of Chicago Law School

abardford@uchicago.edu

21-1 Political Psychology of Cue-Taking

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Danny Hayes, Syracuse University

dwhayes@maxwell.syr.edu

Paper Elite cues and emotion: When Does Fear Help Persuade?

This paper explores how emotions influence the acceptance of elite cues, focusing on foreign policy. This paper reveals that fear is most effective when communicated by a trusted elite who shares citizens' partisanship.

Shana Kushner Gadarian, *Princeton University* skushner@princeton.edu

Paper Expert Wisdom vs Mass Opinion: To Whom Do We Listen?

Much of the past research on information processing has looked at opinion formation based on one singular influence at a time. This study seeks to answer if looking at influences in tandem is a better way to understand belief levels.

Lauren Nancy Pantages, University of Illinois, Urbana-

Champaign

lpantag2@illinois.edu

Paper Source Credibility Mediated Learning and the Origin of Projection

I use a Bayesian learning model to describe projection as a sideeffect of political learning mediated by source credibility, clarifying that cross-sectional rather than longitudinal measurement strategies are appropriate for studying projection.

Benjamin E. Lauderdale, Princeton University

blauderd@princeton.edu

Paper Are Two Cues Better Than One? Assessing Whether Multiple Cues Improve Citizens' Decisions

I use experiments to assess whether multiple cues help citizens to improve their decisions, above and beyond the improvements they achieve when only one of these cues is present. Results suggest that two cues are not necessarily better than one.

Cheryl Boudreau, University of California, Davis

clboudreau@ucdavis.edu

Disc. David Redlawsk, University of Iowa

david-redlawsk@uiowa.edu

21-12 Threat, Risk, and Political Decisions

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Elizabeth Simas, University of California, Davis

ensimas@ucdavis.edu

Paper Risk Tolerance and Political Preferences

We use a unique survey instrument to examine how the public's tolerance (or intolerance) for risk influences their attitudes on various issues and ultimately their vote preferences.

Brian F. Schaffner, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

schaffne@polsci.umass.edu

David L. Eckles, University of Georgia

deckles@uga.edu

Paper Risk Salience and Political Participation: The Effects of Vietnam Draft Lottery Status on Voting Behavior of Parents, A Natural Experiment

Using the random assignment of induction priority in the Vietnam draft lotteries to study the effects of a son's draft status on the turnout of parents in 1972, I find the effects to be highest in towns with at least one casualty in the conflict.

Tiffany C. Davenport, Yale University

tiff any. davenport @yale.edu

Paper Threat Perceptions and Political Attitudes on Counter-Terrorism Measures

We manipulate threat perceptions in controlled experiments in order to make causal inferences about their effects. Our findings illuminate how threat-related information is processed, as well as the sources of risk-related policy attitudes.

Elizabeth Popp, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign epopp2@uiuc.edu

Neil A. Malhotra, Stanford University Malhotra Neil@GSB.Stanford.edu

Paper Going for the Quick Win: Abraham Lincoln, Risk-Taking and Time Discounting During the U.S. Civil War

The case of the U.S. Civil War is used to test theories of decision-making in the domains of risk and time.

Pavel Oleinikov, *University of California*, *Santa Barbara* pvo@umail.ucsb.edu

Paper Vietnam Draft Lottery Status and Political Behavior

This study uses the Four-Wave Political Socialization Panel Study (with the first wave in 1965 when respondents were high school seniors) to estimate the effect of Vietnam lottery status on subsequent political attitudes.

Robert S. Erikson, Columbia University

rse14@columbia.edu

Laura Stoker, University of California, Berkeley

stoker@socrates.berkeley.edu

Disc. Howard Margolis, University of Chicago

jotm@uchicago.edu

22-13 **Context and Voting**

Adams on the 6th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room

Thad Hall, University of Utah Chair

thadhall@gmail.com

Regional Migration Flows and the Partisan Sorting of the Paper **American Electorate**

> We track individual migration patterns for thousands of voters to investigate the extent to which partisans choose to move to locations

that are similar to the locations they left behind. James G. Gimpel, University of Maryland

jgimpel@gvpt.umd.edu

Wendy K. Cho, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign wendycho@uiuc.edu

Iris Hui, University of California, Berkeley

iris hui@berkeley.edu

Paper The Racial Context in Presidential Elections

> We show how candidate preferences in presidential elections have evolved over time in response to America's growing racial diversity and how they have affected the kinds of political coalitions that have developed since WWII.

Joel Allen Lieske, Cleveland State University

j.lieske@csuohio.edu

Edward Hasecke, Wittenberg University

ehasecke@wittenberg.edu

Disc. Thad Hall, University of Utah

thadhall@gmail.com

24-13 Social Cleavages and Electoral Systems

Room Honore on the Lobby Level, Thur at 10:00 am

Philip J. Howe, Adrian College Chair

dr.philipj.howe@gmail.com

Layers of Ethnicity: The Effects of Ethnic Federalism, Paper

Minority-Majority Districts, and Minority Concentration on the

Electoral Success of Ethnic Minorities in Russia

We evaluate the effects of different layers of ethnic geography (ethnic federalism, minority-majority districts, and geographic concentration) on minority groups' voter turnout and electoral success in Russia's parliamentary elections.

Robert G. Moser, University of Texas rmoser@austin.utexas.edu Regina Goodnow, University of Texas

rrgoodnow@mail.utexas.edu

Lowering the Stakes of Electoral Conflict in Divided Societies

with Competitive Turn-Taking Mechanisms

Turn-taking mechanisms lower the stakes of electoral conflict over a single indivisible seat. Two kinds of electoral rules are proposed that induce turn-taking while preserving open-ended electoral competition.

Thomas Clark Durant, New York University

tcdurant@nyu.edu

Why Did They Vote for Those Guys Again?: Challenges and **Contradictions in the Promotion of Political Moderation in**

Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina

This paper examines the development of the party system in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the Dayton Accords with a focus on the interaction between international influence and domestic political

John Hulsey, Indiana University, Bloomington jwhulsey@indiana.edu

Philip J. Howe, Adrian College Disc. dr.philipj.howe@gmail.com

25-11 **Media and Information Processing**

Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room Beth Miller, University of Missouri, Kansas City Chair

millerel@umkc.edu

Information Flows and Issue Consistency Over Time Paper

We examine what, if any, effect changes in information flows over the past few decades have on the consistency of attitudes among individuals with similar group interests and partisan attachments.

Andrew Garner, University of Wyoming

agarner1@uwyo.edu

Harvey D. Palmer, University at Buffalo, SUNY

hpalmer@buffalo.edu

Congress in the Public Mind: How Knowledgeable Ideologues, **Paper**

the Media, and Personality Traits Affect Congressional

Using original survey data from the Center on Congress' 2002 and 2006 Congressional Election Studies, we examine how political knowledge, ideology, media use, and personality traits affect evaluations of the United States Congress.

Michael W. Wagner, University of Nebraska

mwagner3@unl.edu

Jessica C. Gerrity, Washington College

jgerrity2@washcoll.edu

Edward G. Carmines, Indiana University

carmines@indiana.edu

Media Exposure and Illegal Immigration: Evidence on Attitudes **Paper**

From the U.S.

We analyse the link between attitudes on illegal immigration and media exposure in the US. Controlling for ideology, income and education, individuals watching Fox News are 16% more likely to oppose the more lenient Senate plan on illegal migration.

Riccardo Puglisi, ECARES ULB riccardo.puglisi@gmail.com

Giovanni Facchini, University of Essex/University of Milan

gfacch@essex.ac.uk

Anna Maria Mayda, Georgetown University

amm223@georgetown.edu

Collective Political Rationality Paper

I develop a model of collective political rationality, rooted in the three key factors- random errors due to the demands of data collection and imperfect knowledge on the part of citizens, partisanship, and information exposure.

Gregory E. McAvoy, University of North Carolina, Greensboro

gemcavoy@uncg.edu

Beth Miller, University of Missouri, Kansas City Disc.

millerel@umkc.edu

25-19 **Public Opinion and Substantive Representation**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Michael T. Koch, Texas A&M University Chair

mtkoch@polisci.tamu.edu

Public Opinion and Environmental Treaties Paper

> This paper explores the connection between peoples' attitudes toward environmental protection, government partisanship, and the likelihood of the country to join an international environmental

Kristina Youngblood, University of Kansas

kristina.youngblood@gmail.com

Biased Representation? The Dynamics of Government Policy Paper

and Public Preferences across Socioeconomic Strata in the United Kingdom, 1976-2006

This paper examines policy responsiveness to various socioeconomic subgroups in the United Kingdom. Public inputs and policy outputs are both captured on the left-right scale.

Armen Hakhverdian, University of Oxford armen.hakhverdian@nuffield.ox.ac.uk

Geography, Class, and Support for Social Welfare Policy

In this paper, I use analysis of group conversations and survey data to probe the connection between economic interests and political preferences while paying particular attention to the role of residence in an urban/suburban/rural community.

Katherine Cramer Walsh, University of Wisconsin, Madison kwalsh2@wisc.edu

Public Opinion as Persuasive Argument: Congresspersons' Use Paper of Public Opinion in Oral Argument

The Congressional Record was content analyzed to determine how congresspersons use public opinion to bolster their arguments and when they claim that public opinion should not determine policy. Effects of political party and issue are evaluated.

James Human, University of Kentucky

ihuman@ukv.edu

James K. Hertog, University of Kentucky

jim.hertog@uky.edu

Byron D'Andra Orey, Jackson State University Disc.

byron.d.orey@jsums.edu

26-4 Competition, Context and Political Participation (Cosponsored with Electoral Campaigns, see 23-20)

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Todd Makse, Ohio State University Chair

makse.1@osu.edu

Paper The Effect of The Electoral College on Political Knowledge and **Attitudes in Competitive and Non-Competitive States**

This paper examines whether the varying degrees of competition among the states in the electoral college affects the political knowledge and attitudes of individuals in those states.

Michael J. Towle, Mount Saint Mary's University towle@msmary.edu

Maureen Rand Oakley, Mount Saint Mary's University oaklev@msmarv.edu

Andrew R. Wassmann, Mount Saint Mary's University ARWassmann@email.msmary.edu

Voting in Red States, Voting in Blue States: Absentee Voting, Political Culture, and State-Level Electoral Competitiveness

Talk about 'red' and 'blue' states has dominated contemporary U.S. politics. This paper seeks to determine what role lack of electoral competition in presidential elections has on a state's registered voters more likely to cast their vote absentee.

Joseph Cobetto, University of Missouri, Columbia jcxr6@mizzou.edu

Redistricting and Voter Turnout in the 2006 Georgia U.S. House Paper **Elections**

In this paper we evaluate the effect of redistricting on voter turnout in the 2006 Georgia U.S. House elections.

Seth C. McKee, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg scmckee@stpt.usf.edu

M. V. Hood III, University of Georgia

th@uga.edu

Paper **Context Matters: Explaining Changes in Voter Turnout Over**

This paper examines how attitudinal and environmental changes between elections can influence an individual's decision to cast a ballot regardless of one's previous voting behavior.

Chris T. Owens, Central Michigan University owens2ct@cmich.edu

Would George W. Bush Still Be President if Everybody Voted?

This paper reexamines the consequences of higher voter turnout for recent presidential elections by simulating state-level election results. We investigate whether Electoral College outcomes would change under higher voter turnout.

Matthew Holleque, University of Wisconsin, Madison holleque@wisc.edu

Yujin Kim, University of Wisconsin, Madison yjkim8@wisc.edu

Disc. Ryan L. Claassen, Kent State University rclaasse@kent.edu

26-8 Making the Voting Experience More Convenient (Cosponsored with Voting Behavior, Electoral Campaigns, and Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 22-14, 23-24, and 40-34)

LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room

Chair James Douglas Melton, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign melton@uiuc.edu

Paper The Vote is in the Mail: The Role of Local Election Officials in Promoting Mail Voting in the Colorado 2008 Election

Using pre and post election surveys of Colorado's County Clerks, we examine a wide range of techniques for promotion of mail balloting and explore the effects of these differences on subsequent modes and rates of voting across counties.

Christopher B. Mann, Yale University

christopher.mann@yale.edu

Rachel M. Sondheimer, United States Military Academy rachel.sondheimer@usma.edu

Cutting Costs: An Assessment of Vote By Mail and Turnout Paper

Using a combination of voter survey data and a field experiment from the three elections in California's San Joaquin County in 2008, we assess the extent to which active promotion of Vote By Mail improves voter turnout.

Nathan W. Monroe, University of California, Merced Nathan.Monroe@ucmerced.edu

Dari E. Sylvester, University of the Pacific

dsylvester@pacific.edu

The Problem With Vote-By-Mail **Paper**

We test contextual and local agent based effects on political participation in the state of Oregon, which uses all mail elections, finding a number of biases in participation that are linked to the purging of the voter list.

Joshua Dyck, University at Buffalo, SUNY

jdyck@buffalo.edu

Nicholas Seabrook, University at Buffalo, SUNY

seabrook@buffalo.edu

Paper Campaign Expenditure Effects of Early Voting 1980-2008

States have been experimenting with non-election day voting for roughly 30 years. We use voting and campaign expenditure records to investigate whether early, in-person voting increases the cost of Congressional elections.

Robert M. Stein, Rice University

stein@rice.edu

Marvin R. McNeese, Rice University

mcneese@rice.edu

Paper Pollworkers and Election Administration: The View From Local **Election Officials**

The study will report the results of a national survey of local election officials conducted shortly after the 2008 general election. The survey focuses on hiring and training pollworkers as well as other aspects of election administration.

David Kimball, University of Missouri, St. Louis

dkimball@umsl.edu

Brady Baybeck, University of Missouri, St. Louis

baybeck@umsl.edu

Disc. Christopher W. Larimer, University of Northern Iowa

christopher.larimer@uni.edu

27-1 Movies, Music, and Pop Culture as Political Communication

Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room Chair Marilyn Yaquinto, Truman State University

marilynyaq@yahoo.com

Stereotype: The Influence of Music Preferences on Political Paper **Attitudes and Behavior**

The findings presented here confirm that music, while often overlooked in research, is a highly pervasive and influential form of political communication. This relationship is tested using original survey data of college students (n = 900).

Jessica Timpany Feezell, University of California, Santa Barbara jtfeezell@polsci.ucsb.edu

The Influence of Rap Music in the Political Socialization of Paper

This paper explores the role that rap music plays as a tool for political socialization and the ways that its message motivates listeners, particularly younger ones, to become interested, engaged and/or active in political affairs.

Gia Elise Barboza, Harvard University gbarboza@hmdc.harvard.edu Andrew Smith, American University as3064a@student.american.edu

Paper Is Political Talk Getting Smarter? An Analysis of Popular Political Discourse and the Flynn Effect

Using content analysis, we test James Flynn's hypothesis that scientific and philosophical terms have become increasingly prevalent in public political discourse, explaining the century-long steady increase in IQs (or the "Flynn Effect").

William Arthur Gorton, Alma College

gorton@alma.edu

Janie Ann Diels, Alma College diels@alma.edu

Beyond the Music: The Experimental Impact of Political Rap Paper **Music on Political Attitude Acceptance**

This study examines the impact of political rap on Black political attitude support. Using experimental studies from Ohio State University and Benedict College it is demonstrated that political rap does impact Black political attitudes.

Lakeyta M. Bonnette, Ohio State University bonnette.15@osu.edu

The Surprising Influence of Political Satire on Beliefs in Paper **Conspiracy Theories**

Research on media influence has focused on news media. We posit that people "learn" from entertainment media. We show that exposure to a conspiracy theory in entertainment media influences beliefs that the conspiracy has, could, and will occur.

Ken Mulligan, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale kmulliga@siu.edu

Phil Habel, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale habel@siu.edu

Disc. Timothy G. Hill, Doane College

tim.hill@doane.edu

27-26 Political Humor, Deception, and Guilt by Association in the 2008 Presidential Campaign (Co-sponsored with Electoral Campaigns, see 23-29)

Millenium on the 6th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room

Jan P. Vermeer, Nebraska Wesleyan University Chair

jpv@nebrwesleyan.edu

Paper Who is Barack Hussein Obama? The Internet and Deception in the 2008 Presidential Campaign

We present the results of an experimental study that examined the affect of internet smears on citizen attitudes about U.S. presidential candidates, knowledge about them, and voting behavior.

Phillip Hardy, Elmhurst College

hardyp@elmhurst.edu

Mary Barbara Walsh, Elmhurst College

walshm@elmhurst.edu

Editorial Cartoons and the 2008 U.S. Presidential Primaries **Paper**

Editorial cartoons characterize candidates, and may exert a major influence by framing what issues and qualities are important for voters. This paper examines the different ways editorial cartoonists covered candidates in the 2008 primaries.

Carrie A. Cihasky, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee ccihasky@uwm.edu

Palling Around With Terrorists? Presidential Politics and the Paper Weathermen, The Politics of Redemption

How the Weathermen's politics to end the Vietnam War and topple "the government" are resurrected in the 2008 presidential race, which is bounded by similar parameters, including the increasingly unpopular Iraq War, and similar economic stresses.

Sarah Whalen, Texas A&M University sawhalen@gmail.com

Disc. Paul Brewer, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

prbrewer@uwm.edu

28-1 **Transnational Women's Movements**

Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room Chair

Natasha Bingham, Louisiana State University

nbingh1@lsu.edu

Paper Women's Movements Under Authoritarianism: Examining the Effects of State Policies on Women's Activism in Communist Czechoslovakia

In this paper, the author uses the case of totalitarian Czechoslovakia to examine the ways in which state policies affect women's movements emergence under authoritarian political regimes.

Petra Hejnova, Syracuse University phejnova@syr.edu

The Evolution of the Women's Movement in Post-Soviet States: **Paper** From Unsuccessful Parties to Powerful NGOs

My paper will focus on women's movements in post-Soviet states. I will apply Raka Ray's approach to studying India while also utilizing political process theory to explain the pattern of post-Soviet women's movements in three distinct states.

Ashley Streat-Bartlett, University of Alabama adstreat@bama.ua.edu

Women's Movements, State Building, and the Growth of Civil Society: A Case Study of the Importance of Gender Equality in Peace-Building in the Sudan

This research considers relationships between the state and civil society in the Sudan, highlighting the current struggles and contributions of Sudanese women in assisting their country in peace-building and democratization

Stephanie Bogema, Hope College stephanie.bogema@hope.edu Virginia Parish Beard, Hope College

beard@hope.edu

Disc. Beate Sissenich, Indiana University

bsisseni@indiana.edu

Challen Nicklen, Louisiana State University

nicklen@lsu.edu

28-7 Gender Gap: Voting, Ideology, and Turnout

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University

andersen@syr.edu

Paper The Myth of the Women's Vote: From Suffrage to the 2008

Election

An examination of the diverse ways in which women decide and cast their votes will demonstrate why even though a uniform women's voting bloc does not exist, women continue to hold political power as the majority of voters in America.

Celeste Nicole Jalbert, George Washington University

jalbert.celeste@gmail.com

Paper Re-Examining the Gender Gap in Ideology, 1984-2004

If ideology is, at least to some extent, a construct based on policy opinions, why do we see a growing gender gap in ideology but not one in issue opinions?

Meghan Condon, *University of Wisconsin*, *Madison* mrcondon@wisc.edu

Par Jason Engle, University of Wisconsin, Madison pjengle@wisc.edu

Amber Wichowsky, University of Wisconsin, Madison

wichowsky@wisc.edu

Paper Gender Gap in Voting: A Simultaneous Equations Approach

Rather than treat the behavior of women and men separately, we investigate the gender gap in voting by analyzing the differential effects of the economy and other issues on vote choice and partisanship within a simultaneous equations framework.

Mary-Kate Lizotte, Stony Brook University

mklizotte@yahoo.com

Andrew H. Sidman, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY

asidman@jjay.cuny.edu

Paper Gendering and Racing Turning Out: Vote Trends Across the United States

Our paper assesses the intersection of race and gender by examining state-level differences in voting rates. Using November CPS data, we model the joint impact of gender and race/ethnicity on turnout for several time points over the last 30 years.

Becki Scola, University of California, Irvine

bscola@uci.edu

Carole J. Uhlaner, University of California, Irvine

cuhlaner@uci.edu

Disc. Heather L. Ondercin, Louisiana State University

ondercin@lsu.edu

Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University

andersen@syr.edu

29-1 2008 Campaign and Election

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Chair Rosalee A. Clawson, Purdue University

clawsonr@purdue.edu

Paper Sequential and Spatial Voting: The Case of the 2008 Democratic

Primary

This paper investigates the time effect to see whether states converged in their winning candidate in the 2008 primary. The paper further tests contextual effects of racial diversity, black threat, social capital, and political culture.

Baodong Liu, University of Utah baodong.liu@poli-sci.utah.edu Paper The Obama Effect: Racial Attitudes and Their Effects on Candidate Appraisal

An update and respecification of the Rahn, et al. (1990) model of voter decision-making, applied to two additional elections (1988 and 2008), tested in a structural equations framework and explicitly incorporating racial attitudes.

David B. Sparks, Duke University

d.sparks@duke.edu

Candis S Watts, Duke University

csw5@duke.edu

Paper The Firewall: Latino Voters in the 2008 Primaries and General

Election

This paper explores Latino candidate preferences as a function of enthusiasm for specific candidates and mobilization efforts. Unique datasets of registered Latino voters in the primary and general election are employed to test the relationships.

Sylvia Manzano, Texas A&M University

smanzano@politics.tamu.edu

Matt A. Barreto, University of Washington

mbarreto@washington.edu

Gabriel R. Sanchez, University of New Mexico

sanchezg@unm.edu

Paper Bulls Eye or Ricochet? The Effect of Latino Targeted Ads in the

2008 Presidential Campaign

We examine the role of ethically targeted ads in the 2008 election.

Victoria M. DeFrancesco Soto, Northwestern University

vmds@northwestern.edu

Matt Barreto, University of Washinton

mbarreto@u.washington.edu

Jennifer L. Merolla, Claremont Graduate University

jennifer.merolla@cgu.edu

Ricardo Ramirez, University of Southern California

ramirez1@usc.edu

Disc. Marisa Abrajano, University of California, San Diego

mabrajano@ucsd.edu

Maruice Mangum, Texas Southern University

maruicemangum@yahoo.com

31-2 What Did the Moderns Learn from the Ancients? (Cosponsored with Foundations of Political Theory: Ancient, see 30-12)

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Daniel R. Brunstetter, University of California, Irvine

dbrunste@uci.edu

Paper Of the Most Outstanding Men: Montaigne's Critique of

Machiavelli and Aristotle

Exploration of the political virtue in Montaigne in contrast with

Machiavelli and Aristotle/scholasticism

Daniel R. Brunstetter, University of California, Irvine

dbrunste@uci.edu

Paper The Other Republican: Cicero and Political Philosophy

A discussion of what Cicero can tell us about Modern Republics and

how their deficiencies might be corrected.

Gregory Bruce Smith, Trinity College

gregory.smith@trincoll.edu

Paper Marx's Lucretian Project

In his dissertation, ostensibly concerned with Democritean and Epicurean physics, Marx uses the Greek atomists to depict the triumph of Hegelian logic over Kantian metaphysics and to announce his own revolutionary intentions.

Thomas R. Laehn, Louisiana State University

tlaehn1@lsu.edu

Cecil L. Eubanks, Louisiana State University

poeubk@lsu.edu

Epicureans, the Sophists and Enlightenment Thought Paper

An examination of the acceptance of logical and physical doctrines of the Epicureans by early modern thinkers and the rejection of their ethical and political thought for sophistic teachings instead. Andrew Hertzoff, California State University, Sacramento

ahertzof@csus.edu

Disc. Rafael Major, Jack Miller Center

rmajor@gojmc.org

32-1 Relativism, Value Pluralism, and Absolutes

Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room John Zumbrunnen, University of Wisconsin, Madison Chair

zumbrunnen@wisc.edu

Paper Liberalism, Value Pluralism, and a Meaningful and Equal Right of Exit for All

I question the validity of arguing from value pluralism to preserving the diversity of valuable forms of life and argue that all worthwhile forms of life must be "liberal enough" to (at least) include an equal right of exit for all individuals.

Nathan W. Dean, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill nathanwdean@gmail.com

Value Pluralism and Liberal Democracy Reconsidered

The paper seeks to problematize the relationship between Isaiah Berlin's value pluralism and liberal democracy, tracing the subversive implications of value pluralism and sketching a theory of liberal democracy more attune to its full implications.

Daniel Drugge, University of British Columbia

ddrugge@hotmail.com

Paper Philosophical Relativism and the Consequences to Democratic Liberalism

In his works, Richard Rorty, while rejecting philosophical absolutes, Paper offers alternative justifications for liberal government to the modern world. While appealing, his philosophy has many consequences, which this paper illustrates.

Lindsay Caitlin Eberhardt, Claremont Graduate University lindsay eberhardt@yahoo.com

Contemporary Liberalism and Competing Values: Confluence or Incompatibility?

This essay is an examination of various liberal approaches by evaluating the effectiveness with which they address contemporary issues that cut across ideological frames.

Chris Stangl, West Chester University cstangl@wcupa.edu

Disc. Chad Cyrenne, University of Chicago c-cyrenne@uchicago.edu

32-22 **Democracy and the Law**

Logan on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room

Gabriel Noah Brahm, Northern Michigan University Chair gbrahm@nmu.edu

Paper Popular Agency and Structure: Kelsenian Insights for **Democratic Theory**

Shows how the interplay between political agency and mediating (legal) structures is at the heart of Hans Kelsen's writings on democracy. Understanding this interplay has important descriptive and normative implications for democratic theory.

Brian Graf, Rutgers University bgraf@rci.rutgers.edu

United States vs Verdugo-Urquidez: Associational Membership Paper and the Illegal Citizen

An examination of the 1990 decision in the context of citizenship literature. Rehnquist articulates a notion of defacto associational citizenship which has important implications for recognizing the membership of undocumented immigrants.

Briana L. McGinnis, Georgetown University blm28@georgetown.edu

Feminism vs Federalism: The Violence Against Women Act and **Paper** the Ideological Debate Over National Sovereignty

This paper examines how the ideology behind the Violence Against Women Act calls into question the very nature of a constitutional system of government and that system's ability to advance the freedom and well being of women.

Christina Villegas, California State University, San Bernardino cvillegas15@yahoo.com

Paper Democracy, Liberalism, and Legal Certainty

This paper challenges the view that legal certainty and predictability themselves cornerstones of liberalism and democracy – are always better promoted by legal rules framed in clear and unambiguous language rather than by vague legal standards.

Ofer Raban, University of Oregon

ofer@uoregon.edu

Disc. Judith Baer, Texas A&M University

j-baer@tamu.edu

Chair

33-2 **Theorizing Women's Political Agency**

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Colleen J. Shogan, Congressional Research Service

cshogan@crs.loc.gov

Personal Identity as a Site of Political Resistance: Power and **Paper Identity Among Adolescent Females in Public Schools**

Drawing upon field research with adolescent females, this paper argues that personal identity serves as an important, yet often overlooked, site of political resistance. In doing so, the paper develops new ways of understanding power and resistance.

Rachel L. Seher, DePaul University

rseher@depaul.edu

Women's Political Agency and Implementation of Policies on Violence Against Women in Latin America

Alliances among women's organizations, international organizations, and the state have generally helped to strengthen women's political agency and implement policies on violence against women, however, they can also undermine women's interests

Shannon Drysdale Walsh, University of Notre Dame shannondrysdalewalsh@hotmail.com

The Impact of (Proto-) Evolutionary Theory on Proto-Feminism in Britain, 1792-1869

This paper presents the first genealogy of the cross-fertilization of proto-feminist and (proto-)evolutionary theory in Britain from Wollstonecraft's Rights of Woman (1792) to Mill's Subjection of Women (1869).

Eileen Hunt Botting, University of Notre Dame ehunt@nd.edu

Maureen Williams, University of Notre Dame mwilli25@nd.edu

Machiavelli's Princess: Implications of The Prince on Gender, Realism, and Political Leadership

I examine Machiavelli's Prince with a princess in mind and argue that the traits of Machiavelli's Prince are mistakenly taken to be solely applicable to men. These traits could be used by a princess as much as by a prince.

Laura Ann Roost, University of Nebraska, Lincoln lroost2@unl.edu

Disc. Colleen J. Shogan, Congressional Research Service cshogan@crs.loc.gov

Elizabeth Ben-Ishai, Albion College

ebenishai@albion.edu

33-8 Schmittian Themes: Theology, Exception, Realism

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am
Chair Lars P. Rensmann, University of Michigan

rensmann@umich.edu

Paper Liberalism's Doppelgänger: An Anti-Liberal Formalist Analysis Paper of Carl Schmitt's Political Theology

I offer a reading of Political Theology that centers on the way its principal concepts negate liberalism without replacing it with an anti-liberal creed. P.T. subverts liberalism yet in its formalism moves closer to it than any other anti-liberalism.

Christopher A. McKoy, *University of California, Santa Barbara* mckoy@polsci.ucsb.edu

Paper On the Uses of the Concept of the Exception

Provides an overview of competing uses and conceptions of "the exception" - from political theology to law, philosophy and politics. **Benjamin James Lozano**, *University of California*, *Santa Cruz* blozano@ucsc.edu

Paper Carl Schmitt and the Myopic Treatment of Prerogative

Contemporary liberal attempts to address the problem of extralegal action suffer from an insufficient understanding of the problem. This results from an incorporation, sometimes unwitting, of the conceptual categories of Carl Schmitt.

Ross J. Corbett, Northern Illinois University rcorbett@niu.edu

Paper Carl Schmitt and Realism

This paper argues that the controversial jurist Carl Schmitt was not a political realist. This issue is important because the only way to take Schmitt seriously is as a realist (rather than as a fascist or a "political theologian").

James Wiley, Western Michigan University james.wiley@wmich.edu

Disc. Adam Gannaway, New School for Social Research

adamgan naway @gmail.com

Lars P. Rensmann, *University of Michigan* rensmann@umich.edu

34-2 Tyranny in Shakespeare

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am
Chair George Anastaplo, Loyola University, Chicago

dustingish@hotmail.com

Paper Taming The Tempest: The Tyranny of Modern Natural Science and Prospero's Socratic Turn

This paper is a study of Prospero's ('Socratic') turn away from his magic arts, which are interpreted as elements of modern natural science tending toward tyranny.

Dustin A. Gish, College of the Holy Cross dgish@holycross.edu

Paper Bidding the Law Make Curtsy: Tyranny in Measure for Measure

The paper will examine Shakespeare's thoughts in Measure for Measure about the nature of tyranny. Most criticism of the play focuses on Angelo as the tyrannical figure, but perhaps more attention needs to be directed at Duke and his actions.

Eward Owen Gramling, *University of Dallas* egramling@shb.com

Paper Humor for a Tyrant: Dreams and Desires in A Midsummer Night's Dream

Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream presents the two-fold nature of human desire. This paper examines the problematic tension within human desire and Theseus' efforts to moderate its tyrannical tendencies particularly in the character of Bottom.

Laurence Nee, *St. John's College, Santa Fe* lnee@sjcsf.edu

Disc. Mary Ann McGrail, Harvard University mamcgrail@yahoo.com

34-5 Nietzsche

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am **Chair Donald J. Maletz**, *University of Oklahoma*

djmaletz@ou.edu

Paper An Answer to Heidegger's Question: "Who is Nietzsche's Zarathustra?"

Heidegger's interpretation of Nietzsche's political thought is complicated by his own assumptions. This paper is a case study of Heidegger's only short essay on Nietzsche to explore these contradictions.

James Daniel Stewart, Tougaloo College

jstewart@tougaloo.edu

Paper Aristotle, Nietzsche, New Values and Localization of Politics

This paper argues that in light of Aristotle's notion of civic friendship and Nietzsche's notion of new values, we can create a new localized politics where people can know and be concerned with each other and become more cooperative and unselfish.

Sezgin Seymen Cebi, Kadir Has University

sezginseymen@yahoo.com

Paper Serious Political Philosophy and Nietzsche

This paper questions the process which some in the field of political philosophy use to determine what thinkers are considered "serious." I use the case of Friedrich Nietzsche and his relationship with political philosophy to highlight this process.

Dana Bersch, Arizona State University

Dana.Bersch@asu.edu

Paper Nietzsche on Nature, Compulsion and Nobility

This paper examines Nietzsche's treatment of the role of nature and compulsion in the creation and evolution of noble societies, and argues that his views are more complex than usually believed.

Jeffrey Metzger, Cameron University jmetzger@cameron.edu

Disc. Peter Busch, Villanova University

peter.busch@villanova.edu

35-4 <u>Media</u>

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am
Chair Scott Ashworth, Princeton University

sashwort@gmail.com

Paper The Value of Incomplete Censorship to Authoritarian States

This paper presents a formal model of media censorship by an authoritarian regime, analyzing what determines the regime's optimal level of press freedom and assessing the model in light of contemporary Chinese media policy.

Peter Lorentzen, *University of California, Berkeley* lorentzen@berkeley.edu

Paper To Report or Not to Report: Local Corruption and Protests in Autocracies

Allowing news media the freedom to report social protests will increase the incidence of protests, but will also force local officials to reduce corruption to such an extent that it brings a net benefit to the central ruler.

Haifeng Huang, Duke University

h.huang@duke.edu

Paper The Power of the Spotlight: Mass Media and the Rational Public

In this paper, I show how a biased media can set the agenda for a rational public when an informational asymmetry exists and the biased outlet acts as a biased expert.

John T Gasper, *University of Pennsylvania* jgasper@sas.upenn.edu

Disc. Scott Gehlbach, University of Wisconsin, Madison

gehlbach@polisci.wisc.edu

36-200 Poster Session: Political Methodology

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Post. 13 Fishing with Confidence: Data Mining and the Study of Electoral Dynamics

Data mining has become a highly disciplined profession over the past two decades. This paper will explore the potential value of data mining techniques in the scholarly study of American voting behavior

Michael John Burton, Ohio University

burtonm@ohio.edu

Post. 14 Geographic Data Visualization Using Open-Source Data

An overview of using R add-on packages to visualize geographically-based data without using dedicated GIS software. **Christopher N. Lawrence**, *Texas A&M International University* c.n.lawrence@gmail.com

38-2 Party Faction and Party Development in American Politics

Room Empire on the Lobby Level, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair William Joseph Crotty, Northeastern University

w.crotty@neu.edu

Paper Healing the Rifts: Intraparty Factionalism at the 2008

Presidential Nominating Conventions

This study examines when and how political parties heal the rifts created by presidential primary campaigns using original data from surveys of delegates at the 2008 Democratic and Republican National Conventions.

Michael T. Heaney, University of Florida

mtheaney@ufl.edu

Dara Z. Strolovitch, University of Minnesota

dzs@umn.edu

Paper When the Family Feuds: The Impact of Interparty Competition on Intraparty Factionalism in the South, 1960-2008

Does increased inter-party competition change the tendency of political parties to engage in factional contests for party nominations? This paper examines evidence from the U.S. South as the region became increasingly competitive.

John J. McGlennon, College of William & Mary

jjmcgl@wm.edu

Paper American Political Development and the Advent of Genuine Intermediary Factions Within Contemporary Democratic and Republican Parties

In today's polarized political era, the relationship of interests and parties confounds existing theory. This paper analyzes political development historically based on a comparison of theoretical frameworks using convention delegate survey data.

Denise L. Baer, American University

 $src_dlbaer@hotmail.com$

John S. Jackson, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale jsjacson@siu.edu

Paper Party Systems and Interest Group Systems: A Zero Sum Game?

This paper is an initial effort to define interest group systems and specify their relationship to party systems in the context of American Political development.

Richard Allan Harris, Rutgers University, Camden

raharris@camden.rutgers.edu

Disc. Daniel J. Coffey, University of Akron

dcoffey@uakron.edu

John Aldrich, Duke University

aldrich@duke.edu

40-3 The Politics of Legislative Redistricting

Room Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Justin Buchler, Case Western Reserve University

justin.buchler@case.edu

Paper Lines on a Map: Comparing American Congressional District Shapes Across States

Gerrymandering of congressional districts has a direct impact on democratic representation. This paper aims to analyze each state's degree of gerrymandering, and then develop a metric to compare gerrymandering across states.

Eric Oliver, University of Chicago

eoliver@uchicago.edu

Zachary A. Callen, University of Chicago

zcallen@uchicago.edu

Paper Strategic Legislators and Redistricting

Strategic legislative parties will engage in less risky behavior by drawing seemingly uncontroversial district lines that, in fact, favor their incumbent's fund raising efforts while damaging the opposition's fund raising efforts.

Justin Kirkland, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

jhkirkla@email.unc.edu

Paper Searching for Expressive Harms: District Population and Traditional Districting Principles at the U.S. State Legislative Level

Using multilevel modeling, I examine whether violation of traditional districting principles and large district populations in U.S. state legislatures may impact attitudes toward state government and qualify as "expressive harms."

Daniel Christopher Bowen, University of Iowa

daniel-bowen@uiowa.edu

Paper The Effects of Partisan Redistricting on the House of Representatives

What are the effects of partisan redistricting on how the House of Representatives functions as an institution? While a safe incumbent perceives partisan voting as an advantage, perhaps the House as an institution is not as well-served.

Rhonda J. Saferstein, University of Nebraska, Lincoln rhonda@tconl.com

Disc. Justin Buchler, Case Western Reserve University

justin.buchler@case.edu

40-29 Presidential Influence in Congress

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair R. Eric Petersen, Congressional Research Service

epetersen@crs.loc.gov

Paper The Presidential Thumb on the Bicameral Scales: Presidents' Influence in Conference Committees

This paper develops a model that predicts presidents wield substantial influence in conference committee decision-making. I test resulting hypotheses with data on presidential-congressional interactions and outcomes for 301 conferences, 1953-2004.

Matthew Nolan Beckmann, University of California, Irvine beckmann@uci.edu

Paper The Congressional Toolbox: Legislative Powers to Control the Desires of a Powerful Executive

Ronald Reagan offered a laundry list of desired program eliminations, yet few succeeded. This paper looks at these agencies and several types of Congressional action that permitted or thwarted Reagan's efforts to eliminate an agency or program.

Wendy Ginsberg, *Congressional Research Service* wginsber@sas.upenn.edu

Paper The President and the Polarized Congress

This paper examines the effects of party polarization in Congress on the passage of the presidential agenda.

Nathan A. Ilderton, Texas A&M University

nildert@polisci.tamu.edu

Disc. R. Eric Petersen, Congressional Research Service

epetersen@crs.loc.gov

Robert J. McGrath, University of Iowa

robert-mcgrath@uiowa.edu

42-17 Court Efficiency and Outcomes

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Christopher Martin, Ohio University

martinc3@ohio.edu

Paper Court Performance in Brazil: Evidence from Judicature-Level

The paper estimates a production function for 8,500 first-instance, state courts in Brazil, for an 8-month period. Court output is explained by the number of judges and staff, judge's tenure and age, caseloads, type of court and size of the district.

Alexandre Samy de Castro, IPEA - Institute of Applied Economic Research

alexandre.castro@ipea.gov.br

Paper The Impact of Judicial Selection Method on State Supreme

Court Caseload and Efficiency

This study uses a paired-case study analysis to determine the extent to which caseload and efficiency in state supreme courts are affected by the selection method of state supreme court justices.

Brian Robert King, Muskingum College

bking@muskingum.edu

Thomas C. Wilson, Muskingum College

twilson@muskingum.edu

Paper Litigant's Perceptions of Settlement Outcomes in Federal Court

Settlements are a prevalent and important outcome of civil litigation. This study investigates litigants' actions and behavior in settlement outcomes.

Denise Keele, University of Illinois, Springfield

dkeel2@uis.edu

Robert Malmsheimer, SUNY-ESF

rwmalmsh@esf.edu

Paper An Analysis of Recidivism Rates Based on Risk and Needs Assessments

Examining recidivism rates utilizing re-entry tools.

Michelle L Foster, Kent State University

mfoster2@kent.edu

Paper An Empirical Model of the Decision to Appeal and the Outcome on Appeal

Using novel data and a specialized selection model, this article empirically accounts for both the binary decision to appeal from federal district courts and, for those cases with an appeal, the multinomial outcome in the courts of appeals.

Christina Leah Boyd, Washington University

cLboyd@wustl.edu

Disc. Jennifer E. Walsh, Azusa Pacific University

jwalsh@apu.edu

Christopher Martin, Ohio University

martinc3@ohio.edu

42-28 Deference and Administative Law

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Robert J. Hume, Fordham University

rhume@fordham.edu

Paper Supreme Court Application of Deference Doctrines

This paper analyzes whether Supreme Court justices strategically apply deference doctrines by deriving ideal point estimates over deference in non-contentious cases and then using these estimates to predict votes in contentious cases.

Connor Raso, Stanford University

raso@stanford.edu

Paper Judicial Influence on the Executive Branch: How the Prospect of Judicial Review Shapes Bureaucratic Decision Making

I examine the degree to which the prospect of judicial review influences bureaucratic decision making. Using data on decisions by the Environmental Appeals Board, I demonstrate that the EAB anticipates judicial preferences when issuing judgments.

Patrick C. Wohlfarth, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

pcwohlf@email.unc.edu

Paper

Review of Administrative Law Judge Decisions by the Political Appointees of the National Labor Relations Board, 1991-2007

Using original data collected under a NSF grant (#SES-071974), this paper examines the influence of initial decisions made by administrative law judges over 2,252 final orders issued by the political appointees of the National Labor Relations Board.

Cole Taratoot, Western Kentucky University

cole.taratoot@yahoo.com

Paper Logic of Chevron Deference: Aggregating Information in the Administrative Procedure of Pluralistic Democracy

This paper asks why courts would defer to administrative interpretations under Chevron. It suggests, Chevron could be understood as a judicial instrument to allow agencies aggregating information through pluralistic democratic process.

Cheng-yi Huang, University of Chicago

chengyi@uchicago.edu

Paper Delegation, Deference and Doctrine: Re-evaluating the Federal Courts and Federal Administrative Agencies

My dissertation seeks to reevaluate the relationship between agencies and courts by examining the same set of administrative law cases at different levels of the federal courts and by examining external influences on the judiciary.

Kimberly Johnson, *University of Wisconsin*, *Milwaukee* kjj4@uwm.edu

Disc. Ruth Ann Watry, Northern Michigan University

rwatry@nmu.edu

Robert J. Hume, Fordham University

rhume@fordham.edu

43-9 The "Haves" and "Have Nots" in our Legal System

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am
Chair John Patrick Forren, Miami University

forrenjp@muohio.edu

Paper An Analysis of Federal Immigration Prosecutions

We study the prosecution of immigration offenses in the four California U.S. Attorneys' Offices from 1996 to 2007, finding that local political culture has a significant influence on the decision making of federal prosecutors.

Dorie Apollonio, University of California, San Francisco

dorie.apollonio@ucsf.edu

Todd Lochner, Lewis & Clark College

tlochner@lclark.edu

Myriah Heddens, Lewis & Clark College

mheddnns@lclark.edu

Paper On the Unfairness of the Federal Rules of Procedure

At least a half-dozen provisions of the Federal Rules of Civil, Criminal and Appellate Procedure provide more time and privileges to government attorneys than to private parties. This is a discussion of the reasons why.

Roger Roots, New York Institute of Technology

rogerroots@msn.com

Paper Lawyers and the Use of Law, Process, and Professional Responsibility in Post-Litigation Narratives

This is a study concerning the relationship between lawyers and social movements generally and the varying abilities of lawyers' to use, produce, and resist law and power in post-litigation narratives specifically.

Joshua C. Wilson, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY jewilson@jjay.cuny.edu

Paper From Separate to Subject: Race, American Indian Policy and the Construction Federal Control

The paper provides a descriptive and analytical account of the move in American Indian law from regulation of intercourse to plenary capacity over the nations, and explores the shift in their position from separate nations to controlled communities.

David Alexander Bateman, *University of Pennsylvania* batemand@sas.upenn.edu

Paper Federal District Court Cases and Decisions of the Past Decade: Are the 'Haves' Still Coming Out Ahead?

In his 1974 work, Galanter identified "Haves" and "Have Nots" within the American legal system. Utilizing U.S. District Court case data from 1997-2007, this project empirically examines the recent performance of "Haves" in federal trial courts.

Chris Nicholson, University of Houston

cnicholson@uh.edu

Disc. Joan Sitomer, Kalamazoo College

jsitomer@kzoo.edu

Angela Mae Kupenda, Mississippi College School of Law

akupenda@mc.edu

Wendy L. Watson, Southern Methodist University

wwatson@mail.smu.edu

45-2 State Legislatures

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Ronald Weber, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

rweber@uwm.edu

Paper The Effect of Legislative Professionalism on Agenda Setting at the State Level

This paper will examine the relationship between the institutional characteristics of legislatures, particularly legislative professionalism, and the ability of the legislature to compete with the governor in setting the state's agenda.

Russell W. Mills, Kent State University

rmills2@kent.edu

Paper Legislative Professionalism, Careerism, and Bureaucratic Influence Over the Legislative Process in the U.S. States

We argue that amateur and highly professional legislators are undeterred by careerism when bureaucratic oversight is at issue. Only those from moderately professional legislatures are negatively influenced by careerism when providing oversight.

Joshua Ozymy, *Texas A & M University*, *Corpus Christi* joshua.ozymy@tamucc.edu

Denis Alberto Rey, University of Tampa

denis.rey@ut.edu

Samuel S. Stanton, Jr., Grove City College

ssstanton@gcc.edu

Paper Institutional Factors and the Variation in Majority Roll Rates across U.S. State Legislatures

Using final passage roll call data from the 1999-2000 legislative sessions, I show that there is substantial variation in majority roll rates across U.S. legislatures. Several institutional factors contribute to this variation.

Andrew Spiegelman, Rice University aspiege@rice.edu

Paper A New Set of Common-Space Scores, Committee Assignments, and Financial Interests in State Legislatures

We discuss aspects of a new dataset, shortly to be publicly available, that includes ideal point estimates for all state legislators in 1999-2000 in a common ideological space.

Jim Battista, University at Buffalo, SUNY

ibattist@buffalo.edu

Jesse Travis Richman, Old Dominion University

JRichman@odu.edu

Disc. Phillip J. Ardoin, Appalachian State University

ardoinpj@appstate.edu

Jonathan Paul Euchner, Missouri Western State University

euchner@missouriwestern.edu

46-2 Place and Social Capital

Room Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Matz Dahlberg, Uppsala University

matz.dahlberg@nek.uu.se

Paper Opportunity Valley--Forgotten Cities: Development Policy and Social Capital

Though useful, the concept of social capital is still seen as fuzzy for policy making purposes. A recent theoretical approach considers how combinations of bridging and bonding social capital affect the evolution of regional development policy.

W. Michael Donovan, Cedar Crest College

mdonovan@cedarcrest.edu

Paper Rethinking the Institutional Basis of Urban Development: Hurricane Katrina and Neighborhood Recovery Efforts in New

Orleans

This paper revisits the utility of social capital for urban development by analyzing post-Katrina New Orleans. Using GIS, this paper reconstructs the city's social, political and economic topography to show how local institutions affect resettlement.

Min Hee Go, University of Chicago

minniego@uchicago.edu

Paper The Ghosts of Townships Past and Present: An Examination of Political Culture and Social Capital Effects on Local Government

Does a state's historical roots, political culture, and social capital impact the structure of its local government? We compare the six states created from the 1787 Northwest Ordinance against other US states from the 18th century for answers.

Gregory E. Rathje, Western Michigan University

gregory.e.rathje@wmich.edu

Nathaniel Robert Vanden Brook, Western Michigan University

nate.vandenbrook@gmail.com

Disc. Richard W. Jelier, Grand Valley State University jelierr@gvsu.edu

46-12 Issue Framing and Media Effects in Urban Policy

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair June Sager Speakman, Roger Williams University

jspeakman@rwu.edu

Paper How do Policy Frames Shape the Implementation of the Property Tax in American Cities?

Using a content analysis of local media and policy text in cities that have adopted some form of TEL, this paper tests conjectures regarding the substance and implications of local property tax frames.

Benoy Jacob, Claremont Graduate University

benoy.jacob@cgu.edu

Paper The Homeless in the Public Space

A problem definition perspective is employed as the basis for defining an argument of acceptability of the homeless. It includes constitutional rights, a pleasing urban environment, the needs of the homeless, and the need of social order for all.

Natasha Dimitrova Guenova, University of Tennessee, Knoxville nguenova@utk.edu

Paper Misguiding Watchdog? Effects of Media Biases on Popular Perceptions of Corruption

I study the media coverage of corruption problems. Popular perceptions of corruption are problematic and subject to the media biases. Also, media lacks talk about the consequences of corruption to the society and the possible remedial solutions.

Andris Zimelis, University of Illinois, Chicago

azimel2@uic.edu

Disc. June Sager Speakman, Roger Williams University jspeakman@rwu.edu

47-2 **Education: Evaluating School Choice Outcomes**

Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor. Thur at 10:00 am Room Chair Tamara Wilder, University of Michigan

wildert@umich.edu

Institutions, Parents, Communities and Student Achievement Paper

We further the debate over school choice by considering the relationship between school institutions, parental and community variables and third grade student test scores using the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study (ECLS-K) data.

Christopher Witko, St. Louis University

cwitko@slu.edu

James H. Cox, California State University, Sacramento jhcox@csus.edu

The Effects of For-Profit Schooling on Student Achievement: Paper **Evidence From Chile**

For-profit schooling is one of the most hotly debated issues in education policy discussions. This paper uses data on over 250,000 fourth-graders in Chile's national voucher program to compare achievement across for-profit and non-profit schools. Gregory Michael Elacqua, Princeton University

gelacqua@princeton.edu

Effects of Representative Bureaucracy and Shared Organizational Values on Charter Schools and Traditional **Public Schools**

This paper will examine the effects of representative bureaucracy and shared organizational values on the use of disciplinary tools in both traditional public schools and charter schools.

Christine H. Roch, Georgia State University

croch@gsu.edu

Kelley Dean, Georgia State University padkmdx@langate.gsu.edu

Disc. Amy Brandon, University of Houston

amy.brandon@mail.uh.edu

Tamara Wilder, University of Michigan

wildert@umich.edu

47-15 **Assessing and Alleviating Health Disparities**

Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am Room Dana Patton, University of Kentucky Chair

dana.patton@uky.edu

Paper **Demographic Differences in Telehealth Policy Outcomes**

This paper explores the demographic inequalities in policy outcomes to online health information searches in the general public, using Pew data and multivariate regression analysis.

Mary Schmeida, Kent State University

mschmeid@kent.edu

Ramona McNeal, University of Northern Iowa

ramona.mcneal@uni.edu

Factors Affecting Health Disparity: A Contextual Approach Paper Using the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD)

Framework

By employing a contextual approach using the institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework, this study examines those factors that affect health disparity.

Hyunsang Ha, Florida State University

hh07c@fsu.edu

Jungah Bae, Florida State University

ib07e@fsu.edu

Keon-Hyung Lee, Florida State University

klee2@fsu.edu

Medicaid Managed Care in Texas: A Geospatial Appraisal of **Paper** Prenatal Care and the Impact on Birthing Outcomes

Medicaid managed care is seen as a way to enhance access while reducing costs. Still, many continue to receive poor prenatal care. Using GIS, we analyzed spatial aspects and variables associated with poor prenatal care access.

Stephen Borders, Grand Valley State University

borderss@gvsu.edu

Craig Blakely, Texas A&M University

blakely@srph.tamhsc.edu

Opportunity vs Outcome in Advancing Social Equity Paper

in Healthcare: A Comparative Analysis of Alternative **Explanations for Racial Disparities in Health Care and Health** Outcomes

This paper offers a meta-analysis of the competing explanations for health disparities and a framework for assessing the causes of inequity and analyzing the associated policies.

Erica Jonelle Woods-Warrior, Hampton University ejwarrior@hotmail.com

Does Health Policy Mitigate Adverse Effects of Income **Paper Inequality Health Outcomes?**

Does policy mitigate effects of income inequality on health outcomes. Research on income inequality found mixed results, but studies omitted policy variables. We studied health outcomes in Florida counties varying in income inequality and policy.

William G. Weissert, Florida State University

wweissert@fsu.edu

Carol S Weissert, Florida State University cweissert@fsu.edu

Chinonye Onwunli, Florida State University

conwunli@fsu.edu

Jackson Williams, George Washington University Disc.

jwilli28@gwu.edu

Dana Patton, University of Kentucky

dana.patton@uky.edu

50-2 **Rethinking Bureaucratic Theory**

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am John H. Parham, Davenport University Chair

john.parham@davenport.edu

The Unfinished Project of Explaining Administrative Paper Legitimacy

What is bureaucratic legitimacy? Here we look to the concept of legitimacy in political philosophy, public administration theory, and theories of institutions to find a statement of legitimacy that accounts for bureaucracies.

Sara R. Jordan, University of Hong Kong

sjordan@hku.hk

Phillip W. Gray, University of Hong Kong

phillip.w.gray@gmail.com

Does Weberian Bureaucracy Allow for Deliberative Paper **Democracy? An Analysis of the Possibilities**

We find that, at a certain level, Weberian bureaucracy allows for deliberative democracy. From this finding, we develop a framework that allows for bureaucracy to structure deliberative democracy and apply it to a number of cases.

Thomas J. Greitens, Central Michigan University thomas.greitens@cmich.edu

J. Cherie Strachan, Central Michigan University strac1jc@cmich.edu

Paper Designing the Hollow State: The Case of Florida's Child Welfare Delivery System

In our study, we incorporate stewardship theory in an effort to better understand social service contracting. Specifically, we examine how perceptions of vendors and ambiguity of services impact social service contracting strategies.

Scott Lamothe, University of Oklahoma

slamothe@ou.edu

Meeyoung Lamothe, University of Oklahoma

mlamothe@ou.edu

Paper The Impact of Policy Goal on Civil Service Reform: Evaluating Pay for Performance by Agency Type in the U.S. Federal Government

Using Theodore Lowi's policy scheme, this study classifies the U.S. federal agencies into fype types. Then, it tests if there are any variations among the five types of agencies with regard to the extent to which pay for performance reform succeeds.

Yoonho Kim, University of Seoul

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Disc. Samuel Harvey Clovis, Morningside College

clovis@morningside.edu

Yungnane Yang, National Cheng Kung University

yungnane@mail.ncku.edu.tw

50-19 Substantive Policy Issues for Public Administrators

Room Hancock on the 6th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am
Chair Scott Robinson, Texas A&M University

srobinson@bushschool.tamu.edu

Paper Environmental Inspectors and the Transition to Next Generation Policies: Implications for the Front-Lines

Discussions of the transition to the next generation environmental policies often overlook front-line workers. This paper explores the ramifications for environmental inspectors in the shift to next generation policies.

Michelle Catherine Pautz, University of Dayton michelle.pautz@notes.udayton.edu

Paper Not Imminent in My Domain!: County Manager Attitudes Toward Eminent Domain Decisions in North Carolina

In the wake of Kelo v. New London, local governments face important decisions on eminent domain. This article examines how government leaders perceive the use of eminent domain and how they have historically used their eminent domain authority.

Michele Hoyman, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Michele Hoyman, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hi hoyman@unc.edu

Jamie Randall McCall, North Carolina State University jamiermccall@gmail.com

Paper Information Costs, Policy Uncertainty, and Political Control: Federal Advisory Committees at the FDA

We analyze the FDA's use of advisory committees to evaluate drug and medical device applications. The results suggest that the FDA consults committees to acquire policy-relevant information and that this information affects FDA review times.

Stéphane Lavertu, University of Wisconsin, Madison

lavertu@polisci.wisc.edu

David L. Weimer, University of Wisconsin, Madison

weimer@lafollette.wisc.edu

Paper Sending Out An SOS: Communicating Organizational Commitment In Public Documents

This proposal is to allow presentation of a paper addressing the manner in which the Pennsylvania Game Commission signaled organizational commitment to outside organizations.

Jason C. Sides, Western Carolina University jsides@email.wcu.edu

Disc. Michelle Catherine Pautz, University of Dayton

michelle.pautz@notes.udayton.edu

Nancy Winemiller Basinger, University of Utah

nancy.basinger@poli-sci.utah.edu

53-1 Civic Culture in Mexico

Chair

Room Chicago on the 5th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Alejandro Poire, SEGOB

poirerom@gmail.com

Paper Partisanship and Opinion Leaders: Friends or Foes? Partisan and Public Opinion Determinants of Civic Culture in Mexico

Who do Mexicans trust the most to guide their political actions: opinion leaders or their own predispositions? Using the 4th ENCUP 2008, my findings make suggestions to strengthen Mexico's political culture.

Luis Estrada, Instituto Tecnologico Autonomo de Mexico lestrada@itam.mx

Paper Measuring Economic Evaluations in Political Surveys: Making Empirics Consistent With the Theory

Using cognitive interviews and survey experiments conducted in Mexico, this paper proposes an adjusted phrasing of the standard economic assessment questions to better measure perceptions on the state of the economy.

Marco A. Morales, New York University

marco.morales@nyu.edu

Rene Bautista, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

rbautis1@bigred.unl.edu **Yamil Nares**, SIMO, Mexico ynares@simomexico.com

Paper 50 years of the Civic Culture in Mexico. 1958 - 2008

The paper reviews major changes in leading indicators of political culture in Mexico during the last half century. Uses data from Almond and Verba's seminal study in 1958, and a 2008 nationwide survey on political culture.

Alejandro Poire, SEGOB poirerom@gmail.com

Paper Civic Engagement and Democratic Education: Mexican Universities As Sites of Citizenship

This paper reports on creating the Mexican National Consortium of the International Consortium for Higher Education, Civic Responsibility and Democracy and results of Mexican survey data included in the Universites as Sites of Citizenship project.

Frank Plantan, University of Pennsylvania

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Luis Ernesto Tipan, University of Pennsylvania

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Chelsea Germak, University of Pennsylvania

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Disc. Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, Vanderbilt University

liz.zechmeister@vanderbilt.edu

54-200 Poster Session: Religion and Politics

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Post. 15 Between Religion and Politics: A Twofold Analysis of the Concept of Jihad in the works of Sayeed Abu A'la Mawdudi and Abd Al-Salam Faraj

This paper seeks to analyze the concept of jihad from a doubleedge perspective (political theory and Islamic Studies) using a comparison between two seminal texts produced by the Islamist discourse.

Dragos Stoica, Concordia University dragos_stoic@yahoo.com

Post. 16 <u>Does Size Matter? Measuring the Effects of Congregational Size</u> on the Political Relevance of Churches

This paper examines the relationship between church and political participation, with specific regards to how the size of a congregation that one attends affects her civic skill acquisition and ultimately her participation in politics.

Kasey Swanke, University of Notre Dame

kswanke@nd.edu

Richard Ledet, University of Notre Dame

rledet@nd.edu

Post. 17 Anti-War Biblical Literalism: The Effect of Denominational Demographics on Opposition to the Use of Military Force in Metropolitan Areas in the U.S.

The study highlights the relationship between anti-war Biblical literalism and metropolitan denominational variation.

Christopher A. Simon, University of Nevada, Reno

casimon@unr.nevada.edu

Nicholas P. Lovrich, Washington State University

faclovri@wsu.edu

56-2 Continuing Challenges to Quality Graduate Education

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am
Chair William W. Riggs, Texas A&M University

wriggs@tamiu.edu

Paper Teaching International Conflict

Tools are examined for the study of international conflict both inside and outside of the classroom. The work is based on a program that connects students globally through the classroom, international conferences and study abroad programs.

Nancy B. Burgoyne, Seattle University

nburgoyne@aol.com

Paper Hazing in the Discipline: The Comprehensive Exam in Political Science

In our paper, we investigate the usage and suitability of the comprehensive examination in judging graduate student ability and knowledge, and address alternative options that departments could employ.

Benjamin Lampe, University of Kansas

blampe@ku.edu

Baris Kesgin, University of Kansas

bkesgin@ku.edu

Paper Training the Next Generation of Teaching Professors

In this paper we investigate the graduate curriculum of political science programs across all Ph.D. granting programs in the United States and examine whether the program offers explicit training on "Teaching in Political Science".

John Ishiyama, University of North Texas

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Christine Balarezo, University of North Texas

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Darrin Dykes, University of North Texas

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Tom Miles, University of North Texas

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Disc. William W. Riggs, Texas A&M University

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60-100 Roundtable: Life After Prop 8. What Now?

Room Spire on the 6th Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

TBD

Panelist Ellen Ann Andersen, University of Vermont

ellen.andersen@uvm.edu

Gerald Rosenberg, University of Chicago

grosenbe@uchicago.edu

Harry Hirsch, Oberlin College

Harry.hirsch@oberlin.edu

Kenneth Sherrill, Hunter College, CUNY

kenneth.sherrill@hunter.cuny.edu

Lawrence Levine, University of Pacific

llevine@pacific.edu

61-1 Philosophy and Leadership: Thinkers and Theories

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Heather McDougall, Global Institute for Leadership & Civic

Development

director@globalleaders.info

Paper Agony in the Kitchen: Exaltation, Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Foundation of Agape

King mediated religious experiences for those he wished to mobilize while privately confronting the divine in his Montgomery kitchen. He used religious experience to unify his audience, solidify leadership, and demand nonviolence.

James McGill Patterson, University of Virginia

jmp3r@virginia.edu

Paper Muhammad: A Politician by Vocation

This paper analyzes the role of Muhammad, the Islamic historical leader, as a politician, using Weber's criteria through his work 'Politics as a Vocation'.

Reem Abou-samra, Wayne State University

reem.abou@wayne.edu

Paper Religion and the Politics of Leadership: A Theoretical Sketch Integrating Elements of Systems Dynamics, Humanistic

Psychology, Cybernetics, Value Theory, and Democratic Philosophy, Illustrated with Some Current Foreign and Domestic Policy Problems

This essay sketches a general theory of political leadership employing components of systems dynamics theory, humanistic psychology, cybernetics, value theory and democratic philosophy, with a focus on the multiple meanings of religion in politics.

Richard W. Chadwick, University of Hawaii

chadwick@hawaii.edu

Paper Aristotle's Prudential Statesman and Machiavellian Virtue: Rethinking Theories of Leadership in International Relations

Current theories of leadership in international relations are too abstract or too idiosyncratic. Drawing on classical and modern political thinkers' treatment of leadership, a nuanced and systematic account of political leadership is examined.

Mark Antonio Menaldo, Northeastern University

m.menaldo@neu.edu

Disc. Jonathan Guy Allen, Northern Michigan University

jonallen@nmu.edu

65-2 The Power of Words and Images: The 2008 Campaign Through the Lens of Popular Culture

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 10:00 am

Chair Bruce E. Caswell. Rowan University

caswell@rowan.edu

Paper Pitbull or Puritan? The Framing of Sarah Palin

This paper explores the various cognitive frames among voters evoked by Sarah Palin's nomination for the Vice Presidency, and the political implications for women of these images and debates.

Linda Beail, Point Loma Nazarene University

lbeail@pointloma.edu

Rhonda Kinney Longworth, Eastern Michigan University

rkinney@emich.edu

Paper Testing the Media: Studying How Gender and Racial Biases Affect News Coverage

We will examine the 2008 race for the Democratic primary. This race provides legitimate African American and female contenders for the nomination. We have compiled an extensive data set of the terms used to describe Obama and Clinton.

Lilly J. Goren, Carroll University

lgoren@cc.edu

Joseph E. Uscinski, University of Miami

uscinski@miami.edu

Thursday, April 2, 12:45 pm-2:25 pm

Paper A Picture Speaks a Thousand Words: Presidential Rhetoric and Visual Communication

Visual imagery a very powerful rhetorical tool. Scholars of the presidency tend to study rhetoric in terms of presidential speech, but the concept of rhetoric is far broader and the campaign of 2008 illustrates how images can communicate information.

Karen S. Hoffman, Marquette University

karen.hoffman@marquette.edu

Paper Live from New York: The Impact of Saturday Night Live and Late Night Talk Shows on the 2008 Presidential Election Race

This paper will explore how television comedy shows (Saturday Night Live, The Daily Show, The Colbert Report, the Tonight Show and the Late Show) affected the 2008 Presidential Election Race.

Mary McHugh, Merrimack College mary.mchugh@merrimack.edu

Disc. Joseph Anthony Harder, Macomb Community College

Jah5y98_98@yahoo.com

 $\textbf{Justin Scott Vaughn}, \ \textit{Cleveland State University}$

j.s.vaughn@csuohio.edu

Thursday, April 2-12:45 pm

1-2 The Obama Effect: Past, Present, Future (Co-sponsored with Political Psychology, see 21-22)

Room Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Monique Lyle, University of Michigan

lylemoni@umich.edu

Paper Race, Religion, and Electoral Politics from Kennedy to Obama

We investigate the ways in which ingroup attachment and outgroup animosity shape voting in recent US presidential elections, treating the 1960 and 2008 contests as exemplary cases in point.

Donald R. Kinder, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

drkinder@umich.edu

Allison Dale, University of Michigan

daleal@umich.edu

Paper Will Obama Still be Black in 2012? Race, Strategy, and Changing Views of a President

Suppose Obama seeks reelection. Will Americans see Barack Obama as a black man or as something else? Using insights from psychology, communication, and economics, I clarify the likely role of race in the Election of 2012.

Arthur Lupia, University of Michigan lupia@umich.edu

Paper Voters and Race in 2008: Obama as the First Black President

We use a survey list experiment to assess the extent to which voters in 2008 were troubled by the idea of Obama as the first Black president. We find a significant amount of concern on the part of voters in the month before the election.

David Redlawsk, University of Iowa

david-redlawsk@uiowa.edu

Caroline Tolbert, University of Iowa

caroline-tolbert@uiowa.edu

William Franko, University of Iowa

william-franko@uiowa.edu

Paper The Obama Factor: American Attitudes Toward Multiracial Politicians and Policies

We examine Americans' attitudes toward multiracial politicians and people, whether multiracial people deserve protection under anti-discrimination policies and whether they deserve consideration under affirmative action policies.

Melissa R. Herman, Dartmouth College melissa.herman@dartmouth.edu Mary E. Campbell, University of Iowa

mary-e-campbell@uiowa.edu

Paper Barack Obama and the Two Sides of Symbolic Racism: Explaining the Effects of Racial Resentment in the Primaries and Beyond

We explain the large impact of symbolic racism on support for Barack Obama by analyzing both racial liberals and conservatives. Doing so has notable implications for racial politics in America and for research on this much debated topic.

Michael Tesler, University of California, Los Angeles mtesler2@ucla.edu

David O. Sears, *University of California*, *Los Angeles* sears@issr.ucla.edu

Disc. David Christopher Wilson, University of Delaware dcwilson@udel.edu

Thomas Craemer, *University of Connecticut* thomas.craemer@uconn.edu

2-2 Comparative Political Economy of Education and Skills

Room Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Gunther M. Hega, Western Michigan University

gunther.hega@wmich.edu

Paper Insiders, Outsiders and the Political Economy of Education

This paper is an application of Rueda's insider-outsider approach to the political economy of education. Have social democratic parties promoted the expansion of vocational training (for outsiders) or higher education (for insiders)?

Marius Busemeyer, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies bus@mpifg.de

Paper Adjusting Qualification Systems in Specific Skill Economies: Responding to Contracting Problems through Wage

Compression and Training Subsidization

New flexible qualification structures that respond to both the need to learn throughout the career and lower tenure rates generate contracting problems that can be resolved through wage compression and government subsidization of training costs **Moira Louise Nelson**, *Bremen International Graduate School* moira@email.unc.edu

Paper The Political Economy of Higher Education: Electoral Competition, Demographic Biases and District Heterogeneity

I argue that partisan differences on education expenditure are best understood as the outcome of electoral competition for demographic groups whose preferences cut across the traditional left-right dimension.

Timo Idema, *University of Oxford* timo.idema@politics.ox.ac.uk

Paper Specific Skilled Labor and the Demand for Social Insurance

We re-model's Iversen and Soskice's theory of social preferences in the context of dynamic labor markets. When investment in specific skills and wages are endogenous, divergent preferences over social insurance do not stem from the skills themselves.

Jeffrey F. Timmons, *Instituto Technologico Autonomo de Mexico* jtimmons@itam.mx

Jerry Nickelsburg, *University of California*, *Los Angeles* jqnickels@aol.com

Disc. Gunther M. Hega, Western Michigan University

gunther.hega@wmich.edu

Timo Idema, *University of Oxford* timo.idema@politics.ox.ac.uk

3-22 Subnational Politics: Federalism and the Countryside

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Hillel David Soifer, Princeton University

hsoifer@princeton.edu

Paper Conceding Control: The Political Economy of Decentralization in India and Beyond

I examine the puzzle of why governments decentralize by exploiting the variation across Indian states in the extent to which they gave powers to local governments.

Anjali Thomas Bohlken, New York University at 697@nyu.edu

Paper The Origin of Federal and Unitary States in Newly Independent Latin America: Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador

I trace the origins of federalism and centralism in the three states formed of Gran Colombia. The dispersion and despotic power of economic and political elites explain the failure and success of federalism in Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador.

Adam J. Cohon, University of California, Berkeley acohon@berkeley.edu

Paper Distributive Politics in a New Democracy:The Political Logic of Land Redistribution in Venezuela

Evidence from the universe of land transfers in Venezuela from 1946-91 demonstrates that democratization was not accompanied by major redistribution; land reform was used as patronage to build party support among newly enfranchised rural voters.

Michael Albertus, Stanford University

albertus@stanford.edu

Paper Displacing Farmers: A Comparative Study of the State Level Land Use Policies in India

This paper focuses on the land acquisition process in Gujarat and West Bengal of India. It explores India's state-level land use policies in the past, attempting to explain whether and how they condition the current land use patterns.

Sai Ma, Johns Hopkins University

sma@jhu.edu

Disc. Hillel David Soifer, Princeton University

hsoifer@princeton.edu

3-25 Courts, Accountability, and the Rule of Law in Developing Countries

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Benjamin Navarro Muego, Bowling Green State University

bnmuego@aol.com

Paper The Judicialization of Politics: The Case of Turkey

By scrutinizing the increasing involvement of the Turkish Constitutional Court in political matters, this study shows that a shift from "ideology politics" to "issue politics" is likely to increase judicialization process.

Zeki Sarigil, Bilkent University

sarigil@bilkent.edu.tr

Paper Political Economy of the Rule of Law in China

1978-2008 China boom climaxed with the 2008 stock market bust. Can China transcend this challenge to reach developed status, even without Rule of Law?

George Steven Swan, North Carolina A&T State University

swan@ncat.edu

Paper Interactive Effects of Ideology and Divided Government on Judicial Strength in the Mexican States

This paper examines the interactive effect of divided government and both legislative and executive ideology on the strength of local courts across Mexico's 31 states from 1993 to 2007.

Matthew C. Ingram, University of New Mexico

mingram@unm.edu

Paper Accountability Regimes in the Mexican States

We argue that there are different accountability regimes within the same political unit; the final effectiveness of the system will depend on the interaction of all of them as well as the coherence of each one. We use original data on Mexican states.

Alejandra Rios-Cazares, CIDE

alejandra.rios@cide.edu **Guillermo Cejudo**, *CIDE* guillermo.cejudo@cide.edu

Paper Collective Action, Law Enforcement, and the Maintenance of Public Goods: Experimental and Ethnographic Evidence from

Rural Kenya

This paper utilizes a combination of qualitative and quantitative evidence to show the joint effect of social norms and third party enforcement in maintaining the availability of public goods and social order.

Ryan Matthew Sheely, Yale University

ryanmsheely@gmail.com

Disc. Eduardo Dargent, University of Texas, Austin

edargent@yahoo.com

4-2 Measuring Democracy

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Chair William R. Keech, *Duke University*

wkeech@gmail.com

Paper A Scientifically Superior Conception of Democracy

This paper sets up some criteria for definition and measurement of regimes, reviews important contributions to this enterprise, and proposes a minimalist, procedural multi-dimensional definition.

William R. Keech, Duke University

wkeech@gmail.com

Paper Assessing the Assessors: Correlating Democracy Methodologies

A number of instruments have been independently developed creating quantitatively determined values of country levels of democracy. This paper tests the hypothesis that there is a significant degree of correlation between these instruments.

Edward Raymond McMahon, University of Vermont

emcmahon@uvm.edu

Emilie Kornheiser, University of Vermont

emilie.kornheiser@uvm.edu

Paper Locating Postcommunist Politics

Using several widely accepted measures of democracy, this paper attempts to locate extant postcommunist political systems on an authoritarian-democratic continuum.

Stephen Manning, University of Detroit, Mercy

mannings@udmercy.edu

Paper Theory and Empirics of Democracy and Crime Revisited: How Much Further Can We Go With Existing Data and

Methodologies?

The vast empirical work on the criminogenic nature of democracies has produced suspiciously strong claims. This paper reviews existing evidence and methodologies that link crime and democracies and proposes desirable properties for quality data.

Jose Cuesta, Inter-American Development Bank

josecue@iadb.org

Disc. Laura A. Hastings, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

lhasting@illinois.edu

4-8 <u>Historical Legacies and Transitions Toward Democracy</u>

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Ethan Jon Hollander, Wabash College

hollande@wabash.edu

Paper Locating a Short Lived Authoritarian State in the History of

Politics and Social Space in Postcolonial India

With the help of network analysis of 3,746 members of Indian Parliament and analysis of their experiences of cultures of politics I examine the reason for the rise and fall of an authoritarian regime in the history of Postcolonial Indian Politics.

Sourabh Singh, *Rutgers University* ssingh@sociology.rutgers.edu

Paper The Role of Geography and History in Cultural Diffusion: A

Gravitational Approach

By using micro-level data, this paper develops a gravitational approach that allows to empirically investigate the respective roles of geography and of history on opinions and economic outcomes.

Pauline Grosjean, University of California, Berkeley pgrosjean@are.berkeley.edu

Paper The First Democracies in Hispanoamérica

I propose an axis criterion to classify the democracies in Latin America between the end of the XIX Century and the beginning of the XX Century. I examine the characteristics of democratizations of six countries in LA in this period.

Jesus Tovar, El Colegio Mexiquense A.C.

jtovar63@msn.com

Paper The Colonial Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship: Explaining Regional Variation in the Post-Independence Regime Outcomes of Former British Colonies, 1950-2000

This paper uses OLS regression analysis of pooled data to examine the impact of different patterns of British colonization on the level of democracy among former British colonies from 1950 to 2000.

Kunle Patrick Owolabi, *University of Notre Dame* kowolabi@nd.edu

Disc. Pauline Grosjean, University of California, Berkeley

pgrosjean@are.berkeley.edu

Kunle Patrick Owolabi, University of Notre Dame

kowolabi@nd.edu

5-4 Veto Players

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Matt Golder, Florida State University

mgolder@fsu.edu

Paper The Institutional Politics of Privatizing Government:

Overseeing QUANGOs in Parliamentary Democracies

This paper presents an examination of oversight characteristics in 200 environmental laws in several parliamentary democracies.

Christian Brogaard Jensen, University of Iowa

christian-jensen@uiowa.edu

Paper Political Institutions, Policy-Making and Financial Crises: Are Some Countries Bound to Make Things Worse?

I examine how power distribution between the executive and the legislature affects recovery from financial crises. The results show that where power is more concentrated recovery may occur sooner but, likely, at a a higher cost to society.

Gabriela Nava-Campos, Northwestern University gabrielanavacampos 2008 @u.northwestern.edu

Paper Veto Players, Intertemporal Interactions and Policy Adaptability: How Do Political Institutions Work?

Veto player theory argues that a higher number of vetoes lowers the likelihood of change; in turn, policies that do not change help to sustain commitments but may prevent adaptation to changing circumstances. This paper challenges that claim.

Carlos G. Scartascini, Inter-American Development Bank carlossc@iadb.org

Ernesto Stein, Inter-American Development Bank

ernestos@iadb.org

Mariano Tommasi, Universidad de San Andres

tommasi@udesa.edu.ar

Disc. Zahid Arefin Choudhury, University of Iowa

 $mdzahidul\hbox{-}choudhury@uiowa.edu$

6-2 The Mass Politics of Islam

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

Chair Mohammad NA Amjad, Azad University of Iran

m.amjad2008@yahoo.com

Paper Winning Muslim Hearts and Minds: Mapping Entrenchment of Anti-American Sentiment in the Islamic World

This paper seeks to explain variation in anti-American sentiment across the Muslim world over time in order to map the characteristics of individuals who are highly resistant to changing their anti-US views.

Lisa Blaydes, Stanford University

blaydes@stanford.edu

Drew Linzer, Emory University

dlinzer@emory.edu

Paper Do Muslims Support Democracy? Examining Evidence from the Cases of Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan

Using new survey and interview data from Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan, we look at support for secular democracy and various forms of political Islam among Muslims.

Kathleen Collins, University of Minnesota

colli433@umn.edu

Erica Owen, University of Minnesota

eowen@umn.edu

Paper Experimenting with Identity: Islam, Nationalism and Ethnicity

The paper reports on lab experiments in Indonesia testing the effects of nationalist and Islamic identities on behavior. Priming for nationalism triggers more, not less, ethnic differences while Islamic identification strongly favors minorities.

Natan Sachs, Stanford University

sachs@stanford.edu

Disc. Ersin M. Kalaycioglu, Sabanci University, Istanbul

kalaycie@sabanciuniv.edu

7-100 Roundtable: 30 Years of Elections to the European Parliament

Room Spire on the 6th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

This roundtable brings together the foremost experts on political behavior in the European Parliament (EP) elections to discuss what we have learned from three decades of EP elections and look to the future

Panelist Sara Binzer Hobolt, University of Oxford

sara.hobolt@politics.ox.ac.uk

Hermann Schmitt, *University of Mannheim* Hermann.Schmitt@mzes.uni-mannheim.de

Cees van der Eijk, Nottingham University

Cees. Vandereijk@nottingham.ac.uk

Holli Semetko, Emory University

holli.semetko@emory.edu

Catherine de Vries, University of Amsterdam

C.E.deVries@uva.nl

Mark Franklin, European University Institute

Mark.Franklin@eui.eu

8-1 <u>Constructing Human Capital: Education Politics in</u> Latin America

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

Chair Tavis Deryck Jules, Columbia University

tavisjules@yahoo.com

Paper Cana, Café, Cacao: Agrarian Structure and Education in Brazil

This paper explores the link between agrarian structure and human capital formation between and within Brazil's federal units. Whether agriculture is plantation-style or based on family farming matters for the formulation of educational policies.

Tim Wegenast, German Institute of Global and Area Studies

wegenast@giga-hamburg.de

Paper <u>Is Government Spending on Education an Investment in Human Capital?</u>

Human capital investments theoretically lead to a more democratically-minded, globally-competitive population. This paper uses original opinion and experimental survey data from Mexico to evaluate how human capital expenditures become valuable.

Rhonda Struminger, *Texas A&M University* rstruminger@politics.tamu.edu

Paper The Role of Citizens Preferences in Human Capital Development: The Case of Brazil

In this study I employ Data Envelopment Analysis (DEA) to estimate the efficiency of human development policies in municipalities in Brazil and explore the role of constituencies' demand in explaining the differences.

Fabiana Velasques Machado, University of Rochester fmachado@mail.rochester.edu

Paper The Politics of Educational Reform in Chile, Pre- and Post-Pinochet

This paper examines the politics of education reform, prior to and after the Pinochet regime. Using a resource perspective, I examine the politics of educational reform in Chile and its effects on social mobility in the state.

Leesa Althen, *University of Missouri, St. Louis* leesa althen@charter.net

Disc. Tavis Deryck Jules, Columbia University

tavisjules@yahoo.com

Laura Flamand, El Colegio de Mexico

lflamand@colmex.mx

8-10 <u>Linking Citizens and State: Political Parties in Latin</u> America

Room Empire on the Lobby Level, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Joy K. Langston, CIDE

joy.langston@cide.edu

Paper Parties and Politicians in Latin America: Polarization,

Program, and Patronage in the Post-Reform Era

This paper draws from congressional surveys in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico to explain why parties and politician establish linkages with citizens on the basis of program or patronage following state and market reforms.

Frances Hagopian, *University of Notre Dame* hagopian.1@nde.du

Paper Globalization, Partisan Politics, and Social Movements in Latin America

This paper will explore the ways that globalization has contributed to changes in the ways that political parties link downward in Latin America, both to voters and to non-party social organizations.

Kathryn Hochstetler, University of New Mexico hochstet@unm.edu

Paper Pathways Toward Inchoate Party Systems: The Role of Presidential Agency

The paper charts an undertheorized route towards inchoate party systems: the role of presidential agency--a president's deliberate attempt (via both institutional reforms and non-institutional behavior) to weaken opposition political parties.

Omar Sanchez, Temple University omarsanchez3@gmail.com

Paper Political Party Realignment in Mexico: Fragmentation,

Consolidation, and Party Identification

We examine the evolution of the emerging party system in Mexico. Using data on public opinion, electoral success, and strategic party behavior, we predict likely scenarios for 2009, then project consolidation and fragmentation in 2012.

Jon D. Carlson, *University of California, Merced* jcarlson3@ucmerced.edu

Luis Miramontes, *University of California*, *Merced* Imiramontes@ucmerced.edu

Lionel Onsurez, *University of California, Merced* lonsurez@ucmerced.edu

Mayra Chavez, University of California mchavez@ucmerced.edu

Abraham Olivares, University of California, Merced aolivares@ucmerced.edu

Disc. Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson, Texas A&M University e339mt@polisci.tamu.edu

9-5 Political Attitudes and Behavior in Asia

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Min Tang, Purdue University nankaitom@hotmail.com

Paper Political Participation in Asia: A Regional Analysis of Turnout

This study attempts to place Asia in the mainstream participation literature by testing the resource theory of political participation using individual level data from the 2004 Asia Barometer across seven democracies in Asia.

David Ashley Owen, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale dowen@siu.edu

Paper Determinants of Political Protest in South Korea

The study attempts to explain the determinants of political protest in South Korea in the 1980s through 2000s using four World Values Surveys data. The results define that the determinants of political protest in South Korea has been changed.

Young C. Kim, University of Evansville

yk28@evansville.edu

Paper Globalization and the Increasing Intolerance of the Indian Middle Class

Drawing upon primary data gathered in India, I argue that globalization is leading to increased religious intolerance among India's middle and upper classes. I then analyze why globalization elicits this response.

Shanna Dietz Surendra, *Indiana University, Bloomington* srdietz@indiana.edu

Paper The Political Behavior of Chinese Middle Class

This research is an comprehensive examination of the characteristics of the political behavior of Chinese middle class. The purpose of this research is to see if the middle class would be a prodemocratic force as assumed in many theories.

Min Tang, *Purdue University* nankaitom@hotmail.com

Disc. Ashley Esarey, Harvard University

esarey@fas.harvard.edu

11-1 Perspectives on Islam in Politics

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Chair Ayse Zarakol, Washington and Lee University

zarakola@wlu.edu

Paper Religion as Party Ideology: The Islamic Republic of Iran in a Comparative Perspective

We compare the role of religion in the Islamic Republic of Iran to that of party ideology in many one-party dictatorships. We show that once placed in a comparative perspective, the theocratic regime is less anomalous than typically thought.

Erica Frantz, IPS

ericaemilyfrantz@yahoo.com

Natasha Marie Ezrow, University of Essex

drezrow@yahoo.com

Paper Women's Political Participation in the Middle East

What is the relationship between socio-economic factors and the choice of women to participate politically? This paper will study the decision of women to participate in the context of Morocco and Egypt.

Jenny Nowlin, *Ohio State University* nowlin.17@osu.edu

Paper Understanding Moderate Political Islam: What Can the Case of Turkey's Justice and Development Party (AKP) Tell Us?

Is Turkey's ruling Justice and Development party (AKP)'s commitment to democracy genuine? I argue that far from reflecting a normative attachment to democracy, AKP's democratic reforms have been politically induced and aimed at relaxing secularism.

Beken Saatcioglu, University of Virginia

bs5t@virginia.edu

Disc. Ayse Zarakol, Washington and Lee University

zarakola@wlu.edu

13-1 Political Attitudes, Identity, and Participation in China

Adams on the 6th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University Chair

e339rh@polisci.tamu.edu

The Impact of Local Government Commitments on Popular Paper Support for Legal Institutions in China

Decentralization produces uneven local commitment to legal reform in China. Combining survey data with local indicators of legal change, I analyze how varying levels of government commitment to the rule of law impact support for legal institutions.

Pierre F. Landry, Yale University pierre.landry@yale.edu

Paper Effect of Geographical Distance on Election Quality and Voting in Rural China

Based on 2008 data from The China Survey, this paper reports results of a multilevel analysis of how respondents' distance from "centers" explains perceived election quality and political participation in rural China.

Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University

e339rh@polisci.tamu.edu Wei Shan, Duke University wshan2005@gmail.com Tianjian Shi, Duke University

tshi@duke.edu

Min-Hua Huang, Texas A&M University huang@polisci.tamu.edu

Religion and Political Behavior in China Paper

The China Survey, completed in 2008, asked a series of questions on religious affiliation, belief, and practice that support this paper's examination of the linkages between these religious variables and political attitudes and behavior.

Lyman Kellstedt, Wheaton College charandbudk@juno.com

Separate and Loyal: Ethnicity and Nationlism in China Paper

An examination of ethnic and national identities among China's ethnic groups with survey data

Wenfang Tang, University of Pittsburgh tang@pitt.edu

Disc. Victor C. Shih, Northwestern University vshih@northwestern.edu

13-2 **Hierarchical Relations in Post-Communist Systems: Assessing Alternative Approaches**

Chicago on the 5th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room

Chair William Zimmerman, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor wzim@umich.ed

Paper Beyond the Colored Revolutions: A Dynamic Model of Policy **Making and Protest**

We draw on theories of collective action to formulate a dynamic model of policy making and protest behavior and apply its insights to understanding recent political developments in Colored Revolution countries.

Adam Meirowitz, Princeton University

ameirowi@Princeton.EDU

Joshua A. Tucker, New York University

joshua.tucker@nyu.edu

Electoral System Reform and Job Creation in Russian Regions,

This paper uses a natural experiment design to examine the relative importance of electoral system vs. fiscal factors for the formation and growth of small firms in Russian regions.

Olesya Tkacheva, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor otkachev@umich.edu

Playing by New Rules: Regional Chief Executives After the **Paper Abolishment of Gubernatorial Elections in Russia**

The Kremlin redencentralization policy caused huge changes in Russian federalism. Pro-Kremlin political party acts as a mediator between federal power and regional chief executives. This threatens the usual federalism system of check-and-balances.

Vitaliy A. Gorokhov, European University, Saint-Petersburg gvitaliy@umich.edu

Russian Electoral Politics: Before and Under Putin Paper

I analyze movement in Russian electoral politics 1995-2008 in terms of the ideological and issue dimensions displayed by parties and candidates. The research methods: content analysis of electoral platform documents and statistical analysis.

Evgeniya Vladimirovna Popova, Tomsk State University pevgen@eu.spb.ru

William Zimmerman, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Disc. wzim@umich.ed

14-4 **Economic Determinants of Conflict Behaviors**

Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room

Kate Ivanova, Ohio State University, Newark Chair

ivanova.6@osu.edu

Printing Conflict: Inflationary Monetary Policy and the Paper Likelihood of War

This paper analyzes the relationship between conflict initiation and domestic currency manipulation by central banks. Findings demonstrate that the financial uncertainty resulting from currency inflation leads a state to diversionary war.

J. Patrick Rhamey, University of Arizona prhamey@email.arizona.edu

Paper Investing for Peace? Foreign Direct Investment and Conflict Initiation

This paper investigates the pacifying effects of FDI on conflict. I first questions the core of liberal assumption that conflict reduces FDI inflows. Second,I construct testable theoretical explanations to empirically test the liberal arguments.

Yi-hung Chiou, University of South Carolina astrophia@gmail.com

Paper **Resurgent Mercantilism? The Political Effects of Foreign Exchange Accumulation?**

This paper analyzes the political effects of neo-mercantilist policies on inter-state relations. Specifically, using events data, we determine the impact of foreign exchange reserve accumulation on conflict and cooperation between states.

Matthew Shaffer, University of South Carolina

shaffer@mailbox.sc.edu

Brian Warby, University of South Carolina warby@mailbox.sc.edu

Does Economic Interdependence Lead to Conflict or Paper Cooperation?

This research empirically investigates the special circumstances under which economic interdependence lead to conflict or cooperation.

Selin E. Guner, Southern Illlinois University, Carbondale selinece_guner@yahoo.com

The Commercial Institutional Peace: Do Depth and Scope of Paper **Integration Matter?**

Current literature on the commercial institutional peace aggregates all agreements into a single analytical category. This paper analyzes the effects of commercial integration on inter-state conflict as a function of agreement depth and scope.

Matthew Shaffer, University of South Carolina shaffer@mailbox.sc.edu

Disc. Kate Ivanova, Ohio State University, Newark ivanova.6@osu.edu

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14-15 **Trade Policy Preferences: Individual Level Analyses** 15-28 Foreign Aid and Conditionality Hancock on the 6th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room Room Daniel Yuichi Kono, University of California, Davis Tobias Heinrich, Rice University Chair Chair dykono@ucdavis.edu th5@rice.edu Guns, Butter, and Human Rights: Explaining Support for Paper Why Do Citizens Reject Free Trade? Income Risk and Trade **Paper Preferences** Political Conditionality in Foreign Aid Appropriations in the Do citizens want free trade? Using individual level data for 17 **U.S. House of Representatives** OECD countries the paper shows that respondents with specific This paper seeks to determine the most important factors skills and respondents living in countries with high levels of wage influencing US representatives' willingness to condition US aid to inequality are less supportive of free trade. Egypt on political reforms. Thilo Daniel Bodenstein, Freie Universität Berlin Lars Gunter Berger, Salford University, Greater Manchester, UK t.bodenstein@jmc-berlin.org 1.berger@salford.ac.uk **How Individual Vulnerability to Globalization Shapes Policy** Personal Benefits, Public Concessions?: Strategic Incentives and Paper **Paper** and Partisan Preferences: A Cross-National Analysis of Foreign Aid **Differences Among Globalization Winners and Losers** This paper fills a gap in the literature on policy concessions and aid, providing a direct test of whether leaders' personal benefit will The paper presents a new way for identifying globalization winners and losers on the individual level, based on both skills and drive shifts in policy toward donor preferences. occupations. It shows that globalization losers and winners have Amanda A. Licht, University of Iowa systematically different policy and partisan preferences. amanda-licht@uiowa.edu Stefanie Walter, Harvard University Disc. Tobias Heinrich, Rice University swalter@wcfia.harvard.edu th5@rice.edu Linda Maduz, University of Zurich maduz@ipz.uzh.ch 16-1 **Explaining Terrorism: Dynamics of Group Behavior Risk Orientation and Trade Policy Preferences** Paper Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room This paper investigates how risk affects individual preferences for Chair Robert D. Stacey, Regent University free trade or protection. We show that exposure to and orientation rstacey@regent.edu towards risk affect whether individuals support trade. Paper The Nexsus Between Ballots and Ethno-Nationalist Terrorism: Sean D. Ehrlich, Florida State University The PKK Case in Turkey sehrlich@fsu.edu The study examines the relationship between the elections and Cherie Maestas, Florida State University terrorism, in particular, how the loss of political support affect cmaestas@fsu.edu terrorist behavior. 2007 Parlimentary elections in Turkey and its Paper Why Do Some People Like Free Trade With Some Countries post electoral effects on PKK terrorism is examined. **But Not With Others?** Nadir Gergin, Virginia Commonwealth University Using recent opinion data, we examine the variation in attitudes gerginn@vcu.edu toward bilateral trade in developing nations. Building on research Paper Friends in Low Places: The Impact of Supporting Repressive using Heckscher-Ohlin models, we move beyond labor endowments **Regimes on Transnational Terrorism** by reexamining the roles of capital and land. How does a country's support of repressive regimes influence the Jeffrey Drope, Marquette University number of terrorist attacks against that country? jeffrey.drope@marquette.edu Daniel James Milton, Florida State University Disc. Daniel Yuichi Kono, University of California, Davis djm07g@fsu.edu dykono@ucdavis.edu Paper The Electoral Terrorist: Terror Groups and Democratic **Participation** 15-4 Parties, Public Opinion, and War Why do terrorist groups participate in elections? What accounts Room Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm for the variation in democratic participation by terrorists? I argue Sarah E. Croco, University of Maryland, College Park that the nature of the conflict and the amount of group competition Chair scroco@umd.edu determines whether terrorist groups participate. When to Oppose? Congress and the Use of Force Paper Robert Thuan Brathwaite, University of Notre Dame This project investigates the role of partisanship in the policy rbrathwa@nd.edu positions of competing political parties on issues concerning the use Disc. Andreas Michael Bock, Geschwister-Scholl-Institute of Political of military force. Science Jeffrey Robert Weber, Florida State University andreas.bock@lrz.uni-muenchen.de jrweber@fsu.edu Paper **American Foreign Policy and the Financial Crisis** 16-18 **Security in Northeast Asia** How will the current financial crisis affect American foreign policy? Room Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Risk aversion expectations derived from prospect theory predict Chair Tatsuya Nishida, Harvard University that the current crisis may eventually drive the U.S. towards higher tatsuya nishida@ksgphd.harvard.edu levels of engagement in international affairs. Losers' Cooperative Institution: Economic Development and **Paper**

Patrick E. Shea, Rutgers University peshea@eden.rutgers.edu

Paper Adjusting Positions: Conflict, Casualties and Partisan Change

Building from theories of issue ownership and political accountability I examine how conflicts and casualties alter parties' positions in advanced industrial democracies.

Michael T. Koch, Texas A&M University mtkoch@polisci.tamu.edu

Disc. Sarah E. Croco, University of Maryland, College Park scroco@umd.edu

Security Community in North East Asia
This article shows the correlation between economic development and willingness to cooperate on an institutional level. Aspects of NATO are noted to draw positive conclusion in regards to the prospects of a security community within North East Asia.

Z-One Han, Seoul National University korzone1@snu.ac.kr

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Paper Monitoring, Assessing, and Forecasting International Crises Using Athena and FactionSim/PMFserv: Part I- The Case of the North Korean Nuclear Crisis

Project in progress to develop an agent-based model of international crisis bargaining.

 $\textbf{G. Jiyun Kim},\ \textit{University of Pennsylvania}$

jiyunkim@seas.upenn.edu

Barry G. Silverman, University of Pennsylvania

basil@seas.upenn.edu

Gnana Bharathy, University of Pennsylvania

bharathy@seas.upenn.edu

Paper Who is Winner, Bush or Kim Jongil in the Nuclear Crisis of North Korea?: The Research on the Deradicalization of the North Korea

U.S. the unipolar superpower, could not prevent the poorest country, North Korea from equipping nuclear arms. Why did U.S. fail? How will U.S. manage North Korea armed with nuclear weapons? The solution must require to understand what is North Korea.

Won Young Lee, Seoul National University

lwy1101@paran.com

Paper The Relations Between the External Security Environment Stability and the Patterns of Economic Reform of the Third World Socialist States

This paper analyzes the procedure of the economic reform policies of Vietnam and Cuba in relation to the external security environment of these two countries to give implication for North Korean situation.

Eun Young Cho, Seoul National University elen5@snu.ac.kr

Disc. Feng Cao, Chinese People's Public Security University caofeng007@gmail.com

17-3 The Determinants of Civil Wars

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Chair Ronald A. Francisco, *University of Kansas*

ronfran@ku.edu

Paper Civil Wars as One of Several Alternative Manifestations of Violent Conflict

Our paper embeds the study of civil war in a general analysis of violent domestic conflict. In the empirical model, the manifestation of conflict range from low riots and coups to civil war.

Cristina Bodea, Michigan State University

bodeaana@msu.edu

Ibrahim Elbadawi, World Bank ielbadawi@worldbank.org

Paper Grasping the Relationship Between Insurgent Capacity and State-sponsored Mass Killing During Civil War

In this paper, I contend that insurgent capacity accounts for statesponsored mass killing during civil war. I come up with two hypotheses relevant to my argument and test them by conducting large-N statistical analysis.

Dongsuk Kim, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign* kim52@illinois.edu

Paper Direct and Indirect Conflict Among Strategic Rivals: The Centrality of Issue Conflict Diversity

This project examines how issue conflict diversity affects the likelihood of both direct militarized conflict and indirect forms of conflict among strategic rivals.

David R. Dreyer, *Michigan State University* dreyerda@msu.edu

Disc. Ronald A. Francisco, University of Kansas ronfran@ku.edu

17-20 The Dynamics of Third-Party Intervention in Violent Conflicts

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Sugumaran Narayanan, Midwestern State University

sugunara00@yahoo.com

Paper Two-Level Bargaining and Interventions into Civil War

Carment et al (2006) claim states intervene into civil wars due to ethnic dominance and executive constraint. We extend this in a number of ways, most notably by considering the traits of the target state.

Daniel S. Morey, University of Kentucky

dsmore2@email.uky.edu

Jonathan M. Powell, University of Kentucky

jonathan.powell@uky.edu

J. D. Choi, University of Kentucky

jdchoi@uky.edu

Paper Stirring the Pot: Third Party Participation and Conflict Duration, 1816-2001

Does third party participation increase the duration of interstate disputes? Does the expectation of outside interference limit their duration? I use hazard models to explore these questions.

Zane M. Kelly, *University of Colorado*, *Boulder* zane.kelly@colorado.edu

Paper Responsibility and State Behavior: Rethinking Sovereignty and Humanitarian Interventions

This paper examines the relationship between sovereignty and humanitarian interventions through the lens of both realism and constructivism. Through a case study approach, this paper finds that redefining sovereignty permits military interventions.

Joseph Michael Scanlon, Northern Illinois University jscanlon@niu.edu

Paper A Unified Model of Military Intervention and Occupation

In this paper, I model decisions to pursue short-term military intervention and long-term military occupation in unstable states. **Stephen Gent**, *University of North Carolina*, *Chapel Hill* gent@unc.edu

Disc. Carmela Lutmar, Princeton University clutmar@princeton.edu

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17-200 Poster Session: Conflict Processes
Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Post. 1 Mediation Acceptability: Prospect Theory as an Alternative Decision Model

While proposing prospect theory, rather than expected utility theory, as a decision model, this paper examines why states, in international militarized dispute, choose IOs over states as their mediator contrary to the expectation of the neorealists.

Su-Mi Lee, *University of Kentucky* sumielee@gmail.com

Post. 2 The Rise of Ideological Violence in Republican Italy

This paper provides political-historical and statistical analysis of the development of ideological terrorism in Italy, tracing its causes to the 1969 Piazza Fontana bombing in Milan and illuminates more broadly the causes of terrorism.

 $\textbf{Christopher R. Dittmeier}, \ \textit{University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill}$

cdittmeier@unc.edu

Post. 3 From EOKA A' to B': The Evolution of Organized Political Violence in the Greek-Turkish Conflict on Cyprus

Analysis of the organization of political violence with an emphasis on recruitment and application to the case of the Greek Cypriot organization EOKA from the 1950s to the 1970s.

Odysseas Christou, *University of Texas*, *Austin* ochristou@mail.utexas.edu

Post. 4 The Politics of Resource Boom

This paper investigates how resource-driven economic booms shape the political equilibrium of resource-rich societies.

Ahmed Saber Mahmud, *Johns Hopkins University* asaber1973@gmail.com

Post. 5 Responding to Democratic Institutions: Strategies of Political Violence and Terrorism in the Islamic World

There are aspects of terrorism, tied to the fact that there different political consequences for attacking a democratic people instead of the people of an authoritarian state, that make the people of democratic states a more successful symbolic target.

M. Chloe Mulderig, Boston University mulderig@bu.edu

18-1 Revisiting the Cold War Era: What Lessons Can Be Learned?

Room Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Richard Chester Thornton, George Washington University rthornton21@yerizon.net

Paper Dismantling the Cyprus Conspiracy: The U.S. Role in the Cypriot Crises of 1964, 1967, and 1974

Several authors argue that the US engaged in a conspiracy to divide Cyprus by encouraging the 1974 Greek coup and Turkish invasion in order to preserve its own interests. Our research shows that the conspiracy theory is incorrect.

Caroline Anne Wenzke, University of Michigan

cwenzke@umich.edu

Daniel Lindley, *University of Notre Dame* dlindley@nd.edu

Paper Kennedy's Early Crises: Berlin, Cuba, and Southeast Asia, January-April 1961

The paper examines the multi-facted US-Soviet crisis of early 1961 and shows how the decisions taken with respect to Laos and Berlin decisively affected the outcome at the Bay of Pigs.

James David Perry, Independent Scholar ajdperry@hotmail.com

Paper U.S.-Soviet Crisis of 1984: Preserving the Oil Fields

The spring of 1984 witnessed a major confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union over Iran, as the Iran-Iraq war moved to a flashpoint.

Richard Chester Thornton, George Washington University rthornton21@verizon.net

Disc. Christopher Burdett, University of Virginia

clb9u@virginia.edu

Randall Jordan Doyle, Central Michigan University doyle58@yahoo.com

19-3 International Institutions and State Behavior

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Aleksandra Chauhan, University of South Carolina alekschauhan@bellsouth.net

Paper Complements and Substitutes in Foreign Policy Behavior

Choice between unilateral, ad hoc multilateral, and institutional cooperation in European foreign policy cooperation.

Leanne C. Powner, College of Wooster

lpowner@wooster.edu

Paper Flip Floppers: Position Changes During Bargaining

This paper examines the factors that lead the member states of the European Union to shift away from their initial policy positions during the course of policy negotiations.

Deniz Aksoy, *Pennsylvania State University* dua13@psu.edu

Paper Grow Rich and Clean Up Later? International Political Integration and the Provision of Environmental Quality in Lowand Middle-Income Countries

This article analyzes whether international political integration, involving both membership in international organizations (Ios) and the receipt of international aid, can alter governments' incentives with regard to the provision of public goods.

Gabriele Stella Ruoff, ETH Zurich

ruoff@ir.gess.ethz.ch

Disc. Aleksandra Chauhan, University of South Carolina

alekschauhan@bellsouth.net

21-200 Poster Session: Political Psychology

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Post. 6 Perceptions of Control and Political Participation

Perceptions of control is a widely used concept in psychology, but is not studied extensively in the domain of politics. I review research control and evaluate the validity and reliability of a new measure of perceptions of political control.

Jacob Michael Montgomery, *Duke University* jacob.montgomery@duke.edu

Post. 7 Are Elected Officials More Knowledgeable About Politics and More Consistent in their Political Attitudes than Everyday Citizens?: An Empirical Test of Theoretical Assumptions

Via a large scale experimental study (n=400), I find that elected officials and everyday citizens differ in their average levels of political sophistication, attitude crystallization, and ideological strength. Normative implications are discussed.

Dana R.B. Adams, University of Minnesota/Furman University drba@umn.edu

Post. 8 Who Am I? Youth, Identity Crisis, and Multicultural Education

This paper uses data to test if an Eriksonian, post-modern, or multicultural understanding of adolescent identity crisis resolution occurs. I test to see if identity consolidates and if exposure to multiculturalism creates a primary racial identity.

Rebecca Elizabeth Blanton, City University of New York, Graduate Center

rebecca.blanton@att.net

Post. 9 The Psychological Impact of Political Representation: How the Political Rise of Lower Caste Politicians Affects Group-Related Attitudes in India

Focusing on recent measures granting seats to Dalits (Untouchables) in India's local institutions, this paper investigates the psychological mechanisms unleashed by an increase in levels of political representation of a stigmatized group.

Simon Chauchard, New York University sc1808@nyu.edu

22-200 Poster Session: Voting Behavior

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Post. 10 Predicting Biased Behavior with Implicit Attitudes: Results From an Online Voting Experiment

Can implicit attitude measures predict biased political behaviors? Using a novel online experiment, we test whether measures of implicit attitude (e.g., IAT, AMP and symbolic sexism) predict sexist voting and order effects of implicit measures.

G. Michael Weiksner, Stanford University

weiksner@stanford.edu

Cecilia Hyunjung Mo, Stanford University chmo@stanford.edu

Post. 11 Impact of Voting Regulations on Tammany Hall

This paper employs a "legal institutionalist" approach to the study of voting behavior by examining the impact of electoral reforms on voter turnout and the political machine in Manhattan from 1913-1928.

Vanessa Perez, Columbia University vmp2004@columbia.edu

23-5 Campaign Strategies in U.S. Elections

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Chair Seth E. Masket, *University of Denver*

smasket@du.edu

Paper The Fifth Source and the Ballot Box: Public Money, Candidate Time, and Changing American Elections

Using survey data from candidate populations in 18 states, I demonstrate that publicly funded candidates spend less time raising money and more time directly engaging voters. Consequently, they are more efficacious candidates.

Michael G. Miller, *Cornell University* mgm44@cornell.edu

Paper The Politics of Parenthood and the 2008 Electoral Campaign: The Use of Parent and Family Themes in Party Appeals and Election Coverage

This paper employs content and contextual analysis to examine the use of parent and family themes by the parties, their presidential nominees, and the media in the 2008 election, and place those results in historical perspective.

Laurel Elder, Hartwick College

elderl@hartwick.edu

Steven Greene, North Carolina State University steven.greene@ncsu.edu

Paper Professionalism and Practice in Winning Local Elections

This paper extends previous work by the authors by comparing campaigning in numerous city council elections over time. Results show the effectiveness of different techniques and how they have, and have not, changed over time.

 $\textbf{Stephen C. Brooks}, \ \textit{University of Akron}$

sbrooks@uakron.edu

Rick Farmer, Oklahoma House of Representatives rick@rickfarmer.net

Paper The Role of Political Consultants in State Legislative Races

A survey of state legislators and intensive interviews of them and their consultants are used to examine the role of consultants in state races. Personal and institutional factors are expected to affect the role of consultants

Rebekah Herrick, Oklahoma State University

herrick@okstate.edu

Christine Pappas, East Central University cpappas@ecok.edu

Disc. Seth E. Masket, University of Denver

smasket@du.edu

Chapman Rackaway, Fort Hays State University crackawa@fhsu.edu

24-1 Congruence Between Representatives and Represented

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Brandon C. Zicha, Unversiteit Antwerpen/Binghamton University brandon.zicha@ua.ac.be

Paper Party-Voter Correspondence and Political Dimensionality

This paper examines whether electoral systems and political dimensionality affect the correspondence of party and voter ideal points across nations.

Shane Singh, *Michigan State University* singhsh3@msu.edu

Paper Parties' Policy Offerings and Citizen Satisfaction with Democracy: A Pooled Cross-National Analysis of Twelve European Party Systems, 1973-2003

We examine the relationship between the dispersion of party policy alternatives on offer in a political system and levels of citizen satisfaction.

Lawrence Ezrow, University of Essex

ezrow@essex.ac.uk

Georgios Xezonakis, *University of Exeter* gxezon@gmail.com

Paper Representation Without Law: Interest Articulation in Rural Afghanistan

In the absence of formal rules, how are local interests represented? This paper examines informal institutions in rural Afghanistan that facilitate cooperation between communities and the lowest level of formal government.

Jennifer C. Brick, University of Wisconsin, Madison brick@polisci.wisc.edu

Paper MP-Constituency Congruence and Representation of British Muslims

I argue that under certain circumstances constituency-legislator congruence theory can help explain parliamentary behaviour even in a strong-party, weak personal-vote, electoral environment such as the United Kingdom.

Shane Martin, Dublin City University

shane.martin@dcu.ie

Disc. Margit Tavits, Washington University, St. Louis

tavits@wustl.edu

25-200 Poster Session: Public Opinion

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Post. 12 Army Recruitment and War Support at the County Level

This study researches the determinants or correlates of public support for war at the United States county level. This study considers and analyzes U.S. Army recruitment at the county level as a measure of public support for war.

Troy Schnack, United States Military Academy troy.schnack@usma.edu

Post. 13 Racial Differences in Network Political Resources: Evidence from Multiple Social Network Batteries

This paper uses data from network batteries on multiple national surveys to examine whether there are significant differences between racial groups in the extent and nature of political resources located within social networks.

Michael Joseph Keane, University of Notre Dame mkeane2@nd.edu

Post. 14 Speaking With Many Voices: Public Opinion Toward Foreign Policy Between Mexican Municipalities

This paper asks: Do existing theories regarding class and race explain differences in regional variations in public opinion toward Mexican foreign policy. I utilize hierarchical linear modeling to test differences in opinion between municipalities.

Miguel Augusto Teixeira, University of Delaware miguel@udel.edu

Michael C. Grillo, *University of Delaware* mcgrillo@gmail.com

26-2 <u>Voter Turnout in Context (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-18)</u>

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair Christopher H. Achen, Princeton University

achen@princeton.edu

Paper Partisan Mobilization of the Poor: Turnout Bias in Comparative Perspective

How do electoral rules affect the poor? This discussion presents evidence that patterns of turnout bias reflect parties' incentives to mobilize low-income voters.

Karen Long Jusko, Stanford University

kljusko@stanford.edu

Paper Duty, Social Networks, and Turnout in Elections

The paper will look at the decision to vote in an election. The study will examine to what extent an internalized sense of civic duty needs to be relayed by the presence of social pressures emerging from one's network of friends and relatives.

 $\textbf{Blais Andre},\ University\ of\ Montreal$

andre.blais@umontreal.ca

Paper The Cultural Component in Voter Turnout

The paper investigates the cultural component in voter turnout by studying electoral dynamics using both ecological and individual level data.

Soren Risbjerg Thomsen, Unviersity of Aarhus SRT@ps.au.dk

Paper Voter Turnout, Electoral Competition and Voter Heterogeneity

This paper examines in depth the interaction between voters' motivation and the characteristics of electoral competition in a broadly comparative, cross-national analysis using CSES and ESS survey data.

Eva Anduiza, Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona

Eva.Anduiza@uab.cat

Joan Font, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas joan.font@cchs.csic.es

Aina Gallego, Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona

Aina.Gallego@uab.es

Guillem Rico, Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Guillem.Rico@uab.es

Paper Political Knowledge and Voter Turnout: An Exploration of the Significance of Institutional Context

This paper focuses on the contextual aspect of the relationship between knowledge and turnout, and identifies the institutional factors that nurture electorally relevant knowledge and foster a link between such knowledge and voter turnout.

Richard Sinnott, University College Dublin

Richard.Sinnott@ucd.ie

Disc. Christopher H. Achen, Princeton University

achen@princeton.edu

26-6 <u>Understanding Social Ties Via Field Experiments (Co</u>sponsored with Electoral Campaigns, see 23-22)

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Chair Christopher B. Mann, Yale University

christopher.mann@yale.edu

Paper The Effect of Social Capital on Voter Turnout: A Randomized Field Experiment in Two Southwestern Cities

This paper presents preliminary results from a large-scale field experiment conducted in San Antonio, TX and Phoenix, AZ, in which social capital is manipulated within elementary school

communities. Effect on voter turnout of parents is examined. **Meghan Condon**, *University of Wisconsin*, *Madison* mrcondon@wisc.edu

Paper Does Election Type Have an Impact on the Effectiveness of Social Pressure Appeals to Voting? Evidence from a Field Experiment

I test whether the powerful effect of social pressure direct mail documented in a recent article is robust across election type. Results suggest that appeals to social pressure vary according to what is on the ballot.

Christopher W. Larimer, University of Northern Iowa christopher.larimer@uni.edu

aper Can Phone Calls Make Voting Contagious?: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment

This paper reports the results of a field experiment testing the contagion effect of the get-out-the-vote (GOTV) non-partisan phone calls within households.

Shang E. Ha, Yale University

shang.ha@yale.edu

Alan S. Gerber, Yale University

alan.gerber@yale.edu

Donald P. Green, Yale University

donald.green@yale.edu

Paper The Social Costs of Voting in Public: A Field Experiment of Voter Turnout in the 2008 Iowa Caucus

We present a theory of social costs and voter turnout. The theory is tested via a randomized field experiment of the 2008 Iowa presidential caucus. Turnout is reduced when citizens are told their vote choices must be revealed to their neighbors.

Christian R. Grose, Vanderbilt University

christian.grose@vanderbilt.edu

Carrie A Russell, Vanderbilt University

carrie.archie@vanderbilt.edu

Disc. David W. Nickerson, University of Notre Dame

david.w.nickerson@gmail.com

27-3 Entertainment Television and Political Communication

Room LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Ken Mulligan, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

kmulliga@siu.edu

Paper Going Native: "Survivor in Gabon"

This paper will analyze the current season of the CBS reality television series "Survivor: Gabon" to consider how its themes perpetuate colonial legacies.

Christine Bunting, University of California, Santa Cruz cxbuntin@ucsc.edu

Paper Torture, Terror, and "24": Does Jack Bauer Raise Your Personal "Threat Level"?

Uses a laboratory experiment to examine the impact of the TV show "24" on attitudes toward terrorism, and on attitudes toward the American response.

Timothy G. Hill, Doane College

tim.hill@doane.edu

Paper The First Saturday Night: Saturday Night Live and Gerald Ford

Much is made of the current impact Saturday Night Live may be having on Campaign 2008. In 1976, Saturday Night Live was in its first season and had a strong impact on Americans' perceptions of President Gerald Ford. This paper examines that impact.

William T. Horner, University of Missouri

hornerwt@missouri.edu

 $\textbf{Disc.} \qquad \textbf{Ken Mulligan}, \textit{Southern Illinois University, Carbondale}$

kmulliga@siu.edu

Toby Bolsen, Northwestern University

tobybolsen@gmail.com

28-2 <u>Increasing Women's Representation: Proposals, Practices, and Impacts</u>

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

Paper The Political Effect of Korean Quota System: The Difference of Policy Priority of Korean MPs by Gender

I want to investigate whether the increasing number of women MPs changes the parliamentary politics. For this I want to show the policy priority of women MPs. through the bills proposed by women MPs and their voting behavior.

Minjeoung Kim, University of Seoul

mjkim@uos.ac.kr

Paper Quotas for Women in Politics: Electoral Reform and Women's Political Representation

Candidate gender quota policies have been adopted in more than 100 countries worldwide. This paper explores the origins, design, and effects of these measures on three facets of political representation: descriptive, substantive, and symbolic.

Mona Lena Krook, Washington University, St. Louis mlkrook@wustl.edu

Paper From Proposal to Policy: The Role of Adoption Processes in the Implementation of Gender Quotas Cross-Nationally

Combining information on the design of quota policies with data on the circumstances of adoption, this paper presents a statistical analysis examining the link between the adoption process and effective implementation of statutory gender quotas.

Diana Z. O'Brien, Washington University, St. Louis dzobrien@wustl.edu

Paper Representing Gender: An Institutional and Ideological Analysis

This paper focuses on the initiatives and responses that states take with regard to gender, race, and ethnicity.

Mala Htun, New School for Social Research htunm@newschool.edu

Disc. Louise Karen Davidson-Schmich, University of Miami davidson@miami.edu

Lori M. Poloni-Staudinger, Northern Arizona University lmp75@nau.edu

28-3 Comparative Perspectives on the Policy Impact of Women's Representation

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University

e.mcdonagh@neu.edu

Paper Gender and Political Actors: Explaining Women's Rights Legislation in Brazil

This essay will focus on the impact of low representation of women in the Brazilian Congress and its impact on the proposal and approval of policies targeted directly towards women's rights. **Pedro G. dos Santos**, *University of Kansas* dos@ku.edu

Paper Change in Women's in Parliamentary Presence and Change in the Perception of Women's Ability to Rule: A 25 Nation Comparison

This study presents longitudinal evidence of a positive relationship between change in the percentage of women in parliaments and change in the perception of women's ability to rule.

Amy C. Alexander, University of California, Irvine alexanda@uci.edu

Paper The Causes of Gender Discrepancies in Executive Level Government Officials in Europe

Using new data on the professional training of cabinet level officials, I test competing hypotheses regarding the causes of the disproportionate number of women which recieve health and welfare portfolios.

William Mac Millan, University of Michigan wmacmill@umich.edu

Paper The Potential Symbolic Value of Descriptive Representation: The Case of Female Representation

This paper seeks to analyze whether the presence of a woman in key political positions produces any impact on the citizens' level of political involvement. It focuses on 8 established democracies where a woman has served as president/prime minister.

Ana Espirito-Santo, European University Institute ana.espirito.santo@eui.eu

Disc. Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University

e.mcdonagh@neu.edu

Christina V. Xydias, Ohio State University

xydias.1@osu.edu

30-2 Poetry and Philosophy in Ancient Athens: Quarrel or Alliance?

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Joseph Wilson, University of Scranton

wilsonj1@scranton.edu

Paper Plato and the Magic of Method

There is no quarrel between philosophy and poetry in the Platonic dialogues. In their highest form, philosophy and poetry are not only indistinguishable but mediate the dynamic interrelationship Plato envisaged between the individual and society.

Nina Valiquette Moreau, McGill University nina.valiquette@mail.mcgill.ca

Paper Democratic Aesthetics in Plato's Republic

Examining the Republic for an aesthetic theory of response suggests the difficulty of a radically particularist approach to experience and the importance of political imaginaries. Socratic citizenship involves the development of alternative images.

Rachel Templer, Goucher College templerr@georgetown.edu

Paper Between Poetry and Philosophy: Achilles and Socrates as Archetypical Heroes

This paper looks closely at the points of agreement and of contention between Achilles and Socrates in order to determine whether the characters are more similar to or more different from one another

Ari Kohen, *University of Nebraska*, *Lincoln* akohen2@unl.edu

Paper The Danger of Dionysus: The Critique of Comedy and Laughter in the Philosophy of Aristotle and Plato

The relationship between ancient comedy and philosophy extends beyond Socrates and Aristophanes. Both Plato and Aristotle examine why we laugh how that can be dangerous to the polis. **Keith Mataya**, *University of California*, *Los Angeles*

keithmataya@aol.com

Sovereignty and the American Constitution

Disc. Joseph Wilson, University of Scranton

wilsonj1@scranton.edu

31-3

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Chair Howard Schweber University of Wisconsin Madiso

Chair Howard Schweber, University of Wisconsin, Madison schweber@polisci.wisc.edu

Paper James Wilson's Theory of the Written Constitution

This paper explicates the constitutional theory of James Wilson, one of America's great founders. In particular, it focuses on Wilson's presentation of the most novel feature of American constitutionalism: the written constitution.

James R. Zink, University of California, Davis jrzink@ucdavis.edu

Thomas Paine's Problematic (and Prescient) Critique of the Paper **American Constitutional Arrangement**

This paper examines Thomas Paine's critique of the American constitution in order to discern the strengths and weaknesses of his critique and clarify his competing vision of proper republican governance.

William B. Parsons, Carroll College

wparsons@carroll.edu

Paper Making Democracy Work: A Multidimensional Theory of Sovereignty

An analysis of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 illustrates that the Founders were committed to a single, multidimensional theory of sovereignty which separates sovereignty into two distinct concepts, principle sovereignty & derived sovereignty.

Jennifer A. Mogg, Rhode Island College

jmogg@ric.edu

Peter Daniel Haworth, Georgetown University Disc.

pdh@georgetown.edu

32-3 Rawls vs Dworkin, Nozick, Sen, and Walzer

Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Gerald D. Doppelt, University of California, San Diego Chair

jdoppelt@ucsd.edu

Paper Liberal Neutrality and the Domain of the Political

In this paper a new demarcation line between pre-politically secured individual rights and the domain of the political is proposed, based on the Rawlsian distinction between liberty and what gives worth to

Marcus Ohlström, Växjö University

marcus.ohlstrom@vxu.se

Rectification and The Difference Principle: Bridging the Gap Paper **Between Nozick and Rawls?**

This paper examines Nozick's Rectification Principle in tandem with Rawls' Difference Principle seeking to understand to what extent these principles bridge the gap between the libertarian and the contractarian.

Darla S. Martin, Indiana University

dmarting@indiana.edu

Paper Inheritance and Social Complexity: Revisiting Michael Walzer's **Spheres of Justice**

This article revisits Michael Walzer's Spheres of Justice, and argues for the superiority of Walzer's views of those of Rawls. It demonstrates that superiority through examination of indigenous politics in the United States, Canada, and Australia.

Burke A. Hendrix, Cornell University

bh72@cornell.edu

Does the Capabilities Approach Offer a Compelling Account of Paper **Equal Citizenship?**

Drawing on the democratic underpinnings of justice as fairness and the capabilities approach, this paper presents an argument for a capabilities-based account of equal citizenship.

Arun Abraham, University of Pennsylvania

aabraham@sas.upenn.edu

Disc. Philip Benesch, Lebanon Valley College

benesch@lvc.edu

33-3 The Politics of Monism and Value-Pluralism

Room Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor. Thur at 12:45 pm

Joshua Laurence Cherniss, Harvard University Chair

cherniss@fas.harvard.edu

Tough Guys Don't Dance: Is Value Pluralism Manly? Paper

I compare the ethic of executive "toughness" proposed by William Galston with Harvey Mansfield's account of "manliness" and his defense of the idea of the "unitary executive." Is manliness compatible with value pluralism, or is pluralism for wimps? Gabriel Noah Brahm, Northern Michigan University

gbrahm@nmu.edu

Politics and the Monistic Continuum **Paper**

This paper identifies a continuum of monisms, and argues that liberal value-pluralists have good reason to oppose non-totalitarian monisms when they impoverish our political vocabulary and distract attention from historical tensions between values

Jonathan Guy Allen, Northern Michigan University

jonallen@nmu.edu

Facing Up to Civic Pluralism **Paper**

The paper defends civic pluralism, understood as recognition of multiple reasonable ways of being a good citizen, and rejects civic monism, the commitment to a single version or vision of good citizenship, as appropriate for liberal democracy.

Jason A. Scorza, Fairleigh Dickinson University

scorza@fdu.edu

Disc. Chris Stangl, West Chester University

cstangl@wcupa.edu

33-5 **Aesthetics and Culture in Politics**

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Ruth Groff, St. Louis University Chair

rgroff@slu.edu

Paper Photographic Locations, Political Effects? Display,

Concealment, Substitution, and Projection as Political-Aesthetic **Strategies**

Analyzes the strategies photographers who focus on systematic injustice use to effect the political judgments, orientations, and, ultimately, behavior of those who view them.

James Johnson, University of Rochester

jd.johnson@rochester.edu

Poetic Justice Paper

Theorists of justice have ignored poetic justice. While they have good reasons to do this, poetic justice remains a powerful and central part of how people think about just outcomes. This paper explores the implications of ignoring poetic justice.

David Jeffrey Watkins, Seattle University

djw172@gmail.com

Between Thinking and Acting: Toward a Phenomenological **Paper Account of Political Judgment**

Contemporary political theorists, following in large part the work of Hannah Arendt, have struggled to come to terms with political judgment. This paper looks to overcome this struggle and provide a more satisfying account of political judgment.

Matthew C. Weidenfeld, Washington State University, Pullman

mweiden@wsu.edu

Antisemitism and the Resilience of Bad Faith **Paper**

I explore the phenomenon of bad faith as it is diagnosed by Jean-Paul Sartre. While Sartre presents anti-Semitic bad faith as something one might overcome, his more complicated and subtle analysis elsewhere calls this possibility into question.

Jacob Schiff, University of Chicago

jschiff@uchicago.edu

Disc. Jim Sven Josefson, Bridgewater College

jjosefso@bridgewater.edu

James Daniel Stewart, Tougaloo College

jstewart@tougaloo.edu

34-3 **Property and Territory**

Millenium on the 6th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room

Jeffrey Metzger, Cameron University Chair

jmetzger@cameron.edu

Hegel, Fichte, and Kant on Indigenous Peoples and the **Paper Acquisition of Territory**

Do colonial powers have the right to impose state institutions on indigenous societies that are without these institutions? The paper investigates how a theory of recognition, in Fichte and Hegel, differs from Kant's theory on this question.

Timothy Waligore, Smith College timothywaligore@gmail.com

Paper Can Conquest Confer Territorial Rights?

Some theorists, including Hobbes and Kant, have held that jurisdictional rights can be acquired through conquest or seizure. This paper considers this claim in the context of contemporary arguments for the rights of indigenous peoples.

Anna Stilz, Princeton University

astilz@princeton.edu

Paper A Provisional Theory of Territorial Acquisition

This paper offers an outline for a theory of territorial acquisition. The theory combines elements of four main justifications for territorial claims: territory as possession, as property, as jurisdiction and as identity.

Barton Edgerton, Tufts University

btedgerton@gmail.com

Disc. Jimmy Casas Klausen, University of Wisconsin, Madison

klausen@wisc.edu

35-3 <u>Electioneering</u>

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Justin Fox, Yale University

justin.fox@yale.edu

Paper Policy Targeting by Incumbents Who Fear Model

Misspecification

I adopt the Hansen-Sargent model of "robust decision making" to study incumbent decisions to target policy benefits toward specific subgroups of the electorate. The model has implications for when incumbents target base rather than swing voters.

Scott Ashworth, Princeton University

sashwort@gmail.com

Paper Sabotage Carryover in Elimination Contests

We construct a game theoretic model to analyze the effects of sabotage carryover in a two-stage elimination contest. We characterize the subgame perfect Nash equilibrium and show the applications of the game in the US presidential race.

 ${\bf Subhasish\ Modak\ Chowdhury}, {\it Purdue\ University}$

smodakch@purdue.edu

Roman M. Sheremeta, Purdue University

rshereme@purdue.edu

 $\textbf{Dan Kovenock}, \ \textit{University of Iowa}$

dan-kovenock@uiowa.edu

Paper Expert Advisers, Corrupt Politicians and Electoral Outcomes

This paper examines how the introduction of political accountability in a cheap talk setting influences the expert's incentives to reveal his information. I show the existence of two fully informative PBE, characterized by election manipulation.

Marco Di Maggio, Massachusetts Institute of Technology dimaggio@mit.edu

Disc. Razvan Vlaicu, University of Maryland

vlaicu@econ.umd.edu

36-1 Network Analysis

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Justin Hayward Gross, Carnegie Mellon University

jhgross@andrew.cmu.edu

Paper Linked Strategies: How Network Connectivity Affects

Individual Strategies in a Coordination Game

We utilize an experimental approach to identify the causal effect of changes in network structure on individual behavior. We demonstrate that individuals change their strategy in a network coordination game based on their position in the network.

Mathew D. McCubbins, University of California, San Diego mmccubbins@ucsd.edu

Nicholas Weller, University of Southern California

nweller@usc.edu

Paper Informed Decisions and War: How the Institutional Structure of Governments Shapes Their Behavior Regarding Threats and War

I analyze empirical data to show how the structure of governments shapes states' behavior regarding threats and war. I characterize governments as networks and find the model's parameters using techniques from signal analysis and information theory.

Wayne Allen Thornton, Harvard University

thornton@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Measuring Policy Networks from the World Wide Web

This paper proposes a new methodology for measuring policy networks from the World Wide Web, based on the lexical analysis of website content.

Adam Douglas Henry, Harvard University

adam_henry@ksg.harvard.edu

Paper Intelligence Networks: The Model Based Methodologies Problem

This paper examines the methodological aspects of intelligence networks building processes. One argues that intelligence networks foster social development and innovation setting the framework for a smart nation.

Mihaela Carmen Berbec, University of Bucharest

mihaela.berbec@gmail.com

Sorin Gabriel Sebe, University of Bucharest

sgs_icp@yahoo.com

Disc. Hans Noel, University of Michigan

hansnoel@umich.edu

Christian W. Martin, Northwestern University

christian-martin@northwestern.edu

37-3 The Impact of New Technologies on Public Administration

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Derrick L. Cogburn, Syracuse University

dcogburn@syr.edu

Paper All Wired Up? An Investigation of the Use of Information and Communication Technology in Public Vocational Rehabilitation Service Delivery

The paper presents the results of an investigation of the adoption and utilization patterns of Information and Communication Technology, particularly the Internet, by counselors within state Vocational Rehabilitation agencies in the United States.

Heike Boeltzig, University of Massachusetts, Boston

heike.boeltzig@umb.edu

Paper Knowledge Sharing Within the Administrative Services Functions of Government

The objective of the study is to provide a descriptive summary of key factors that determine the willingness of administrative services personnel to adopt innovative knowledge sharing technology.

Eugene J Akers, Auburn University, Montgomery

gene.akers@cat.aum.edu

Matthew Duke, Auburn University, Montgomery

mduke@cat.aum.edu

Paper Blogging for Policy and Management Purposes: Federal Agency Official and Unofficial Agency-Related Blogs

Examines the development of blogs by federal agencies and analyzes posts and comments in five federal agencies (State, DHS, HHS, FAA, EPA), as well as for two unofficial blogs corresponding to each agency, over two month long periods.

Priscilla Regan, George Mason University

pregan@gmu.edu

Julianne Mahler, George Mason University

jmahler@gmu.edu

Paper Changing the Face of Public Affairs: A Look at How Social Networking is Impacting the Business of the Public Sector

This research seeks to unmask the development and implementation of social networking in the public sector by empirically measuring growth and usage while focusing on innovative ways for administrators to employ social networking benefits.

Linda D. Smith, Texas Southern University

ldsmith 1913@yahoo.com

Disc. Adrian S. Petrescu, Kutztown University

aspetrescu@alumni.pitt.edu

39-3 Rhetorical Presidency

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Sean Savage, Saint Mary's College

ssavage@saintmarys.edu

Paper The Post-Rhetorical Presidency

We argue that, if the rhetorical presidency was about using communication to mobilize public support and achieve policy and political goals, the post-rhetorical presidency is about using presidential speech to distract and stymie the mass public.

Justin Scott Vaughn, Cleveland State University

j.s.vaughn@csuohio.edu

Jennifer R. Mercieca, Texas A&M University

mercieca@tamu.edu

Paper Justifying "The Rational Electoral Rhetorical Model": A Study of George W. Bush's Rhetoric

Using qualitative exegetical analysis to establish Bush as a "non-deliberative" presidential rhetorician, the paper then shifts to show empirically that even a "non-deliberative" presidential rhetorician is still a rational rhetorician.

Sam Potolicchio, Georgetown University

potolics@georgetown.edu

Paper The President's War Agenda: A Rhetorical View

Political scientists have yet to study the president's role in setting the war agenda. This study explores the war agendas of William McKinley and George W. Bush through the lens of Jeffrey Tulis' Rhetorical Presidency model.

Justin Rex, Wayne State University

dz7508@wayne.edu

Disc. Daniel DiSalvo, City College of New York

ddisalvo@ccny.cuny.edu

40-4 History of Congress I: The Early 20th Century

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Wendy Schiller, Brown University

Wendy_Schiller@Brown.edu

Paper Estimating the Value of Majority Status in the 1930s

This paper uses a new dataset of firm level campaign contributions to estimate whether the Democratic Party control of Congress in the 1930s disproportionately benefited firms with connections to the Democratic Party.

Shigeo Hirano, Columbia University

sh145@columbia.edu

Paper The Seventeenth Amendment and Mandate Politics: Woodrow Wilson and the Senate's Public Tour for the League of Nations

This paper brings President Woodrow Wilson and the Senate's conflict over the League of Nations, to enlighten the Senate's new feature of claiming the directly "mandated power" after changing the electoral system through the Seventeenth Amendment.

Ji Eun Kim, Seoul National University

martinakim@snu.ac.kr

Paper The Rise and Decline of Moderates in Congress, 1900-2006

Analysis of why moderates appeared in the 1930s and then

gradually declined in Congress

Jeffrey M. Stonecash, Syracuse University

jstoneca@syr.edu

Jon Bond, *Texas A&M University* jonbond@politics.tamu.edu

Richard Fleisher, Fordham University

fleisher@fordham.edu

Paper Surviving Legislative Deadlock: The 17th Amendment and

Institutional Change in the U.S. Senate

This project will examine both the exogenous and endogenous processes contributing to the passage of the 17th Amendment, allowing for direct election of US Senators.

Daniel Cicenia, University of Florida

dcicenia@ufl.edu

Disc. Wendy Schiller, Brown University

Wendy_Schiller@Brown.edu

Keith Dougherty, University of Georgia

dougherk@uga.edu

40-26 Parties and Committees in the U.S. Congress

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair Henry A. Kim, University of Arizona

h27kim@email.arizona.edu

Paper Partisan Dynamics of Committee Bias in the U.S. House of Representatives

I derive propositions on committee bias by utilizing a signaling game and empirically test them. The committee assignment information of the minority party is valuable to the majority party leaders when allocating their party members on committees.

Hong Min Park, Washington University, St. Louis

hmpark@wustl.edu

Paper Outliers Incorporated: Are Committees Composed of Policy-Specific High Demanders?

We conduct the first test for the presence of committee outliers that uses direct and jurisdiction-specific estimates of spending preferences. Our analysis reveals many preference outliers that other approaches could not identify.

Jesse Travis Richman, Old Dominion University

jrichman@odu.edu

James Battista, University of Buffalo, SUNY

jbattist@buffalo.edu

Paper Electoral Feedback, Legislator Adaptation and the Dynamics of Party Unity in the U.S. House

I assess the impact of electoral feedback upon the willingness of legislators in the U.S. House to vote with their party on roll-call votes. I then consider the implications of such feedback for a dynamic model of party unity in the U.S. House.

Charles Doriean, University of Michigan

cdoriean@umich.edu

Disc. Henry A. Kim, University of Arizona

h27kim@email.arizona.edu

41-4 <u>Critical Elections from a Congressional Perspective</u>

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Richard M. Skinner, Bowdoin College

rskinner@bowdoin.edu

Paper The Bush Legacy in the 2008 Congressional Elections

Using aggregate electoral and survey data from the 2008 Cooperative Congressional Election Study, this paper explores the effects of damage done by the Bush administration to the Republican Party brand name on the 2008 congressional elections.

Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego gjacobson@ucsd.edu

Paper Critical Congressional Elections: A Time Series Analysis of Partisan Realignment in the United States

This paper aims to rehabilitate critical election theory using time series analysis to develop and examine a theory of partisan realignment through critical congressional elections.

Michael J. Faber, *University of Southern Indiana* mfaber@indiana.edu

Paper Putting Critical Elections in Historical Context, 1856-2006

This paper assesses critical elections in American politics, i.e., those that are dramatic and durable relative to their political epoch, and explains electoral shifts using marginal seats, swing ratio, incumbency advantage, and coat-tail effects.

Tom Brunell, University of Texas, Dallas

tbrunell@utdalllas.edu

Bernard Grofman, University of California, Irvine

bgrofman@uci.edu

Samuel Merrill, III, Wilkes University

smerrill@zhonka.net

Disc. Antoine Yoshinaka, University of California, Riverside

antoine@ucr.edu

42-2 <u>Courts in Hybrid Regimes (Co-sponsored with</u> <u>Comparative Politics: Political Institutions, see 5-24)</u>

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

Chair Nancy Maveety, Tulane University

nance@tulane.edu

Paper Biting the Feeding Hand: Examining Judicial Defection in Hybrid Regimes

When do judges defer and when do they defy? This paper examines the conditions under which judges overrule the executive in hybrid regimes. Theoretical contentions are tested, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in the case of the Philippines.

Rodelio Manacsa, University of the South

romanacs@sewanee.edu

Paper Emergence of Judicial Power in Hybrid African Democracies

Why do some hybrid regimes tolerate a strong judiciary and others do not? This paper suggests that divergent levels of judicial viability and institutional legitimacy appear to account for the presence of strong judicial power in weak democracies.

Rachel L Ellett, Beloit College

ellettr@beloit.edu

Paper Judicial Decision-Making in Growingly Illiberal Regimes: Evidence from Venezuela

In this paper I assess judicial support for the government in Venezuela using the 'judicial loyalties' approach. I look at a sample of salient decisions made by the Supreme Court of Venezuela during the 1999-2008 period (Hugo Chavez's government).

Raul A. Sanchez Urribarri, Tulane University

sanchezu@tulane.edu

Paper Political Competition and Judicial Disempowerment in Georgia and Ukraine

By focusing on the politics and timing of recent judicial reforms and the nature of political competition in Georgia and Ukraine, this paper argues that the presence of strong political opposition may not be sufficient to build powerful courts.

Alexei Trochev, University of Wisconsin

trochev@wisc.edu

Disc. Nancy Maveety, Tulane University

nance@tulane.edu

42-23 Experience, Expectations and Fairness in the Legal System

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

Chair Michael A. Unger, Ramapo College

unger@ramapo.edu

Paper Deliberating Democracy: The Connection Between Jury Deliberation and Perceptions of Legitimacy

This study uses juror survey data to examine whether the act of jury deliberation increases the likelihood that jurors view their local courts as being legitimate. The results show a positive relationship between jury deliberation and legitimacy.

Adam Joseph Pernsteiner, University of South Carolina

pernstei@mailbox.sc.edu

Paper Procedural Fairness and Recent Court Experience: Examining Expectations of Fair Treatment

The impact of recent court experiences upon expectations of fair treatment is studied. Fair treatment leads to future expectations of individual fairness, but these individuals are less likely than others to generally expect courts to be fair.

Mitchel N. Herian, University of Nebraska

mnherian@nebraska.edu

Paper The Expectations Gap and Perceptions of Fairness in Civil Litigation

This paper explores perceptions of fairness in the court system by analyzing the gap between litigant expectations and litigation outcomes, using a unique dataset collected by RAND to evaluate the Civil Justice Reform Act of 1990.

Joseph W. Doherty, University of California, Los Angeles

doherty@law.ucla.edu

 ${\bf Stephen\ Carroll}, {\it Rand\ Organization}$

sjc@rand.org

Paper Excessive Damage: State Supreme Court Decisions on Punitive Damages Before and After BMW vs Gore

We examine how state supreme courts react to Supreme Court precedent laid out on punitive damages in BMW v. Gore using a large N data set and multiple theoretical perspectives.

Scott D McClurg, Southern Illinois University

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Scott A. Comaprato, Southern Illinois University

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Paul E. McGreal, Southern Illinois University

pmcgreal@siu.edu

Disc. Michael A. Unger, Ramapo College

unger@ramapo.edu

Wendy L. Watson, Southern Methodist University

wendyw@smu.edu

43-11 The Bill of Rights: Doctrine and Policy

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Susan Mezey, Loyola University, Chicago

smezey@luc.edu

Paper The Creation of Economic Development Takings: The Institute of Justice and Kelo vs New London

This paper will investigate the emergence and implications of Kelo v. New London, CT (2005) and the idea of economic development takings in American politics.

William R. Wilkerson, University at Oneonta, SUNY

wilkerwr@oneonta.edu

Paper A Tale of Two Cities: Liberty and Security at the 2008 National Political Conventions

A comparative study of intergovernmental relationships in planning for and protecting public safety, security, and rights of political expression at the 2008 national political conventions in Denver and St. Paul.

Lloyd Burton, University of Colorado

lloyd.burton@ucdenver.edu

Paper Doctors in Court, Laws on Trial: Medical Jurisprudence and the APA De-Classification of Homosexuality

After homosexuality was removed from the DSM, the Court continued to use anti-homosexual medical terminology for decades. Regulation of public morality and "crimes against nature" remained as legal cover for the Court's anti-homosexual beliefs.

Alex Dunning Jakle, *University of Michigan* ajakle@umich.edu

Paper Can Courts Regulate the Economy?: A Critique of the Chicago School of Antitrust Analysis

With the economy faltering, courts will be asked to assume a more prominent role in regulating the economy. This paper examines the influence of the Chicago School in limiting enforcement of the antitrust statutes and re-defining the role of the Court

David Ramsey, *Baylor University* general_97@hotmail.com

Paper Scalia in D.C. vs Heller: "You'll Shoot Your Eye Out Kid"

My thesis is that pro-gun groups were so worried that the DC gun ban would be upheld that they failed to respond to the centrist decision in Heller authored by Scalia who rendered a decision far to the left of his usual adjudications.

Lori M. Maxwell, *Tennessee Tech University* LMMaxwell@tntech.edu

Disc. Susan Mezey, Loyola University, Chicago

smezey@luc.edu
Steve Sanders, University of Michigan
stevesan@umich.edu

45-3 State Courts

Room Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Teena Wilhelm, University of Georgia

twilhelm@uga.edu

Paper Buying Judges vs Buying Legislators: Campaign Contributions in State Judicial and Legislative Elections

Using an original data set of state legislative and judicial races, I test the idea that campaign contributions affect judicial and legislative races differently in order to determine where campaign contributions have more of an impact.

Kristen Coopie, *University of Pittsburgh* krc37@pitt.edu

Paper From Shaking Hands to Buying Air Time: Television Advertising in State Supreme Court Races

In this paper we examine the change in political advertising in judicial races from 2000 to 2008. We argue that judicial ads have become more balanced and therefore have the capacity to generate more democratic, less interest-driven elections.

Amnon Cavari, University of Wisconsin, Madison cavari@polisci.wisc.edu

Matthew Holleque, University of Wisconsin, Madison holleque@wisc.edu

Jacob Neiheisel, University of Wisconsin, Madison neiheisel@wisc.edu

Paper Career Satisfaction and Retirement Plans Among Elected Trial Court Judges

n/a

Jennifer Jensen, *University at Binghamton*, *SUNY* jjensen@binghamton.edu

Disc. Brian DiSarro, California State University, Sacramento disarrob@saclink.csus.edu

46-14 <u>Contesting Local Elections: Race, Representation and Motivation</u>

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Lester Kenyatta Spence, Johns Hopkins University unbowed@gmail.com

Paper What Motivates County Commissioners to Seek Office?

This paper seeks to understand the motivations of those who seek the office of county commissioner.

Ross Cory Alexander, North Georgia College & State University realexander@ngesu.edu

Paper Coloring America's City Halls: African-American, Latino and Asian Fortunes at the Ballot Box

Longitudinal analysis of race and representation in over 3000 cities between 1981 and 2006.

Paru Shah, Macalester College shahp@macalester.edu

Melissa Marschall, Rice University

marschal@rice.edu

Anirudh Ruhil, Ohio University

ruhil@ohio.edu

Paper A Slingshot for the Urban David: How Local Referenda Provide Pluralist Representation, not Regime Theory Solution Sets, in Sports Stadium Policy

Growth Machine and Regime Theory share the premise that (progressive) majorities are often defeated by organized minorities. Case studies of sports stadium financing demonstrate the utility of referenda for overcoming collective action problems.

Richard Keiser, Carleton College

rkeiser@carleton.edu

Paper The Difference Between Local and National Partisan

Representation

At the county level there is a low correlation between the party affiliation of local officials and partisan voting for president. This paper explores the reasons for the disjuncture.

Jessica Trounstine, Princeton University

jtrounst@princeton.edu

Kristen Badal, Princeton University

kbadal@princeton.edu

Paper When Race Isn't Enough: Localism in Urban Elections

Examines the effects of localism on candidate support in urban elections in racially homogenous cities.

Brady Baybeck, University of Missouri, St. Louis

baybeck@umsl.edu

Jeremy W. Main, University of Missouri, St. Louis

JeremyMain@umsl.edu

Laura Wiedlocher, University of Missouri, St. Louis

lebeee@umsl.edu

Disc. Richard L. Engstrom, Duke University

richard.engstrom@uno.edu

47-3 Agenda Setting and Agenda Stasis in Government Bureaucracies

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Augustine Hammond, Augusta State University

ahammon3@aug.edu

Paper Voices in the Woods: Bureaucratic Signaling and Attention in Financial Regulation

Within the area of financial regulation, we examine how bureaucratic signaling influences attention allocation in Congress in the context of different patterns of interest mobilization since the Second World War.

Samuel Workman, *University of Texas*, *Austin* sworkman@austin.utexas.edu

JoBeth Shafran, University of Texas, Austin

jsurfaceshafran@gmail.com

Paper The Budgetary Effects of Cooperation and Competition in Space Policy from 1960-2000

This paper examines NASA's budget from 1960-2000 using the Policy Agendas data (Baumgartner and Jones 2004). We attempt to explain periods of budgetary incrementalism vs drastic change based on cooperation or conflict in the international space race.

Kristin Campbell, University at Buffalo, SUNY

kcampbel@buffalo.edu

Kyeonghi Baek, Buffalo State University

baekk@buffalostate.edu

Paper Policy Institutions and Networks in Agenda Setting: Explaining the Agenda Stasis in Colonial Hong Kong's Harbour Reclamation Policy

The sustained agenda stasis in Hong Kong's reclamation policy during the colonial period can be explained in terms of institutioninduced costs and network formation.

Kwan Nok Chan, University of Hong Kong

kwannok.chan@hkusua.hku.hk

Paper Left Behind in the Loopholes: An Examination of Bureaucratic Goal Displacement in Response to the No Child Left Behind Act

This analysis examines bureaucratic goal displacement of organizations in response to No Child Left Behind Act, positing a model based on policy pressures, internal bureaucratic characteristics and external dynamics.

Meredith Brooke Loudd Walker, Texas A&M University

mwalker@politics.tamu.edu

Disc. Augustine Hammond, Augusta State University

ahammon3@aug.edu

Suho Bae, San Francisco State University

bae@sfsu.edu

47-12 Framing the Deserving, the Disfavored, and the Disagreeable

Room Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Chair Ann Chih Lin, *University of Michigan*

annlin@umich.edu

Paper Gender, Race, and the Politics of Deservedness: Understanding
Shifting Views of on Bankruptcy Policy and Claimants in the

This paper uses content analysis of New York Times articles appearing from 1969-2008 to examine whether the recent, positive trends toward bankruptcy claimants has to do with the changing demographics of those typically associated with bankruptcy. Erin E. O'Brien, University of Massachusetts, Boston

erin.obrien@umb.edu

Paper Weighing In?: Moral Judgments, Public Health and Policy Construction

This paper examines the extent that negative judgments of obese persons affect the formation of public health policy in the U.S. We suspect that negative moral judgments of the "overweight" as lazy and unworthy shape support for policy outcomes.

Alisa Kessel, University of Puget Sound

akessel@ups.edu

Natalie Masuoka, Tufts University

natalie.masuoka@tufts.edu

Paper Public Opinion and Anti-obesity Policy: What Predicts Mass and Elite Preferences for Policy Solutions?

This paper examines public opinion and perceptions of the growing public health problem of obesity to determine what factors predict a preference for policy solutions to reduce its prevalence. Are the same factors at work among a set of elites?

Gail Meier Rodriguez, University of Kansas gmrodrig@ku.edu

Paper Governance Networks Within a Political Environment: The Mechanism Design of Drug Abuse Control Center in Taiwan

While this paper focuses on the concepts of policy networks and public service delivery in Drug Abuse Control Center. We will use research method—interviews in this case to analyze the new organization of Drug Abuse Control Center in Taiwan.

Yan-yi Chang, Cincinnati Christian University

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Chin-Cher Chen, Cincinnati Christian University

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Yu-Hsuan Tsai, Purdue University

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Disc. Ann Chih Lin, University of Michigan

annlin@umich.edu

Stephen Pimpare, Yeshiva University

pimpare@yu.edu

48-8 Neoliberal Policies and Economic Development

Room Medinah on the 6th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Kevin Lucas, University of Minnesota

luca0058@umn.edu

Paper Examining the Distribution of the Costs and Benefits of Official Dollarization: Lessons from Ecuador and El Salvador

In 2000, Ecuador and El Salvador abandoned their domestic currencies and adopted the US dollar. This paper examines the consequences of that decision, with a particular focus on how the policy's costs and benefits have been distributed.

Kevin Edward Lucas, University of Minnesota

luca0058@umn.edu

Paper Critiquing Neoliberalism: A Quantitative Analysis

By quantitatively examining the published critiques of neoliberalism, this paper asks if these critiques are supported by the available data. An analysis of the relationships between liberalization data and economic data is conducted.

Jeremy L. Bowling, *Eastern Illinois University* thecenterpath@gmail.com

Paper A Response to Globalization: A Strike Back from Domestic Governments

This paper offers a policy to reduce the length of unemployment due to trade liberalization. The link between the reduction in the unemployment rate and retraining programs, and the duration of joblessness and advance notification is established.

Kritsadathan Kachathan, Texas Tech University

kritsadathan.kachathan@ttu.edu

Disc. Vikrum Sequeira, University of Texas, Austin

vikrum@mail.utexas.edu

50-3 The Three R's: Reorganization, Rulemaking, and Regulation

Room Honore on the Lobby Level, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Lindsey Lupo, Point Loma Nazarene University

lindseylupo@pointloma.edu

Paper Threat and Response: Group Participation in Administrative Rulemaking

This paper explores the relationship between the content of rules proposed by federal administrative agencies and the types of interest groups that participate in the rulemaking process.

Jill D Nicholson-Crotty, University of Missouri

nicholsoncrottyj@missouri.edu

Sean Nicholson-Crotty, University of Missouri

nicholsoncrottys@missouri.edu

Paper Does Political Accountability Lead to Regulatory Delay? An Empirical Assessment of Federal Agency Rulemaking

Does political accountability delay regulatory policymaking? Using forecasting models on a new dataset of 500 government regulations, I assess the costs and benefits associated with political accountability during federal agency rulemaking.

Susan Webb Yackee, *University of Wisconsin, Madison* syackee@lafollette.edu

Paper Beyond Reorganization Rhetoric: Structural Reorganization as a Means to More Effective Policy

In arguing that federal reorganization is best viewed through a policy rather than management lens, this paper provides a more practical and effective approach to understanding the past and future reorganization efforts.

Beryl A. Radin, American University

radin@american.edu

Joshua M. Chanin, American University jc9655a@student.american.edu

Disc. Carol Ann Traut, University of Texas, Permian Basin traut c@utpb.edu

51-2 Crime, Fire, and Disaster

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair Peter John Haas, San Jose State University

haas@sjsu.edu

Paper Public Goods Provision and Ruling Party Type: A Study of Fire Control in American Cities

This paper uses actuarial data on the performance of municipal fire departments, along with indicators for income inequality and ethnic fractionalization, to test Grynaviski's claim that machine-run cities provide greater amounts of public goods.

Jeffrey D. Grynaviski, *University of Chicago* grynaviski@uchicago.edu

Paper The Formation of the American Police State

An examination of how the formation of the post-9/11 police state is linked to an overall historical trend in America that started after the Revolutionary War.

Andrew Kolin, *Hilbert College* akolin@hilbert.edu

Paper Institutional Development as a Consequence of Displaced Capacity: The Creation of the New York State Police Force and the 1916 National Defense Act

With the New York state police as a case study, this paper argues that bureaucratic development is best understood with reference not merely to the demonstrated capacity of the bureaucracy in question but also to those indirectly connected to it.

Simon Gilhooley, *Cornell University* sjg67@cornell.edu

Disc. Peter John Haas, San Jose State University haas@sjsu.edu

54-2 <u>Inter-Religious Conflict, Theory, and Toleration</u>

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair Marie A. Eisenstein. Indiana University Northwest

maeisens@iun.edu

Paper Irreconcilable Differences? Political Islam, Religious Minorities, and Religious Tolerance in Indonesia

This paper develops a comprehensive analysis to explain recent cases of inter-religious conflicts (between Muslims and members of Indonesia's religious minorities), taking into account both international and domestic causal factors.

Alexander R. Arifianto, *Arizona State University* alexander.arifianto@asu.edu

Paper The Psychological Antecedents of Political Tolerance and the Role of Religion

Marcus et al. (1995) argued that "antecedent considerations" were two types of influences on political tolerance decisions. Religion was not included although it arguably influences these "considerations". This project remedies that deficiency.

Marie A. Eisenstein, İndiana University Northwest maeisens@iun.edu

Paper Religion and Politics in Kano, Nigeria: A Critical Analysis

In the recent past clashes have taken place between Christians and Muslims in Kano, northern Nigeria, which is governed under Shari'a law. This empirical paper focuses on the relationship between civic groups and local government.

Heather Mary Deegan, Middlesex University

h.deegan@mdx.ac.uk

Paper

Eric Fromm Revisited: The Tension Between Religious Humanism and Religious Pathology

This paper examines Eric Fromm's theory of pathology and humanism in religious politics within the context of developments in neuroscience and cognitive theory. It develops a strong framework for critiquing contemporary religious politics.

Carter Andrew Wilson, University of Toledo

carter.wilson@utoledo.edu

Disc. Maurice Moshe Eisenstein, Purdue University, Calumet

m_eisens@calumet.purdue.edu

54-20 Religious Institutions and Political Intermediaries

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair David E. Campbell, University of Notre Dame
dave_campbell@nd.edu

Paper Neoliberalization and Islam: The Case of AKP

The role of Islamic oriented actors is transforming, as they get integrated in the global economy. The governing party in Turkey, AKP, is an interesting case to explore the impact of neoliberalism on the relationship of politics and religion.

Meltem Ersoy, *George Mason University* ersoy.meltem@gmail.com

Paper Exploring the Religious Left: The Response of Religious Organizations to the Iraq War

This paper examines the political activities of faith-based groups opposed to the Iraq War, determining the degree to which members of the "religious left" have mobilized in response to this conflict **Shannon Marie Scotece**, *University at Albany, SUNY*

ss131955@albany.edu

Paper Interest Groups, Polarization, and Abortion Debate Structure: Social Network Analysis of "Frames"

How do interest groups develop their own "niches" in highly ideologically contested policy areas? Using social network analysis, this study looks at how certain frames become connected to interest groups to form patterns over time.

Rentaro Iida, Georgetown University

ri34@georgetown.edu

Paper Political Piety in the Secular Society: Political Islamic Parties in Indonesia and Turkey

The study on political Islamic parties that focuses on Indonesia and Turkey' growing popular support for Partai Keadilan and AKP respectively.

Emel Elif Tugdar, West Virginia University

etugdar@mix.wvu.edu

Liana Adi Rahmawati, West Virginia University

lrahmawa@mix.wvu.edu

Paper Incumbent and Oppositional Differences in Attitudes Towards Democracy: The Turkish Case

The pro-Islamist incumbent party has been increasingly identified with more pro-democratic attitudes while the age-old social democratic main opposition party has been accused of totalitarian tendencies.

Hasret Dikici Bilgin, *Sabanci University* hasretdb@su.sabanciuniv.edu

Disc. Erum Shaikh, University of North Texas

erum_s2002@yahoo.com

58-101 Roundtable: Making the Jump From Faculty to Administration

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Have you ever been told you would make a great administrator? Have you ever considered moving to the dark side of higher education ... that is, administration?

Panelist Jean Wahl Harris, University of Scranton

harrisj2@scranton.edu

Susan Welch, Pennsylvania State University swelch@la.psu.edu

Barbara Bardes, University of Cincinnati

bardesba@ucrwcu.rwc.uc.edu

Lorrie Clemo, University at Oswego, SUNY

clemo@oswego.edu

60-2 LGBT Issues in Comparative Perspective

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Phyllis Farley Rippey, Western Illinois University

pf-rippey@wiu.edu

Paper Democracy, Discursive Frames, and Same-Sex Unions: A Cross-National Analysis of Legislation

We develop provisional insights into the diffusion of same-sex legislation. We find the independence of courts, the type of electoral system, consociationalism, and the status of similar legislation in other states are useful explanatory variables.

Jean C. Robinson, Indiana University

robinso@indiana.edu

Ahmed Khanani, Indiana University

akhanani@indiana.edu

Paper Electing LGB Legislators: Who Wins Where?

More than 70 lesbian, gay, or bisexual legislators currently serve in 30 of the 50 states. This paper provides a first data-driven look at the political circumstances and types of districts in which such candidates have emerged and been successful.

Michael Philip Fisher, *Hunter College*, *CUNY* mpfisher@gmail.com

Paper Determinants of Electoral Support for Anti-Gay Marriage Constitutional Amendments: An Examination of 2008 Votes on Ballot Measures in the States

In the fall 2008 general election, three states are considering constitutional amendments banning gay marriage. This paper examines the determinants of support for ballot measures in those states --California, Arizona, and Florida.

Christopher Burnett, California State University, Long Beach cburnett@csulb.edu

William M. Salka, Eastern Connecticut State University salkaw@easternct.edu

Disc. Barry Tadlock, Ohio University

tadlock@ohio.edu

62-1 Political Movements

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair James R. Simmons, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

simmons@uwosh.edu

Paper Social Movements and the World Social Forum: Struggles over Class Formation?

The paper examines the understudied social forum phenomenon, suggesting that we place renewed interest in the relevance of the structuring matrix of capital and class relations to better understand contemporary social movement based resistance.

Peter Nikolaus Funke, University of Pennsylvania

pfunke@sas.upenn.edu

Paper Waiting for Lefty? The State of the Peace Movement in the United States

This paper tests the hypothesis is that the US movement for peace in Iraq is less developed than one might expect because activists continued to hope through 2008 that the next election would bring an end to the war.

John C. Berg, Suffolk University

jberg@suffolk.edu

Disc.

Paper Party Crashers: The "Others" in the 2008 Election

This paper will analyze the performance of third and fourth parties in the 2008 national election. It will use opinion polls, internet trends and voting behavior to assess the impact of minor party candidates on the election's outcome.

James R. Simmons, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh simmons@uwosh.edu

Solon J. Simmons, *George Mason University* ssimmon5@gmu.edu

John Bokina, University of Texas, Pan American castus8@aol.com

Thursday, April 2-2:45 pm

New Approaches to Emotion and Politics (Co-sponsored with Political Psychology, see 21-23)

Room Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Chair Yanna Krupnikov, University of Michigan vanna@umich.edu

Paper Measuring Subjective Emotional Responses: Contrasting Two **Approaches to Measurement**

We have developed a new method for measuring emotional responses suitable for assessing reactions to issues, candidate, or leaders or other political stimuli. In this paper we extend our work with new data using adult subjects.

George E. Marcus, University of California, Irvine

George.E.Marcus@williams.edu

W. Russell Neuman, University of Michigan

rneuman@umich.edu

Michael B. MacKuen, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill MacKuen@unc.edu

Paper The Ick Factor: Disgust Sensitivity as a Predictor of Political **Attitudes**

An investigation of the relationship between various political attitudes and involuntary physical responses to disgusting stimuli.

Kevin B Smith, University of Nebraska, Lincoln ksmith1@unl.edu

Douglas R. Oxley, University of Nebraska, Lincoln oxley@inebraska.com

Matthew V. Hibbing, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign matthewhibbing@hotmail.com

John R. Alford, Rice University

jra@rice.edu

John R. Hibbing, University of Nebraska, Lincoln jhibbing@unl.edu

Paper **Does Affective Contagion Promote Coherent Political Thinking?**

This paper extends the affective contagion hypothesis. We manipulate affective cues to determine their effects on political judgments and behavior. Findings would shed light on the role of incidental affect on voter thinking and reasoning.

Cengiz Erisen, University at Stony Brook, SUNY cengiz.erisen@stonybrook.edu

Milton Lodge, University at Stony Brook, SUNY

Milton.lodge@sunysb.edu

Charles S. Taber, University at Stony Brook, SUNY

Charles.Taber@sunysb.edu

The Politics of Fear Paper

Politicians use fear to influence the electorate. However, explanations of the psychological processes of how fear influences political positions have been largely absent. We propose that genes, in part, influence general reactions to "fear" stimuli.

Peter K. Hatemi, University of Iowa

phatemi@gmail.com

Rose McDermott, Brown University rmcdermott@polsci.ucsb.edu

Disc. Shana Kushner Gadarian, Princeton University

skushner@princeton.edu

3-100 **Roundtable: Participation in Latin America**

Spire on the 6th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

> This roundtable gathers scholars to examine institutions for increased citizen involvement in local politics that have emerged in developing countries. Focusing on Latin America, we consider the causes and consequences of the new institutions.

Panelist Stephanie McNulty, Franklin and Marshall College

stephanie.mcnulty@fandm.edu

Aaron Schneider, Tulane University

aarons@tulane.edu

Brian Wampler, Boise State University

bwampler@boisestate.edu

Benjamin Goldfrank, Seton Hall University

goldfrbe@shu.edu

Carew Boulding, University of Colorado, Boulder

Carew.Boulding@Colorado.EDU

4-4 **Democratization**

Medinah on the 6th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Daniel C. O'Neill, Washington University, St. Louis Chair

danoneill@wustl.edu

Transitioning from Pseudo-Democracy to Democracy: What **Paper Happens When the Puppeteer Leaves?**

The behavior of individuals who want to obtain or retain power is vital to the survival of democracy. Using a new dataset of Cold War interventions we examine long term effects on democracy of politicians turning to external powers for covert aid.

Daniel Berger, New York University

db1299@nyu.edu

Alejandro Quiroz Flores, New York University

aqf200@nyu.edu

Regime Change, Leader Surival, and Economic Aid Paper

This paper attempts to address a regime change puzzle by focusing on the relationship between leader survival and economic aid.

Seiki Tanaka, University of Tokyo

seiki.tanaka@yale.edu

Demand-Driven Democratization Paper

I develop a model which illustrates how demand for democracy matters for transitions toward and away from democracy, as well as for democratic stability. I test the model using public opinion data.

Christopher Claassen, Washington University, St Louis claassen@wustl.edu

Paper **State Strength and Democratization**

This paper examines the effect of state capacity (strength and scope) on survival of democratic regimes that have recently transitioned from authoritarian rule.

Daniel William Kuthy, Georgia State University

dkuthy1@student.gsu.edu

Disc. Jose Aleman, Fordham University

aleman@fordham.edu

Daniel C. O'Neill, Washington University, St. Louis

danoneill@wustl.edu

4-20 **International Factors and Regime Change**

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Ayse Zarakol, Washington and Lee University Chair

zarakola@wlu.edu

Paper The Role of the European Union in the Democratization Processes of Post-Soviet Eastern Europe: Is the EU a Viable

Tool for Democracy Promotion?

The EU has offered much assistance to the democratizing states of eastern Europe. However, due to institutional constraints and domestic pressures the European Union has failed to adequately promote democratic rule within many former Soviet republics

Christopher Allan Janzen, Brock University

cj03vq@brocku.ca

Paper Democratic Consolidation in the Shadow of the Dissatisfied Power: An Event History Analysis

I join the discussion of the international effect on democratic consolidation in this paper, arguing that a possible dissatisfied power can help consolidate democratic performance of its neighboring countries.

Wen-Yang Chang, Claremont Graduate University wenyange@gmail.com

Paper Diffusion or Confusion? How International Economic and Political Shocks Induce Democratization Around the World

We find that much of the effect attributed to diffusion in fact arises from external economic and political influences

Christian Houle, University of Rochester

choule@mail.rochester.edu

Mark Kayser, University of Rochester

mark.kayser@rochester.edu

 $\textbf{Jun Xiang}, \ \textit{University of Rochester}$

jun.xiang@rochester.edu

Paper International Factors and Regime Change in Latin America, 1945-2005

We analyze transitions to democracy and breakdowns in 20 Latin American countries in 1945-2005. The results indicate that traditional theories of democratization based on domestic explanations cannot account for waves of democracy.

Scott Mainwaring, University of Notre Dame

mainwaring.1@nd.edu

Anibal Perez-Linan, University of Pittsburgh

anibal.perez.linan@gmail.com

Disc. Frank Plantan, University of Pennsylvania

fplantan@sas.upenn.edu

5-5 **Institutions and Party Competition**

Room Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Royce Carroll, Rice University

rcarroll@rice.edu

Paper Party Motivations and Platform Choice Under Proportional Representation Electoral Rules

We use a formal model to study the relationships between voter preferences, the motivations of party elites, and the choice of party platforms under proportional representation electoral rules.

Matt Golder, Florida State University

mgolder@fsu.edu

Sona Golder, Florida State University

sgolder@fsu.edu

David Siegel, Florida State University

dsiegel@fsu.edu

Paper Partisanship, Enfranchisement, and the Historical Transformation of Political Finance in Britain

Data on bribes and campaign expenses in Victorian Britain show that the extension of the franchise had only a limited impact on electioneering spending; rising partisanship actually increased electoral corruption.

Christopher Kam, University of British Columbia

ckam@interchange.ubc.ca

Paper <u>Electoral Competition and Office Allocation</u>

Examines variation in the distribution of cabinet portfolios across regimes in light of electoral cooperation.

Royce Carroll, Rice University

rcarroll@rice.edu

Paper Spatial Approach of Party Movement

We test a hypothesis that a party shifts its position (in a certain direction) when it lost in an previous election, unless the policy preferences of the electorate have moved – in the course of that electoral cycle – in the opposite direction.

Riccardo Pelizzo, Griffith University

r.pelizzo@griffith.edu.au

Myunghee Kim, University of Central Florida myukim@mail.ucf.edu

Disc. Kenneth Benoit, Trinity College, Dublin

kbenoit@tcd.ie

5-6 Measurement Challenges in the Study of Political Institutions

Room Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm **Chair Rene Lindstaedt**, *Trinity College*, *Dublin*

rene.lindstaedt@tcd.ie

Paper A Revised Typology of African Political Parties

Typologies of political parties 'travel' with difficulty to new African democracies. In this paper, we modify an existing typology of parties, and evaluate its usefulness using primary data from four African parties in South Africa and Namibia.

Shane Mac Giollabhui, University College Cork

s.macgiollabhui@ucc.ie

Paper <u>Tracing Institutional Change in Liberal Democracies</u>

The proposed paper seeks to trace and compare institutional change as perceived by three different data sources. Our aim is to evaluate their relative capacity to depict institutional change.

Jessica Fortin, Leuphana Universität Lüneburg

jessica.fortin1@mail.mcgill.ca

Philipp Harfst, Universität Greifswald

harfst@uni.leuphana.de

Paper

Estimating Cross-Country Common Space Ideal Point Scores Using European Parliament Bridge Actors

Roll call-based ideal point estimates of national parliaments cannot be compared across countries. I propose a solution, employing parliamentarians who serve together in the European Parliament as bridges. The result is a common ideological scale.

Boris Shor, University of Chicago

bshor@uchicago.edu

Paper Stability and Change in the Freedom House Data

Using dynamic Bayesian measurement models, this paper reestimates the Freedom House's Political Rights and Civil Liberties indicators. The result shows that there is a considerable amount of information hiding in the PR and CL indicators.

David A. Armstrong, Oxford University david.armstrong@politics.ox.ac.uk

Disc. Shane Mac Giollabhui, University College Cork

s.macgiollabhui@ucc.ie

Rene Lindstaedt, Trinity College, Dublin

rene.lindstaedt@tcd.ie

6-1 <u>Opinions Toward Immigration and Integration in</u> Europe

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Jennifer Fitzgerald, University of Colorado, Boulder

jennifer.fitzgerald@colorado.edu

Paper How Perceptions of "Us" Influence Attitudes Toward "Them": Comparative Study of Public Attitudes toward Immigrants and

Ethnic Minorities
This paper examines how public attitudes toward immigrants and ethnic minorities are influenced by different perceptions of the citizenship and of national pride and consider how economic and

Seung-Jin Jang, Columbia University

sj2033@columbia.edu

Paper A Heterogeneous Approach to Public Opinion Towards Immigration in Germany: Prejudice and Social Desirability Pige

political contexts of the country mediate these effects.

In an attempt to explain opposition to immigration in Germany, this paper differentiates across immigrants ethnically for a better illustration of the role of symbolic and economic concerns as well as social desirability bias.

Basak Yavcan Ural, University of Pittsburgh

bay4@pitt.edu

Turkey and the European Union at the Crossroads Paper

European Union enlargement that includes Turkey has been progressing very slowly, with a lot of consternation both in the EU and Turkey. This paper examines Turkish attitudes toward the EU and analyzes what they may mean for Turkish - EU relations.

Ersin M. Kalaycioglu, Sabanci University, Istanbul

kalaycie@sabanciuniv.edu

Paper Need for Speed? How Capacity for Change Influences Public **Opinion**

The paper relates system-inherent capacity of change of national political institutions to the formation of public opinion and mobilization in the European integration process

Malang Thomas, University of Konstanz

thomas.malang@uni-konstanz.de

Jennifer Fitzgerald, University of Colorado, Boulder Disc. jennifer.fitzgerald@colorado.edu

7-4 **Immigration and Migration in European Politics**

Room Honore on the Lobby Level, Thur at 2:45 pm

Beate Sissenich, Indiana University Chair

bsisseni@indiana.edu

Xenophobia and Immigrant Contact: British Public Attitudes Paper **Toward Immigrants**

How does the presence of immigrants or minorities in a local community affect racial and xenophobic attitudes in the UK?

Seth Jolly, Syracuse University skjolly@maxwell.syr.edu

Gerald Digiusto, Princeton University

digiusto@gmail.com

European Pathways from September 11th: The Role of Public Paper **Opinion**

Drawing upon data from several West European countries from the 1950s forward, this paper asks if European public opinion become more illiberal on immigration-related questions as a consequence of September 11th and subsequent terrorist events?

Anthony Mark Messina, University of Notre Dame messina.3@nd.edu

Immigrants' Participation in Local Elections and Political Paper

Integration: The Case of Belgium

This paper explores the relationship between immigrants' political participation in local elections in Belgium and citizens' electoral support for anti-immigrant parties in national elections as a proxy of immigrants' political integration.

Barbara Sgouraki Kinsey, University of Central Florida bkinsey@mail.ucf.edu

France for Sale and the French for Hire? Movement and Paper **Migration Across the Channel**

This paper compares the discourses of the UK and France with regard to the free movement of EU nationals - intra-EU migration. It aims to develop a closer understanding of this mobility, and its incidence on national and EU-level public policy.

Helen Drake, Loughborough University h.p.drake@lboro.ac.uk

Paper The Macroeconomic Effects of Migration and Workers Remittances: Evidence from a CGE Model of Poland and the

After EU-Enlargement 250,000 migrants a year took their chance to move to EU-15 countries. The macroeconomic effects of migration and workers remittances are sizable for Poland and the UK. I show that both countries benefit from migration.

Timo Baas, IAB-Nuremberg; FU-Berlin, University of Potsdam timo.baas@iab.de

Disc. Beate Sissenich, Indiana University

bsisseni@indiana.edu

Craig Ortsey, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne ortseyc@ipfw.edu

8-3 **Presidential Politics and Cabinet Formation in Latin**

America

Hancock on the 6th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Eduardo Magalhaes, Simpson College eduardo.magalhaes@simpson.edu

Are all Latin American Cabinet Ministers Politicians? Paper

Backgrounds of cabinet ministers in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica and the U.S. are examined to identify variation in when and where prior elected experience or ties to the party predict appointment.

Maria Escobar-Lemmon, Texas A&M University escobar@polisci.tamu.edu

Who is Represented in Latin American Presidents' Cabinets: **Paper** When, Where, and Why do Interest Groups Have a Place at the

Cabinet Table? Examination of cabinet ministers' interest group links in Argentina,

Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica and the U.S. to examine which groups are likely to have a direct link to the policy-making process through the members of the presidents' cabinets.

Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson, Texas A&M University e339mt@polisci.tamu.edu

Coalition Dynamics in Presidential Regimes Paper

The paper explores both the instances in which presidents form coalitions and when they do not.

Juan Javier Negri-Malbran, University of Pittsburgh jjn7@pitt.edu

Paper Democracy of Technocracy? Assessing the Power of Experts in Colombia and Peru

Through an in-depth analysis of the recruitment and operation of economic experts in Colombia and Peru, this article assesses the power técnicos wield in these countries.

Eduardo Dargent, University of Texas, Austin edargent@yahoo.com

Presidents and Budgets in Latin America Paper

This paper argues that the electoral connection between deputies and governors helps define the president's control over the budget, and explains divergent budgetary politics in Mexico and Brazil.

Sylvia Gaylord, Colorado School of Mines

sgaylord@mines.edu

Gabriela Nava-Campos, Northwestern University gabrielamrls@yahoo.com

Disc. Jonathan Hartlyn, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill hartlyn@unc.edu

8-4 The Causes and Consequences of Protest in Latin America

Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Paul Thomas Bellinger, University of Missouri

paulbellinger@yahoo.com

Paper Corruption as a Mobilizing Grievance

This paper examines the effect of corruption victimization on the propensity to engage in protest in Latin America and finds that being a victim of corruption is one of the most consistent predictors of individual engagement in protest in the region.

Chad Kiewiet de Jonge, University of Notre Dame ckiewiet@nd.edu

Paper Protest and Multicultural Electoral Reform in Mexico

This paper analyzes the unintended effects of multicultural electoral reform on social protest in indigenous communities in Mexico and argues that the lack of resolution channels and exclusionary indigenous traditions increase the level of protest.

Javier Osorio, University of Notre Dame fosorioz@nd.edu

Paper Buying Democracy or Demanding It? Protest and Democracy in Latin America Room

The paper provides statistical evidence that protest drives democracy, confirming the supply and demand theory of democratization. The results indicate that the supply and demand theory outperforms modernization theory.

Paul Thomas Bellinger, *University of Missouri* ptbhwb@mizzou.com

Paper Market-Based Repoliticization and Democracy in Latin America

The papers examines how collective protests and economic liberalization jointly foster political democracy in Latin America.

Moises Arce, University of Missouri

arcem@missouri.edu

Paper Protest Movements, Indigenous Activism, and Presidential Power In Ecuador

This paper discusses the relationship between presidential power, protest movements, and indigenous groups in Ecuador.

Katie Bowen Scofield, Indiana University kbscofie@indiana.edu

Disc. Kathleen Marie Bruhn, University of California, Santa Barbara bruhn@polsci.ucsb.edu

Carlos G. Scartascini, Inter-American Development Bank carlossc@iadb.org

9-6 The Political Economy of Corruption: Comparative Perspectives

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Stan Hok-Wui Wong, Chinese University of Hong Kong

wonghok@gmail.com

Paper Clientilism, The Principal-Agent-Client Model or Beyond?

This artcle examines the mishu/shouzhang relationship in China as linking social institutions through which corruption often takes place in the context of the comparative politics literature on patron-clientilism and the principal-agent-client model.

Xia Lollar, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater

lollarx@uww.edu

Anne Wing Hamilton, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater hamiltoa@uww.edu

Paper The Role of Civil Society in Anti-Corruption Activities in Korea: From an Institutional vs Cultural Paradigm

The development of civil society in Korea and how they are fighting against business corruption.

YuJung Julia Lee, University of California, Los Angeles yjlee5@ucla.edu

Paper Political Connection and Firms' Performance: The Case of Hong Kong

In this paper, I use a rich financial dataset to identify the causal mechanisms of corruption.

Stan Hok-Wui Wong, Chinese University of Hong Kong wonghok@gmail.com

Paper In the Void of Formal Institutions: Analyzing the Effects of Social Network on Corruption

This paper studies how social network facilitates corruption when formal political and economic institutions fall short of prescribing the behaviors of public officials.

Jing Vivian Zhan, Chinese University of Hong Kong zhan@cuhk.edu.hk

Disc. Jeeyang Baum, University of California, San Diego ibaum@ucsd.edu

Ying Xin, *Clemson University* dasidaniya@hotmail.com

10-4 Nation Building in Africa

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Jose Adrian Garcia-Rojas, Universidad de La Laguna

jagrro@ull.es

Paper A Piece of the Democracy and Development Puzzle: Insights from a Cross-Communal Study in Mali

By exploiting inter-village variation in the impact of decentralization in Mali, I use a unique cross-communal dataset to study the relationship between democratic practices, public goods provision and other political and economic outcomes.

Jessica Anne Gottlieb, Stanford University jgott@stanford.edu

Paper Killing the State, Sustaining the Clan: The Role of Diasporic Somalis in Promoting Conflict and Development

Diasporic Somalis annually remit over US \$1 billion to Somalia, supporting over 60% of the population. This paper will examine the diasporic's financial and political involvement with Somalia and how this has promoted both conflict and development.

Ladan Affi, *University of Wisconsin*, *Madison* ladan.affi@gmail.com

Paper Religious Bodies, Gender Relations and Politics in Kenya: The Prospects for Peace-Building and Democratization in Africa

This paper will explore how gender and the role of religious bodies affect the political orientations of Kenyans and the realities of Kenya's political arena as an example of African states hanging in the balance of conflict and security.

Virginia Parish Beard, Hope College

beard@hope.edu

Disc. Parakh Hoon, Virginia Tech University

hoon@vt.edu

11-2 Moderate Islamist Parties and Political Support

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Sabri Ciftci, Kansas State University

ciftci@ksu.edu

Paper What Accounts for the Success of Islamist Parties in the Arab World? Evidence from Jordan

Islamists parties have had varying degrees of success in the Arab world. Examining the case of Jordan in comparative perspective, I seek to determine what accounts for this variation.

Michael Robbins, University of Michigan

robbinmd@umich.edu

Paper Political Evaluations of Supporters of Hezbollah and of the Lebanese Forces

This paper explores the similarities and differences in the social, political, and economic views of supporters of Hezbollah and of supporters Lebanese Forces, utilizing the results of small telephone survey conducted in 2008.

Gary W. Copeland, University of Oklahoma

copeland@ou.edu

Imad Salamey, Lebanese American University

imad.salamey@lau.edu.lb

Paper Turkish Islamic Parties and Elections Outcomes: With Special Reference to the Performance of AKP in the 2007 Parliamentary Elections

This study is an attempt to fill an important gap in the literature of Islamic political parties in Turkey by focusing on the direct relationship between Islamic political parties and election outcomes.

Gamal Gasim, Texas Tech University

gamalgasim@hotamil.com

Paper The Popular Base of Muslim Democracy: Explaining Individual Paper Support for Islamist Parties in Turkey and Morocco

This paper explains the determinants of individual support for Islamist parties in Turkey and Morocco. The fourth wave of World Values Survey is used for analysis. The study has important implications for the relationship of Islam and democracy.

Sabri Ciftci, Kansas State University

ciftci@ksu.edu

Yusuf Tekin, Gaziosmanpasa University

ytekin@gop.edu.tr

Paper Globalization and Muslim Democratic Parties in the Middle

East: Evidence from Turkey and Egypt

Based on fieldwork in Turkey and Egypt, I analyze socioeconomic bases of Muslim Democratic parties in Middle East. Field evidence suggests that changing preferences of key social groups, i.e. SME owners, lead to shifts in Islamic parties' platforms.

A.Kadir Yildirim, Ohio State University

yildirim.10@osu.edu

Disc. Ebru Erdem, University of California, Riverside

eerdem@ucr.edu

13-3 Assessing Political Consolidation and Change in Russia

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair William Zimmerman, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

wzim@umich.ed

Paper The Macro-Micro Puzzle of Party Development in Post-Soviet Russia

A study of how party orientations form in post-authoritarian countries using original panel and cross-sectional survey data from Russia 1995-2008.

Timothy J. Colton, Harvard University

tcolton@fas.harvard.edu

Henry E. Hale, George Washington University

hhale@gwu.edu

Paper Explaining Regional Voting in Russia's Federal Elections

We analyze voting returns from ten federal-level Russian elections (1991-2008) using political, economic, social and demographic data to assess regional distinctiveness, clustering and change over time.

William M. Reisinger, University of Iowa

william-reisinger@uiowa.edu

Bryon J. Moraski, University of Florida

bmoraski@ufl.edu

Paper Democracy and Inequality in the Postcommunist Transition

I analyze the effect of political regime change in post-communist Russia's regions on trends in income and growth and distribution and find that more open regimes have experienced faster income growth, lower poverty, and higher inequality.

Thomas Frederick Remington, Emory University

thomas.remington@emory.edu

Disc. Regina Smyth, Indiana University

rsmyth@indiana.edu

William Zimmerman, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

wzim@umich.ed

13-19 Explaining Economic Performance in Post-Communist Countries

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Stephen Bloom, Southern Illinois University

bloom@siu.edu

Paper Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism in Eastern Europe? A Reassessment of a Consecrated Theory

This paper will extend Esping-Anderson's 'Worlds of Welfare Capitalism' framework to the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and test the relationship between government partisanship and structure of social policy in twelve countries. **Emanuel Coman**, *University of North Carolina*, *Chapel Hill* ecoman@email.unc.edu

per Issues of Integration of Serbia Into the European Economic and Security Frameworks

This is a discussion of the challenges and opportunities facing the Tadic government in Serbia and the possibilities of Serbia reconciling with Europe and resolving the current political stalemate.

Jim Seroka, Auburn University

jseroka@auburn.edu

Paper Bring the State Back In Again?: Market Transition and the Politics of Economic Development in China

This article suggests that the empirical development reveals something about Chinese strategic thinking and behavior in the contexts of both comparative political economy and security issues.

Dongmin Lee, University of Colorado, Boulder

dongmin.lee@colorado.edu

Disc. Stephen Bloom, Southern Illinois University

bloom@siu.edu

14-5 Exchange Rate Politics

Room Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm **Chair** Stefanie Walter, *Harvard University*

swalter@wcfia.harvard.edu

Paper Explaining Time-Inconsistent Policymaking: The Case of

Exchange-Rate Overvaluation

This paper argues and empirically shows that interest group pressure to maintain exchange rate stability creates incentives for policymakers to allow an overvaluation of the currency, an effect that is exacerbated by the electoral cycle.

Stefanie Walter, Harvard University

swalter@wcfia.harvard.edu

Paper Currencies and the Aesthetics of Nationalism

While nation-states have historically employed specific imageries on currencies to evoke an aesthetic of specific national identities, the EU must take a different path to mitigate nationalist identities within this new political entity.

Kelly Philip Wurtz, Trinity College

kelly.wurtz@trincoll.edu

Andrew Poe, *University of California, San Diego* apoe@dss.ucsd.edu

Paper Veto Players and Exchange Rate Policy

This paper tests a number of hypotheses on the relationship between veto players and the likelihood of fixed exchange rate, exchange rate volatility, and exchange rate crises on a dataset of over sixty developing countries.

Michael G. Hall, Wichita State University

michael.hall@uni.edu

Paper Exchange Rate Regime Choice with Multiple Key Currencies

The paper argues that the choice of anchor currency is determined by the trade dependence of the pegging country on imports from the country issuing the key currency and on the degree of dependence on imports from the currency area.

Thomas Plümper, University of Essex

tpluem@essex.ac.uk

Eric Neumayer, LSE

e.neumayer@lse.ac.uk

Paper Endogenizing Exchange Rate Policy in East Asia

This paper investigates the endogenous interaction and dynamics of exchange rate (ER) policy, referring to the choices of ER regime and level, in East Asia from 1980 to 2004. The Bayesian methods are employed to examine the endogeneity of ER choices.

Chih-Cheng Meng, University of Texas, Austin

cmeng@mail.utexas.edu

Disc. Thomas Oatley, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

oatley@unc.edu

15-5 **International NGOs and Human Rights**

Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Mary Ann McGrail, Harvard University Chair

mary.a.mcgrail@usdoj.gov

Actions Speak Louder Than Words: Micro-Level Responses to Paper the Transnational Campaign on Gender-Based Violence

What happens when international and local norms conflict? This paper looks at variation in micro-level responses to the transnational campaign against female genital mutilation/cutting and early marriage through three case studies in rural Kenya.

Karisa Tritz Cloward, Yale University

karisa.cloward@yale.edu

Same-Sex Marriage in China? The Strategic Use of Human Paper Rights Norms and its Impact on LGBT Activism

This paper explores two questions: What might motivate a nondemocratic state to promulgate a progressive human rights policy? And more importantly, when a non-democratic state adopts such policies, what might the impact be on civil society at large? Timothy Robert Hildebrandt, University of Wisconsin, Madison thildebrandt@wisc.edu

Paper Signals Without Borders: The Conditional Impact of Human Rights INGOs

Why aren't human rights INGOs systematically successful? A formal model is used to examine how the impact of HR INGOs is conditioned by international donors, domestic populations, and the targeted state. Hypotheses are then tested with new data.

Amanda Marie Murdie, Emory University amurdie@emory.edu

Externalizing Human Rights Claims: A Quantitative Analysis of Domestic Activists' Use of Amnesty International's Urgent **Action Appeals**

This study quantitatively analyzes cross-national variations in domestic activists' use of Amnesty International's Urgent Action Appeals from 1977 to 2005.

Dongwook Kim, University of Wisconsin, Madison dwkim2@wisc.edu

Disc. Mary Ann McGrail, Harvard University mary.a.mcgrail@usdoj.gov

15-22 **Empire and Hegemony**

Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Ethan Jon Hollander, Wabash College

ethanhollander@gmail.com

Paper **Malcontents of Hegemony**

Malcontents of hegemony are states that want to assert their own national goals within hegemony. This paper seeks to create taxonomy of malcontents, dividing them up into three major groups: benign, revolutionary and passive-aggressive.

John Russell Dreyer, Ohio University

dreyer@ohio.edu

Exigencies of Empire: Accommodation, Resistance and Stability Paper

This paper uses the domestic institutions and power relationships of subordinate actors to explain the stability and breakdown of hierarchical arrangements. The cases are examples of European informal empire in China, the Ottoman Empire and Egypt. Jesse Dillon Savage, Northwestern University ids@u.northwestern.edu

Democracy and the Balance of Power: Hegemonic Shocks and Paper **Domestic Reforms in the 20th Century**

Examines the role of hegemonic shocks in shaping the timing, likelihood, and direction of domestic reforms over the past century. Argues that regime success in the twentieth century is deeply tied to the global balance of power.

Vsevolod Gunitskiy, Columbia University vg2122@columbia.edu

Disc. Ethan Jon Hollander, Wabash College

ethanhollander@gmail.com

Chung-chian Teng, National Chengchi University

ccteng@nccu.edu.tw

16-2 **Explaining Terrorism: Support and Effectiveness**

LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room Chair Randall Blimes, Brigham Young University

rand blimes@byu.edu

The Psychology of Counter-Terrorism: Why Containment **Paper** Could Work

To fight terrorism effectively we have to concentrate on the psychological factor: its the convictions of people that constitutes the threat capabilities of terrorism. To fight terrorism, we have to reduce the willingness to support terrorism.

Andreas Michael Bock, Geschwister-Scholl-Institute of Political Science

andreas.bock@lrz.uni-muenchen.de

Paper Terrorism as War by Other Means: Threats to National **Security and Support for Terror**

Using historical data and recent survey of university students, this paper argues that increasing threats to national security increases individuals' as well as politicians' support for terrorist organizations that work against their enemies.

Faruk Ekmekci, Illinois Wesleyan University fekmekci@hotmail.com

Paper Fear Factor: Terrorism's Impact and Effectiveness

I examine terrorism's impact on the targeted public using trend analysis of polling questions. Are targeted publics intimidated by terrorism and what does this reaction imply about the effectiveness of terrorism?

William J. Josiger, Georgetown University josigerw@georgetown.edu

The Ancient Fire: Religion and Suicide Terrorism **Paper**

This paper analyzes the influence of religious ideology on suicide terrorist violence, demonstrating its effect independently of economic, political and social factors. It makes use of a statistical study of quantitative data on suicide terrorism.

Peter S. Henne, Georgetown University psh22@georgetown.edu

Disc. Christopher Preble, Cato Institute

cpreble@cato.org

17-4 Game-Theoretic Approaches to the Study of Civil War

Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Zaryab Iqbal, Pennsylvania State University Chair

iqbal@psu.edu

Civil War Through the Prism of Game Theory **Paper**

What are the causes of Civil War? Are civil wars triggered by greed (economic opportunity) or grievance (political exclusion)? This essay is dedicated to solve the puzzle of civil war onset through the perspective of game theory.

Shapoatov Sayfiddin, Texas Tech University sayfulloh2002@hotmail.com

Paper Behind the Lines: Explaining Violence against Civilians in **Conventional Civil Wars**

This paper explains local variation in levels of violence during conventional civil wars. The predictions of a game theoretical model are tested with a self-constructed dataset of 3,500 municipalities during the Spanish Civil War

Laia Balcells, Yale University

laia.balcells@yale.edu

Paper A Game Theoretical Approach to Political Polarization and Social Conflict

In a Politico-economic model of trade I analyze how changes in objective parameters of the economy may alter the probability of different political equlibria. A higher probability of polarized equilibria increases the probability of conflict.

Ernesto Adolfo Cardenas Prieto, University of Siena ernesto.cardenas@uexternado.edu.co

Paper Repression, Deterrence and Escalation: A Game-Theoretic Analysis

In the paper we develop a model of strategic interaction between the government and an opposition group. The model identifies conditions for successful deterrence, successful protest and escalating violence.

Jan Henryk Pierskalla, Duke University jhp5@duke.edu

Paper Kingmakers and Leaders in Coalition Formation

Players "fall back" on their preferences to form majority coalitions. While kingmakers determine which coalition will form, leaders are the first players to be acceptable to all coalition members. Empirical applications of the model are discussed.

Steven J. Brams, New York University

steven.brams@nyu.edu

D. Marc Kilgour, Wilfrid Laurier University mkilgour@wlu.ca

Disc. David Carter, Pennsylvania State University

dbc10@psu.edu

Thorsten Janus, *University of Wyoming* tjanus@uwyo.edu

17-21 Exploring the Dimensions of Political Violence

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Jennifer S. Holmes, University of Texas, Dallas

iholmes@utdallas.edu

Paper Southeast Asian Intrastate Conflicts: Rebel Group Splintering, Tactics, and Impacts on Negotiations

This paper seeks to explore the relationship between multiple group tactics and negotiation efforts by focusing on Southeast Asian intrastate conflicts in the post-World War II period.

Marie Olson Lounsbery, East Carolina University

olsonlounsberym@ecu.edu

Alethia Cook, East Carolina University

cooka@ecu.edu

Paper Qualitative Meta-Analytic Studies of 75 Revolutions and Rebellions

75 revolutions and rebellions are analyzed using textual analysis. Key terms in reports of said revolutions are weighted and used in determining necessary and sufficient conditions for each revolution.

Christopher D. Newman, Elgin Community College cnewman@elgin.edu

Paper Individual Levels Tests of Relative Deprivation, and Rational Actor Theories of Anti-Government Violence

We examine relative deprivation and rational actor theories about when individuals use violence against the state. We test these competing theoretical frameworks using individual-level data from the Worldbarometer Afrobarometer surveys.

Mohammed Rodwan Abouharb, Louisiana State University roda@lsu.edu

Jennifer Richard, *Louisiana State University* jvrichard@gmail.com

Paper Regional Variations in the Strategic Use of Violence

The project examines the presence of regional trends in the strategic use of violence and the implications of these findings.

Susanne Martin, University of Texas, Austin

nsmartin@mail.utexas.edu

Disc. Jennifer S. Holmes, University of Texas, Dallas

jholmes@utdallas.edu

18-2 Realist Theory and Foreign Policy

Room Sandburg Boardroom 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Paper Identity, Power, and The War on Terror: The United States,

per Identity, Power, and The War on Terror: The United S Turkey, and the Kurdistan Workers Party in Iraq

Since 2001 the U.S. has demanded a global zero tolerance policy against terrorism. Turkey seeks to eradicate the terrorist threat of the PKK. Realist theory fails to explain why the U.S. cannot fully commit to the Turk's pursuit of this goal.

Christopher Joseph Saladino, *Virginia Commonwealth University* cjsaladino@vcu.edu

Paper What's Wrong in Asia?: U.S. Strategic Puzzle to Asia

This paper focuses on U.S. strategic policy towards Asia as the role model in this paper that new Presidential administration can take advantage of and creates an advanced strategy to explore its potential in Asia.

Sunny Lee, *Institute for Korea-U.S. Political Development* ikupd@yahoo.com

Paper Getting Branded: Finding the Right Strategy for Public Diplomacy

National brand is becoming ever more important in this era of globalization and soft power. Yet, often national brands seem to be beyond the control of individual countries and few have the appropriate strategy to enhance them.

Sun-Hyoung Kim, *The Korea Foundation* shkim@kf.or.kr

Disc. Richard Maass, University of Notre Dame

rmaass@gmail.com

19-4 Bargaining in International Institutions

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Nicole Simonelli, Purdue University

nsimonel@purdue.edu

Paper Institutional Structures and Bargaining Cooperation: The Role of Issue Linkage, Information, and Distributional Concerns

Game theoretical model analyzing the impact of issue linkage, information, and distributional concerns on bargaining cooperation - defined both in terms of bargaining outcomes and bargaining strategies.

Heather Elko McKibben, *Princeton University* mckibben@princeton.edu

Paper <u>U.S. Participation in International Environmental Treaties: The</u> Dynamics of Bargaining

This research project focuses on two environmental policy areas (ozone layer protection and climate change) in the attempt to explore more in-depth the influence of international factors on US participation in international environmental treaties.

Larisa Yun, *University of Oklahoma* larisay@ou.edu

Paper Responses to Influence: To Obstruct or Cooperate?

How do states respond to unfavorable bargains? Do they leave the table, accept the bargain, or obstruct it? I show how states prefer to shape the bargain before they obstruct it in the case of the United States and the International Criminal Court.

Autumn Lockwood Payton, *Ohio State University* payton.29@osu.edu

Disc. Nicole Simonelli, Purdue University

n sim on el@purdue.edu

21-2 The Origins of Partisanship

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair John Marshall Fulwider, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

johnfulwider@gmail.com

Paper The Cultural Basis of Party Identification

We show how racial diversity accentuates the vote for Republican nominees among white voters and attenuates it for Democratic nominees but at the same time how it increases Democratic identifications and decreases Republican identifications.

Joel Allen Lieske, Cleveland State University

j.lieske@csuohio.edu

Edward Hasecke, Wittenberg University

ehasecke@wittenberg.edu

Paper This is Your Brain on Politics

New work in functional brain imaging and genetics shows that it is possible to account for some key political phenomena better than traditional models and methods. I will show how we can use fMRI to predict your party ID with shocking accuracy.

Darren Matthew Schreiber, University of California, San Diego dmschreiber@ucsd.edu

Paper The Paradox of Partisan Responsiveness

Do partisans change their identities because they are driven to acquire policy benefits or because they are motivated to appear as good citizens? Results from a priming experiment suggest that partisan updating results only from the latter.

Eric Groenendyk, University of Michigan egroenen@umich.edu

Paper How Republicans and Democrats Think and Feel: Contrasting
Group Identities and Their Impact on Partisan Attitudes and
Behavior

I examine affective and cognitive aspects of party identification with new measures. Distinctions are made between Democratic and Republican group identities and their impact on partisan attitudes and behavior.

Francis Neely, San Francisco State University fneely@sfsu.edu

Disc. Brian F. Schaffner, University of Massachusetts, Amherst schaffne@polsci.umass.edu

22-2 Turnout - Demographics

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Jeffrey Wallace Koch, University at Geneseo, SUNY

koch@geneseo.edu

Paper Pathways to the Polls: Youth Participation in Civic Activities
This study examines the relationship between participation in particular civic activities among young people and their likelihood

Brittany Houtz Bramlett, *University of Maryland, College Park* brittanydyan@gmail.com

Paper The Life Cycle Theory of Political Participation and the 2008
Election: The Impact of Marriage, Parenthood, and Home
Ownership on College and Non-College Youth

I investigate whether the life cycle theory of political participation explains young adults' participation in the 2008 election, including voting, volunteering on a political campaign, making a donation, and contributing to a political blog.

Heather K. Evans, Indiana University

hkbarton@indiana.edu

Paper Religion, Voter Turnout and Issue Mobilization: Religion or Issues as a Mobilizing Factor in National Elections

> This paper tests the conventional wisdom of a positive relationship between religion and turnout. It also evaluates the hypothesis that the political impact of religious groups is not their actual mobilization but their potential for mobilization.

Lauren Edwards Smith, *University of South Carolina* lesmith@mailbox.sc.edu

Disc. Jeffrey Wallace Koch, University at Geneseo, SUNY

koch@geneseo.edu

22-21 Trust, Euphoria, and Punishment

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Joshua A. Tucker, New York University

joshua.tucker@nyu.edu

Paper Government Trust and Voter Confidence: How Similar Are

They?

We explore the similarities and differences between broad government support measures and voter confidence.

Lonna Atkeson, University of New Mexico

atkeson@unm.edu

R. Michael Alvarez, California Institute of Technology

rma@hss.caltech.edu

Thad E. Hall, University of Utah

thadhall@gmail.com

Paper Measuring the Effects of Voter Confidence on Turnout: An

Application to the 2006 Mexican Election

Application of matching methods to the study of the causal relationship between voter confidence in the electoral process and participation in the 2006 Mexican election.

Ines Levin, California Institute of Technology

ilevin@hss.caltech.edu

Paper Issue Type and Electoral Punishment

We report the results of a randomized experiment embedded in a national survey. We examine whether issue type influences the degree to which citizens are willing to punish representatives who adopt disfavored policy positions.

Alan Gerber, Yale University alan.gerber@yale.edu

David Doherty, *Yale University* david.doherty@yale.edu

Paper Euphoria and Retrospective Voting: The Impact of College

Football Outcomes on Incumbent Re-election

We use a set of natural experiments to examine the effect that personal happiness has on voting behavior. Our results show that voters' choices depend on events that affect their happiness even when those events are unrelated to government activity.

Andrew Healy, Loyola Marymount University

ahealy@lmu.edu

Neil A. Malhotra, *Stanford University* Malhotra_Neil@GSB.Stanford.edu

Disc. Justin Grimmer, Harvard University

jgrimmer@fas.harvard.edu

23-4 Advertising, Information, and Political Campaigns

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm
Chair Costas Panagopoulos, Fordham University

costas@post.harvard.edu

Paper Comparative Analysis of Campaign Strategy

Tests a theory of campaign strategy using new data on political advertising from 14 countries.

Scott Desposato, *University of California, San Diego* swd@ucsd.edu

Paper <u>Disaggregating Political Information in Presidential Campaigns</u>

I explore the dynamics of various measures of political information throughout the 2000 presidential election campaign, with a focus on disentangling political information from the campaign context.

Dino P. Christenson, Ohio State University

christenson.24@polisci.osu.edu

Paper Analyzing the Democratic Dificit of Election Campaigns

My paper tests whether Japanese campaigns work for voters or not and I reveal who is affected. Especially, on the views of political information and changing people's cognition, I check the democratic deficit during election campaigns in Japan.

Shunsuke Itoh, *Keio University* chuintaworld11@hotmail.com

Paper Advertisement Saturation, Time Sensitivity, and Electoral Results

Using CMAG data we add an advertisement variable (percent saturation) to standard election models, finding that advertisements influence electoral outcomes substantially, when controlling for the time of day and days from the election.

 $\textbf{Paul D. Jorgensen}, \ \textit{University of Oklahoma}$

pdj@ou.edu

Michael D. Jones, University of Oklahoma

ionemic1@ou.edu

Sondra Petty, University of Oklahoma

sondrapetty@ou.edu

Paper Campaigns and the Communication of Competence and Integrity

This paper seeks to determine whether voters respond to information in the campaign environment regarding the competence and integrity of their incumbent U.S. House member.

Jeffery J. Mondak, University of Illinois

jmondak@illinois.edu

Robert A. Jackson, Florida State University

rjackson@fsu.edu

David J. Hendry, University of Illinois

hendry2@uiuc.edu

Disc. Costas Panagopoulos, Fordham University

costas@post.harvard.edu

Darren Scott Osburn, St. Charles Community College

dosburn@stchas.edu

23-200 Poster Session: Electoral Campaigns

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Post. 1 Home Court Advantage: Do Candidates in State-Wide Elections Fare Better in Their Own Counties?

A multiple regression analysis examines whether state-wide candidates gather a higher percentage of the two-party vote in their counties of residence, after controlling for demographic and political factors.

Jan P. Vermeer, Nebraska Wesleyan University

jpv@nebrwesleyan.edu

Nathanael Pattee, Nebraska Wesleyan University

npattee@nebrwesleyan.edu

Post. 2 The Iowa Caucuses as a Learning Laboratory: A Report from Inside the Iowa Democratic Party Headquarters in 2004 and 2008

I am the only political scientist in America who has embedded any students inside the Iowa Democratic Party headquarters operation during the presidential caucuses in 2004 and in 2008. We trained with IDP staff and aided caucus chairmen.

John F. Settich, Benedictine College

JSettich@benedictine.edu

24-200 Poster Session: Representation and Electoral Systems

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Post. 3 Citizen-Candidates in Times of War: Do Extended Conflicts Promote Third Party Growth?

While there is an initial downturn in the number of third party candidacies after a war begins, the trend is reversed after several successive wartime elections. This paper questions why the same trend has not been observed during the Iraq conflict.

Jeremy B. Lupoli, American University

lupoli@american.edu

Post. 4 Innocents Abroad: The Political Participation of Overseas Americans

Seven million Americans live outside the US. Absentee ballots played a crucial role in the 2000 election. However Americans living abroad are often ignored by academics. This paper is a first step towards understanding the citizenship of expatriates.

Katya Claire Long, Universite libre de Bruxelles

klong@ulb.ac.be

Post. 5 The Analysis of Decisive Factors for Presidential Candidates' Negative Campaigns: Focusing on the 16th and the 17th Presidential Elections in Korea

This study analyzes the decision-making factors of negative campaigns, based on each candidate of the 2002 and 2007 Korean presidential elections. Negative campaigns proved to be environmental factors and the characteristics of issues.

Hyun-jin Kim, Seoul National University

hyunjinida@hotmail.com

Post. 6 Preferential Voting: Definition and Classification

There is no single definition for preferential voting since the term is used for a number of different election systems and groups of such systems. This paper proposes a common understanding and classification of various forms of preferential voting.

Jurij Toplak, University of Maribor, Slovenia

jurij.toplak@gmail.com

25-1 Elite-Level Influence on Mass Opinion

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Bas van Doorn, College of Wooster

bvandoorn@wooster.edu

Paper Aggression in Public Opinion: How Media Violence Shapes Political Preferences

With experimental data, I test whether media violence influences issue attitudes, vote choice, and participation. Media violence primes trait aggression, which may lead citizens to endorse policies and candidates that harm disliked groups.

Nathan P. Kalmoe, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

kalmoe@umich.edu

Paper Partisan Polarization in Public Opinion Toward Executive Power: Comparing the Mass Public with Executive and Legislative Elites

We compare the degree to which the mass public and elites in the legislative and executive branches are polarized on partisan grounds regarding the issue of executive power.

Brandon L. Bartels, Stony Brook University

brandon.bartels@stonybrook.edu

Parker Christopher, Stony Brook University

cparker34@gmail.com

Paper Elite Influence, Media Coverage, and Public Opinion on the Iraq War

An automated daily coding system of the news is used to examine the interplay of media coverage and public opinion on the Iraq war. Time series analyses of these data assess predictions from the dominant elite influence model of public opinion.

Leonie Huddy, Stony Brook University

leonie.huddy@sunysb.edu

Matthew Lebo, Stony Brook University

Matthew.Lebo@sunysb.edu

Christopher Johnson, Stony Brook University

johncd1@gmail.com

Paper Culture Warriors: Dimensions of Political Polarization and the Mass-Elite Linkage

Utilizing the open-ended responses in the NES studies and the Poole-Rosenthal DW nominate scores from 1954-2006, this study directly examines the nature and extent of political polarization, the dimensions of polarization, and the mass-elite linkage.

Donald Michael Gooch, Arkansas Tech University

dgooch1@atu.edu

Disc. Bas van Doorn, College of Wooster

bvandoorn@wooster.edu

26-1 **Grassroots Activism and Political Mobilization (Co**sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-22)

Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room Chair Jan E. Leighley, University of Arizona leighley@email.arizona.edu

Partisans, Protesters, and the 2008 National Party Conventions Paper

Using original data from surveys of protesters and delegates at the 2008 Democratic and Republican National Conventions, we explore why people protest and what differentiates them from activists who engage in other forms of political activity.

Dara Z. Strolovitch, University of Minnesota

dzs@umn.edu

Joanne Miller, University of Minnesota jomiller@umn.edu

Michael T. Heaney, University of Florida mtheaney@ufl.edu

Seth E. Masket, University of Denver

smasket@du.edu

Paper **Black Incumbency, Electoral Moblization, and Grassroots** Dilemmas

This paper examines how the transfer of energies from "protest to politics" has lessened the basis for grassroots advocates of the black poor to mobilize in ways that hold black mayors accountable.

Todd C. Shaw, University of South Carolina

SHAWTC@mailbox.sc.edu

Athena King, University of South Carolina

KINGAM@mailbox.sc.edu

Soliciting Participation: Understanding the Role of Membership Paper **Groups in Promoting Political Engagement**

Drawing from results of the 2008 Cooperative Congressional Election Study, I examine whether being asked to participate actively in an organization to which one belongs is linked to an individual's political participation outside of the organization. Maryann Barakso, University of Massachcusetts, Amherst barakso@polsci.umass.edu

Paper Community Organizing Groups' Role in Mobilizing New and Low-Income Voters in the 2008 Presidential Election

In 2004, national community organizing groups placed a new emphasis on national politics, namely voter mobilization. This paper shows how and why their efforts in 2008 differed from 2004 and explains differences in results.

Heidi J. Swarts, Rutgers University, Newark swarts@andromeda.rutgers.edu

Democratic Activism and Political Tolerance: How the Level of Personal Involvement in Political Activities Influences Tolerance **Attitudes**

Recent studies have found that democratic activism enhances tolerance in ways that routine political behavior does not. I analyze the link between activism and tolerance, identifying clusters of tolerance attitudes that are influenced by activism.

Andrea L. Mayer, Georgetown University alm63@georgetown.edu

Disc. Kay Lehman Schlozman, Boston College kschloz@bc.edu

27-4 **Presidential Rhetoric**

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Linda Shelton, Utah Valley University Chair sheltoli@uvu.edu

Paper What Influences Presidents to Use Religious Rhetoric?

This paper uses statistical analysis to examine whether features of context, such as a president's partisanship and the religious dispositions of a president's electoral supporters, affect post-WWII presidents' use of religious rhetoric.

Adam Paul Kradel, University of Wisconsin, Rock County kradel@polisci.wisc.edu

Three Way Information Flow Between the President, News Paper Media, and the Public

This study examines the multi-directional relationship between the president, news media, and public. Analyzing presidential media, public liberalism, this research reveals that the news media directly influences the president and public.

Han Soo Lee, Texas A&M University heyday21c@politics.tamu.edu

Hero's Journey as Campaign Narrative: The Use of Literary Paper **Techniques to Win Presidential Elections**

This paper examines the use of the Hero's Journey literary narrative in American presidential campaigns, and its role in influencing election outcomes.

Brian Robert King, Muskingum College

bking@muskingum.edu

Jillian B. Von Gunten, Muskingum College

jgunten@muskingum.edu

Paper Text Bites and Media Coverage of Presidential Campaigns

Research suggests that "sound bites" in TV coverage of presidential candidates have shortened. I find that "text bites" in newspaper stories have followed the same pattern, and that this may limit the candidates' ability to communicate and persuade.

David Schwieder, Susquehanna University

schwieder@susqu.edu

Paper Limping Ducks: An Examination of Presidential Speechmaking Across Two Terms

Reelection for a second term is never far from the mind of the first term president. If the president does not have his personal continuation in office at risk during his second term, does it change the way he speaks around the nation?

Shannon Linnea Bow, University of Texas

shannonbow@hotmail.com

Disc. Glenn W. Richardson, Jr., Kutztown University of Pennsylvania

richards@kutztown.edu

27-5 **New Media and Politics**

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Emily Metzgar, Indiana University Chair

emetzgar@indiana.edu

Paper Face-to-face vs Online Deliberation on Global Warming

Through experimentation I explore whether online deliberation is as effective as face-to-face deliberation. I compare the quality of deliberation occurring between face-to-face groups with those that are anonymous online and accountable online.

Cindy Boyles, University of Virginia

crb7d@virginia.edu

Mass Media and the Blogging Revolution **Paper**

Political communication is continuously revolutionized by the constant expansion of the Internet. Through the use of blogs, ordinary citizens can access and respond to the latest news and opinion, no longer relying on traditional forms of mass media.

Channing R. Ford, University of Alabama, Birmingham channingford@gmail.com

Paper Comparing Apples and Blogs: Presidential Campaign Framing Among Blogs and the Mainstream Media

This research examines whether popular political blogs covered issues more substantively than did the mainstream media during the 2008 presidential election. The study uses an original content analysis of blogs and traditional media sources.

Mike Gruszczynski, University of Nebraska, Lincoln mikegruz@bigred.unl.edu

Paper Political Activity and the Internet: Participatory Incentives of Online Communication in South Korea and the United States

Responses from Korean and American election surveys produce clusters from reported level and purpose of internet use. Certain clusters show differential rates of political activity. The internet lowers marginal costs for some political activities.

James W. Endersby, University of Missouri

endersby@missouri.edu

Sungdai Cho, Hanshin University

sungdcho@gmail.com

Paper The Effects of Visuals and Video in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Campaign How Web 2.0 Technologies Revive Political Communication

Visuals and Videos have played a dominant role in the 2008 US presidential campaign. This analysis of directmail and email is a step to a better understanding of Visuals, Video and Web 2.0 technologies in shaping political communication.

Ute Pannen, Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, Germany utepannen@web.de

Hannes Ralph Richter, University of New Orleans

hannes.richter@campaigndigital.org

Disc. Emily Metzgar, Indiana University

emetzgar@indiana.edu

28-4 Housework: Gendered Work and Representation

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Chair Brian Paul Frederick, *Bridgewater State College*

brian.frederick@bridgew.edu

Paper Does Gender Matter? Subcommittee Assignments of Women in the House of Representatives

This paper explores the impact of descriptive representation by specifically asking whether increasing the number of women elected to the House influences female representatives' propensity to choose assignments on women's issue subcommittees.

Katie Ostrander, University of California, Santa Barbara kostrander@umail.ucsb.edu

Paper Women's Work: Differences of Gender and Influence Among Congressional Staff

What is women's work in House offices? We examine whether 1) gender influences the positions that women hold among House staff, and 2) if men and women House staffers receive equal pay for equal work

Curt Ziniel, *University of California*, *Riverside* curtis.ziniel@email.ucr.edu

Heather Conklin, University of California, Riverside heather.conklin@gmail.com

Paper A Gender Perspective on Legislative Staff and Their Issue-Area Responsibilities in the U.S. House of Representatives

This paper uses empirical data and qualitative interviews to offer an analysis of congressional staff and their issue-area portfolios in the U.S. House of Representatives from a gender perspective.

Rachel B. Tabakman, George Washington University tabakman@gwu.edu

Paper Political Punters or Political Learners? Male Representational Behavior in the Context of More Women Entering the U.S. Congress

What if Congressmen decrease the work they had been doing on women's issues as more women enter the chamber? This paper examines this possibility with fixed effect models of the co/sponsorship behavior of U.S. Congressmen who served from 1970-2007.

Erin E. O'Brien, University of Massachusetts, Boston erin.obrien@umb.edu

Jason MacDonald, West Virginia University Jason.MacDonald@mail.wvu.edu

Disc. Brian Paul Frederick, Bridgewater State College

brian.frederick@bridgew.edu

Melissa Olivia Neal, Florida State University

melissaneal@gmail.com

28-19 <u>Understanding Gender Differences: Institutional</u> Explanations

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Terry J. Royed, University of Alabama

troyed@bama.ua.edu

Paper Economic Growth and Gender Inequality: Is there a Gender Kuznets Curve?

This article examines the impact of economic growth on gender inequality. We extend Simon Kuznets' argument of a curvilinear relationship between growth and income inequality to the issue of gender inequality.

Joshua Caleb Eastin, University of Washington

jeastin@u.washington.edu

Aseem Prakash, University of Washington

aseem@u.washington.edu

Paper <u>EU Gender Equality Policy and Legislation in the 21st Century:</u>

Putting Flesh on the Principle of Equal Opportunities?

The paper looks at EC gender equality policy and legislation. It seeks to illustrate how legal discourse and method and its conceptual framework is gendered and ends up representing a significant obstacle to the pursuit of substantive equality.

Samantha Velluti, University of Lincoln

svelluti@lincoln.ac.uk

aper Withering Institutions? Women's Universities in Britain and Japan and the Importance of Their Reputation for Encouraging Women in Science

This paper underscores the significance of institutional foundations in social policy by comparing different strategies of governments and contrasting roles of women's universities in Britain and Japan for promoting the status of women in science.

Nao Kodate, King's College London

naonori.kodate@kcl.ac.uk

Takako Kodate, Tokyo Woman's Christian University

kodate@lab.twcu.ac.jp

Kashiko Kodate, Japan Women's University

kkodate@jwu.ac.jp

Disc. Leonard Ray, Louisiana State University

lray2@lsu.edu

29-4 <u>Immigrant Incorporation</u>

Room Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Clarisa Perez-Armendariz, University of Texas, Austin

clarisapa@gmail.com

Paper Everyday Resistance in New World Cities: Low Wage-Earning Transnational Migrants in Singapore and Dubai

Close examination of the everyday lives of low wage-earning transnational migrants in Singapore and Dubai reveals agency in forms of communication within and everyday resistance to new modalities of domination.

Levi A. White, George Mason University

levi.white@gmail.com

Paper Mobilization Through Exclusion vs Inclusion: Which Promote Immigrant Political Incorporation Across American States and Time?

This paper examines the conditions under which exclusionary and inclusive state environments toward immigrants mobilize and/or demobilize immigrants from different racial and ethnic groups to participate in American politics.

Porsha Quiana Cropper, Harvard University

pcropper@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Diversity in Place

This paper documents existing inscriptions of ethnic difference and diversity in Tokyo's urban landscape to raise awareness of migrants' processes of place-making.

Vera Zambonelli, *University of Hawai'I*, *Manoa* veraz@hawaii.edu

Paper Immigrants, Political Incorporation and Homeland Politics: The Case of Korean-Americans and Comfort Women Issue in the U.S.

This paper explores immigrants' political incorporation and their relationship with the homeland, analyzing the ways in which Korean-Americans organize political and social movements in the U.S. context.

Soo-Bin You, Rutgers University

soobiny@gmail.com

Paper The Impact of Pre-Immigration Resources on Latino Re-Socialization

Using an original survey of Latinos in the Phoenix metro area we show that the socio-economic mobility of Latino immigrants, as well as their non-electoral participation in the United States, depend on the resources and skills at the time of arrival.

Javier Mauricio Rodríguez, University of California, Los Angeles javier.rodriguez@ucla.edu

Rafael Augusto Jimeno, Arizona State University Rafael.Jimeno@asu.edu

Paper A One-Way Ticket on a One-Lane Road? Multiple Dimensions (Roads) of Latino and Asian Assimilation on Political Participation

In this paper, we test the links between social, economic, and cultural assimilation and political participation among Latinos and Asian Americans.

Victoria M. DeFrancesco Soto, Northwestern University ymds@northwestern edu

Jennifer L. Merolla, Claremont Graduate University

Jennifer.Merolla@cgu.edu

Zhidong Fang, Claremont Graduate University fangzhidong@hotmail.com

Disc. Michelle L. Hartman, Saint Peter's College

mlhartphd@aol.com

Alexandra Filindra, Rutgers University

afilindra@yahoo.com

29-21 State and Local Representation

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm
Chair Richard C. Witmer, Creighton University

witmer@creighton.edu

Paper The Politics of Inclusion: The Case of Black Mayoral Representation

This study of the impact of black mayors on interactions between the police and the public confirms that the incorporation of black citizens in government and politics yields benefits that transcend identity politics.

 ${\bf Holona\ LeAnne\ Ochs}, {\it Howard\ University}$

hlochs@gmail.com

Paper Comparing Descriptive Representation and Voting Behavior:Latinos and Blacks in the Texas Legislature

I compare voting behavior between Latinos and blacks using Texas House NOMINATE scores. I find that minority representatives vote similarly and no more liberally than whites Democrats with similar demographic compositions.

Tiffany Dawn Barnes, Rice University

tdb1@rice.edu

Paper Is the State Capitol Representative? A Case Study of Symbolic Descriptive Representation in Four Southern State Capitols

The researcher will present a case study analyzing symbolic descriptive representation in four southern state capitols building common areas and grounds. Also, state decision making processes determining what is displayed will be examined.

Paul Delbert Grant, Unaffiliated

pauldgrant@comcast.net

Factors in the Emergence of Political Candidates from Communities of Color in Greater Boston

The goal of this research is to identify common factors that contribute or inhibit candidate emergence of people from communities of color in the in the greater Boston area.

Teri Fair, Suffolk University

tfair@suffolk.edu

Paper

Disc. Michael Fortner, Harvard University

Fortner@fas.harvard.edu

31-4 Hobbes' Science of Politics

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Gregory Bruce Smith, Trinity College

gregory.smith@trincoll.edu

Paper Hobbes's Natural Condition and His Natural Science

This paper argues for an essential connection between the causes of conflict in Hobbes's natural condition and the condition of the human mind as explained by Hobbes's materialistic account of perception and thought.

Paul Ulrich, Carthage College pulrich@carthage.edu

Paper Thomas Hobbes and the Origins of Political Economy

Hobbes' actual economic ideas (as opposed to the economic implications of his politics) constitute the most neglected aspect of his civil philosophy. This paper argues that Hobbes may be rightly viewed as the "father" of modern political economy.

Quentin Pual Taylor, Rogers State University qtaylor@rsu.edu

Paper Equity in the Thought of Thomas Hobbes

This paper is about Thomas Hobbes's concept of equity in his post-Leviathan dialogues. We discover that equity is an essential component to political stability and sovereign prerogative in Hobbes's conception of the commonwealth.

Adam George Yoksas, Loyola University, Chicago

ayoksas@luc.edu

Disc. Laura Ephraim, Northwestern University

l-ephraim@northwestern.edu

32-4 Surfing Alone? Internet Communities and the Future of Democracy

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Carolyn J. Craig, Rutgers University

cjcraig@eden.rutgers.edu

Paper Pluralism and Political Community in the Internet Age, or, The Peace of All Against All

I analyze the Internet's effect on political discourse through a Tocquevillean lens, concluding that it has produced a greater commitment to tolerance, but also a greater "individualism" and a disturbing inability to agree on basic facts and norms.

Aaron Keck, *Duke University* aaron.keck@duke.edu

'aper Is Home Where the Heart is if the Heart is on Facebook? The Internet's Effect on Geographic Identity and Citizenship

In this paper, I examine the role that internet communities can play in creating a citizen's "geographic identity," with a focus on the potential benefits this can have for citizens who are marginalized in their physical communities.

 ${\bf Alexandra~Elizabeth~Hoerl,}~Rhodes~College$

hoerla@rhodes.edu

21st Century Town Meetings: Political Socialization Within Paper **Internet Communities**

This paper examines, via case studies, the way internet identities are simultaneously public and hidden and the effects that this has on matters of dialogue, attatchment, and the effects interent communities affect poilitical socialization.

Brian Eric Stipelman, Dowling College stipelmb@dowling.edu

Bowling On-Line: Internet Society and Potential Reorientation Paper of Republican Democracy in America

If net communities offer similar existential benefits as do traditional associations, but at a competitive cost adcantage, then they may shift the locus of democratic politics by restructuring people's perception of the "common good."

James Elliot Ficker Mastrangelo, Rutgers University jmastran@rci.rutgers.edu

Carolyn J. Craig, Rutgers University Disc.

cjcraig@eden.rutgers.edu Brian Graf, Rutgers University bgraf@rci.rutgers.edu

33-4 The Theory and Practice of Black Capitalism

Adams on the 6th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Darryl Clark Thomas, Pennsylvania State University Chair

dct10@psu.edu

From Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Malcolm X and the Nation of Paper Islam to Barack Obama: Black Capital Formation and Political

We proposed that this panel for the Contemporary Political Theory to investigates and interrogates the genealogy of black capitalist thought and provides a reassessment of the historical formation of black capitalism.

Marcus Allen, Wheaton College allen marcus@wheatoncollege.edu

Diverging Waves of Capital Accumulation, Black Capital Formation and the Specificities of Black Capitalism: From B.T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, to Harold Washington and Beyond

It employs the globalization framework to explore the divergent waves of capital accumulation and their impact on the genealogy of black capitalism. It also applies critical race theoretical framework in order to interrogate black capital formation.

Darryl Clark Thomas, Pennsylvania State University dct10@psu.edu

Black Capitalism and White Wealth: Race, Community, Capital Paper Formation and Jim Crow Economics/Segregationist Business

This paper interrogates Black capitalist thought to map the terrains of race, community and capital formations.

H. L. T. Quan, Arizona State University h.q@asu.edu

Paper From Blacks and the Blues, Rhythm and Blues to the Hip-Hop Revolution: Urban Black Youth Culture, Black Capital Formation, the American Dream/Nightmare

> Urban black youth culture is both an important site for evaluating the social cost of post-industrialization as well as a repository of normative social theory about super capitalism, the decline of the public, accomodationism, and black radicalism.

Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, University of California, Irvine twilloug@uci.edu

Black Women, Capital Formation and Black Capitalism in Paper the Urban Context:From Madame C.J.Walker, Mary Kay to Sylvia's Restaurant and Beyond: Gender, the Great Migration and Black Capitalism

An overview of black capitalism through the lenses of transnational feminism. Revolving around capital accumulation via self employment and microenterprise.

Lindah L. Mhando, Pennsylvania State University llm28@psu.edu

Disc. Michael Salvador Rodriguez, Richard Stockton College of New

Michael.Rodriguez@stockton.edu

34-4 Piety and Prudence

Room Empire on the Lobby Level, Thur at 2:45 pm Devin Stauffer, University of Texas, Austin Chair

devinstauffer@mail.utexas.edu

Paper On the Purpose of the Digression in Plato's Theaetetus

A close study of the digression reveals Protagoras' reason for accepting relativism: that philosophy fails to respond adequately to piety. Socrates indicates that political philosophy may provide such a response and hence a path to genuine prudence.

Matthew Kimball Davis, St. John's College, Santa Fe mdavis@sjcsf.edu

Paper Piety and Prudence in the Anabasis of Xenophon

> The paper is an analysis of the political leadership of Xenophon in Book 3 of the Anabasis. I discuss how Xenophon successfully reconciles the demands of piety with those political success and

Eric Buzzetti, Concordia University, Montreal buzzetti@alcor.concordia.ca

Force, Fraud, and Phronesis **Paper**

The paper considers negative reactions to examples of prudential behavior. And in general it considers the likeability of prudence. Michael W. Grenke, St. John's College, Annapolis

grenk@aol.com

Paper Women, Piety and Prudence in Nietzsche's Thought

Philoosophers often argue that women are pious and serve to uphold the mores of civil society. Nietzsche agrees women are the keepers of mores, but argues that women are not pious. To expect a woman to be pious is akin to expecting a tiger to pray.

Lise van Boxel, St. John's College vanboxel@comcast.net

Disc. Andrea Radasanu, Northern Illinois University

aradasanu@niu.edu

Robert K. Faulkner, Boston College

faulkner@bc.edu

34-19 **Tocquevillian Political Science**

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

William Kostlevy, Tabor College Chair

billk@tabor.edu

Paper Usurpation Privatized? The Napoleonic Self in Tocqueville and **Constant**

This paper claims that Tocqueville underrates the challenges posed to liberal democracy by the transgressive appetites of power-seeking individuals, drawing from Constant's evocative but incomplete theory of the usurping Napoleonic self.

James Poulos, Georgetown University

jgp9@georgetown.edu

Paper Tocqueville's Cities: Ancient, Medieval, American

This paper analyzes contemporary American local politics through the lens of Tocqueville. Themes to be addressed include: modern freedom and its dangers, civic associations in Tocqueville and today, and future avenues of Tocqueville research.

Matthew Holbreich, University of Notre Dame matt.holbreich@gmail.com

A Tocquevillian Evaluation of Party Literature and Parties

This paper evaluates political parties on the basis of Tocqueville's understanding of civic associations, suggesting that modes of evaluating parties based on legislative output ignore the cultural and sociological value of the party.

Jonathan L. Silver, Georgetown University

ils245@georgetown.edu

Tocqueville, Cicero, and the Limits of the Polis Paper

A comparison of Tocqueville and Cicero on the relation of justice to human nature, the obligations imposed on political society by membership in humanity, and the limits of politics' ability to meet these demands.

Louie Joseph Hebert, St. Ambrose University

hebertjosephl@sau.edu

Natalie J. Elliot, University of North Texas Disc.

natalie.j.elliot@gmail.com

William David Wittels, Duke University

wdw4@duke.edu

36-2 **Ideal Point Estimates of Legislators and Parties**

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Simon Jackman, Stanford University Chair

jackman@stanford.edu

Paper **Estimating Proposal and Status Quo Locations Using Voting** and Cosponsorship Data

I propose a method of directly measuring ideal points, proposal locations, and status quo locations on the same multidimensional scale, by employing a combination of voting data, bill and amendment cosponsorship data, and the congressional record.

Michael Peress, University of Rochester

mperess@mail.rochester.edu

Estimating Ideal Points in the British House of Commons

This paper develops a Bayesian ideal point model to estimate preferences of members of the British House of Commons using Early Day Motions as an alternative to voting data.

Michael Kellermann, Harvard University

kellerm@fas.harvard.edu

Paper **Scaling Ideal Points in Non-Euclidean Spaces**

I analyze commonly used methods for scaling legislator's ideological position based on roll-call voting records when the underlying ideological space is non-Euclidean.

Scott Moser, Nuffield College, Oxford University

scott.moser@politics.ox.ac.uk

Disc. Simon Jackman, Stanford University

jackman@stanford.edu

38-3 **Political Parties and Mass Politics**

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Richard Almeida, Francis Marion University Chair

ralmeida@fmarion.edu

Who Gets Contacted to Vote? Why, Voters, of Course Paper

A study suggesting that, despite stories documenting the sophistication of contemporary partisan get-out-the-vote strategies, the calculus of party contact remains relatively straightforward: mobilize partisans and faithful voters.

Erik D. Heidemann, Ohio State University

heidemann.3@osu.edu

Partisan Inheritance During Party Realignment: Re-Examining Paper **Parent-Child Partisan Interaction**

This paper will examine the relationship between the PID of parent and child. Original data was taken during a partisan realignment, particularly in the South. This paper will consider this, to provide a more comprehensive study.

John-Paul David Gravelines, University of Missouri

jdgrn8@mizzou.edu

John R. Petrocik, University of Missouri

petrocik@missouri.edu

On the Physiological Foundations of Partisan Polarization in the

Using an experiment (N=50) measuring people's physiological responses to pro-and-counter attitudinal partisan messages across two issue dimensions, I demonstrate the physiological underpinnings of partisan polarization in the American electorate.

Michael W. Wagner, University of Nebraska

mwagner3@unl.edu

The Role of Nonprofits and Political Parties in Mobilizing **Paper Latino Voters Beyond the Voting Booth**

Political parties have historically provided linkages to various racial, ethnic and religious groups. However, such links have not always been the most sustainable or the most cost-effective for mobilizing

& sustaining long-term relations.

Matthew Todd Bradley, Indiana University, Kokomo

mtbradle@iuk.edu

Karl Besel, Indiana University, Kokomo

kbesel@iuk.edu

Disc. Barbara Trish, Grinnell College

trish@grinnell.edu

39-4 **Bureaucratic Control, Operations**

Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Anthony Bertelli, University of Georgia/University of Manchester

bertelli@uga.edu

Room

Controlling the Bureaucrats: Informational Constraints on Paper

Agency Decision-Making

This paper analyzes how Congress imposes constraints on delegation to force agencies to enact regulatory policies that are responsive to its preferences. The paper empirically tests three conditions under which Congress uses constrained delegation.

Connor Raso, Stanford University

raso@stanford.edu

Jowei Chen, Stanford University

jowei@stanford.edu

Paper The Evolution of the White House Staff, 1945-2008

Drawing on archives and secondary materials, the paper analyzes the development of the modern presidential staff system during the period 1945-2008. The goal is to provide a conceptual framework for understanding the pattern of staff development.

Matthew J. Dickinson, Middlebury College

dickinso@middlebury.edu

The Bureaucratic Processes that created the CORDS Program **Paper** in Vietnam: A Model for Creating Effective Inter-Agency Task

This paper will examine the bureaucratic processes that created the

CORDS program in Vietnam- a successful inter-agency effort for pacification. This is significant because the US government today faces issues that also require inter-agency efforts.

Patrick V. Howell, United States Army

patrick.howell@us.army.mil

Interest Group Conflict, Political Uncertainty, and Executive Paper Discretion

Due to its destabilizing effect on policy implementation, interest group conflict leads policymakers to limit executive discretion. This finding contradicts classic theories of delegation and helps integrate theories of delegation and group politics.

Stéphane Lavertu, University of Wisconsin, Madison

lavertu@polisci.wisc.edu

Paper Challenging Law: Presidential Signing Statements and the **Maintenance of Executive Power**

A paper on the constitutional challenges to sections of law found in presidential signing statements. The implications suggest new ways of thinking about the two presidencies thesis and theories of bureaucratic control.

Kevin Andrew Evans, University of California, Davis

kaevans@ucdavis.edu Disc.

Anne Joseph O'Connell, University of California, Berkeley

aoconnell@law.berkeley.edu

40-5 **History of Congress II: The 19th Century**

Chicago on the 5th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Jason M. Roberts, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill Chair

jroberts@unc.edu

Paper Coalition Formation in a Bicameral Context, 1871-1941

In this paper, we seek to investigate various theories of coalition formation in a bicameral context. More specifically, we examine the size of winning coalitions in both the House and Senate across the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Jamie L. Carson, University of Georgia

carson@uga.edu

Anthony J. Madonna, University of Georgia

ajmadonn@uga.edu

Between Reconstructions: Congressional Action on Civil Rights, Paper 1890-1950

This paper uncovers a neglected history of congressional initiatives related to race during the interim years between the First and Second Reconstructions and their implications for party politics and later successful legislation on civil rights.

Jeffrey Jenkins, University of Virginia

jajenkins@virginia.edu

Vesla Weaver, University of Virginia

vmweaver@virginia.edu

Justin Peck, University of Virginia

jcp2d@virginia.edu

The 19th Century Revolving Door: Legislative Turnover and Paper Party Cohesion in State Legislatures

Party cohesion in U.S. Senate elections held in state legislatures from 1871-1913 has been shown to vary. Here we explore the connection between legislative turnover and party loyalty among state legislators during this time.

Wendy Schiller, Brown University

Wendy Schiller@Brown.edu

Charles Stewart III, Massachusetts Institute of Technology cstewart@mit.edu

The Embattled Metropolis: Big Cities in American State Paper Legislatures

We use a new historical dataset to explore the contention of a century's worth of scholarship that a state's largest city faces discrimination in its legislature.

Thad Kousser, University of California, San Diego

tkousser@ucsd.edu

Gerald Gamm, University of Rochester

gerald.gamm@rochester.edu

Disc. Jason M. Roberts, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

jroberts@unc.edu

40-31 **Ambition in Congress**

Grant on the 6th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Richard M. Skinner, Bowdoin College

rskinner@bowdoin.edu

An Inside Job: Political Ambition and Career Paths Within Paper Congress

Using data on committee and party leadership between the 103rd and 110th Congress, I am able to use social networking analysis to chart how representatives move towards party leadership, membership on prestige committees, or committee leadership. Brendan Toner, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale brandant@siu.edul

Contribution Strategies and Institutional Advancement in the **Paper** U.S. House of Representatives

We evaluate whether members' contribution strategies (e.g., contributing to safe vs. competitive candidates) affects institutional advancement and whether the strategies valued by the party caucuses change based on the political environment.

Eric Heberlig, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

esheberl@uncc.edu

Bruce Larson, Gettysburg College

blarson@gettysburg.edu

Prospectors, Raiders, and Invaders: Committee Ambition and **Paper Jurisdictional Expansion**

I extend our understanding of jurisdictional expansion by examining the Commerce Committee's decision to give up its jurisdiction over transportation and the battle over jurisdiction over international trade in the early nineties.

Jason D. Mycoff, University of Delaware

mycoff@udel.edu

Paper **Dimensions of Comparability: The Influence of Institutional** Structure on Voting Behavior in the States

In this paper, we examine legislative voting behavior using roll call data from all 101 American legislative chambers for 1999-2000 and 2003-2004. This paper addresses the dimensions of comparability of voting behavior across the country.

Jonathan Winburn, University of Mississippi

jwinburn@olemiss.edu

Tracy Osborn, University of Iowa

tracy-osborn@uiowa.edu

Gerald Wright, Indiana University

wright1@indiana.edu

Jennifer Clark, University of Houston

iclar2@Central.UH.EDU

Richard M. Skinner, Bowdoin College Disc.

rskinner@bowdoin.edu

41-3 **Advertising in Congressional Elections**

Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Steve Frantzich, United States Naval Academy

frantzic@usna.edu

Paper The Consultant Effect: Why Some Campaigns Are More **Negative**

Some campaigns are more negative than others because consultants differ in their acceptance of negativity. Data from three Congressional elections confirm that which consulting firm a candidate hires helps determines how negative their ads become.

Matt Grossmann, Michigan State University

matt@mattg.org

Paper Party Advertising in Congressional Elections: Understanding **How Parties Serve Candidate Interests and Their Own**

This paper examines party advertising in congressional elections. I explore the causes and consequences of negative party ads to assess whether parties engage in negative advertising on behalf of the candidates in order to protect them from backlash.

Nathan J. Hadley, University of California, Davis njhadley@ucdavis.edu

Paper **Campaign Consultants and Congressional Party Unity: Are** Consultants Agents of Parties or Candidates?

This paper tests linkages between the use of political consultants by House candidates and party unity. Consultants vary in their ties to party committees. Using consultants with stronger party ties should enhance incumbents' party unity scores.

Sean A. Cain, American University

cain@american.edu

Paper Campaign Advertising, Credit Claiming, and Fenno's Paradox

Credit-claiming is assumed to be a vital source of incumbency advantage. How much credit-claiming occurs in congressional campaign advertising? How do voters respond -- in terms of evaluating incumbents and evaluating Congress as an institution?

Scott James Basinger, University of Houston

sjbasinger@uh.edu

Andrew H. Sidman, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY asidman@jjay.cuny.edu

Paper Anticipatory Cooptation: Campaign Advertising and Third Party Threat

I test for the influence of third parties on the scope and content of major party campaign advertisements in US House elections. I find that major party candidates choose their mix of issues in anticipation of potential third party candidacies.

Dan Lee, Michigan State University

leedan@msu.edu

Disc. Jerry Lee Miller, Ohio University

Jerry.Miller.1@ohio.edu

42-12 Media and the Courts

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Amy L. Steigerwalt, Georgia State University

polals@langate.gsu.edu

Chair

Paper Covering Disunity on the Supreme Court

This paper presents a content analysis of news media coverage of US Supreme Court dissents.

Michael Salamone, University of California, Berkeley

salamone@berkeley.edu

Paper Ideological Labeling Bias in Press Coverage of the United States Paper Supreme Court

A search for evidence of media bias in the patterns of ideological labeling of Supreme Court justices in the New York Times over a 20 year period.

Vincent James Strickler, Utah State University

james.strickler@usu.edu

Kate Reeves, Utah State University

kate.reeves@aggiemail.usu.edu

Kayla Woodring, Utah State University

kayla.may.w@aggiemail.usu.edu

Paper The Politics of Issue Saliency: A Predictive Model of Media Coverage in State Supreme Courts

In this paper, we explore the political and institutional circumstances under which media attention in the American States will be directed towards state supreme court cases.

Teena Wilhelm, University of Georgia

twilhelm@uga.edu

Paper Canons of Ethics and the Content of Advertising in State Supreme Court Elections, 2000-2006

Develops a model to explain the decision to advertise in state supreme court elections and whether campaigns pursue traditional judicial campaign themes of experience and qualifications or focus on issues. Examines effect of state canons of ethics.

C. Scott Peters, *University of Northern Iowa* scott.peters@uni.edu

Disc. Amy L. Steigerwalt, Georgia State University polals@langate.gsu.edu

42-200 Poster Session: Judicial Politics

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Post. 7 Nepal: Role of Judiciary in the Evolving Political Environment

With 2008 general election victory for the ultra-left Communist Party of Nepal (CPN-Maoist), and a proposal to draft a new constitution, what role will the judiciary in Nepal have in coming years?

Ina Acharya, Minnesota State University, Mankato ina.acharya@gmail.com

Post. 8 Does Partisanship Influence Juror Selection?

This paper examines the partisanship of veniremen and women and if there is a relationship between their political preferences and whether they are chosen to serve on a jury.

Maureen Mohan, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale MaureenEMohan@gmail.com

Disc. Shyam Krishnan Sriram, Georgia Perimeter College

ssriram@gpc.edu

43-6 Race and Gender Issues in Supreme Court Doctrine

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Judith Baer, Texas A&M University

j-baer@tamu.edu

Paper Affirmative Action and the Politics of Race-Conscious Constitutional Remedies

This paper examines the development of Affirmative Action jurisprudence and argues that the Court's Affirmative Action jurisprudence has been constrained by the temporary origins of Affirmative Action and the Counter-majoritarian problem.

Justin Wert, University of Oklahoma

jwert@ou.edu

Paper Justice for All: Women Justices' Influence on Constitutional Rights

This paper will examine whether the female members of the Supreme Court have advanced the cause of women's rights during their time on the Court through an examination of key constitutional rights cases.

Natalie Priya Kapur, University at Albany, SUNY nk318523@albany.edu

aper No Help Wanted: Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's 'Different Voice'

This paper considers Sandra Day O'Connor's gender jurisprudence for evidence of the "different voice" claimed for women in the law by some feminist legal theorists.

Joan Sitomer, Kalamazoo College

jsitomer@kzoo.edu

Paper The Great Dissenter: Justice Harlan's Impact on Race and the Law

Justice Harlan pointed dissents in some of the most influential racial decisions of his day, e.g. Plessy v. Ferguson. What impact did these dissents have on the racial discourse of the time, as measured by mainstream and Black periodicals?

Heidi Lynn Lawson, University of Illinois, Chicago hlawso2@uic.edu

Disc. Mahalley D. Allen, California State University, Chico mdallen@csuchico.edu

44-1 International Criminal Law

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Andreas Michael Bock, Geschwister-Scholl Institute of Political Science

andreas.bock@lrz.uni-muenchen.de

Paper Structural Pre-Conditionality, Smoking Gun Evidence and Collective Command Responsibility for War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia

We demonstrate with 2005 survey data from Belgrade how a form of structural pre-conditionality mediated and multiplied public acceptance of "smoking gun" video evidence of collective command responsibility for war crimes by Milosevic era leaders.

Sanja Kutnjak Ivkovich, Michigan State University

kutnjak@msu.edu

John Hagan, Northwestern University

j-hagan@northwestern.edu

On a Wing and a Prayer: The Effect of the ICTY on the Paper

It has been argued that international criminal justice is necessary for peace and that it promotes reconciliation but there have been few attempts to examine these claims. We examine and compare the impact of the ICTY on four Balkan countries.

Patrice Cole McMahon, University of Nebraska

pmcmahon2@unl.edu

Jenny Miller, University of Nebraska

jennyl.miller@gmail.com

Strategic Delegation and the Establishment of the International Paper **Criminal Court**

I propose that the ICC became a viable option because US and UK leaders recognized that the court might help them escape conflicting pressures: human rights advocates demanding accountability and foreign governments insisting on sovereign immunity.

Suzanne Katzenstein, Columbia University

sk2409@columbia.edu

Nikolay Marinov, Yale University Disc.

nikolav.marinov@yale.edu

45-100 Roundtable: Punctuated Equilibrium and State Policy Processes (Co-sponsored with Public Policy, see 47-100)

Watertower on the 6th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

> Numerous researchers have confirmed punctuated policy change. Several recent research findings have found, despite attempts at punctuation, no punctuated policy occurred. What are the implications for the future of punctuated equilibrium theory?

Panelist Michael Steven Givel, University of Oklahoma

mgivel@ou.edu

Jim A. Dunn, Rutgers University jadunn@camden.rutgers.edu

Gordon E. Shockley, Arizona State University

Gordon.Shockley@asu.edu

46-3 Mayors, Boards and Civic Capacity: Local Politics and Education

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Paru Shah, Macalester College Chair

shahp@macalester.edu

NCLB: The Politics of Accountability and Building Focal Civic Paper Capacity

A multi-city case study of 9 schools in three school districts that are in varying stages of addressing their status under No Child Left Behind. The portion of the law that focuses on building local capacity will be the object of the study.

Kenann McKenzie-Thompson, Columbia University

kfm2001@columbia.edu

Do Local School District Size and Density in a State Matter?

Does it matter that local school districts have increased in size and decreased in number?

David J. Webber, University of Missouri

WebberD@Missouri.edu

Political Leadership and Policy Preferences: A Case Study of Paper the Columbus City School District and its Board of Education

The debate over who governs schools continues largely because of limitations related to the lack of accessible and relevant data. This study analyzes unique district level data to illustrate school governance in a large urban public school district.

Tina Delores Pierce, Ohio State University

pierce.252@osu.edu

The State, a Union and Several Mayors: The Thirty Year Fight **Paper** for Control of New York City's Schools

This paper chronicles the movement to give the Mayor of New York control over the city's schools. It explains how the changing political and economic environment dictated the numerous failures and ultimate success of mayoral takeover attempts.

Adam McGlynn, University of Texas, Pan American mcglynnaj@utpa.edu

School Boards: Critics, Research, and Proposal **Paper**

Local school boards are important yet understudied governing legislative and bodies whose legitimacy and effectiveness are considered problematic by pundits. This paper reviews the arguments and research and reports on a new comparative study. T. Allen Lambert, University at Albany, SUNY

lament7@gmail.com

Disc. Christopher A. Simon, University of Nevada, Reno casimon@unr.nevada.edu

47-21 **Explaining and Evaluating Government Privatization**

Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Gregory C. Hill, Boise State University Chair

greghill@boisestate.edu

The Rise of Private Military Contractors on the Battlefield: **Paper** Using the Multiple Streams Framework to Explain a

Controversial Aspect of U.S. Military Policy

This paper examines the rise in the use of private military contract firms in the Iraq theater of operations by looking at the increased use as part of a larger policy process.

Sidney Ellington, University of Oklahoma

sid.ellington@ou.edu

Paper **Bureaucrats and Public Policy: How their Cognitions and Responses Effect Privatization in Taiwan**

The main question of this composite project is as follow: how do the bureaucrats recognize and respond to the policy of privatization? It will provide "evidence based" advice to politicians as well as bureaucrats for their future efforts.

Yan-yi Chang, National Chung Cheng University

d9135005@ccu.edu.tw

Chun-yuan Wang, National Chiao Tung University

g885422@seed.net.tw

Monitoring and Contracting Out Public Services Paper

This paper presents a formal model to explain a debate regarding contracting out public services. The model suggests that monitoring cost and political cost are crucial elements, which differentiate social policies from other public policies.

Eunju Kang, Claremont Graduate University

eunjukang@gmail.com

Disc. Gregory C. Hill, Boise State University

greghill@boisestate.edu

49-10 **Environmental Policy Networks**

Room Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Thomas Dietz, Michigan State University

tdietz@msu.edu

Paper Policy Networks and Problem Solving at the Local Level: **Exploring Collaboration in Brownfield Redevelopment**

This research examines the interplay between policy networks and decision making in Brownfield redevelopment. This analysis examines the extent to which network strength is associated with different decision making approaches in urban redevelopment.

Dorothy Daley, University of Kansas

daley@ku.edu

Port City and International Climate Change Networks Paper

This study examines determinants of cities' participation in international climate change networks. I test hypotheses on port city and cities' participation in the networks by using hierarchical models analyzing 263 cities around the world.

Taedong Lee, University of Washington, Seattle

taedong2@u.washington.edu

Belief Change in an Evolving Risk Policy Network Paper

Models of co-evolving network structures and policy beliefs in a U.S. policy network are tested empirically using actor-oriented computer simulation.

Adam Douglas Henry, Harvard University Adam_Henry@ksg.harvard.edu Thomas Dietz, Michigan State University tdietz@msu.edu

Disc. Christopher M. Weible, University of Colorado, Denver chris.weible@ucdenver.edu

50-4 **Methodological Analysis of Local Bureaucratic Politics** and Policy

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Clare Joanna McGovern, University of British Columbia cmcgover@interchange.ubc.ca

Reassessing the Link Between Local Government Structure and Paper Fiscal Policy: The Mediating Role of Municipal Structure on **Spending Decisions**

We use interaction models and measures of municipal structure developed from the Adapted Cities literature to analyze how municipal structure intervenes to impact the influence of local monopoly power on spending decisions in 263 Michigan cities.

Jered Carr, Wayne State University

jcarr@wayne.edu

Shanthi Karuppusamy, Wayne State University shanthi ksamy@yahoo.com

Leadership in Community Groups: Rediscovering Mary Parker Paper Follett in Today's Civic Engagement Dialogue

This study explores how Mary Parker Follett's concept of group process may illuminate the dialogue on leadership and political participation in today's administrative state.

Maria Veronica Elias, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wavne

eliasm@ipfw.edu

B. Joon Kim, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne kimbj@ipfw.edu

Paper Clitizen Participation and Law Enforcement: Does **Coproduction Affect Crime Clearance Rates?**

Research shows that conjoint actions of citizens and public officials produces several benefits. This study accordingly hypothesizes that co-production promotes organizational success of law enforcement agencies in crime clearance.

Sebahattin Gultekin, University of North Texas sebahattingultekin@gmail.com

Disc. Scott Lamothe, University of Oklahoma

slamothe@ou.edu

Rebecca Hendrick, University of llinois, Chicago

hendrick@uic.edu

52-1 **Diffusion and Interdependence**

Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room

Joshua Dyck, University at Buffalo, SUNY Chair

jdyck@buffalo.edu

Public Infrastructure and Political Mobilization: The Erie **Paper** Canal and Antislavery Petitioning,, 1835-1839

Do long-distance transportation corridors aid political mobilization? Using an original geocoded dataset, we examine how the Erie Canal and its adjacent railroads aided the diffusion of antislavery petitioning in 1830s New York State.

Daniel P. Carpenter, Harvard University

dcarpenter@gov.harvard.edu Colin D. Moore, Yale University colin.moore@yale.edu

Clayton M. Nall, Harvard University

nall@fas.harvard.edu

Is Space More Than Geography? Testing Spatial Dependence of **Paper** Participation in Voluntary Climate Change Initiatives

The paper focuses on the interdependence in decision-making between jurisdictional units. The question is which internal and external factors make local governments more likely to adopt voluntary climate change mitigation initiatives?

Lena Maria Schaffer, ETH Zürich lena.schaffer@ir.gess.ethz.ch

Paper Political Dispersion and Legislative Success: One Case of Soda and One Case of Beer

This paper examines the impact of the concentration of an industry's employees within a congressional district on member support of legislation favorable to that industry and the optimal dispersion across districts for legislative success.

Jason Paul Kelly, Columbia University jpk2003@columbia.edu

Disc. Joshua Dyck, University at Buffalo, SUNY jdyck@buffalo.edu

53-2 **Social Capital**

Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room Chair

Sven E. Wilson, Brigham Young University

sven wilson@bvu.edu

Paper Helping Serendipity Along: The Internet's Role in the Evolution and Enhancement of Social Capital in the 21st Century

An in-depth study detailing the new role of social networking communities and the Internet in the growth and strengthening of social capital

Christina Pfenning Wright, Marquette University

christina.wright@marquette.edu

The Persistence of Social Capital Across the Life-Cycle: Paper Evidence from the Migration History of U.S. Civil War Soldiers

We follow the residential decisions of a random sample of 37,773 US Civil War veterans until the early 20th century. The social bonds formed in their military companies are seen to persist over several decades and influence their residential choice.

Sven E. Wilson, Brigham Young University

sven wilson@byu.edu

Joseph Burton, University of Chicago

jburton@cpe.uchicago.edu

Carlos Villarreal, University of Illinois, Chicago

carlos@cpe.uchicago.edu

Paper Adding Cultural Context to Social Capital: Charisma,

<u>Creativity, and Glamour as New Sources of Political Legitimacy</u>
Political legitimacy can be attained by other means than voting or
citizen participation. In addition to these conventional methods

of guaranteeing legitimacy, we contend that alternative modes of political legitimacy are emerging globally.

Filipe Nichols Silva, Universidade de Lisboa/University of

Cambridge, England lipe083@yahoo.com

Terry Clark, University of Chicago

tnclark@uchicago.edu

Paper The Turkish Establishment's Encounter with Globalization: The Development of an Exclusive Notion of Citizenship

This paper elucidates how a new, exclusive notion of citizenship as a reaction to globalization is fabricated by the main opposition party of Turkey, Republican Peoples Party, and how this notion is perceived at the grassroots level of the party

Ceren Kenar, Bogazici University

ceren.kenar@boun.edu.tr

Disc. Armando Lara-Millan, Northwestern University armandolaramillan2008@u.northwestern.edu

54-3 Religion and the Law

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm **Chair Kimberly Conger**, *Iowa State University*

conger@iastate.edu

Paper On Religious Subject Formation and the Limits of Liberalism: A Case Study of the Fundamentalist Latter-day Saints

The American imagination produces particular types of liberal, religious subjects, who are, at the most basic conception of the self, monogamous. The raids on polygamous communities in 1953 and 2008 establish the link between monogamy and democracy.

Cassie Ambutter, University of California, Santa Cruz cambutte@ucsc.edu

Paper Judging Religion: Evaluating the Reliability of Religious Narratives as Evidence in Legal Proceedings

This paper explores the ways in which courts have, historically, evaluated religious claims and arguments in court and focuses on the particular challenge posed by the use of religious narratives as evidence.

Wendy L. Watson, *Southern Methodist University* wendyw@smu.edu

Paper The Bastard Child: Faith-Based Initiatives and the Marriage of Church and State Through Jurisprudential Modifications and Executive Branch Agendas

Changes in Establishment clause interpretation by the Court coupled with Executive agendas have notably altered the relationship between Church & State. These actions produced the occasion for the creation and furtherance of Faith-Based Initiatives.

Charles Damien Arthur, West Virginia University

charles. arthur@gordon.edu

Disc. Kimberly Conger, Iowa State University

conger@iastate.edu

Elizabeth Oldmixon, University of North Texas

oldmixon@unt.edu

54-18 Religion and Conflict

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm
Chair H. Zeynep Bulutgil, University of Chicago

bulutgil@uchicago.edu

Paper The Flawed Search for Religious Moderates

The search for religious moderates preoccupies analysts of both American and international politics. This paper distinguishes various forms of religious moderation, and traces them through case studies in the United States and Northern Ireland.

David Timothy Buckley, Georgetown University

dtb23@georgetown.edu

Paper From Belfast to Baghdad and Places In Between

The connection of religion and conflict are explored. The work considers ways religion is exploited by intervening nation states. Northern Ireland, Cyprus, the Arab-Israeli conflict and Iraq are considered as case studies.

Nancy B. Burgoyne, Seattle University

nburgoyne@aol.com

Paper Does Religiously Generated Social Capital Intensify or Mediate

Violent Conflict? Lessons from the Boxer Rebellion

Religion is a central element of civil society. In this paper we examine how religious groups and private associations generate social capital in developing societies, and the impact this may have on underlying social cleavages.

Benjamin N. Judkins, *University of Utah* benjamin.judkins@poli-sci.utah.edu

Disc. Naday Shelef, University of Wisconsin

shelef@wisc.edu

56-9 Assessing Student Learning Within the Course

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair David M. Brodsky, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga dmbrodsky@comeast.net

dilibiodsky@collicast.liet

Paper Political Polling as Active Learning: Assessing the Use of Telephone Surveys as a Teaching Tool in Introductory and Advanced American Politics Courses

Providing active learning opportunities for the study of public opinion and polling is challenging with limited resources. The author evaluates telephone surveying as a teaching tool in introductory politics and advanced public opinion courses.

Jonathan Williamson, Lycoming College

Williams@lycoming.edu

Paper Assessing the Core: Content Knowledge and Student Attitude

Change in Two Introductory Courses of Political Science
In this paper, we present our study to assess two core curriculum
courses. Our survey data demonstrate these courses not only provide
knowledge to students, but also significantly impact their civic
engagement and political attitude.

Pamela Martin, Coastal Carolina University plmartin@coastal.edu

Holley Tankersley, Coastal Carolina University

htankers@coastal.edu

Min Ye, Coastal Carolina University

mye@coastal.edu

Paper Problem-Based Learning in "The Politics of Welfare Reform"

This paper examines the effects of using Problem-Based Learning (PBL) in a course entitled "The Politics of Welfare Reform" **Heidi M. Berggren**, *University of Massachusetts*, *Dartmouth* hberggren@umassd.edu

Disc. Paul J. Folger, Heartland Community College

paul.folger@heartland.edu

David M. Brodsky, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga dmbrodsky@comcast.net

63-2 Latino/a Reflections: Media Portrayals, Self Perceptions, and Community Changes

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm

Chair Jose D. Villalobos, Texas A&M University

jvillalobos@polisci.tamu.edu

Paper Fortress of Fear and Borders of Control: How the U.S. Media

Constructs Mexican Immigrants as a National Security Threat This study examines media framing of Mexican immigrants in

This study examines media framing of Mexican immigrants in 2006. It documents how border security and U.S. national identity are being used by white nationalist to depict Mexican immigrants as a Homeland Security threat.

Chris Guy Crews, New School crewc037@newschool.edu

Latino Perceptions of the Republican Party: Examining Change Paper **Over Time**

We examine Latino perceptions of the Republican Party(Lee and Pachon, 2007, Basler, 2008; McDaniel and Ellison, 2008). We examine this question using 3 data sets (1999-2007). We focus on Latino perception of which party is better for Latinos.

Robert D. Wrinkle, University of Texas, Pan American

rdwe116@panam.edu

Diana Evans, Trinity College, Dublin

dian.evans@trincoll.edu

James P. Wenzel, University of Texas, Pan American wenzel@utpa.edu

J. L. Polinard, University of Texas, Pan American polinard@panam.edu

Paper The Politics of Geography and Agricultural Labor in California: Economy, Migration, and Community

Transformation and Integration

I wish to examine the complex relationships between historical and societal processes and individuals and communities. I am interested on the impacts the political economy has on farmworkers.

Armando Ibarra, University of California, Irvine

armandoi@uci.edu

Walter Clark Wilson, University of Texas, San Antonio Disc.

walter.wilson@utsa.edu

65-3 Seeing Poets Through Philosophic Eyes

Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Thur at 2:45 pm Room Chair Steve J. Shone, Winona State University

sshone@winona.edu

Albert Camus' Struggle with Apollo and Dionysus: Euripides Paper and Nietzsche Revisited

We examine Camus' exploration of the isolated and perverse forms of reason and passion, as he attempts to develop an appropriate relationship between Apollo and Dionysus.

Natalie S. Gaines, Louisiana State University

nsgaines@hotmail.com

Cecil L. Eubanks, Louisiana State University poeubk@lsu.edu

Into Our Midst: Nietzscheans Enter Everyday Politics Paper

Overmen who enter everyday life twist politics in disturbing and instructive ways. This is a motif of such films as Fight Club, Hannibal, No Country for Old Men, and The Prestige. The result is to trace post-western turns in our everyday politics.

John S. Nelson, University of Iowa john-nelson@uiowa.edu

Paper Nietzsche in The Compass: Political Theory in Children's **Literature**

A look at the use of political theory in contemporary children's

Marisha Lecea, Western Michigan University

Marisha.L.Lecea@wmich.edu

Franz Kafka and Michel Foucault: The Literature of Paper **Disciplinary Power**

Interprets Franz Kafka's "The Trial" from the perspective of Michel Foucault account of postmodern agency and power.

Nicholas Dungey, California State University, Northridge nicholas.dungey@csun.edu

Disc. Jon MacFarlane, Valparaiso University

Jon.MacFarlane@valpo.edu

Steve J. Shone, Winona State University

sshone@winona.edu

Thursday, April 2-4:45 pm

1-4 Innovations in the Measurement of Racial Attitudes (Cosponsored with Political Psychology, see 21-24)

Room Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm
Chair Carl L. Palmer, University of California, Davis
clpalmer@ucdavis.edu

The Added Value of Explicit Racial Resentment: A Comparison of Old and New Concepts and Measures

We build upon previous research on racial attitudes by analyzing experimental data from the Cooperative Campaign Analysis Project (CCAP) comparing traditional and more explicit racial resentment measures.

David Christopher Wilson, University of Delaware

dcwilson@udel.edu

Paper

Darren W. Davis, University of Notre Dame

darren.davis@nd.edu

Paper Persuasibility and the Measurement of Racial Attitudes

This paper uses persuasibility experiments as multi-item approach

to measuring racial attitudes.

Darren Davis, University of Notre Dame

darren.davis@nd.edu

Paper Implicit Racial Attitudes and Support for Presidential

Candidate Barack Obama

The 'Bradley effect' and the 'reverse Bradley effect' are investigated using a general population online pre-election survey (n=1,000) directly comparing explicit and implicit racial attitudes towards Barack Obama.

Thomas Craemer, University of Connecticut

thomas.craemer@uconn.edu

Todd C. Shaw, University of South Carolina

SHAWTC@mailbox.sc.edu

Courtney Edwards, University of South Carolina

cdedwards1215@aol.com

Hakeem Jefferson, University of South Carolina

JEFFERSH@mailbox.sc.edu

Paper Sex Scandals and Candidate Evaluations

We explore the effect of sex scandals through experiments which vary the presence of racial cues about Barack Obama and John Edwards. We examine how political and social stereotypes interact with our treatments to shape views of candidates.

Adam Berinsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology berinsky@mit.edu

Vincent L. Hutchings, University of Michigan

vincenth@umich.edu

Nicholas A. Valentino, University of Texas, Austin

nvalenti@austin.utexas.edu

Tali Mendelberg, Princeton University

talim@princeton.edu

Disc. Christopher Parker, University of Washington

csparker@u.washington.edu

2-3 New Developments in Measuring Policy Positions from

Manifestos and Speeches

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Lanny Martin, Rice University

lmartin@rice.edu

Paper Policy Dimensionality in Quantitative Text Analysis

We introduce a new automated method for identifying policy dimensions and actors' positions from political manifestos and speeches by smart tagging texts using keywords from legislative databases.

Thomas König, University of Mannheim

t.koenig@uni-mannheim.de

Bernd Luig, University of Mannheim Bernd.Luig@mzes.uni-mannheim.de

Sven-Oliver Proksch, University of Mannheim

proksch@uni-mannheim.de

Jonathan Benjamin Slapin, Trinity College, Dublin

slapinj@tcd.ie

Paper Estimating Hand- and Computer-Coded Policy Positions of

Political Actors Across Countries and Time

In this paper, we compare estimates on parties policy position on a left-right-axis using CMP data and data derived from wordscores for 14 Western European countries in the time period between 1960 and 2000.

Marc Debus, University of Mannheim

marc.debus@mzes.uni-mannheim.de **Thomas Braeuninger**, *University of Konstanz*

thomas.braeuninger@uni-konstanz.de

Paper <u>Issues and Challenges in Estimating Political Preferences from</u>

Text

This paper extends the measurement framework of Lowe (2008) to clarify the substantive assumptions underlying competing methods of policy position estimation and presents a roadmap for future approaches to estimating political preferences from text.

Will Lowe, University of Nottingham

will.lowe@nottingham.ac.uk

Kenneth Benoit, Trinity College, Dublin

kbenoit@tcd.ie

Disc. Georg Vanberg, University of North Carolina

gvanberg@unc.edu

4-3 **Promoting Democracy**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Edward Raymond McMahon, University of Vermont

emcmahon@uvm.edu

Paper Growing Up Democratic Prematurely: An Examination of

Democracy Promotion and Consolidation in Struggling and

Failed Democracies

This paper examines the relationship between Democracy promotion and consolidation and struggling or failed democracies in an attempt to better understand the existence of 'premature' Democracies and the role that they play in political development.

Matthew Quinn Clary, University of Georgia

mclary@uga.edu

Paper Under What Conditions Does Democracy Assistance Work?

We analyze the impact US democracy assistance between 1990 and 1994. Democracy aid is more effective in poorer countries and less effective when countries are large recipients of US military aid.

Steven E. Finkel, University of Pittsburgh

finkel s@yahoo.com

Anibal Perez-Linan, University of Pittsburgh

anibal.perez.linan@gmail.com

From Recipients to Donors: Eastern European Members of the Paper **EU Promote Democracy in the Neighborhood**

The papers looks at democracy promotion by young Eastern European democracies (Poland and Slovakia) and finds that it's best understood as an export of the local transition experience.

Tsveta Petrova, Cornell University

tap25@cornell.edu

Political Transitions in African Countries: The Case of Guinea-Paper Bissau

Focusing on Guinea-Bissau's political transitions, this paper questions the proclaimed improvements brought about by the democratization process and highlights the prevailing patterns of exercising power since independence.

Teresa Almeida Cravo, Harvard Kennedy School teresa_cravo@ksg.harvard.edu

Disc. William R. Keech, Duke University

wkeech@gmail.com

4-10 **Democratization and Inequality**

Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room

Mary Delorse Coleman, Jackson State University Chair

mary.delorse.coleman@jsums.edu

Just Debate and Gender Justice in Democratizing States Paper

Comparing the legitimacy of gender justice in South Africa, Chile and Poland, I find that the openness and inclusiveness of public debate shapes gender outcomes, but requires skilled political actors to exploit those opportunities.

Denise Marie Walsh, University of Virginia

denise@virginia.edu

Democratic Degrees and Inequality Paper

This article tests the assumption in recent democratization literature that economic inequality declines after a country democratizes. This paper finds that low levels of democracy are associated with higher levels of income inequality.

Juan Rebolledo, Yale University juan.rebolledo@yale.edu

Inequality, State Capacity and Democratization

I argue that the effect of inequality on democratization depends on the capacity of the state to repress and tax its population. Inequality harms democratization in strong states but promotes it in weak ones.

Christian Houle, University of Rochester

choule@mail.rochester.edu

Disc. Fubing Su, Vassar College

Fusu@vassar.edu

5-7 **Comparative Analysis of Legislative Institutions**

Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room

Christopher Kam, University of British Columbia Chair

ckam@interchange.ubc.ca

Does Bicameralism Promote Stability? The Impact of Paper

Legislative Procedure on Coalition Formation in the European **Parliament**

Bicameralism has often been defended as a solution to the problem of legislative instability. This claim is tested by examining the effect of variation in legislative procedure on coalition formation in the European Parliament

Rory Costello, University of Twente

r.d.costello@utwente.nl

Electoral Institutions and the Internal Organization of

Legislatures: Exploring the Effect of Mechanisms to Cultivate a **Personal Vote**

I explain why legislative committees will be stronger when legislators cultivate personal votes by supplying fiscal legislative particularism rather than extra-legislative services. The argument is tested with data from 39 countries.

Shane Martin, Dublin City University

Shane.martin@dcu.ie

Legislative Success in Fragmented Congresses **Paper**

Our findings suggest that plurality controlled chambers see significant declines in legislative productivity and a moderate ideological drift towards the global median voter of the Chamber.

Ernesto F. Calvo, University of Houston

ecalvo@uh.edu

Inaki Sagarzazu, University of Houston

isagarzazu@uh.edu

Paper

Committee Leadership under Strong-Party Rule: A Study of Legislative Politics in Mexico, 1999 - 2008

The purpose here is to apply current understanding of the U.S. Congress to help better understand committees in Mexico, a political system where the bulk of legislative decision-making occurs during the committee stage of deliberation.

Raul Cipriano Gonzalez, Rice University

raul@rice.edu

Disc. Nathan Frank Batto, University of the Pacific

nbatto@pacific.edu

Christopher Kam, University of British Columbia

ckam@interchange.ubc.ca

6-3 **Issue Spaces in Europe**

Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room

Matthew Loveless, Oxford University Chair

matthew.loveless@politics.ox.ac.uk

Choosing the Optimal Platform in Multidimensional Policy Paper

The model of political competition that explains what determines the agendas for political campaigns, which issues are being mentioned by the candidates the most, and whether or not candidates will discuss similar issues.

Mariya Burdina, University of Colorado, Boulder

burdina@colorado.edu

Economy, Immigration, and Social Conservatism: Policy **Paper** Influence on Three Measures of Left-Right Opinions

The paper investigates policy influence on mass opinion toward three dimensions of the left-right scale. Data used are from the European Social Survey and the Manifesto data set. The method employed is multilevel analysis.

Tor G. Jakobsen, Trondheim Business School

torgeoj@stud.ntnu.no

Paper Considering the Alternatives: The Effects of the European and **Left/Right Dimensions on Consideration Set Formation**

This paper investigates the formation of consideration sets to address the question of the relative importance of party positions on the European integration and left/right dimensions for vote choice in national elections

Carole J. Wilson, University of Texas, Dallas cjwilson@utdallas.edu

Choice or Complexity? The Impact of Party System **Paper**

Fragmentation on Voter Uncertainty in European Democracies

This paper tests the impact of party system fragmentation on voter uncertainty about party positions in 24 European democracies. The paper develops 3 different measures of uncertainty: uncertainty, ambiguity and accuracy.

Carolien Van Ham, European University Institute

Carolien.VanHam@EUI.EU

Jeremy Albright, University of Michigan Disc.

jeralbri@umich.edu

7-5 **Islam in European Politics**

Sandburg Boardroom 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room Lisa C. Fox, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill Chair

lisacfox@email.unc.edu

Ideologies and the Political Regulation of Religion: A Survey of Paper **Muslim Elites in Europe**

This paper provides empirical evidence regarding political belief systems and attitudes regarding state regulation of religion among Muslim elites in Ireland, Portugal, and Spain.

Andrew C. Gould, University of Notre Dame

agould@nd.edu

Methods and Modes of Political Participation of Muslim Paper **Immigrants in Western Europe**

This paper offers a comparative examination of how Muslim immigrants participate in non-electoral politics in Western Europe and evaluates the institutional and individual level factors that shape non-electoral political behavior.

Janna Bray, University of Michigan jpbray@umich.edu

Constructing and Deconstructing Islam in Europe: British and Paper French Policies toward Moderate Muslims

This paper will offer an argument for when and why religion rose in salience when it did in Great Britain and France. This paper will then move to a closer examination of the form of policies to support moderate Muslims.

Kathryn L. Gardner, University of Notre Dame klawall1@nd.edu

Civil Liberties in Nations Under Seige: The Cases of France and Paper the Netherlands

This paper compares expressed indicators of civil liberties values such as tolerance before and after events that were widely perceived as a threat to the dominant life style and public safety.

Lawrence Clark Mayer, Texas Tech University

clark.mayer@ttu.edu

Alan Arwine, Texas Tech University

alan.arwine@ttu.edu

Lisa C. Fox, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill Disc.

lisacfox@email.unc.edu

7-17 **Germany in Comparative Perspective**

Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room Irina Busygina, MGIMO, Moscow, Russia

irabus@mgimo.ru

Paper Party Identification in Germany: A Dynamic Analysis of Panel Data, 1984-2006

We use the German Socio-Economic Panel Study (GSOEP), a longitudinal study including twenty-three waves of annual data since 1984, to analyze the dynamics of partisanship in Germany.

Eric Schickler, University of California, Berkeley eschickler@berkeley.edu

Rocio Titiunik, University of California, Berkeley

titiunik@berkeley.edu

Paper The Financialization of the Soziale Marktwirtschaft: Pension Reform in Germany

The paper explores the political ramifications of capital-funded occupational pension plans in Germany, introduced through the 2002 Riester reforms.

Natascha van der Zwan, New School for Social Research vandn333@newschool.edu

An Economic Success Story: How Germany Benefits from Globalization

This paper examines why globalization has been good for Germany. Today the country is a global economic Superpower and the world champion in exports. Worldwide trade facilitates German prosperity and a high standard of living.

Doris Wolfgramm, Unversity at Cortland, SUNY dwolfgramm@stny.rr.com

German Policy Towards Genetically Modified Foods Paper

Why has Germany failed to support agricultural biotechnology despite its large biotech industry? Combine arguments about the social coalitions for and against green biotech with analysis of how the issue splits parties and governing coalitions.

Alice H. Cooper, University of Mississippi

acooper@olemiss.edu

Timo Baas, IAB-Nuremberg; FU-Berlin, University of Potsdam Disc.

timo.baas@iab.de

8-5 Poverty and Inequality in Latin America: Solutions and Consequences

Room Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Lynda Barrow, Coe College Chair

lbarrow@coe.edu

Paper Polarization and Social Conflict: Analyzing Income Polarization, Evidence from Colombia

I analyze income polarization for Bogotá between the first semester of 2000 and the second semester of 2003. In this period, income polarization was reduced and education seems to be the most relevant socioeconomic characteristic affecting it.

Ernesto Adolfo Cardenas Prieto, University of Siena ernesto.cardenas@uexternado.edu.co

Paper **Explaining the Diffusion of Conditional Cash Transfers in the Developing World**

What explains the diffusion of conditional cash transfers, a poverty alleviation strategy, to Latin American and African countries? This paper explores domestic conditions well as international pressures to uncover the motivations for CCT emulation.

Natasha Borges Sugiyama, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee sugiyamn@uwm.edu

The Political Economy of Poverty Alleviation: Explaining the Paper **Decline of Clientelism and Social Policy Making in Mexico**

By focusing on the case of Mexico, my analysis demonstrates that heightened electoral competition and growing civil society develop institutional constraints and thus dampen electorally motivated clientelist distribution of anti-poverty spending.

Yuriko Takahashi, Kobe University ytakahashi@people.kobe-u.ac.jp

Pay Inequality in Argentina: From the Washington Consensus Paper to the Reformist Nationalism of the New Century

The purpose of this study is to compare the trends in pay inequality in Argentina during the height of neoliberalism under former president Carlos Menem and more recently under Kischner's nationalist reform movement, 1994-2008.

Laura Tatiana Spagnolo, University of Texas, Austin lauraspagnolo@mail.utexas.edu

Paper The Effects of Income Inequality on Democracy: Examining its Micro Foundations with Recent Survey Data from Latin **America**

The effects of income inequality on democracy: examining its micro foundations with recent survey data from Latin America.

Terence Teo, Rutgers University

tteo@rci.rutgers.edu

Brian Cramer, Rutgers University cramer@rci.rutgers.edu

David Thomas Doyle, Dublin City University Disc.

david.doyle@dcu.ie

9-8 Democracy, Autocracy and the State

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm
Chair Shaojin Chai, University of Notre Dame

schai@nd.edu

Paper Media Commercialization Under Authoritarianism in East Asia and the Middle East

This paper examines if single-party regimes East Asia and the Middle East have an advantage over personalistic and military regimes to establish institutions that mitigate the liberalizing effect of commercial liberalization on news media content.

Danie Stockmann, *Leiden University* DStockmann@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Paper Communism Durability and The Connection Between Social Ties and Political Institutions: Evidence From State-Society Relations in Rural China and Vietnam

The durability of Communist regimes in China and Vietnam can be sufficiently explained by the variation of embeddness of state and social groups.

Shaojin Chai, *University of Notre Dame* schai@nd.edu

Paper Explaining Pakistan's Civil-Military Rut

Pakistan's cyclical democratic and military rule is explained by an identical centralization tendency among civilian and military rulers. Lack of politicization at the provincial levels causes periodic mobilization for civilian and military leaders.

Moeed Wasim Yusuf, *Boston University* moeed@bu.edu

Paper China's Model of Democracy

This paper will highlight major features of the Chinese political system and elaborate a China's model of democracy.

Zhiyue Bo, *National University of Singapore* eaibz@nus.edu.sg

Disc. Xi Chen, University of Texas, Pan American

chenx@utpa.edu

Bin Yu, *University of Colorado, Boulder* BIN.YU@COLORADO.EDU

11-12 Foreign Policy in the Middle East

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Chair Muqtedar Khan, University of Delaware

mkhan@udel.edu

Paper The Evolution of Foreign Policy in Iran Since the Revolution

This paper examines the evolution of Iranian foreign policy since the revolution. Although Iranian leaders have spoken of the importance of Islam, realism has guided foreign policy throughout much of the past 30 years.

Barb Rieffer-Flanagan, Central Washington University flanagan@cwu.edu

Paper International Gossip: Talk is Not Cheap

I will argue that not only is talk not cheap, but also that language creates intangible dynamics that can transform allegiances on an international level. Iran, United States, and the nuclear issue will be my backdrop for this inquiry.

Suzanne Levi-Sanchez, *Rutgers University* sule.sanchez@gmail.com

Paper Nuclear Proliferation and the Quest for Security in the Middle East

This study proposes to gauge the applicability of the security dilemma as it relates to nuclear proliferation in the Middle East. It will explore possible remedies for escaping the dilemma.

Abdalla M. Battah, *Minnesota State University*, *Mankato* abattah@mnsu.edu

Disc. Wael J. Haboub, University of Illinois, Chicago

whabou2@uic.edu

Muqtedar Khan, *University of Delaware* mkhan@udel.edu

13-4 The Role of Gender in Post-Communist Institutions and Society

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm
Chair Maria Tzintzarova, College of St. Catherine

mhtzintzarova@stkate.edu

Paper

Paper The Visible Woman: Gender and the Composition of Post-Communist Cabinets

An analysis of gender credentialing in the cabinets in 13 postcommunist democracies in cross-regional perspective with Western Europe and Latin America; examines factors driving the selection of women cabinet ministers and how posts are allocated

Carol Skalnik Leff, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign leffc@uiuc.edu

Brianna K. Lawrence, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign* blawren3@illinois.edu

Gender Inequality in Transitioning Post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe

This paper assesses domestic and external factors affecting the level of gender inequality in Post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe.

Maria Tzintzarova, *College of St. Catherine* mhtzintzarova@stkate.edu

Paper Lost in Transition? East German Women A Generation Later

This paper looks at the effects of welfare regime transition on the women of the GDR. Additionally, it uses East Germany as an guide post for the EU's on-going eastern integration.

Rebecca JoAnn Cruise, University of Oklahoma rebeccajcruise@ou.edu

Paper Supporting Women's Issues Legislation: Rada Roll-Call Vote Analysis

Are female deputies more likely than their male counterparts to vote in support of women's issues? The study uses roll-call data from the Ukrainian Rada to examine whether women's descriptive representation translates into substantive one.

Raminta Stockute, University of Kansas

Raminta@ku.edu

Disc. Raminta Stockute, University of Kansas

Raminta@ku.edu

Petra Hejnova, Syracuse University

phejnova@syr.edu

14-6 Energy Politics

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Stefan Fritsch, Bowling Green State University sfritsc@bgsu.edu

Paper Russia and Turkey and Geopolitics of Energy

The complexity of the pipeline competition between US, European and Russian interests converge at the strategic nexus of Turkey, NATO member and a significant Euro-Atlantic ally with distinct geopolitical significance.

Petros Vamvakas, Emmanuel College vamvakpe@emmanuel.edu

Paper Fast, Revenue Maximizing, or Right: Institutional Design Reactions of North Sea Energy States to their Windfalls

The discovery of oil and natural gas in the North Sea presents the analyst with a unique opportunity to comparatively examine the reaction of states to resource windfalls.

Katherine Verleger, Georgia State University kaverleger@yahoo.com

Paper Chinese National Oil Companies and the Acquisition of

The state sets to direct NOCs' activities fulfilling national interests and acquiring oil for its development. However, NOCs must operate in the capitalist market to reach national goals as well as its own goals. It has to make a choice.

Chung-chian Teng, National Chengchi University ccteng2003@hotmail.com

Swing Producers: Saudi Arabia at OPEC and Russia at GECF Paper

Russia has ambitions to be powerful again, on the strength of its energy industry. That will depend on its ability to be a swing producer. Saudi Arabia at OPEC offers some lessons.

Sun-Hyoung Kim, Seoul National University

shkim@snu.ac.kr

Disc. Matthew John Spence, University of California, Los Angeles

mspence@ucla.edu

14-17 **Studies of Migration and Immigration Policy**

Medinah on the 6th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room David Leblang, University of Virginia Chair

leblang@virginia.edu

Paper **Globalization and Anti-Immigrant Sentiments: A Multi-Level Analysis of 65 Countries**

This study investigates the impact of globalization on antiimmigrant sentiments with a comprehensive sample of 65 developed and less developed countries. Our analyses reveal that different dimensions of globalization have contradictory effects.

Ekrem Karakoc, Pennsylvania State University

ekarakoc@psu.edu

Yunus Kaya, University of North Carolina, Wilmington

kayay@uncw.edu

Paper **Differences in Economic Performance Between Refugees and Economic Immigrants**

This is a quantitative study that explores whether region of settlement of refugees influence their earning potential. Refugees are compared to economic immigrants in the United States using Current Population Survey.

Vagisha Gunasekara, Purdue University

vgunasek@purdue.edu

The Unintended Consequences of International Capital Paper **Mobility on Immigration Policy**

What explains the differences in immigration policy across countries and over time? Using a formal model of interest group bargaining, I argue that international capital mobility and the power of labor affects the openness of immigration policy.

Margaret E. Peters, Stanford University

mepeters@stanford.edu

Points-Based Immigration Systems in OECD Countries Paper

Using cross national data for OECD countries, this paper attempts to explain why some industrialized countries choose to have pointsbased immigration systems while other with similar characteristics

Mariana Medina, Washington University, St. Louis mmedina@artsci.wustl.edu

The Exports of Morocco's Rif Mountain Region: Migrants and Paper **Hashish**

This paper illustrates the economic, cultural and political interconnectedness of agriculture and migration in the Rif region of Morocco, and interprets the relationship between cannabis cultivation in the Rif region and outward Moroccan migration.

Melodee Marie Baines, Old Dominion University mbaines@odu.edu

Mariana Medina, Washington University, St. Louis Disc.

mmedina@artsci.wustl.edu

15-11 The Politics of International Economic Sanctions

Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room Michael Tomz, Stanford University Chair

tomz@stanford.edu

Persuasion vs Coersion: Human Rights Compliance Within the **Paper** Context of the Lomé Conventions and Cotonou Agreements

This paper attempts to determine the extent to which the arguments regarding the coercion and persuasion hold within the context of the Lomé Conventions/Cotonou Agreement between the EU and the 79 countries in the ACP group of developing nations.

Jess E. Clayton, University of Wisconsin, Madison jeclayton@wisc.edu

Paper **Economic Sanctions: Unexpected Burden? A Glimpse into the Effects of Economic Sanctions on Human Rights**

This paper attempts to determine whether or not economic sanctions lead to a deterioration of human rights in the target country, and under what circumstances this could be the case.

Nadia Anne Jilani, University of South Carolina

nadia.jilani@gmail.com

The European Union's Foreign Policy: Changing Human Rights **Paper** in the Less Developed World

This paper looks at the effectiveness of the EU's economic sanctions in the human rights and democratization area, 1989-2000. Using the Union's rotating presidency to instrument for the non-random imposition of sanctions changes what we know.

Nikolay Marinov, Yale University nikolay.marinov@yale.edu

Disc. Michael Tomz, Stanford University

tomz@stanford.edu

15-29 **Multinational Corporations**

Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room Ekaterina V. Svyatets, University of Southern California

Chair

svyatets@yahoo.com

Paper The Conglomeration of Business and Culture: How State Power

Prevails Amidst an Ever-Increasing Globalization of Business A look into the state-supplied conditions necessary for TNCs to

achieve long-term sustainable success in that host country suggests that the success of the TNC depends on its ability to adapt to the national culture of the host country.

Jennifer Michelle Lorentz, Marquette University jennifer.lorentz@marquette.edu

Paper Dialogue or Monologue: Communications Between

Governments, Intermediaries and Multinational Corporations

Do independent and international intermediate organizations facilitate communication between foreign firms and national governments?

Dona Roy, University of South Carolina

roy4@mailbox.sc.edu

W. Michael Donovan, Cedar Crest College Disc.

mdonovan@cedarcrest.edu

16-3 **Alliance Formation, Cohesion and Reliability**

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Eli Asher Balkin, Georgetown University

eab67@georgetown.edu

Does Alliance Deliver What it Promises? Assessing Alliance **Paper** Reliability with Veto Player

This paper analyzes how the existence of veto player enhances the alliance reliability during wartimes. My analyses show that the larger the number of veto players, the more difficult it is for state leaders to reverse prior alliance commitment.

Kuyoun Chung, University of California, Los Angeles ckuyoun@ucla.edu

Paper Does International Reputation Matter? A Signaling Theory Linking Alliance Commitment and Alliance Formation

We develop a signaling theory of reputation linking the decision to violate alliance commitments and the decision to form new alliances. We test the theoretical predictions on bilateral alliance data

Neil Narang, University of California, San Diego nnarang@ucsd.edu

Brad LeVeck, *University of California, San Diego* bleveck@ucsd.edu

Paper An Empirical Model of Alliance Formation

Develop a realist and rational choice based empirical model of military alliance formation. Reveals the conditional impact of key variables on the formation of military alliances.

Paul Poast, University of Michigan poastpd@umich.edu

Disc. Yong-Hee Park, Texas Tech University ypark3@hotmail.com

16-20 Security and Institutions: UN, NATO and the EU

Room Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm
Chair Thomas E. Doyle, University of California, Irvine
tdoyle@uci.edu

Paper When Did NATO Transform into a Collective Defense Alliance?

This paper examines when and how NATO transformed into a collective defense alliance. It is argued that the "1951 U.S. package deal" was the key for the transformation of NATO. This paper argues that the 1952-54 European cooperation was the key.

Tatsuya Nishida, *Harvard University*

tatsuya_nishida@ksgphd.harvard.edu

Paper International Institutions in the Face of Change

This paper focuses on the reform of international institutions and questions whether International Relations theories have satisfactory arguments to explain the change in international system in order to predict the future of these institutions.

Murat GUL, West Virginia University mgul@mix.wvu.edu

Paper The European Union's Conflict Prevention Strategies: Optimal Configurations of Methods for Achieving Success

This article employs Boolean analysis on EU preventive interventions between 1993 and 2004, investigating the optimal configuration of military means, diplomacy, economic aid, human rights and governing institutions in achieving conflict prevention.

Mihaela Racovita, *University of Notre Dame* mracovit@nd.edu

Disc. Jim Seroka, Auburn University jseroka@auburn.edu

17-5 Conflict and Population Displacement

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Christine Sixta Rinehart, Francis Marion University CSixta@fmarion.edu

Paper Displacement in Colombia: Causes and Consequences

Using estimates of displaced populations from diverse sources, we attempt to identify both the causes of displacement and its long term effects in Colombia. Additionally, we assess the success of different policy responses by type of displacement.

Jennifer S. Holmes, *University of Texas*, *Dallas* jholmes@utdallas.edu

Sheila Amin Gutierrez de Pineres, University of Texas, Dallas pineres@utdallas.edu

Paper The Politics of Prestige: Factional Violence Among Palestinians in Lebanon

Using a theoretical approach rooted in organizational and network analysis, I argue that competition for prestige, not religious or ideological conflict, is an independent driver of political violence in the 'Ayn al-Hilwa refugee camp in Lebanon.

Sarah Elizabeth Parkinson, University of Chicago sparkinson@uchicago.edu

Paper Hurting the Host: The Dynamics of Refugee-Related Violence in South Asia

This paper studies the tendency of host governments to get embroiled in conflict with refugee groups residing within its borders using a new dataset on three South Asian countries: India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

Navine Murshid, *University of Rochester* nmurshid@mail.rochester.edu

Disc. Mary Frances Lebamoff, Loyola University, Chicago mflebamoff@gmail.com

17-22 Nationalism and Conflict

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm
Chair Rob Kevlihan, Kazakhstan Institute of Management rkevlihan@gmail.com

Paper <u>Identity Politics, Nationalism and Regionalism: Territorial</u> <u>Disputes and Common Policies in Northeast and Southeast Asia,</u>

I examine the effect of evolving inter-state identity relationships in the two regions of Northeast and Southeast Asia for their conflict resolution and common policy making and offer the strength of ingroup identity as the explanatory variable

Yongwook Ryu, Harvard University yryu@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Ballots for Bullets: Citizen Security and Retrospective Voting in Democracies Confronting Ethno-nationalist Conflict

This paper examines when and why ordinary citizens support violent, rather than non-violent ethno-nationalist political parties on election day.

Mary Beth Ehrhardt, *Princeton University* mehrhard@princeton.edu

Paper Organizational Character of Rebel Movements and the Dynamics of Civil Wars

The paper analyzes the affects of organizational character of rebel movement on the trajectory of civil war. It combines ethnographic study of four movements in Northeast India with a statistical analysis of civil wars between 1960 and 2004.

Anoop Sarbahi, *University of California*, *Los Angeles* sarbahi@ucla.edu

Paper Secession Strategies: Escalation and De-Escalation in Self-Determination Movements

We differentiate between peaceful and violent demands for independence and provide an explanation for why minority groups change their strategies. We subject our argument to empirical analysis of 350 minority groups over the period from 1900 to 2000.

Muhammet Bas, Harvard University

mbas@gov.harvard.edu

Elena V. McLean, Texas A&M University elenamclean@politics.tamu.edu

Disc. Landon Hancock, Kent State University

lhancoc2@kent.edu

19-6 The United Nations and Conflict Managment
Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Benjamin N. Schiff, Oberlin College ben.schiff@oberlin.edu

Paper The Evolution of the Global Collective Security System:
Motivations and Patterns of Military Support for UN

Peacekeeping Operations

This quantitative and longitudinal study analyzes patterns of states' military support during the post-Cold War era to test hypotheses of state motivations for cooperation in international security and peace maintenance.

Cosmina Menghes, *University of Notre Dame* cmenghes@nd.edu

Paper The Political Economy of UN Nation Building, 1946-2000

The paper examines the role that the UN has played in nation building in the period 1946-2000 in the aftermath of military occupations. It attempts to assess the success of these efforts based on the amount of aid the UN has provided.

Carmela Lutmar, Princeton University

clutmar@princeton.edu

Paper Dyad Affinity as a Latent Variable: Measuring Preference Alignments Using the United Nations General Assembly Roll Call Vote

We propose a Bayesian Item Response Theory model for measuring a dyad's underlying foreign policy preferences alignment using the United Nation General Assembly roll call vote.

Yong Kyun Kim, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill ykkim@email.unc.edu

Kiyoung Chang, *University of North Carolina*, *Chapel Hill* kychang@email.unc.edu

Disc. Benjamin N. Schiff, Oberlin College

ben.schiff@oberlin.edu

20-2 Ethnicity, Party Politics and Public Policy in Europe

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Chair Devashree Gupta, Carleton College

dgupta@carleton.edu

Paper Conflicts Over Islam in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland:

Between Ethnic Citizenship, State-Church Relations and Right-Wing Populism

This paper investigates the conflict about Islam in Austria, Germany and Switzerland and focuses on the influence of different participation models and regulations between the church (Islam) and the state.

 ${\bf Marc\ Helbling},\ {\it University\ of\ Zurich}$

helbling@ipz.uzh.ch

Martin Dolezal, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München martin dolezal@lm.de

Swen Hutter, *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* hutter@uni-muenchen.de

Paper Migration and Political Reaction in Italy: The Fortunes of the Northern League

This paper shows the influence of migration on the political fortunes of the ethno-regionalist party 'Northern League' in Italy.

Lapo Salucci, University of Colorado, Boulder lapo.salucci@colorado.edu

Paper Legislating Tolerance? Multiculturalism and Assimilation
Policy Regimes and Public Attitudes on Immigration and Ethnic
Diversity

This paper examines the relationship between citizenship and immigration policy regimes, on one hand, and public opinion in terms of tolerance of immigrants, support for immigration, and

tolerance of cultural diversity. **Matthew Wright**, *University of California*, *Berkeley* beardedelephant@gmail.com

Paper Selective EU Immigration Policy Incorporation by EU Member States: An Alternative Perspective

The paper examines the impact of mass migration from Eastern Europe (Poland, Romania) to Western Europe, in the past decade. The aim of the paper is to determine how this phenomenon has impacted immigration policy changes in member states of the EU.

Anca Turcu, Iowa State University

aturcu@iastate.edu

Disc. Ethan Jon Hollander, Wabash College

hollande@wabash.edu

21-4 Psychological Profiles of Elites

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm
Chair William D. Anderson, University of South Dakota

William.Anderson@usd.edu

Paper Taming Power: Development of a Psychological Measure from Leaders' Speeches

To explore how power might be tamed, a content analysis measure of generative historical consciousness was developed by comparing political leaders' speeches reflecting tamed power with matched speeches reflecting untamed power.

David G. Winter, University of Michigan

dgwinter@umich.edu

Paper

Comparing the Leadership Styles of George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush Using At-A-Distance Measures

This project investigates the relationship between key personality traits, using leadership trait analysis and at-a-distance measures and presidential use of force in the Post-Cold War era.

Wesley Brian Renfro, University of Connecticut

wesley.renfro@uconn.edu

Paper How the Social Context of Bill Clinton's Childhood Shaped his
Personality: Using Oral History Interviews of His Childhood
Pages and Relatives

Peers and Relatives
The goal of this project is to shed lie

The goal of this project is to shed light on the influences on Bill Clinton. It should serve as a foray into building a theoretical framework to show how early political familial and peer socialization influences presidential personality.

Karen Denice Sebold, University of Arkansas

ksebold@uark.edu

Andrew Dowdle, University of Arkansas

adowdle@uark.edu

Paper Positive Psychology and Mass-Mediated Elections: The Influence of the Candidates' Levels of Optimistic Non-

Rumination on the 2008 Presidential Primaries

More optimistic presidential candidates won 83% of general elections from 1900-1988. This study examines the 2008 presidential primaries to see if optimistic, non-ruminative candidates faired better than their pessimistic, ruminative counterparts.

James Cleith Phillips, Brigham Young University phillipschoro@hotmail.com

Disc. William D. Anderson, University of South Dakota William.Anderson@usd.edu

22-3 Turnout - Voting Laws and Election Administration

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Chair Barry Burden, University of Wisconsin

bcburden@wisc.edu

Paper Lines at Polling Stations: Observations from an Election Day Field Study

This paper attempts to understand how and why long lines form at a polling place. It uses new data collected during California's 2008 Presidential Primary Election by observing voter behavior inside 30 California polling places.

Douglas M. Spencer, *University of California, Berkeley* dspencer@berkeley.edu

Zachary S. Markovits, *Pew Center on the States* zmarkovits@pewtrusts.org

The Effects of Election Day Vote Centers on Voter Turnout and Paper

In this project we evaluate the impact of Election Day vote centers on voter turnout and satisfaction in the 2008 elections.

Robert M. Stein, Rice University

stein@rice.edu

Greg Vonnahme, University of Alabama

gvonnahme@ua.edu

The Voter ID Mess: Estimating the Effects of State Voter ID Paper laws on Voter Turnout and Self-Reported Voting Irregularities

I analyze the effects of state voter ID laws on voter turnout and voting irregularities from 2000-2008.

Jeff Milyo, University of Missouri

milyoj@missouri.edu

Barry Burden, University of Wisconsin Disc.

bcburden@wisc.edu

23 - 7The Importance of Campaign Advertising (Co-sponsored with Mass Media and Political Communication, see 27-15)

Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room

Christian Elmelund-Præstekær, University of Southern Denmark Chair cel@sam.sdu.dk

Paper How Negative Advertising Affects Individual Level Vote Choice

How negative advertising affects individual level vote choice. K. Elizabeth Coggins, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill cogginse@email.unc.edu

Thomas Carsey, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill carsey@email.unc.edu

Getting the Accurate Idea: Media Effects on Presidential Paper **Candidates' Issue Position Perception**

This study seeks to examine the effects different forms of news media have on how voters perceive where a presidential candidate stands on a given issue.

Shaun Williams-Wyche, University of Minnesota wych0006@umn.edu

A Tale of Two Executives: Exploring the Effects of Presidential Paper Campaign Advertising on Concurrent Gubernatorial Elections

Employing television advertising data from the Wisconsin Advertising Project, this paper examines the effects of presidential campaign advertising on the races for Governor in the twelve states that elect Governors during presidential election years.

Chris Nicholson, University of Houston cnicholson@uh.edu

Making the Mass Media Work for You: How Campaigns Paper Utilized Mass Media Theories to Promote Themselves, Woo **Undecided Voters and Attack Opponents During the 2008 Presidential Primaries and Election**

With the advent of radio, television and the Internet, political campaigning has changed enormously. Serious politicians must utilize mass media theories like Agenda Setting and Cultivation Theory to maximize the effect their messages have on voters.

Darren Scott Osburn, St. Charles Community College dosburn@stchas.edu

Disc. Christian Elmelund-Præstekær, University of Southern Denmark cel@sam.sdu.dk

Andrew E. Smith, University of New Hampshire andrew.smith@unh.edu

24-5 **Electoral Systems and Policy Outcomes**

Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room

Jurij Toplak, University of Maribor, Slovenia Chair

jurij.toplak@gmail.com

Electoral Systems and Policy Punctuations Paper

In this paper I examine how electoral systems explain differing patterns of policy punctuation and adjustment across a number of democracies using data on legislation and budgets.

Brandon C. Zicha, Universiteit Antwerpen/Binghamton University brandon.zicha@ua.ac.be

Paper

Japan's Distributive Politics After the Electoral Reform: **Differentiation of Voters Under the Mixed-Member Electoral** System

Does how people behave affect how much they can get from the government? This study tries to answer this question with evidence from Japan where the new electoral system enables politicians to distinguish royal voters from swing voters.

Yuki Yanai, University of California, Los Angeles yanai@ucla.edu

Disc. David Hugh-Jones, Max Planck Institute of Economics

hugh-jones@econ.mpg.de

25-21 American Patriotism, Political Efficacy and Family

Room Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Chair Hannah Goble, University of Wisconsin, Madison hbgoble@wisc.edu

Put Out More Flags: Some Predictors of Behavioral Patriotism **Paper**

We report an analysis of observational data on flag display, emphasizing spatial analysis of clustering/diffusion.

Zachary Elkins, University of Texas, Austin

zelkins@austin.utexas.edu

Brian J. Gaines, University of Illinois

bjgaines@illinois.edu

Paper America for Americans: A Broad Look at the Determinants of **Nativism in the American Public**

This study investigates the determinants of nativist attitudes in the American public, i.e. the feeling that the United States needs to be protected from foreign influence. It also theoretically differentiates nativism from its policy manifestations.

Benjamin R. Knoll, University of Iowa

benjamin-knoll@uiowa.edu

What Forms the Basis for Citizen Interest in Politics and **Paper** Government?

We attend to the efficacy, empathy, and evaluation a citizen exhibits in order to discern how those variables lead to an interest in politics and government.

Maruice Mangum, Texas Southern University

mangumml@tsu.edu

Christopher Martin, Ohio University

martinc3@ohio.edu

Randall Demil Swain, Eastern Kentucky University

randall.swain@eku.edu

American Patriotism and Disillusioned Liberalism Among Paper African- Americans

This study examins whether African Americans who subscribe to disillusioned liberalism continue to identify as Americans.

Byron D' Andra Orey, Jackson State/University of Nebraska, Lincoln

byron.d.orey@jsums.edu

Lester Spence, John Hopkins University

unbowed@gmail.com

Len Jefferson, Jackson State University

len.jefferson@jsums.edu

Frederick Ighoavodha, Jackson State University

frederick.j.ighoavodha@jsums.edu Najja Baptist, Jackson State University

nkbaptis@yahoo.com

Disc. Suzanne Soule, Center for Civic Education soule@civiced.org

26-15 Unraveling the Microfoundations of Mobilization Campaigns (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior and Electoral Campaigns, see 22-25 and 23-25)

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm
Chair Margaret M. Groarke, Manhattan College
margaret.groarke@manhattan.edu

Paper Exploring Variations in Door-to-Door Campaign Effects

How variations in social networking, organizational reputation and canvasser quality affect the power of door-to-door get-out-the-vote campaigns in low-propensity communities of color.

Melissa R. Michelson, California State University, East Bay melissa.michelson@gmail.com

Lisa M. Garcia Bedolla, University of California, Berkeley lgarciab@berkeley.edu

Paper Turning Out, Cashing In: Extrinsic Rewards, Intrinsic Motivation and Voting

Social psychological theories have long held that extrinsic rewards have the capacity to depress intrinsic motivation. This study uses field experimental techniques to test this hypothesis within the context of voting.

Costas Panagopoulos, Fordham University costas@post.harvard.edu

Paper Getting Out the Vote in Atlanta, Charlotte, and Chicago: The Strategies and Tactics of Parties, Campaigns, and Non-Profits

This project explores the GOTV efforts of campaigns, parties, and non-profit groups in Atlanta, Charlotte, and Chicago.

Traci Burch, Northwestern University/American Bar Foundation t-burch@northwestern.edu

Paper Mobilization and Participation: A Natural Experiment

One of the major explanations for voter turnout is mobilization. We test (and support) this hypothesis by focusing on a natural experimental condition in Japan – non-politically occurring "random assignment" of municipal elections' timings.

Kentaro Fukumoto, Gakushuin University Kentaro.Fukumoto@gakushuin.ac.jp

Yusaku Horiuchi, Australian National University yusaku.horiuchi@anu.edu.au

Disc. Karen Long Jusko, Stanford University kljusko@stanford.edu

27-6 <u>Media and Support for Participation, Democratic</u> Regimes, and International Organizations

Room Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Helma G. E. de Vries, Eastern Connecticut State University helmadevries@gmail.com

Paper Mediated Politics: How Press Freedom, Media Ownership and News Exposure Influence Political Support

In this paper we argue that political support for democracy and regime institutions can be best explained by considering the possibility of interactive effects of media systems, media environments, and news exposure on political support.

Gustavo Rivera Loret de Mola, *University of Texas*, *Austin* che_gustavo@hotmail.com

Sebastian Valenzuela, *University of Texas*, *Austin* sebastianvalenzuela@mail.utexas.edu

Paper Dutch Media Over the Positions of Parties Towards Political Integration of the EU

Our research is focused on the manner in which different newspaper are handling this crisis of legitimacy in the Dutch democracy caused by the referendum on the EU treaty in 2005

Huib Pellikaan, Leiden University pellikaan@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Paper The Role of Media Framing in Strengthening Democracy and Civil Society Organizations: An Analysis of Public Discourses on Density and Ability of Civil Society Groups

Interdisciplinary work that incorporates mass media communication theory and civil society/democracy debate which constitutes a contribution to both disciplines as it allows for new perspectives to be included in the analysis of related topics.

Alexandra Garcia Iragorri, Universidad del Norte

algarcia@uninorte.edu.co

Rafael Obregon, Ohio University

obregon@ohiou.edu

Paper

Assembling Public Support for the United Nations: Examining the Impact of Media Trust on One's Policy Preferences Toward the United Nations - An Experimental Test

I test whether treatment group subjects' political awareness, partisanship, and media trust moderates the persuasive impact of positive news about the UN, and different media sources reporting that information, on subjects' UN policy preferences.

Jason Matthew Badura, Carroll University

jbadura@cc.edu

Paper Mirror Images? Media Coverage and Electoral Behavior in a New Democracy

Using a combination of content analysis and survey data, this paper examines the impact of media exposure (tv news on public vs. private channels) on political attitudes and voting behavior in Polish parliamentary elections of 2005 and 2007.

Hubert Tworzecki, Emory University

htworze@emory.edu

Holli Semetko, Emory University holli.semetko@emory.edu

Disc. Rune Slothuus, University of Aarhus

slothuus@ps.au.dk

Helma G. E. de Vries, Eastern Connecticut State University helmadevries@gmail.com

28-6 Feminism, Gender, and Institutions

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm
Chair Georgia Duerst-Lahti, Beloit College

duerstei@halait adu

duerstgj@beloit.edu

Paper Cooperation Among Women? Assessing Coordinated Activities Among Women's Groups in the United Kingdom, France and Germany

This study explores the choice to engage in coordinated activity and the degree to which the gendered nature of political institutions has an impact on the mobilization strategies of women's groups.

Lori M. Poloni-Staudinger, Northern Arizona University lmp75@nau.edu

Katrina Taylor, Northern Arizona University kdt32@nau.edu

Paper Nested Newness and the Gendered Limits of Change: Institutionalising 'New Politics' in Post Devolution Britain

The paper seeks to identify gendered mechanisms of institutional resistance and reproduction and the specific dynamics and institutional interconnections that underpin gendered institutions and limit change.

Fiona Mackay, University of Edinburgh

f.s.mackay@ed.ac.uk

Paper Feminism and Rational Choice Institutionalism: Explaining Gender Quota Adoption in Argentina and Brazil

This paper combines elements of feminism and rational choice theory to explain the adoption of candidate gender quota policies in Argentina and Brazil, focusing on the role of gender, strategy, institutions, power, and change.

Amanda Driscoll, Washington University, St. Louis adriscoll.wustl@gmail.com

Mona Lena Krook, Washington University, St. Louis mlkrook@wustl.edu

Paper Down the Wrong Path? Party Reform Processes in the Institutions of Candidate Selection and Recruitment in the United Kingdom

This paper adopts a 'feminist institutionalist' approach to explore and understand the gendered dynamics of change and innovation in the institutions of candidate selection and recruitment in the United Kingdom.

Meryl Kenny, University of Edinburgh

M.Kenny@sms.ed.ac.uk

Disc. Kimberly Morgan, George Washington University

kjmorgan@gwu.edu

Sally Jane Kenney, University of Minnesota

kenne030@umn.edu

29-8 Partisanship and Ideology

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Ali Adam Valenzuela, Stanford University

alival@stanford.edu

Paper Miami's Cuban-American Electorate: Evidence from Election 2008

Did Cuban Americans maintain their traditional levels of conservatism in the 2008 election? Or did, as many pundits predicted, the community moves sharply toward the left? This paper addresses these questions.

Benjamin George Bishin, University of California, Riverside bishin@ucr.edu

Feryal Marie Cherif, University of California, Riverside cherif@ucr.edu

Casey A. Kofstad, University of Miami

klofstad@gmail.com

Paper Economic Justice and the Democratic Partisanship of African Americans

This paper examines how the goal of economic justice led blacks to identify with the Democratic Party.

Marvin King, University of Mississippi

marvin@olemiss.edu

Paper Investigating the Cuban Anomaly: Partisanship Among Cuban and Non-Cuban Latinos

This paper investigates the factors that influence Cuban partisanship compared to non-Cuban Latinos. I also explore the possible future trajectory of Cuban partisanship and evaluate the possibility of a Democratic conversion among native-born Cubans.

Joanne D. Ibarra, *University of Texas*, *Austin* jibarra@gov.utexas.edu

Disc. Anand Shastri, University of Illinois, Chicago ashast2@uic.edu

29-9 Racial Identity Construction

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Sonu Bedi, Northwestern University

vmds@northwestern.edu

Paper Critical Race Theory- Social Construction, Black Identity, and Race Relations in the U.S.

Research on Critical Race Theory and the concept of race as a social **Disc.** construction. Additional research on Black Identity, and the role defining race has on race relations in the U.S.

 ${\bf Stephen~Charles~Wesley~Graves},~{\it University~of~Nevada,~Reno}~{\it gravess4@unr.nevada.edu}$

Paper The West Indian Image in the Black Mind: Images of Diversity in Black Print Culture after the Civil Rights Movement

Recent studies in the American politics have observed public opinion about minority and marginalized populations within the black press. We examine representations of West Indians in articles published between 1965 and 2000.

Christina Michelle Greer, Smith College

cgreer@email.smith.edu

Alvin Tillery, Rutgers University

atillery@rci.rutgers.edu

Paper The Racial Colonial Matrix: Mestizaje and the De-Africanization and De-Indianization Process in Mexico as a Competitive Inverse Paradigm of the "One Drop Rule"

The purpose of this paper is to provide a narrative that sheds light upon the social and ideological construction and deconstruction of Mestizaje in Mexico and its cross border structures, paradoxes, and implications.

Mario Marcel Salas, Northwest Vista College

msalas7831@satx.rr.com

Disc. Christina Rivers, DePaul University

crivers@depaul.edu

30-200 Poster Session: Aesthetics and the Representation of Politics (Co-sponsored with Foundtations of Political Theory: Pre- and Early Modern, Political Philosophy: Approaches and Themes, and Politics, Literature, and Film, see 31-200, 34-200, and 65-200)

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Post. 1 Aesthetics and Violence: The Problem of Religion in Eighteenth Century

This paper discusses the approach to religious enthusiasm and fanaticism in 18th century thought on the aesthetic and moral origins of society with an aim to question the configuration of the problem of aesthetics around the notion of violence.

Pinar Kemerli, Cornell University pk233@cornell.edu

Post. 2 Compromise and Representation in Early Modern Europe

The paper investigates a commonly overlooked fact - the starkly different usages of compromise across the English Channel during 16th and 17th century. It argues that such difference is to be explained by a different apprehension of representation.

Alin Fumurescu, Indiana University, Bloomington afumures@indiana.edu

Post. 3 Authors, Actors, Principals and Agents: Understanding Conflicting Conceptions of Agency in the Study of Politics

This poster (1) offers a typology of the ways "agency" is used in the study of politics and (2) argues that the different conceptions have consequences for normative and interpretive theorizing about politics. It does this (3) via a visual argument.

Mika LaVaque-Manty, University of Michigan mmanty@umich.edu

Post. 4 Plato's Mimetic Republic

This picture attempts to represent the action and argument of Plato's "Mimetic" Republic and his contributions to contemporary democratic theorywhile also exploring the impossibility of such a picture.

Christina Helen Tarnopolsky, McGill University christina.tarnopolsky@mcgill.ca

Post. 5 What Does Not Kill Me Makes Me a Rolling Stone

This paper analyses Bob Dylan's musical corpus from a Nietzschean perspective.

James Daniel Stewart, *Tougaloo College* jstewart@tougaloo.edu

 Michael William Nitsch, Harvard University nitsch@fas.harvard.edu

Matthew W. Landauer, Harvard University

landauer@fas.harvard.edu

Joel A. Schlosser, Duke University

joel.schlosser@duke.edu

Christina Helen Tarnopolsky, McGill University

christina.tarnopolsky@mcgill.ca

Mika LaVaque-Manty, University of Michigan mmanty@umich.edu

31-100 Roundtable: New Perspectives on Rousseau's Platonism

Watertower on the 6th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

This Roundtable highlights new research on Rousseau's relationship to Plato and to ancient philosophy in general. It brings together some of the major scholars in the field to discuss their latest research into Rousseau's debt to Plato and antiquity.

Panelist Matthew Simpson, Luther College

msimpson@luther.edu

David Williams, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point

David.Williams@uwsp.edu

Zev Trachtenberg, University of Oklahoma

ztrachtenberg@ou.edu

Jonathan Marks, Ursinus College

jmarks@ursinus.edu

Brent Edwin Cusher, University of Toronto

brent.cusher@utoronto.ca

32-6 Justice, Education, and Opportunity

Wabash on the 3rd Floor. Thur at 4:45 pm Room Terri S. Wilson, Columbia University Chair

tsw2006@columbia.edu

School Choice as a Bounded Ideal Paper

> School choice is a policy meant to enhance personal freedom, equality of opportunity in education, and effectiveness. Behavioral economics literature questions the realism of these aims. This paper aims at suggesting more effective choice policies.

Sigal Raday Ben-Porath, University of Pennsylvania

sigalbp@gse.upenn.edu

The Dialectic of Parent Rights and Societal Obligation: Paper

Constraining Educational Choice

The existence of private schools, school choice policies and exclusive neighborhood, tax -supported schools satisfy property rights while violating equality principles. A scheme is proposed to correct this.

Walter Feinberg, University Of Illinois

wfeinber@illinois.edu

The Lottery as a Means to Educational Opportunity Paper

Lotteries can promote, not equal opportunity, but equal outcomes, whenever the latter, but not the former, is relevant. School admissions processes involve such a context. Lotteries are also not morally arbitrary in the same way that race is.

Peter Stone, Stanford University peter.stone@stanford.edu

Luck of the Draw? On the Fairness of Charter School Paper **Admissions Policies**

This paper considers the fairness of charter school admissions lotteries, focusing on California schools. We raise concerns about existing practices, argue that lotteries should be "epistemically fair," and propose policy recommendations to this end.

Jonathan R. Dolle, Stanford University

idolle@stanford.edu

Anne Newman, Washington University

arnewman@wustl.edu

Disc. George Sher, Rice University

gsher@rice.edu

32-7 Neo-Conservatism, Neo-Liberalism, and Neo-

Imperialism

Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room

Chair Joseph Stanley Kochanek, Harvard University

kochanek@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Is America the New Athens?

In this paper, I will examine the comparison of Athens and America. I will argue that the project of spreading democracy has always been seriously flawed.

Shadia B. Drury, University of Regina

shadia.drury@uregina.ca

Politics of Inclusion: Myths of Neoliberal Hegemony and Paper Neutrality

This paper offers an unusual critique of neoliberalism, arguing against critical accounts that claim that it is fundamentally hegemonic. I argue that it is not singular and destructive, but both plural and productive.

Lena Kay Zuckerwise, University of Massachusetts

lena@polsci.umass.edu

Paper Nation-State and Its Borders as Conditions of New Imperialism

In the paper, I argue that nation state has a important role in new imperialism as a political power and as an enclosed territory with its borders, and democratic politics is important as an anti-imperialist struggle by disturbing the border regimes.

Ertug Tombus, New School for Social Research/Bilkent University ertugt@hotmail.com

Disc. Joan Elizabeth Cocks, Mount Holyoke College

jcocks@mtholyoke.edu

33-13 **Foundings and Constitutions**

Price on the 5th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room

Jeffrey Paul Minson, University of California, San Diego/Griffith Chair

University, Australia

jminson@dss.ucsd.edu

Paper Designing Constitutions for Democracy

This paper critically evaluates three recent methodological approaches to designing constitutions in the light of democratic ideals, and recommends the adoption of a modified form of constitutional comparativism focusing on regulative ideals.

Christopher F. Zurn, University of Kentucky

christopher.zurn@uky.edu

Paper Jefferson and the Paradox of Founding

This paper reconsiders Jefferson's critique of constitutionalism in light of recent debates on the paradox of democratic founding. Angelica Maria Bernal, University of Massachusetts, Amherst abernal@polsci.umass.edu

Paper Constitutional Beginnings and Founding Violence: Or How **Does the Politics of Founding Matter?**

Critically engaging with Habermas and Derrida, this paper explores the ways in which "political foundings" affect democratic experience. Its aim is to develop an alternative approach that unfolds the impact of founding on political culture.

Serdar Tekin, University of Toronto

serdar.tekin@utoronto.ca

Disc. Jeff William Justice, Campbellsville University

jwjustice@campellsville.edu

Alina Ng, Mississippi College School of Law

ng@mc.edu

35-2 **Persuasion and Information Transmission**

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Betsy Sinclair, University of Chicago

betsy@uchicago.edu

Rules of Debate (Joint with Eric Dickson and Catherine Hafer) **Paper**

We present a game-theoretic model of debate and a laboratory experiment that explore how strategic incentives in debate vary across different informational and institutional contexts.

Dimitri Landa, New York University

dimitri.landa@nyu.edu

The Rhetorical Strategies of Leaders: Stepping Down, Standing **Back, and Speaking Clearly**

We analyze how the size and character of a leadership elite responds to the rhetorical strategies leaders deploy.

Torun Dewan, London School of Economics

t.dewan@lse.ac.uk

David P. Myatt, Oxford University david.myatt@economics.ac.uk

Paper Lies or Negativity: What Should Voters Prefer in Campaigns?

I show how candidates' willingness to lie during campaigns affects voter welfare and depends upon both the closeness of the election and the risk that the lies will be revealed. Should voters prefer negative campaigning or falsified positivity?

Kyle Mattes, University of Iowa

kyle-mattes@uiowa.edu

Paper Learning in a Globalizing World: Decision Rights, Reputational Concerns, and the Quality of Information Exchange

Learning from the experience of other states with common problems can be useful but is fraught with problems. How do the assignment of decision rights and globalization influence the quality of debate and of the solutions implemented?

Bauke Visser, Erasmus School of Economics, Rotterdam byisser@few.eur.nl

Otto H. Swank, Erasmus School of Economics, Rotterdam swank@few.eur.nl

Disc. Betsy Sinclair, University of Chicago

betsy@uchicago.edu

37-4 The Internet and the 2008 Presidential Election (Co-sponsored with Mass Media and Political Communication, see 27-29)

Room Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Jacqueline Lipton, Case Western Reserve University

j_lipton@hotmail.com

Paper From Online Newspapers to YouTube: An Experiment of Campaign Effects

2008 has been dubbed as the "YouTube Election" by commentators, pundits, and the press. We conduct an experiment within the context of the 2008 presidential elections to examine how specific Internet sources commonly influence young adults.

Terri L. Towner, Oakland University

towner@oakland.edu

David A. Dulio, Oakland University

ddulio@oakland.edu

Stephanie Pazdro, Oakland University

spazdro@yahoo.com

Paper Audience and Authority: The Readers That Power the Blog Revolution

In November 2006, we invited bloggers from the top 154 political blogs to participate in a two-part survey of the political blogosphere. The survey was designed to link responses from bloggers with responses from their readers.

Aaron S. Veenstra, University of Wisconsin, Madison asveenstra@wisc.edu

Kjerstin Thorson, *University of Wisconsin*, *Madison* ksthorson@wisc.edu

Ben Sayre, University of Wisconsin, Madison

bgsavre@wisc.edu

Emily K. Vraga, University of Wisconsin, Madison

ekvraga@wisc.edu

Dhavan V. Shah, University of Wisconsin, Madison

dshah@wisc.edu

Paper The Political Blogosphere and the 2008 Election: Studying Institutional Changes

Elite political blogs operated as quasi-interest groups in the 2008 election. This paper uses a new dataset for tracking changes in the blogosphere, along with comparative case analysis, to investigate the greatest online successes and failures.

Dave Karpf, University of Pennsylvania

karpfd@sas.upenn.edu

Paper Facebook and YouTube Grow Up: An Empirical Assessment of Electoral Impact on the 2008 Elections

This study analyzes the role and impact candidates' Facebook supporter numbers and YouTube viewership had on the 2008 elections. It examines which candidates used these new media, why, and to what extent.

Christine B. Williams, Bentley University

cwilliams@bentley.edu

Girish J. Gulati, Bentley University

igulati@bentley.edu

Disc.

Christopher N. Lawrence, Texas A&M International University

c.n.lawrence@gmail.com

Jacqueline Lipton, Case Western Reserve University

j_lipton@hotmail.com

38-9 Interest Group Influence

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Andrew Scott Waugh, University of California, San Diego

aswaugh@ucsd.edu

Paper Core Consensus: How Bipartisan Interest Group Coalitions Help Pass Legislation

Broad interest group coalitions help bills become law by signaling consensus among relevant stakeholders. Multivariate analysis shows that large, bipartisan, and diverse group coalitions help bills proceed at each stage of the legislative process.

Matt Grossmann, Michigan State University

matt@mattg.org

Kurt Pyle, Michigan State University

pylekurt@msu.edu

Paper PACs in the Budgetary Process: Contributions to the Budget or Appropriations Committee?

This study investigates the allocation strategies of potential budgetary winners and potential budgetary losers in 2005 to all members of the House and specifically to the members of the House Budget Committee and the House Appropriations Committee.

Henrik M. Schatzinger, University of Georgia hs@uga.edu

Paper Analysts or Politicos? Aiding and Abetting Federal Agency Decisionmakers

In this paper, we investigate the way in which organized interests subsidize information costs for agency officials.

Suzanne M. Robbins, George Mason University

srobbin1@gmu.edu

Anthony J. Nownes, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

anownes@utk.edu

Paper Careerism, Legislative Professionalism, and Interest Group Influence in State Legislatures

The influence of interest groups on the legislative process is seemingly increased by careerism and decreased by professionalism. Further analysis, however, reveals that the effects of careerism taper off with modest increases in professionalism.

Denis Alberto Rey, University of Tampa

denis.rey@ut.edu

Josh Ozymy, Texas A & M University, Corpus Christi joshua.ozymy@tamucc.edu

Disc. Richard Allan Harris, Rutgers University, Camden

raharris@camden.rutgers.edu

39-14 <u>Legislative-Executive Relations (Co-sponsored with</u>

Room Hancock on the 6th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Colleen J. Shogan, Congressional Research Service

cshogan@crs.loc.gov

Paper Legislative and Executive Policy Production in the U.S. since

This paper presents macro-level measures of executive and congressional policymaking since 1789. The pattern we observe is consistent with a constitutional design in which neither branch is given the power to dominate the other.

J. Tobin Grant, Southern Illinois University

grant@siu.edu

Nathan J. Kelly, University of Tennessee

Nathan.J.Kelly@gmail.com

Paper Congressional Development of the Institutional Presidency

The rise in presidential power is predicated in part on information. We develop a framework for analyzing Congressional development of executive informational capacity and discuss legislative reforms of executive institutions in light of it.

Sean Gailmard, University of California, Berkeley

gailmard@berkeley.edu

John W. Patty, Harvard University

jpatty@gov.harvard.edu

Paper Presidential Formal Powers in Divided Government

Here I examine how the use and reliance upon formal powers of presidents varies with these two variables: divided government/ unified government and presidential populairty.

Michael E Bailey, Berry College

mbailey@berry.edu

Paper A Formal Theory of Presidential Signing Statements

We develop a formal separation of powers model that examines the use of presidential signing statements in the decision making process among the three co-equal branches.

John Hudak, Vanderbilt University

john.hudak@vanderbilt.edu

Gbemende E. Johnson, Vanderbilt University

gbemende.johnson@vanderbilt.edu

Disc. Patrick T. Hickey, University of Texas, Austin

patrick.hickey@gmail.com

40-6 Floor Behavior in the U.S. House

Room Chicago on the 5th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Jesse Travis Richman, Old Dominion University

irichman@odu.edu

Paper The Speaker is Recognized: Floor Behavior of House Speakers, 1983-2007

In this paper we analyze the floor behavior of House Speakers from 1983-2007. Using data from C-SPAN video recordings, we analyze the occasions when these four Democratic and two Republican Speakers sought recognition to address the House.

Robert X, Browning, Purdue University

rxb@purdue.edu

Paper An Early Assessment of the Pelosi Speakership

This paper examines the Pelosi speakership focusing on her creation of a leadership structure combining the models used by Gingrich and his Democratic predecessors. It also examines her floor strategy which placed a heavy emphasis on position taking.

Larry Butler, Rowan University

butlerl@rowan.edu

Paper Dear Colleague Letters in the House of Representatives: The Impact of Internal House Communications

Dear Colleague letters serve a vital internal communication tool in the House of Representatives. This paper examines the role of Dear Colleague letters, how they are used and why Members send them.

Jacob R. Straus, Congressional Research Service

jakest@gmail.com

Disc. Jesse Travis Richman, Old Dominion University

jrichman@odu.edu

40-30 Parties and Policy

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Melanie Kintz, Western Michigan University

melaniekintz@web.de

Paper Congressional Control of Agency Policymaking: Chamber

Conflict and Bureaucratic Stalemate

This paper addresses the question of who controls the implementation phase of bureaucratic policymaking. The strong effects of divided government on regulation suggest that Congress, not the President, sets agency priorities through agenda control.

Erik Kinji Godwin, Texas A&M University

egodwin@politics.tamu.edu

Paper What's the Cavalry to do with Economics?: The Political and Economic Implications of Military Base Closures and Realignments

This paper investigates how members of Congress behaved in the context of the 2005 Defense Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC) process.

Blair Shaffer Williams, United States Military Academy

blair.williams@us.army.mil

Paper Modeling the Effects of Congressional Tenure on the Support for the President's Program

In this paper I use the incoming cohort of freshmen congressmen following the Carter election in 1976 to test whether tenure in office has a significant effect on the probability that a congressman will support the president on a given roll-call.

Ian M. Farrell, University at Binghamton, SUNY

ifarrel1@binghamton.edu

Paper The Effect of Minority Party Experience in the State Legislatures on Legislative Effectiveness in Congress

I use data for the 101st through 109th Congresses to examine legislative effectiveness by type of prior legislative experience. I expect a positive relationship between minority party experience and effectiveness at steps in the lawmaking process.

Tracy Burdett, Ohio State University

burdett.16@osu.edu

Disc. Melanie Kintz, Western Michigan University

melaniekintz@web.de

James Robert Bourbeau, *University of Connecticut* james.bourbeau@uconn.edu

42-4 Puzzles in Supreme Court Decision Making

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Steve Van Winkle, University of Wyoming

stevevw@bresnan.net

Paper Did a Switch in Time Save Nine?

Did a Switch in Time Save Nine? We look at evidence from the

1931-1940 terms of the Court.

Dan Ho, Stanford University

daniel.e.ho@gmail.com

Kevin M. Quinn, Harvard University

kquinn@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Dynamic Non-Separable Preferences and the U.S. Supreme Court

In the current analysis I formulate a theoretical model of the hierarchy of justice that departs from past conceptions of Supreme Court decision-making in that preferences over case outcomes are posited to be temporally non-separable.

Bruce Desmarais, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill bdesmara@email.unc.edu

Paper Common Law Evolution: An Empirical Examination

Through a formal model of common law evolution, Gennaioli and Shleifer (2007) predict greater ideological polarization on a court brings about greater refinement of the common law. I provide an empirical test in the context of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Tom S. Clark, *Emory University* tom.clark@emory.edu

Paper Is Legal Change Revolutionary or Evolutionary? Explaining Legal Dynamics on the U.S. Supreme Court

We examine whether legal change on the Supreme Court is revolutionary and abrupt or evolutionary and gradual. Analyzing free expression data from 1946-2006, we examine decision making over time and find evidence for both perspectives to a degree.

Brandon L. Bartels, Stony Brook University brandon.bartels@stonybrook.edu

Andrew O'Geen, Stony Brook University

andrew.ogeen@gmail.com

Disc. Tonja Jacobi, Northwestern University

t-Jacobi@law.northwestern.edu

Steve Van Winkle, University of Wyoming

stevevw@bresnan.net

42-5 Causes and Consequences of State Court Variation

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm **Chair Teena Wilhelm**, *University of Georgia*

twilhelm@uga.edu

Paper Explaining the Business of State Supreme Courts

What explains the business of state supreme courts? Our study provides the first systematic cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis of the exogenous forces and endogenous processes that shape the business of state supreme courts.

Paul Brace, Rice University

pbrace@rice.edu

Brent Boyea, University of Texas, Arlington

boyea@uta.edu

Paper Comparing Courts: An Institutional and Attitudinal Comparison of State Supreme Courts

Drawing on a new survey of state supreme court justices, this research uses qualitative comparative analysis to explore the nature of the causal relationships between different institutional designs and decision-making outcomes.

Steven Craig Wilson, University of Oxford

steven.wilson@politics.ox.ac.uk

Paper Leaving the Bench: Why State Court Judges Leave and How They are Replaced

We examine why state high court judges leave the bench, focusing on the constraints faced by judges when making these decisions. We also examine how departure decisions influence a governor's ability to appoint replacements in the states considered.

Lisa M. Holmes, University of Vermont

Lisa.M.Holmes@uvm.edu

Jolly A. Emrey, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater

emreyj@uww.edu

Disc. Teena Wilhelm, University of Georgia

twilhelm@uga.edu

Alan Tauber, University of South Carolina

taubera@gwm.sc.edu

42-102 Roundtable: The State of the Subfield: Is Judicial Politics Suffering from an Identity Crisis?

Room Spire on the 6th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

60 years after the publication of Pritchett's Roosevelt Court, where is judicial politics as a subfield?

Panelist Harold Spaeth, Michigan State University

spaeth@msu.edu

Sara Benesh, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

sbenesh@uwm.edu

Lee Epstein, Northwestern Law School

lee-epstein@northwestern.edu

Andrew Martin, Washington University, St. Louis

admartin@wustl.edu

Harold Spaeth, Michigan State University

spaeth@msu.edu

Christopher Zorn, Pennsylvania State University

zorn@psu.edu

43-2 The First Amendment: Supreme Court Doctrine and Impact

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Kenneth Lasson, University of Baltimore

klasson@ubalt.edu

Paper The Contours and Limits of the Content-Neutral Cases in U.S.

Supreme Court Free Expression Jurisprudence

As part of a project on the content-neutrality regime, I provide a qualitative explanation of content-neutral cases struck down and upheld. I also examine cases in which the distinction between content-based and content-neutral begins to break down.

Mark J. Richards, Grand Valley State University

hyubasa@gmail.com

Paper Beyond_Brandenburg_: Crime-Facilitating Speech and the Future of Unlawful Advocacy

In this paper, we suggest an entirely new standard for handling subversive advocacy cases and protecting free speech rights. This standard would provide clear guidance to legislatures, and reduce the confusions inherent in Brandenburg.

Julie M. Silverbrook, George Washington University

jms2009@gwmail.gwu.edu

Steven A. Kelts, George Washington University

kelts@gwu.edu

Paper Congress and the Court: The Impact of Congressional Legislation and Supreme Court Decisions on Circuit Court Free Exercise Jurisprudence

This paper is to clarify the circuit courts' relationships with the Supreme Court and Congress, the role of law, and their impacts on the choices judges make in the area of religious free exercise.

Maxwell H.H. Mak, Stony Brook University

mmak@ic.sunysb.edu

Paper One Nation Under Whose God? Law, Politics, and Religion in America

Drawing upon a work in progress, this paper seeks to explore the basic constitutional elements of religious freedom in America, with a particular focus on our best understanding of the Establishment Clause

Dennis J. Goldford, Drake University

dennis.goldford@drake.edu

Paper The Dynamic Emergence and Evolution of the Supreme Court's Free Exercise and Establishment Clause Doctrines

Using qualitative and quantitative approaches, we explain stability, conflict and change as a function of individual and institutional factors. Specifically, we investigate the US Supreme Court's free exercise and establishment clause doctrines.

Barry W. Pyle, Eastern Michigan University

barry.pyle@emich.edu

AnnMarie Carla Pariseau, Eastern Michigan University aparisea@emich.edu

Frank Colucci, Purdue University, Calumet Disc.

coluccif@calumet.purdue.edu

David John Olson, University of Wisconsin, Madison

dolson5@wisc.edu

45-4 **Executive Branch Politics in the American States**

Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room

Richard A. Wandling, Eastern Illinois University Chair

rawandling@eiu.edu

The Next Rung or the Final Rung: The Role of the Paper

Governorship in the Political Career Trajectory

This paper explains the conditions under which governors seek national office and the factors that contribute to success, including demographic attributes, election and campaign dynamics, state characteristics, and partisanship.

Jeremy Walling, Southeast Missouri State University

jwalling@semo.edu

Crime, Labor, Institutions, and the Formation of State Policing Paper Agencies

The modern idea of a state police and its widespread application are relatively recent phenomena. The processes by which state police agencies were proposed and accepted show that the creation of the state police was not a simple response to crime.

Paul Musgrave, Georgetown University

paul.musgrave@gmail.com

The Role of Legislative Professionalism, Bureaucratic Capacity, Paper

and Gubernatorial Strength in State Government Performance In this project, we investigate the role that legislative

professionalism, bureaucratic capacity, and gubernatorial strength have on the ability of state governments to compete for federal funding in welfare, Medicaid, and highways.

Renee J. Johnson, Kent State University

riohns14@kent.edu

Russell M. Mills, Kent State University

rmills2@kent.edu

David J. Randall, Kent State University

drandal1@kent.edu

Disc. Jeremy Walling, Southeast Missouri State University

jwalling@semo.edu

Holly T. Goerdel, University of Kansas

hgoerdel@ku.edu

46-4 **Debates and Lessons: Land Use and Sustainability in**

Room

Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Craig Ramsay, Ohio Wesleyan University

Chair

dcramsay@owu.edu

A Libertarian Smart Growth Agenda Paper

How to reconcile "smart growth" (i.e. pedestrian- and transitfriendly urban development) with the libertarian goals of the property rights movement.

Michael Evan Lewyn, Florida Coastal School of Law

mlewyn@hotmail.com

Paper Land-Use and Transportation Planning as Policy: The Politics and Consequences of Community Planning

We review research on the built environment and propose that political science provides more empirical analysis to planning as policy. We also offer a typology of planning models and their effects on the lives of citizens and the environment.

Kevin M. Leyden, West Virginia University

kleyden@wvu.edu

Abraham Goldberg, West Virginia University

abe.goldberg@gmail.com

Harry Carl Taylor III, West Virginia University

htaylor1@mix.wvu.edu

Socioeconomic Inequality and Opportunities for Sustainability **Paper**

Given the importance of sustainability, reuse and adaptability within the urban environment this paper explores traditional practices as well as new "green" practices that affect the urban community's reaction to social and economic imbalances.

Erica Jonelle Woods-Warrior, Hampton University

eiwarrior@hotmail.com

Robert Shepard IV, Hampton University

erica.woodswarrior@hamptonu.edu

Paper Australian Cities Lead the Race to the Top: Lessons for the **United States**

Australian cities combining a focus on sustainable development, comprehensive urban planning at the state and local level and a commitment to livability and a knowledge-based economy have created dynamic models for the U.S. policymakers.

Richard W. Jelier, Grand Valley State University

jelierr@gvsu.edu

Mitchell Brown, Auburn University Disc.

brown11@auburn.edu

47-5 **Policy Start-Ups: Diffusion and Entrepreneurship**

LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room

Michael J. Licari, University of Northern Iowa Chair

michael.licari@uni.edu

Paper Policy Ideas, Learning, and International Institutions

International institutions are a mechanism through which crosscountry learning of policy ideas occur. An analysis of the institutional structures reveals that variation in institutional designs leads to different types of learning.

Lily Y. W. Hsueh, University of Washington

lhsueh@u.washington.edu

A Survey Approach to Examining Local Policy Diffusion **Paper**

Traditional diffusion studies place states or cities as the unit of analysis. In this study, I examine the policymakers themselves. I administered surveys to local policymakers to determine how and why policies diffuse.

Joshua L. Mitchell, Southern Illinois University

joshmitc@siu.edu

Paper Counterfactuals and Punctuated Equilibrium Theory: Finding

Evidence of Policy Entrepreneurship in Policy Arenas

We propose using counterfactuals and punctuated equilibrium theory to find evidence of policy entrepreneurship in policy arenas.

Gordon E. Shockley, Arizona State University

shockley@asu.edu

Michael J. Licari, University of Northern Iowa Disc.

michael.licari@uni.edu

47-18 **History and Public Policy**

Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room

Chair Elizabeth Rigby, University of Houston

erigby@uh.edu

Paper Patent Medicine: Mapping the Pharmaceutical Policy Agenda

This study tracks the effects of positive and negative feedback on pharmaceutical policy between 1945-2007.

Katie Stores, West Virginia University

kstore 05@yahoo.com

Jeff Worsham, West Virginia University

jworsham@wvu.edu

Rethinking the Divided Welfare State: The Role of Private and Paper Public Benefits in the Development of Pensions and Health **Insurance in Canada**

The paper examines the relationship between private and public benefits in health insurance and pensions and argues that, in contrast to the US pattern, public benefits in Canada came to dominate where private benefits were already well established.

Gerard William Boychuk, Balsillie School of International Affairs gboychuk@uwaterloo.ca

Keith G. Banting, Queen's University

keith.banting@queensu.ca

Fair Housing Policy and the Federal Housing Administration: Paper Policy Responsiveness and Administrative Implementation

We explore the responsiveness of the Eisenhower administration and the Federal Housing Administration to the fair housing policy direction initiated by President Truman and culminating in the passage of the Fair Housing Act.

Lamb M. Charles, University at Buffalo, SUNY

clamb@buffalo.edu

Adam W. Nye, University at Buffalo, SUNY

adamnye@buffalo.edu

Beyond Retrenchment: Republicans and the Welfare State Paper

This essay reinterprets the Republican Party's role and agenda in fashioning social policy.

Jeremy B. Johnson, Brown University Jeremy Johnson@Brown.edu

Disc. Mads Leth Felsager Jakobsen, University of Aarhus

mads@ps.au.dk

Elizabeth Rigby, University of Houston

erigby@uh.edu

48-2 **Public Preferences and Economic Policy**

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Jean-Francois Godbout, Saint Francis University Chair

godbout@sfu.edu

Paper The Political Economy of the U.S. Immigration Policy: The **Outcome of Multidimensional Politics**

This paper argues that multidimensionality of immigration creates the gap between the preferences of the public and legislative outcomes, rather than the dominance of organized pro-immigration

Gyung-Ho Jeong, Claremont Graduate University gyung-ho.jeong@cgu.edu

Public Preferences, Democracy, and Welfare Spending Policies Paper

This paper examines, first, whether public preferences over redistribution influence welfare spending policies around the world and second, whether the effects of public preferences are conditioned on the level of democracy.

Jungho Roh, Massachusetts Institute of Technology roh@mit.edu

Red State-Blue State: Education, Human Capital and American **Voting Patterns**

The paper examines the causal effect of education on recent American voting patterns and seeks to explain the positive association between education and a preference for Democratic presidential candidates.

Lucy Margaret Goodhart, Columbia University lmg2005@columbia.edu

Bourgeois Virtues in Indian Movies: How Bollywood Heralded Paper **India's Economic Liberalization**

There was a change in Indians' attitudes towards commerce, from sneering in the 1970s to celebration in 1980s. The change is reflected in the storylines and characters of their movies, and I argue, led to the economic liberalization of 1990s.

Nimish Adhia, University of Illinois, Chicago nadhia2@uic.edu

Disc. Lucy Margaret Goodhart, Columbia University

lmg2005@columbia.edu

Ben Ansell, University of Minnesota

ansell@umn.edu

49-1 **State and Local Environmental Politics**

Adams on the 6th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm Room

Barry G. Rabe, University of Michigan Chair

brabe@umich.edu

Policy Leadership or Race to the Bottom? Testing Competing **Paper Explanations of Environmental Policy Implementation**

What causes states to implement federal environmental programs? This study tests of three types of interstate processes: (1) learning from policy leaders, (2) geographically-based policy diffusion, and (3) interstate competition.

Neal Woods, University of South Carolina

neal.woods@sc.edu

Designing Cooperation: Agency Design, Credible Commitment Paper and Regulatory Compliance

I argue that certain agency design choices allow regulatory agencies to overcome credible commitment problems when pursuing flexible enforcement strategies.

Christopher Michael Reenock, Florida State University

creenock@fsu.edu

Paper Risk, Uncertainty, and the Public's Support for Environmental Regulation: Understanding Local Community Effects on Policy

Preferences for the Management of Environmental Hazards

We integrate measures of perceived risk and degree of uncertainty over objective local conditions in a model of environmental regulatory policy preferences in order to explain to policy preference variation across state and local governments

Cherie Maestas, Florida State University

cmaestas@fsu.edu

Brian J. Gerber, Louisiana State University

bgerber@lsu.edu

Grant Neeley, University of Dayton

neeleygr@notes.udayton.edu

Paper Public Attitudes on Environmental Policy Responsibility

This paper measures and explains public attitudes about assigning environmental policy responsibility to different levels of government, using survey items developed as part of the 2007 Cooperative Congressional Election Study.

David Konisky, University of Missouri

koniskyd@missouri.edu

Disc. Barry G. Rabe, University of Michigan

brabe@umich.edu

49-200 Poster Session: Environmental Politics and Policy

Room Grand on the 4th Floor. Thur at 4:45 pm

Post. 10 Maintaining Power at Any Cost: A Political Ecological **Exploration of Corporate/Governmental Exploitation of Oil** Resources in the Niger Delta, Nigeria

An examination the social, environmental and economic costs of inequitable distribution of power between corporate, political and civil society actors, in the Niger Delta, Nigeria. Benefits of multistakeholder partnerships will be explored.

Jason V Hildebrandt, University College of the North jhildebrandt@ucn.ca

Post. 11 When Things are Fully Expected to Fall Apart: Climate Change, Social Mobilization, and the Politics of Permanent Crisis in Three Alaskan Villages

This paper explores the institutional and ideological origins of divergent local responses to catastrophic environmental change in four remote Alaskan villages.

Jennifer W. Howk, Harvard University

jhowk@fas.harvard.edu

Post. 12 Explaining Environmental Policy Outcomes: The Importance of Post. 8 Electoral Institutions in Advanced Industrial Democracies

This paper examines the determinants of variance in environmental policy choice. Specifically, it tests how the institutional organization of developed states affects the probability of adopting different types of market-based environmental policy.

Erin Coleen Mewhinney, University of Colorado erin.mewhinney@colorado.edu

Post. 13 Setting the Agenda: The U.S. Politics and Public Policy of Climate Change

This study examines why climate change public policy has been historically slow to develop in the United States and why it has not been placed higher on the governmental agenda.

Daniel J. Mallinson, Villanova University

daniel.mallinson@villanova.edu

Post. 14 Partisanship and State Participation in International Environmental Agreements

I apply theories governing the relationship between partisanship and domestic environmental performance to the international level, examining the effect of partisanship on a country's propensity to join International Environmental Agreements.

Zowie Hay, Texas A&M University zowiehay@polisci.tamu.edu

Post. 15 Environmental Handymen: NGO Strategies for Policy Change

This paper explores how international NGOs working in developing countries seek to accomplish their goals by targeting specific policy tools to create policy change.

Tiffany J. Hammond, University at Albany, SUNY th7177@albany.edu

Jennifer Rae Woodward, University at Albany, SUNY jennifer.woodward01@albany.edu

Post. 16 Living with Elephants: Challenges of Reconfiguring

Community Spaces for Transfrontier Conservation in Southern Africa

Using aerial surveys of elephant movements, transects, interviews, and government data on compensation I highlight how competing notions over ownership, costs, and benefits, influences management of a growing population of southern African elephants.

Parakh Hoon, *Virginia Tech University* hoon@vt.edu

Post. 17 Explaining Large-N Cooperation: Generalized Social Trust and the Social Exchange Heuristic

This paper offers an individual level test of the relationship between social trust and cooperation in collective action dilemmas. Using pro-environmental behavior as indicator of cooperation, I find a positive effect of trust on cooperation.

Kim Mannemar Sønderskov, University of Aarhus ks@ps.au.dk

Post. 6 Cattle Factories or the New Family Farm? A Survey of Local Attitudes Towards Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations in a Rural Michigan County

Undergraduate Research Methods students developed and delivered this survey last spring, with faculty supervision. A set of those undergraduates will present the findings of their research if this proposal is accepted.

James E. Hanley, Adrian College

jhanley@adrian.edu

 ${\bf Matt\ Stiller}, Adrian\ College$

mstiller@adrian.edu

Josh Emington, Adrian College joshemington@hotmail.com

Post. 7 Are Voters Going Green? The Environmental Issue and its Influence on Vote Choice in National Elections

The study challenges established wisdom regarding the impact of environmental issues in national elections, stating that especially young voters incorporate attitudes toward issues such as global warming and climate change in their vote decision.

Rike Rothenstein, University of Cincinnati rothenr@email.uc.edu

Post. 8 Resilience, Adaptation, Interaction and Design: Global Governance Mechanisms and Environmental Regimes

This article examine the various governance mechanisms within environmental resource regimes and their influence on world politics in an effort to identify design principles that are necessary for the creation and operation of successful regimes.

Tabitha Marie Benney, *University of California, Santa Barbara* tbenney@umail.ucsb.edu

Post. 9 Deliberation, Democracy, and the Environment: An Analysis of Citizen Action Re-connencting Politics and Nature

This paper provides an analysis of deliberative democracy as it has been utilized within the United States to highlight citizen action protecting and defending nature in the face of economic pressure.

James D. Buthman, Northern Arizona University James.Buthman@nau.edu

50-5 Public Management at the Local Level: Policy Issues and Implementation

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Jeremy N. Phillips, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale jeremyp@siu.edu

Paper Institutional Arrangements and Civil Society: The Role of City Structure in Democratic Policing

This study of the impact of city structure on democratic policing provides evidence that management by administrative professionals allows the police to peacefully uphold the rule of law rather than simply responding to political control.

Holona LeAnne Ochs, *Howard University* hlochs@gmail.com

Paper Web Recruiting at the Local Level: A Case Study

This study will use "best practices" identified in private corporations to assess the status of web recruiting in local governments. It will focus on the approximately 215 municipalities in the Greater Cincinnati Metropolitan Area.

Shamima Ahmed, Northern Kentucky University Ahmed@nku.edu

Enamul Hoq Choudhury, Wright State University enamul.choudhury@wright.edu

Paper Cooperation and Conflict in the Governmental Decision-Making Process in Middle Size Cities in the U.S. – Divided Vote

Council-manager government has less conflict/more cooperation with less votes than the mayor-council form with an administrative officer which has less conflict/more cooperation than a mayor-council form without a chief administrative officer.

Karl Nollenberger, *University of Wisconsin*, *Oshkosh* karl.nollenberger@sbcglobal.net

Paper Institutional Responses to Community Growth and Development

The analysis of this paper focuses on how conflict over residential growth, competition for economic development and local political institutions shape local growth management policy adoption.

Christopher Hawkins, University of Central Florida cvhawkin@mail.ucf.edu

Disc. Suho Bae, San Francisco State University

bae@sfsu.edu

Ross Cory Alexander, North Georgia College & State University realexander@ngesu.edu

50-6 Methodological Advances in Public Administration

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Sarah Anderson, University of California, Santa Barbara

sanderson@bren.ucsb.edu

Paper How the Interactions Between Political and Administrative

Institutions Impact Policy Outcomes: A Study of Tax

Abatements Adoption by Local Governments Using a Bayesian Frailty Model

We use a political market framework to explain how political and administrative institutions interact with one another to influence the adoption of tax abatements. A Bayesian frailty survival model is used to predict tax abatement adoption.

Richard Feiock, Florida State University

rfeiock@fsu.edu

Anthony J. Kassekert, Florida State University

ajk05f@fsu.edu

Paper Management Practices and State Bond Ratings

Does "good management" matter to the capital markets? We utilize Government Performance Project data of management practices ("Grading the States") and a Baysian measurement model of state bond ratings to test this hypothesis.

Skip Krueger, University of North Texas

skip.krueger@unt.edu

Robert W. Walker, Washington University, St. Louis

rww@wustl.edu

Paper Bureaucratic Reputation and Democratic Governance in the U.S. Administrative State

How bureaucratic reputations are formed and their consequences for administrative governance within the American political system are analyzed in this essay.

Daniel P. Carpenter, Harvard University

dcarpenter@latte.harvard.edu

 $\textbf{George A. Krause}, \ \textit{University of Pittsburgh}$

gkrause@pitt.edu

Paper The Three Exit, Three Voice and Loyalty Framework: A Test with Panel Survey Data on Urban Services

A test of the exit-voice model, with modifications, on an internet panel using questions on local services in the UK

Keith Dowding, Australian National University

keith.dowding@anu.edu.au

Peter John, University of Manchester

peter.john@manchester.ac.uk

Disc. Sarah Anderson, University of California, Santa Barbara

sanderson@bren.ucsb.edu

51-3 "All Hell Broke Loose": An Interdisciplinary Analysis of Disc. Collective Violence

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Meg E. Rincker, Purdue University Calumet

mrincker@calumet.purdue.edu

Paper Race Riot Memory Projects and Support for Redress of Past Racial Injustices: Evidence from Wilmington and Greensboro

This paper draws on a survey of 800 North Carolinians to investigate the links between views of that state's 1898 Wilmington Race Riot and 1979 Greensboro Massacre and attitudes toward redress of past racial injustices toward African Americans.

R. A. Ghoshal, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

R. A. Ghoshal, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hil rajesh@unc.edu

najesniajune.edu

Paper Race, Class, and Interest: Constructed Identities and the Politics of Collective Inter-Ethnic Violence

This paper examines the process by which the salience of race identity (whiteness) is enhanced among violent actors in Inter-Ethnic conflict. The study focuses on a small number of "race riots" across the U.S. which occurred between 1885-1921.

Ryan Jerome LeCount, Purdue University

rlecount@purdue.edu

Paper What the Hell Are You Fellows Afraid of? Women Want Protection: American Race Riots from the Progressive Era Through World War II

This paper provides a comparative analysis of American race riots

from the late 19th century through the mid-1940s.

Ann V. Collins, McKendree University

avcollins@mckendree.edu

Disc. Meg E. Rincker, Purdue University Calumet

mrincker@calumet.purdue.edu

54-5 Political Attitudes and Religion

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Christopher Chapp, St. Olaf College

chapp@stolaf.edu

Paper Welcoming the Stranger: Examining the Impact of Religious Solidarity and Religious Traditionalism on Attitudes Toward

Immigration
This paper analyzes the roles that religious solidarity and religious traditionalism play in shaping attitudes towards immigration.

It analyzes these religious influences using American National

Election Study data.

Sue E. S. Crawford, Creighton University

crawford@creighton.edu

Kaitlin M. Hagen, Creighton University

KMH50990@creighton.edu

Paper The "Religious Gender Gap" and Presidential Approval

This study examines how religion and gender interact to affect four different areas of President Bush's approval in 2004: general approval, economic policy approval, foreign policy approval, and social policy approval.

Jessica Lynn Bryan, Southern Illinois University

jbryan44@siu.edu

Paper Should "La Iglesia" Have a Role in Politics? Religion, Latino Public Opinion and Church and State Relations

This paper explores the role of religion in politics by attempting to understand how religion shapes Latino opinion regarding church and state relations.

 ${\bf Nicholas\ Fred\ Martini},\ {\it University\ of\ Iowa}$

nicholas-martini@uiowa.edu

Paper Calling God to the Need of Poor: Religion and Social Policy in the Predominantly Muslim Countries

The infleunce of religion, Islam in particular, on economic attitudes and social policy-making in predominantly Muslim countries.

Ismail Emre Bayram, Koc University

ibayram@ku.edu.tr

Christopher Chapp, St. Olaf College

chapp@stolaf.edu

Gwyneth I. Williams, Webster University

williagi@webster.edu

56-1 Forecasting the Future of Liberal Education

Room Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:45 pm

Chair Joseph Edward Alulis, North Park University

jalulis@northpark.edu

Paper Liberal Education Imperiled: Toward a Resurrection of Reason and Revelation in Higher Education

The paper addresses an argument made by Anthony T. Kronman in Education's End that America's colleges and universities have abandoned the liberal arts, and need to return to secular humanism in order to resurrect liberal education.

Erik S. Root, West Liberty State College

eroot@westliberty.edu

Thursday, April 2, 4:45 pm-6:25 pm

Paper Narcissism: The Future of American Education

This paper discusses how the current education system exhibits characteristics of narcissism, both as an individual entity and a corporate body. Narcissism is defined as an addiction to self-esteem, which is the hallmark of American education.

D. Walter Staggs, Regent University

donnsta@regent.edu

Paper The New Groves of Academia: Distance Learning and the

Future of Liberal Education

With the explosive growth of distance learning, how might this platform serve the traditional role of higher education in the formation of culture? This paper argues that distance learning and liberal education are not well suited to one another.

Robert D. Stacey, Regent University

rstacey@regent.edu

Disc. Johnny Goldfinger, Indiana University-Purdue University

Indianapolis jgoldfin@iupui.edu

Joseph Edward Alulis, North Park University

jalulis@northpark.edu

58-105 Roundtable: Honoring Kim Fridkin, Winner of the

Women's Caucus Outstanding Professional Achievement

<u>Awaro</u>

Room Empire on the Lobby Level, Thur at 4:45 pm

n/a

Panelist Jennifer Lawless, Brown University

Jennifer_Lawless@brown.edu

Susan Carroll, Rutgers University

scarroll@rci.rutgers.edu

Leonie Huddy, Stony Brook University

Leonie.Huddy@sunysb.edu

Friday, April 3-8:00 am

1-105 Roundtable: Data on the 2008 Election (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-101)

Room Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Focuses on data collected during the 2008 election that will be publicly available for analysis, including: Annenberg, Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES), Cooperative Campaign Analysis Program (CCAP), NES, CCAP, and AP/Yahoo 10 wave.

Panelist Lynn Vavreck, University of California, Los Angeles

lvavreck@ucla.edu

Trevor Tompson, Associated Press, AP/Yahoo 10 Wave Panel

TTompson@ap.org

Doug Rivers, CBS and The Economist

rivers@stanford.edu

Stephen Ansolabehere, Harvard University

sda@gov.harvard.edu

Richard Johnston, University of Pennsylvania

rgcj@sas.upenn.edu

Arthur Lupia, National Election Study

lupia@umich.edu

Simon Jackman, Stanford University

jackman@stanford.edu

Sunshine Hillygus, Harvard University

hillygus@fas.harvard.edu

2-4 Comparative Political Economy of Health

Room Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Jeffrey F. Timmons, Instituto Technologico Autonomo de Mexico jtimmons@itam.mx

Paper Death and Politics: How Partisanship and Inequality Shape Health in the OECD

This paper offers one possible answer to the question of why advanced Western democracies differ widely in the health of their populations despite having comparable levels of economic development, living standards and access to modern medical care.

Marcus Alexander, Harvard University

malexand@fas.harvard.edu

Paper The Social Sources of the Gradient: A Cross-National Analysis of the Pathways Linking Social Class to Health

We set out a theoretical framework to explain socioeconomic inequalities in health.

Lucy Barnes, Harvard University

lbarnes@fas.harvard.edu

Peter A. Hall, Harvard University

phall@fas.harvard.edu

Rosemary C. R. Taylor, Tufts University

rtaylor@tufts.edu

Paper Territorial Health Inequalities in Europe

This paper presents new data on the size of inequalities in mortality and health across sun-national territorial units in the countries of

Western and Eastern Europe.

Julia Lynch, University of Pennsylvania

jflynch@sas.upenn.edu

Paper Why Poor Health at High Cost? The Effects of Wealth and Institutions on Mortality in Advanced Democracies

This paper explains country-level differences in disease-specific and age-specific mortality.

Matthew C. Harding, Stanford University

mch@stanford.edu

Carlos Lamarche, University of Oklahoma

mch@stanford.edu

Paper The Political Economy of Disease: Historical Evidence from the U.S., France, and Germany

I argue that political factors can affect the distribution of public health resources. I use constituency level political data to predict mortality rates in electoral districts in late 19th and early 20th century United States, France and Germany.

Stephen Meserve, *University of Illinois*, *Urbana-Champaign* meserve@uiuc.edu

Disc. Jeffrey F. Timmons, Instituto Technologico Autonomo de Mexico jtimmons@itam.mx

3-2 **State Building**

Room Hancock on the 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Dan Slater, University of Chicago

slater@uchicago.edu

Paper From Origins to Persistence: Path Dependence and State Strength in Latin America

A vast literature explains the origins of strong and weak states, yet we have no theory of why (nor knowledge of to what extent) these original outcomes persist over time. This paper seeks to fill that gap, focusing on cases from Latin America.

Hillel David Soifer, Princeton University

hsoifer@princeton.edu

Paper Legacies of State Formation, Informal Social Reciprocity and Citizenship in Ghana and Ivory Coast

The paper examines how different histories of state formation and social policy experience shape informal institutions of reciprocity at the village-level with consequences for democracy and citizenship in similar regions of Ghana and Ivory Coast.

Lauren Mathews Morris MacLean, Indiana University macleanl@indiana.edu

Paper Built in Whose Image?: International Pressures and Influences in Reconstructing Post-Socialist States

This paper examines the profound impact of international pressures on the reconstruction of post-socialist states in East Central Europe.

Nicholas C. Wheeler, University of Virginia

ncw2e@virginia.edu

Paper Public Goods, Politics, and State Building in the Post-Colonial World

Links between commodity booms, collective action, and coalitional politics determine variation in public goods provision. These factors help account for the state building divergences of Chile (1848-83) and Nigeria (1945-66).

Ryan Saylor, University of Tulsa

ryan-saylor@utulsa.edu

Disc. Conor O'Dwyer, University of Florida

codwyer@ufl.edu

3-4 Political Legitimacy, Participation, and Attitudes in Latin America

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair John A. Booth, University of North Texas

booth@unt.edu

Paper Legitimacy and Political Participation in Eight Latin American Nations

The paper explores the relationships among six dimensions of political legitimacy and several modes of political participation. The predominant relationship is U-shaped, indicating that those with highest and lowest legitimacy participate most.

John A. Booth, University of North Texas

booth@unt.edu

Paper News Media Consumption and Political Participation in Central Disc. America: Causation and Explanation

News media consumption is conceived to effect political participation in two separate ways: directly and indirectly. A simple test of the two models of media effects finds theoretical and empirical support for the indirect model of media effects.

Ryan Salzman, University of North Texas

rws0073@unt.edu

Rosa Aloisi, University of North Texas

ra0131@unt.edu

Paper How Much State? Perceptions on the Role of the State in the Americas

The paper contains an analysis of survey data on the perceptions of citizens in the Americas about the role of the state in the economic life of the country.

Dinorah R. Azpuru, Wichita State University

dinorah.azpuru@wichita.edu

Mary Fran Malone, University of New Hampshire

Mary.Malone@unh.edu

Paper The Gender Gap in Latin American Political Participation

The paper explores the gender gap in political participation in 17 Latin American countries. It analyzes differential participation, exploring effects of resources, time demands, political interest and ideology, and civil society involvement

Patricia Bayer Richard, Ohio University

richard@ohio.edu

Disc. Ryan Carlin, Georgia State University

rcarlin@gsu.edu

4-5 Mass Political Attitudes in Transitional Democracies

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Byung-Jae Lee, University of Texas, Austin

bjlee@mail.utexas.edu

Paper Understanding the Democratic Gap in the Islamic World Through an Assessment of Political Attitudes: A Test of Two

Theories at the Individual Level

This paper examines the democratic gap in the Islamic world by testing two of the leading theories that seek to explain it. Applying the theories to the individual level, the study uses World Values

Survey data from twelve Muslim states.

Fatima Zainab Rahman, University of California, Irivine

rahmanf@uci.edu

Paper Critical Citizens are Critical for Democratization: Mass Political Attitude in Transitional Democracies

Critical Citizens are discovered in advanced democracies. What is the role of critical citizens in transitional democracies? This article is to explore the relationship between critical citizens and democratization in new democracies.

Lingling Qi, University of Missouri, Columbia

lqnn8@mizzou.edu

Doh Chull Shin, University of Missouri

shind@missouri.edu

Paper A New Measure of State Penetration: Item Non-Response and Identification with the State Apparatus

This paper tests the use of non-response rates to measure state penetration in cross-national research.

Lee Demetrius Walker, *University of South Carolina* walker23@mailbox.sc.edu

Skyler J. Cranmer, *University of North Carolina*, *Chapel Hill* scranmer@email.unc.edu

Paper The Importance of Social Capital for Successful Transition: A Comparative Study Between Poland and Russia

This paper investigates how different existences of social capital under the socialist system affected different outcomes of democratization and economic growth during the transition period in Poland and Russia which adopted same transition policy.

Ji Hvun Lee, Seoul National University

iamjihyun@gmail.com

isc. Byung-Jae Lee, University of Texas, Austin

bilee@mail.utexas.edu

4-6 Regime Change

Room Chicago on the 5th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair David Edward Leaman, Northeastern Illinois University

d-leaman@neiu.edu

Paper Causes and Timing of Coups d'état

This paper presents a model of coups d'état that incorporates both short-term and long-term causes. We argue that macroeconomic deteriorations, social instabilities, and government changes raise the instantaneous risks of a coup occurring.

Sawa Omori, International Christian University

omoris@icu.ac.jp

Taeko Hiroi, University of Texas, El Paso

thiroi@utep.edu

Paper Post-Civil War Regime Changes

Does the experience of civil conflict affect post-war regime changes? I propose that civil war creates an environment where leaders must establish legitimacy and security. In order to do so, they initiate democratic and autocratic regime changes.

Christine Marie Stoliecki, Michigan State University

hypnarch@msu.edu

Paper

When Do Self-Enforcing Reform Cycles Occur in Transition Countries?

Simulations from a dynamic structural model show that a median degree of political participation is a minimal requirement an endogenous transition mechanism. Failure to establish political rights leads to a collapse of the reform process.

Thomas Sattler, New York University

ts1403@nyu.edu

Ivan Pavletic, ETH Zurich pavletic@nadel.ethz.ch

Paper <u>Patterns of Legislative Voting and Democratic Instability:</u>

Argentina 1916-1955

We analyze Argentine roll call data between 1916 and 1955 to examine if multidimensionality in political conflict contributed to the country's democratic instability.

Eduardo Aleman, University of Houston

ealeman2@uh.edu

Sebastian Saiegh, University of California, San Diego

ssaiegh@ucsd.edu

Disc. Gretchen Casper, Pennsylvania State University

gcasper@psu.edu

Monica Pachon, University of Los Andes, Colombia

mpachon@gmail.com

5-8 <u>Constitutional Design</u>

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Christian Brogaard Jensen, University of Iowa

christian-jensen@uiowa.edu

Paper The Logic of Constitutional Change: Evidence from Latin America

This paper discusses the conditions under which political actors may decide the revision of existing constitutional arrangements, proposes an explanation, and tests the argument with a survival analysis of constitutional change in Latin America.

Gabriel Leonardo Negretto, CIDE

gabriel.negretto@cide.edu

Paper Foundational Bargains: Distributive Conflicts and Representation in Federations

We present the first analysis of the institutional bargains over political representation at the founding moment of federations. We argue that economic geography and the means of preference aggregation shape observable variations among federations.

Pablo Beramendi, Duke University

pb45@duke.edu

Erik Wibbels, Duke University

ew41@duke.edu

Paper To Change or Not to Change? Powerful Politicians and Constitutional Choices

This paper develops a theory about why some politicians that have the power to amend constitutional provisions decide not to, while others do so.

Alexander Simon Kirshner, Yale University

alexander.kirshner@yale.edu

Nassos Roussias, Juan March Institute

aroussias@ceacs.march.es

Paper Varieties of Electoral Systems in Early 20th Century Democracies: Endogeneity, History, and the Study of

Institutional Origins

Subjects Carles Boix and Cusack, Iversen and Soskice' arguments about political versus economic origins of electoral systems to close historical scrutiny and evaluates their respective methodological and theoretical claims

Marcus Kreuzer, Villanova University Markus.Kreuzer@villanova.edu

Disc. Laura Flamand, El Colegio de Mexico

lflamand@colmex.mx

6-4 Assessing Campaign Effects

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Salvador Vazquez del Mercado, Northwestern University

svazquez@u.northwestern.edu

Paper A Study on the Determinants of Candidates' Negative Campaign in Korean Presidential Elections

This study investigates which factors lead candidates in Korean presidential elections to conduct negative campaign. This study tries to apply theoretical argument about negative campaigns developed based on American elections to Korean cases.

Chunho Park, Seoul National University

pol97@snu.ac.kr

Paper The Politics of Personality: Candidate-Centered Voting in Brazil

Using panel survey data from the 2002 Brazilian presidential election, this paper seeks to explain variation in voters' tendency to focus on personality rather than policy in their vote decisions.

Mary C. Slosar, *University of Texas, Austin* maryslosar@mail.utexas.edu

Paper The Effect of Campaigns and Risk Profiles on Voters' Decisions During Presidential Campaigns in Mexico and Brazil

In this paper I analyze the effects that electoral campaigns have on individuals with different risk profiles when they take their voting decisions during the last two presidential campaigns in Mexico and Brazil.

Juan Antonio Rodriguez-Zepeda, *University of Pittsburgh* jar48@pitt.edu

Paper Between Mobilization and Persuasion: A Comparative Study of Campaign Effects

This paper will focus on campaign effects using panel data for the 2004 Greek elections and the 2006 Italian elections. It will distinguish the main factors that account for the mobilization process and the conversion effect.

Marco Lisi, University of Lisbon

marcolisi@sapo.pt

Disc. David Crow, University of California, Riverside david.crow@ucr.edu

7-8 The Welfare State in European Politics

Room Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Mariely Lopez-Santana, George Mason University

mlopez1@gmu.edu

Paper Low-Wage Immigrants, Labor Market Integration, and Unemployment Welfare Provisions in Developed EU Welfare

Focusing on the context of EU labor market integration, we explain how the flow of low wage immigrants from less developed to developed states affects the unemployment provisions in immigrant recipient states.

Christine Lipsmeyer, Texas A&M University

lipsmeyer@tamu.edu

Ling Zhu, Texas A&M University

lingzhu@polisci.tamu.edu

Paper

Types of Welfare States and Social Inequalities in the Post-Communist Countries

This paper overviews what types of welfare state arrangements have emerged in the post-communist countries as well as the institutional explanations of the divergent trajectories.

Petia Kostadinova, University of Florida

petiak@ces.ufl.edu

Paper Inter-Union Rivalry and the Modality of Political Exchange: Experiences of Five Countries in Developed Europe

The level of wage-setting coordination has increased in several countries of developed Europe in recent decades. I explain why the change has taken place in different ways across the countries, focusing on the effect of inter-union rivalry.

Sung Park, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

shpark@email.unc.edu

Disc. Mariely Lopez-Santana, George Mason University mlopez1@gmu.edu

Katja E. Vermehren, University of Colorado, Boulder

katja.vermehren@colorado.edu

7-18 Parties and Voters

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Jane Green, University of Manchester

jane.green@manchester.ac.uk

Paper Do Environmental Disasters Benefit Green Parties? Findings From a Multilevel Analysis

The following paper uses a multilevel analysis to study the impact of major environmental disasters on the electoral results of the French Green Party from 1981 to 2007 and on people's perception of the party.

Christophe Chowanietz, Université de Montréal

c.chowanietz@umontreal.ca

Pascal Doray-Demers, Université de Montréal

pascal.doray-demers@umontreal.ca

Paper Exploring the Environmental Message of the Liberal Democrats

In the last decade or so, the Liberal Democrats have become closely identified as a party with a strong environmental message. I argue that such a message fits well with the party's ideology as well as serving as a critical electoral strategy.

Debra Holzhauer, Southeast Missouri State University dholzhauer@semo.sdu

Paper Understanding Euroscepticism: Campaign Frames and Diffusion

This study explains the variation in the 2005 EU constitutional referenda results in Spain, France, the Netherlands and Luxembourg based on two factors; campaign dynamics/frames and the sequencing of the cases.

Ece Ozlem Atikcan, McGill University

ece.atikcan@mail.mcgill.ca

Disc. Jane Green, University of Manchester

jane.green@manchester.ac.uk

Debra Holzhauer, Southeast Missouri State University

dholzhauer@semo.sdu

9-2 The Globalization of China's Political Economy

Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room

Tony Frye, Piedmont College Chair

tfrye@piedmont.edu

The People's Republic of China's Economic Zones: From Paper

Growth Poles to Life Cycles of Growth

Review of China's economic zones and switchover from the use of EZs from experimental engines of generating rapid economic

growth to a standardized life cycle. Tony Frye, Piedmont College tfrye@piedmont.edu

Paper Big Tiger, Little Dragon: A Comparison of Science and

Technology Policies in Taiwan and China

This paper covers the science and technology development programs in Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. Joel R. Campbell, Kansai Gaidai University

campbell@kansaigaidai.ac.jp

China's Rising Financial Wealth and Power: Contextualizing Paper

the Internationalization of Chinese Capital

Covers the internationalizatin of the People's Republic of China and its wealth fund the China Investment Corporation.

Francis Schortgen, Mount Union College

schortf@muc.edu

China's Competitive State Attraction for Volvo AB

A case study of Volv AB and its actions in the People's Republic of

China

Mark Lehman, Miami University

lehmanmp@muohio.edu

Disc. Francis Schortgen, Mount Union College

schortf@muc.edu

Ying Xin, Clemson University dasidaniya@hotmail.com

10-5 Politics of Identity in Africa

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Daniel Ogbaharya, Western Illinois University

DG-Ogbaharya@wiu.edu

Moroccan Islamists: The Tamed, the Maverick and the Politics Paper

of Religion

This research proposal seeks to explore the impact of Moroccan Islamists on the country's political process. It proposes to analyze the integration of one group of Islamists in this process and the exclusion of another from it.

Kassem Bahaji, Northern Illinois University

k bahaji@yahoo.com

Paper Africa's Missing Separatists: Explaining the Rarity of Self-

Determination Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa

The paper seeks an explanation, through a comparative case study of Eritrea, Uganda and the DRC, of why sub-Saharan Africa has seen comparatively fewer successful separatist movements as compared to other post-Colonial regions of the World.

Cara Eugenia Hauck, University of Florida

chauck@ufl.edu

The Proliferation of Traditional Titles in Nigeria: The Case of Paper

Using face-to-face interviews of a stratified sample of 300 adults this paper investigates the reasons for the resurgence of "chieftaincy" titles among the Igbos. Data collected on several questions are analyzed to address this phenomenon.

Emmanuel Nwadinobi Uwalaka, St. Louis University

uwalakaen@slu.edu

When Legal Reforms Fail: Opposing Actors, Informal **Paper**

Institutions and Family Law Reform in Niger

This paper explores why legal reforms fail in Africa. Field research in Niger on the non-adoption of the Family Code suggests that the mobilization of religious actors and informal institutions significantly shape the trajectory of legal reforms.

Alice Kang, University of Wisconsin, Madison

ajkang@wisc.edu

Ngeta Kabiri, Yale University Disc.

ngeta.kabiri@yale.edu

11-9 Courts and the State in the Middle East

Spire on the 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room

Chair Charles M. Lamb, University at Buffalo, SUNY

clamb@buffalo.edu

Paper Restorative Justice in Practice: Tribal Law and Tribal Courts in

Iraqi Law, Tribal Law, Restorative Justice, Mediation, COIN,

Operation Iraqi Freedom

Adam L. Silverman, United States Army Training and Doctrine

adam.l.silverman@us.army.mil

Generals and Judges in Egypt and Pakistan: The Struggle for **Paper**

Domination and Independence

This paper investigates the executive-judicial relationship in authoritarian regimes. Utilizing Egypt and Pakistan as case studies, it seeks to analyze the conditions under which judges can withstand regime's pressure to dominate courts and judges.

Mahmoud Hamad, Drake University

mahmoud.hamad@drake.edu

Democracy Saving Itself from Itself: Judicial Intervention and Paper

Political Islam

A study of how the judiciary and the judicial processes have been used to control Islamist movements and organizations in the Muslim world through a comparative study of Turkey, Egypt, and Indonesia.

Ebru Erdem, University of California, Riverside

eerdem@ucr.edu

Kevin Edward Grisham, University of California, Riverside

kevin.grisham@email.ucr.edu

Disc. Raul A. Sanchez Urribarri, Tulane University

sanchezu@tulane.edu

13-5 Parties and Elections in Central and Eastern Europe

Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room

Chair Natalie Kistner, James Madison University

kistnena@jmu.edu

The Polish Party System Paper

This paper examines the evolution and characteristics of the Polish party system in the period 1991-2007, using the framework of institutionalization.

Anna Gwiazda, Dublin City University

anna.gwiazda@dcu.ie

Paper Presidential Powers in the Eastern European Democracies: A

Comparative Overview

This paper gives an overview of presidents, their powers, elections, and impeachment procedures in ten Eastern European members of the European Union.

Jurij Toplak, University of Maribor, Slovenia

jurij.toplak@gmail.com

Tadej Dubrovnik, European Administrative Academy Maribor

tadej.dubrovnik@gmail.com

Natalie Kistner, James Madison University Disc.

kistnena@jmu.edu

Lena M. Surzhko-Harned, University of Pittsburgh

lms34@pitt.edu

13-20 Housing, Property, and Political Reform in China

Room Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair Sarah Wilson Sokhey, Ohio State University
sokhey, 3@osu.edu

Paper Policy Experimentation Under Authoritarianism: The Politics of Labor Market Regulation in China

Why do some labor policy reforms in China follow the rule of experimentation while others don't? I argue that the central government's choices of reform strategy is constrained by the relationship with preexisting local labor administrative agencies. **Chia-chen Chou**, *Cornell University*

cc389@cornell.edu

cc389@comen.eut

Paper Rewriting the Script: Strategy Alteration Among Chinese Housing Activists During Contention

The process of strategy formation among Chinese Housing Activist groups is continual. Initial plans for mobilization are often disgarded once mobilization begins and new strategies are created. This paper examines the dynamics of this process.

Jeffrey S. Payne, Butler University

jspayne@butler.edu

Paper NGOs in China and Potential Political Reform

This paper discusses the potential significance of NGOs in China to political reform. NGOs may play an important role in civic development.

WenWen Shi, Wayne State University

ba5087@wayne.edu

Disc. Pierre F. Landry, Yale University

pierre.landry@yale.edu

Sarah Wilson Sokhey, Ohio State University

sokhey.3@osu.edu

14-7 <u>Domestic and International Sources of Fiscal Policy and Social Spending</u>

Room Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Guillermo Rosas, Washington University, St. Louis

grosas@wustl.edu

Paper Capital Punishment? Private Borrowers and Fiscal Discipline in Developing Countries

This paper argues that capital account openness is a key factor shaping developing countries' fiscal policy choices, although its effects are conditional on the level of non-sovereign international borrowing in a country.

Mark S. Copelovitch, University of Wisconsin, Madison

copelovitch@wisc.edu

David Andrew Singer, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

dasinger@MIT.EDU

Paper Political Business Cycles Under De Facto Exchange Rate Regimes in Developing Countries

This paper discusses the influence of elections and partisan control on fiscal policy in developing countries in different contexts of capital mobility and exchange rate regime.

Michael G. Hall, Wichita State University

michael.hall@wichita.edu

Paper FDI and Social Spending: Race to the Bottom or Climb to the Top?

Key Words: FDI, Social Spending, Race to the Bottom, Globalization.

Glen Biglaiser, Texas Tech University

gbiglais@yahoo.com

David Watson, Texas Tech University

davidthomas92@hotmail.com

Paper The Effect of IMF Programs on Welfare Expenditures:

Evidence from Latin America

In this paper, I provide a first-cut assessment of the impact of the IMF on public welfare spending in Latin America, paying particular attention to the problem of non-random selection.

Karina Cendon Boveda, Yale University

karina.cendonboveda@yale.edu

Paper Do Governments Spend More to Compensate for Openness?

I replicate and extend Rodrik's argument that governments spend more to compensate citizens for economic openness. I find his results are sensitive to how he treats missingness and do not hold up when using updated data.

Matthew John Spence, *University of California*, *Los Angeles* mspence@ucla.edu

Disc. Guillermo Rosas, Washington University, St. Louis

grosas@wustl.edu

Laura A. Hastings, *University of Illinois*, *Urbana-Champaign* lhasting@illinois.edu

14-18 Economics and Politics of Sanctions and Political

Room Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Gabriel Leon, London School of Economics

g.j.leon@lse.ac.uk

Paper Rally-Round-The-Flag and Fifth-Column Effects in Trade Sanctions: A Model and a Test

The paper offers the formal model of trade sanctions taking the domestic politics of the target into account, explains conditions under which Rally-Round-The-Frag or 5th Column Effects are likely, and test the hypotheses against sanctions datasets.

Daniel Verdier, Ohio State University

verdier.2@polisci.osu.edu

Byungwon Woo, Ohio State University

woo.54@polisci.osu.edu

Paper Taking Comparative Advantage Seriously: Sender-Target Trade Relationship and Success of Economic Sanctions

How does the type of trade affect the initiation and outcomes of economic sanctions? We analyze empirically the effect of trade complementarity/competitiveness on sanctions initiation and effectiveness.

Taehee Whang, Texas A&M University

taeheewhang@politics.tamu.edu

Elena V. McLean, Texas A&M University

elenamclean@tamu.edu

Paper Economic Sanction Effectiveness to Foreign Direct

Investment Inflows in the Target Countries: Sanctions Onset, Macroeconomic Policy, and Political Stability

This study refutes the casual theoretical claim that economic sanctions always have a negative impact for FDI in the target countries. Instead, this study argues that economic sanction can actually increase FDI in certain conditions.

GeiGuen Shin, University of Missouri

gshin@mizzou.edu

Paper Does it Pay to Be Nice? Stock Market Reactions to Political Coercion and Force

The paper examines the price reactions of cross-listed stocks to crisis signaling and political force in their home countries by using daily share price movements and King and Lowe's (2003) events data for the time-period between 2000 and 2004.

Philipp Fuerst, Emory University

kfuerst@emory.edu

Andrew Kerner, Emory University

akerner@emory.edu

Paper Illicit Trade and Terrorism

This paper studies the relationship between terrorist incidents and illicit trade in weapons and drugs. It analyses the linkages between legal trade and smuggling and makes inferences about the prevalence of terrorism.

Kate Ivanova, Ohio State University, Newark

ivanova.6@osu.edu

Anna Ivanova, *International Monetary Fund* aivanova@imf.org

Paper Sanctioning Violence: The Effect of Economic Coercion on Third Party Conflict

We argue that economic sanctions send a signal to the international community that there is less resistance to military force against the sanctioned state. We find that sanctioned states are more likely to be targets of militarized violence.

Tim Peterson, *University of Missouri* petersontm@missouri.edu

A. Cooper Drury, University of Missouri

drurya@missouri.edu

15-7 International Sources of Democratization

Room Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Sarah Whalen, Texas A&M University

sawhalen@gmail.com

Paper Peace Agreement and Democratization

This paper uses Conflict Termination data and Peace Agreement data to examine if the peace agreement enhances democratization. The findings show that the peace agreement that serves as the legalized institution facilitates democratization.

Young Hwan Park, University of Alabama

ypark11@bama.ua.edu

DeRouen R. Karl, University of Alabama

kderouen@tenhoor.as.ua.edu

Paper Arms Transfers and Democratization: A Positive or Negative Relationship?

This paper explores the relationship between arms transfers and democracy. Much is known about both variables, but little work has been conducted to better understand how they interact.

Isaac Castellano, University of Kentucky

isaac.castellano@uky.edu

Paper Making Friends and Enemies: The Causes of Foreign-Imposed Regime Change

Great powers typically target weak states with foreign-imposed regime change. Why are the weak not easily coerced? I argue that even when great powers offer military aid, rulers prefer to adopt antagonistic policies when local opposition is strong.

Melissa Willard-Foster, University of California, Los Angeles/ Harvard University

willardm@ucla.edu

Paper International Migration as a Channel of Democratic Norm Diffusion?: An Empirical Analysis of Filipino Public Opinion Data

Using public opinion data from the Philippines, this paper empirically examines whether international migration has democratizing effects in the origin countries.

Yoon-Ah Oh, Ohio State University

oh.146@osu.edu

Disc. Sarah Whalen, Texas A&M University

sawhalen@gmail.com

15-21 Regulation and the Design of International Institutions

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Tobias Hofmann, College of William & Mary

hofmannt@gmail.com

Paper An Access Point Theory of Environmental Regulations and International Treaties

This paper applies access point theory to environmental regulations by examining how many environmental treaties a country enforces arguing that industries can block environmental regulations when they have more access to governing institutions.

Sean D. Ehrlich, Florida State University

sehrlich@fsu.edu

Paper The Domestic Institutional and Ideological Drivers of International Agreement Design

I explain differences in the design of international agreements by arguing that because leaders respond to the preferences of those who help them retain power, they seek international agreements that promote the ideology of their winning coalition.

Papia Debroy, University of Michigan

papia@umich.edu

Paper Environmental Policy Change in Europe Beyond

Harmonisation: 'Learning by Difference' or 'Lessons from the Peer'?

A macro-quantitative analysis of the effect of four different mechanisms of policy learning on domestic change in the field of environmental regulation in 24 countries: success, similarity,

institutional interlinkage and the effects of herding. **Thomas Sommerer**, *University of Konstanz*

Thomas.Sommerer@uni-konstanz.de

Disc. Tobias Hofmann, College of William & Mary

hofmannt@gmail.com

16-4 Nuclear Proliferation: Decision Making Analysis

Room Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Christopher Way, Cornell University

crw12@cornell.edu

Paper Nuclear Weapons: The World's Greatest Threat to Peace

The history and current resurgence of nuclear weapons is explored. South Africa is pointed to as a successful example of disarmament, and both global and citizen action plans are presented.

Shelly Marie Nixon, University of North Carolina

smnixon@unca.edu

Paper From Bombs to Reactors: Re-Examining the Nuclear Weapon-Nuclear Reactor Linkage

This paper examines the causal link between states acquiring nuclear weapons and developing nuclear plants for civilian use. It argues that the causal linkage is reversed; weapons come before plants

Christopher Sprecher, Texas A&M University

sprecher@politics.tamu.edu

Paper The Changing Dynamic of Nuclear Proliferation: From Opaque Nuclear Proliferation to the Declared Bomb

This paper will analyze newly emerging nuclear proliferation states since the end of Cold War, and find the key factors, which lead a country to be the declared nuclear weapon state.

Myung Chul Kim, University of California, Los Angeles

mckim16@ucla.edu

Paper Iranian Nuclear Diplomacy and International Security

Iranian Nuclear program has become a source of controversy in international community. Iran insists that it's nuclear program is civilian and is geared toward peaceful means.

Mohammed NA Amjad, Azad University of Iran

m.amjad2008@yahoo.com

Disc. Christopher Sprecher, Texas A&M University

sprecher@politics.tamu.edu

17-6 The Consequences of Violent Conflict

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Samuel S. Stanton, Jr., Grove City College

ssstanton@gcc.edu

Paper From Battles to Massacres: Explaining Spatial and Temporal Variation in Civilian Targeting During the Angolan Civil War, 1961-2002

Why do combatants in civil war sometimes target civilians while at other times they refrain from doing so? I examine this question using new, geo-referenced event data on nearly 10,000 reported battles and massacres in the forty-one year Angolan war.

Jen Ziemke, John Carroll University

jziemke@jcu.edu

Altered States: Conflict Transformation Through Social Service 19-7 Paper **Provision During Civil Wars**

What impact can the provision of social services (including humanitarian assistance) have on conflict transformation during civil wars? This paper analyzes the impact of services in three such conflicts - Northern Ireland, Tajikistan and Sudan.

Rob Kevlihan, Kazakhstan Institute of Management rkevlihan@gmail.com

Civil War and Social Infrastructure: Consequences for Paper **Education in the Former Yugoslavia**

The paper explores how the broader quantitative findings regarding the consequences of civil war on education correspond with a more in depth look at the experience of the former Yugoslavia. Charles M. Hinderliter, University of South Carolina

charles.hinderliter@gmail.com

swapnapathak@gmail.com

Paper **Environmental Footprints of Violet Conflicts**

This paper analyzes the impact of interstate and intra-state conflictson the natural environment of the region. Swapna Pathak, University of South Carolina

Paper **Diffusion of Danger? The Effects of Civil War on Neighbors' Military Expenditures**

> Civil war in a country predicts an increase in military spending of its neighbors, adding to the argument that civil war is an international concern. Additionally, national leaders seem to have long recognized the international nature of civil war.

Brian John Phillips, University of Pittsburgh

brianjphillips@gmail.com

Keren E Fraiman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Disc. keren@mit.edu

Oil and Money: Political Economy and Foreign Policy 18-3

Medinah on the 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room

Chair Ekaterina V. Svyatets, University of Southern California syvatets@vahoo.com

Paper The U.S. Military Intervention During the Persian Gulf War, 1990-1991: Energy Security Analysis

This paper analyzes the relationship between energy security concern (oil supply) and the U.S. military intervention in the case of the Persian Gulf War (1990-1991) by employing energy security framework as an analytic tool.

Sungil Jang, Seoul National University sungil.jang@gmail.com

Paper **How Does Financial Crisis Affect a State's National Security Policy? The Case of South Korea**

This paper explores how financial crisis reshapes a state's concept of security and affects national security policy by analyzing the case of South Korea's alteration of foreign policy after the Asian Financial Crisis.

Jeongseok Lee, Seoul National University tomcat9@snu.ac.kr

Diplomacy and National Wealth

My paper attempts to explain the variation in the type of diplomatic strategies, military threat and economic exchange, in terms of the amount of national wealth each state possesses.

Kentaro Hirose, University of Chicago hirose1981@uchicago.edu

Elsa Dias, University of Colorado, Colorado Springs Disc. edias@uccs.edu

Empirical Studies of Human Rights Practices

Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room Deniz Aksoy, Pennsylvania State University Chair

dua13@psu.edu

Paper **Economic Sanctions and Human Rights: New Findings Based** on the Notion of Political Survival

Have economic sanctions in the last 50 years had any adverse impact on the target state level of human rights protection?

Cristiane Carneiro, New York University

cc498@nyu.edu

Carmela Lutmar, Princeton University

clutmar@princeton.edu

Paper What Did They Leave Behind? Legal Systems, Colonial Legacies, and Human Rights Practices

We argue that the relationship between domestic legal systems and government repression varies depending on a state's colonial legacy. We find that common law states have the best human rights practices among those states with colonial legacies.

Jonathan Ring, University of Iowa

jonathan-ring@uiowa.edu

Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, University of Iowa

sara-mitchell@uiowa.edu

Molly Spellman, Drake University

mkspellman@gmail.com

Paper

Unpacking the Commitment-Compliance Nexus in

International Human Rights Treaties and Organizations

We bring together the literatures on institutional selection and compliance with international human rights law. We use a unique dataset on membership in 77 human rights organizations and 44 human rights agreements, with novel findings.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Princeton University

ehafner@princeton.edu

Jon C. Pevehouse, University of Chicago

pevehouse@uchicago.edu

Jana von Stein, University of Michigan

janavs@umich.edu

Counterfactual Reasoning and International Institutions: A Paper Closer Look at the Human Rights Regime

This paper fills a gap in the empirical literature on human rights and international institutions by adopting a particularly appropriate technique, propensity score matching, to estimate the effect of human rights treaties on state repression.

Daniel Wayne Hill, Jr., Florida State University dwh06c@fsu.edu

Disc. Noha Shawki, Illinois State University nohashawki@ilstu.edu

21-3 **Emotions and Campaigns**

Room Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Dana R.B. Adams, University of Minnesota/Furman University drba@umn.edu

Paper Feeling Our Way Through the Campaign Environment: The Impact of Affect on the Type of Information We Seek Out In

I examine the role of affective reactions to information in a simulated campaign on the subsequent types of information sought out by subjects, paying close attention to the role of hard versus soft issues and issues versus candidate characteristics.

Andrew J.W. Civettini, Knox College

acivetti@knox.edu

Who Votes? How and When Negativity Affects Voter Turnout **Paper**

I show that negative campaigning can be demobilizing, but only at a certain time: after an individual has selected which candidate he prefers, but before the individual has had a chance to act on this selection with a vote.

Yanna Krupnikov, University of Michigan yanna@umich.edu

Paper The More Emotional Sex? Gender, Emotion, and Political Mobilization

We investigate whether emotional reactions to candidates differ as a function of gender and further, whether the emotions elicited during campaigns have a differential impact on levels of political behavior reported by men and women.

Erin Cassese, West Virginia University

erin.cassese@mail.wvu.edu

Christopher R. Weber, Louisiana State University

crweber@lsu.edu

Monica C. Schneider, Miami University of Ohio

MSchneider@muohio.edu

Paper Uneasy Street: Fear and Learning in an Economic Crisis

In a 2008 pre-election survey we track both attention to media and fear about the economy. We hypothesize that anxiety will be related to both threatening ads and to negative economic news.

Shana Kushner Gadarian, Princeton University

skushner@princeton.edu

Bethany Lee Albertson, University of Washington

balberts@u.washington.edu

Paper Listen to Your Heart: An Analysis of Emotional Response to Candidates in the 2004 Presidential Election

This paper seeks to understand the extent to which significant emotional responses to Presidential candidates mediate political cognition leading to the formulation of political attitudes and vote choice.

Heather E. Yates, University of Kansas

hey@ku.edu

Disc. George E. Marcus, University of California, Irvine

George.E.Marcus@williams.edu

21-6 Evolutionary Theory for Political Psychology

Room Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair Peter K. Hatemi, Virginia Commonwealth University
phatemi@gmail.com

Paper Is There A Fourth Face Of Power? Evolutionary Biology,

Physiology, and Powerlessness

This paper considers a new theoretical approach to studies of powerlessness and political apathy. In the social animals, position in the hierarchy affects brain chemistry. This paper explores the applicability of this idea to political behavior.

Douglas Robert Pierce, Rutgers University

drpierce@eden.rutgers.edu

Paper Caveman Politics: Gender and Evolutionary Leadership Preferences

Evidence indicates that human behavior is subject to evolutionary and other non-environmental factors. This research uses crosscultural analyses to argue that evolutionary psychology can shed light on the persistent gender gap in leadership.

Gregg R. Murray, Texas Tech University

g.murray@ttu.edu

Paper Sarah, It Ain't So! Evolutiona

Paper Sarah, It Ain't So! Evolutionary Effects on Party Leadership Perception

This study seeks to analyze the effect of in-group/out-group behavior on respondents' perceptions of the 2008 presidential and vice-presidential candidates. I use evolutionary adaptation to explain the difference in pre- and post-election responses.

James David Schmitz, Texas Tech University

jdave.schmitz@ttu.edu

Disc. Darren Matthew Schreiber, University of Calfornia, San Diego dmschreiber@ucsd.edu

22-5 <u>Issues 2: Issues and Other Considerations and Vote</u>

Choice

Room Adams on the 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Shigeo Hirano, Columbia University

sh145@columbia.edu

Paper Exploring the Reform Dimension in U.S. Presidential Elections

Many have argued that a single left-right continuum insufficiently captures the complexity of competition in U.S. presidential elections. We argue that a reform-establishment dimension has existed over the past five elections, at least.

Daron R. Shaw, University of Texas, Austin

dshaw@austin.utexas.edu

Melvin Hinich, University of Texas, Austin

mhinich@austin.utexas.edu

per What's the Matter With the White Working Class? The Effects of Union Membership in the 2004 Presidential Election

This study examines the influence of union membership on the

political preferences of the white working class.

Peter L. Francia, East Carolina University

franciap@ecu.edu

Nathan S. Bigelow, Austin College

nbigelow@austincollege.edu

Paper Changing the Political Dialogue and Political Alignments:

George Wallace and his 1968 Presidential Campaign

This paper examines the impact of George Wallace's 1968 presidential campaign on the contemporary partisan alignment in the United States.

Mark D. Brewer, University of Maine

mark.brewer@umit.maine.edu

Jeffrey M. Stonecash, Syracuse University

jstoneca@maxwell.syr.edu

Paper Reconsidering the Causes of Party and Issue Voting in

Presidential Elections

This paper analyzes election-to-election variation in the influence of partisanship and policy preferences on vote choice in order to understand the contextual causes of party and issue voting in presidential elections.

Benjamin Highton, University of California, Davis

bhighton@ucdavis.edu

Disc. Shigeo Hirano, Columbia University

sh145@columbia.edu

George Rabinowitz, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill rabinowitz@unc.edu

23-8 The Dynamics of Negative Campaigning

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Eva Johanna Schweitzer, University of Mainz, Germany

eva.schweitzer@web.de

Paper Sponsorship and Accountability in Political Advertising

This paper examines whether negative ads sponsored by unknown independent groups are more effective than ads sponsored by candidates using an experiment conducted on a large-N, geographically representative sample of Americans.

Deborah Jordan Brooks, Dartmouth College

deborah.brooks@dartmouth.edu

Michael Murov, Dartmouth College
deborah.brooks@dartmouth.edu

Paper Do 527s Affect Electoral Success?

This paper estimates the impact of spending by 527 groups on Congressional campaigns.

Olugbenga Ajilore, University of Toledo

gbenga.ajilore@utoledo.edu

Gayle Alberda, Wayne State University

galberda@gmail.com

Does Negative Advertising Demobilize the Electorate? Evidence Disc. from the 2006 Mexican Presidential Election

I examine the impact of negative advertising in the 2006 Mexican presidential election. I show that political advertising had a mobilizing effect on the electorate, particularly on political participation and voter turnout.

Gustavo Rivera Loret de Mola, University of Texas, Austin grivera@mail.utexas.edu

Paper **Dynamics of Negative Campaigning in a Multiparty System**

Negative campaigning is extensively analyzed in American political science, but not abroad. To further develop the understanding of the dynamics of negativity this paper examines the communication of Danish parties in four national elections.

Christian Elmelund-Præstekær, University of Southern Denmark cel@sam.sdu.dk

Paper The Influence of Negative Campaign Messages on Citizens' **Assessments of Candidates**

We examine the impact of negative campaigning on public opinion of candidates. We employ new measures of the content and tone of campaign messages and new measures of citizens' receptivity to negative rhetoric.

Kim Fridkin, Arizona State University

kahn@asu.edu

Patrick Kenney, Arizona State University pkenney@asu.edu

Eva Johanna Schweitzer, University of Mainz, Germany Disc. eva.schweitzer@web.de

> Matthew Kristopher DeSantis, High Point University mdesanti@highpoint.edu

The Choice of Institutions and the Decision to Reform 24-6

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Kharis Ali Templeman, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor kharist@umich.edu

The Choice of Electoral Systems in Electoral Autocracies Paper

The paper presents a formal model explaining under what conditions electoral autocracies are more likely to implement alternative electoral systems.

Arturas Rozenas, Duke University ar71@duke.edu

Explaining Institutional Change: Why Elected Politicians Paper **Implement Direct Democracy**

Why would representative politicians bring in direct democratic institutions? I model an explanation: some incumbents do better in representative elections when direct democracy credibly constrains them. Historical evidence supports the theory.

David Hugh-Jones, Max Planck Institute of Economics hugh-jones@econ.mpg.de

Causes of the Adoption of a Gender Quota Law in Portugal Paper

A new "Parity Law" was approved in Portugal in August 2006. Using different types of sources, this paper seeks to analyze the proximate factors which led to the adoption of gender quotas. Michael Baum, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

mbaum@umassd.edu Ana Espirito Santo, European University Institute anaespsto@yahoo.com

Could Gerrymandering Actually Increase House Election Paper Competitiveness? An Analysis of V.O. Key

This paper suggests perceptions of easy victory for a given party in the general election may directly increase primary election competitiveness, but may indirectly increase the competitiveness of the general election.

Shawn H. Williams, University of Texas, Dallas shw061000@utdallas.edu

Eric Chang, Michigan State University

echang@msu.edu

Carlos Pereira, Michigan State University pereir12@msu.edu

25-6 Public Opinion and the War in Iraq

Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room

Chair Jerold J. Duquette, Central Connecticut State University

duquettej@ccsu.edu

Paper An Economic Model of Iraq War Support: An Individual-Level **Analysis**

This research examines how different economic earning profiles, particularly among blacks, Hispanics, young adults and women with low education and income, influence individual's support for the Iraq War over time.

Terri L. Towner, Oakland University

towner@oakland.edu

Paper

Closing the Gap? The Iraq War and Political Attitudes in the U.S. Military

How have military attitudes shifted in relation to those of the mass public? I examine the effects of countervailing pressures on military opinion, with findings relevant to research on public support for war and civil-military relations.

Peter Holm, University of Wisconsin, Madison pholm@wisc.edu

College Students and War: The Iraq War as Catalyst for Paper **Political Participation**

Using data from an online random sample survey of college students at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, we investigate the relationship between intensity of views on the war in Iraq and a variety of forms of political participation.

Laurie L. Rice, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville larice@siue.edu

Kenneth W. Moffett, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville kwmoffett@gmail.com

Ramana Madupalli, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville ramanaatsiue@gmail.com

Paper Foreign Policy Values and the Evaluation of the Iraq War

This study explores the role of the foreign policy values of humanitarianism and democracy in understanding the sources of citizens' evaluations of the Iraq war.

Dukhong Kim, Florida Atlantic University dkim4@fau.edu

Thomas E. Nelson, Ohio State University Disc.

nelson.179@osu.edu

26-5 **Election Mechanics and Participation (Co-sponsored** with Electoral Campaigns and Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 23-21 and 40-33)

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Clayton M. Nall, Harvard University Chair nall@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Purging Voter Lists under the NVRA

This paper examines whether states are purging more than would be expected given their residential mobility, deaths and felon disfranchisement rates.

Margaret M. Groarke, Manhattan College margaret.groarke@manhattan.edu Lorraine C. Minnite, Barnard College lcm25@columbia.edu

Paper Convenience Reconsidered: Polling Place Accessibility in the Individual-Level Calculus of Voter Turnout in Presidential and Midterm Elections

Data from the 2004/2006 elections shows that, controlling for other variables, voters who have shorter travel times to their polling place are more likely to vote. For each additional minute of travel time, a given voter is 3% less likely to vote.

Edward Matthew Burmila, Indiana University, Bloomington eburmila@indiana.edu

Paper Isolating the Effect of Compulsory Voting on Political Sophistication: Exploiting Intra-National Variation in Mandatory Voting Laws in Austrian Provinces, 1969-2004

This paper tests whether compulsory voting leads to increased political sophistication by comparing citizens in Austrian provinces which mandate voting in national elections to those in provinces where voting is fully voluntary.

Victoria Anne Shineman, New York University vas281@nyu.edu

Paper Specifying a Model of Political Infeasibility for Voter Fraud in State Representative Elections

Since the only goal of vote fraud is winning elections, I created a model that demonstrates the infeasibility of such theft through registration schemes and voter impersonation. I use a national sample of recent state representative elections.

John F. Settich, Benedictine College JSettich@benedictine.edu

Disc. Michael J. Hanmer, University of Maryland mhanmer@gvpt.umd.edu

26-16 Participation and Inequality: Who Votes Now? (Cosponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-26)

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Seth C. McKee, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg scmckee@stpt.usf.edu

Paper Who Votes Now? Alienation, Indifference and Inequality

We examine the determinants of voter turnout using ANES data from 1972-2004, estimating the effects of demographics, laws and the policy positions offered by candidates.

Jan E. Leighley, *University of Arizona* leighley@email.arizona.edu

Jonathan Nagler, New York University jonathan.nagler@nyu.edu

Paper The Impact of Income Inequality on Turnout Rates Revisited: Novel Findings in an Emerging Debate

The paper looks at the impact of income inequality on turnout rates in democracies and surprisingly finds that higher income inequalities lead to higher turnout rates.

Daniel Stockemer, University of Connecticut

d.stockemer@web.de

Lyle A. Scruggs, *University of Connecticut* lyle.scruggs@uconn.edu

Paper The Impact of Education Quality on Voter Turnout: The Implications of Aggregation

The purpose of this study is to examine, aspatially and spatially, the relationship between education quality and voter turnout at two levels of aggregation, school districts and at the county level.

Cassie A. Gross, *University of Missouri, St. Louis* cassiegross@umsl.edu

Paper Continuities in Political Participation Across Multiple Generations

Two sets of parent-offspring pairs based on national samples are used to assess the degree, nature, and corollaries of intergenerational continuities in political participation.

M. Kent Jennings, University of California, Santa Barbara jennings@polsci.ucsb.edu

Laura Stoker, *University of California*, *Berkeley* stoker@socrates.berkeley.edu

Paper Red, Blue, or Something Else Entirely? The Crucial Role of North Carolina in the Elections of 2008

Examines the impact of North Carolina in the primary and general elections of 2008. Argues that the rapidly growing and increasingly diverse state defies categorization as "red" or "blue", and instead presents a contradictory mix of characteristics.

David Weldon Thornton, Campbell University thornton@campbell.edu

Disc. Jerry Lee Miller, Ohio University

Jerry.Miller.1@ohio.edu

27-7 Media Coverage of Iraq

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Richard Sobel, Northwestern University/Harvard University sobel2@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Framing the Surge: Accountability and Framing of Victory in Iraq

We report the findings of a study of US media coverage of the troop surge in Iraq. We hypothesize that media framing of the surge tended to undermine the public's ability to hold policy makers accountable to the surge's specified objectives.

Steven Livingston, *George Washington University* sliv@gwu.edu

Danielle Kurtzleben, Elliott School of International Affairs danielle.kurtzleben@gmail.com

Paper Kill the Chicken to Scare the Monkey: Rhetoric of a Preemptive Strike

The power of language in shaping and selling the practice of preemptive strikes is analyzed in public statements made after the invasion of Iraq, and illuminates the challenges of an exit strategy. **Linda Shelton**, *Utah Valley University* sheltoli@uvu.edu

Paper Japanese and U.S. Media Coverage of the Iraq War: A Comparative Analysis of Media's Impact on Public Opinion

This study investigates the relationship between the media and public opinion by analyzing the Iraq War coverage of two leading U.S. and Japanese newspapers. It statistically examines whether media's impact is significant in shaping public opinion.

Kazuhiro Maeshima, *Bunkyo University, Japan* maeshima@koshigaya.bunkyo.ac.jp

Paper War of Images: Contrasting Visuals in Fox News and CNN Coverage of the Iraq War

The paper uses an original content analysis of Fox News and CNN to evaluate changes in television news coverage of war, both over time and across networks. Frame of violence tends to affect support for war more than the presence of violence alone.

Jennifer Ogg Anderson, *Vanderbilt University* jennifer.ogg@vanderbilte.edu

Paper How Long is the Leash? Press Independence and Coverage of the Pre-War Iraq Debate

This paper investigates the extent of press independence from government officials exhibited by the New York Times during the pre-war Iraq debate. The data are derived from content analysis of 1,150 stories between Aug. 20, 2002 and Mar. 18, 2003.

Shoon Kathleen Murray, *American University* smurray@american.edu

Disc. Helma G. E. de Vries, Eastern Connecticut State University helmadevries@gmail.com

27-8 Comparative Media Coverage of Executives

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am **Chair Richard Flickinger**, *Wittenberg University*

rflickinger@woh.rr.com

Paper The 2008 Debates in the United States and Canada: How U.S. and Canadian Viewers, Listeners and Readers Pick Their Winners

We surveyed students at a Canadian and a U.S. university as they watched the presidential or prime ministerial debates or listened without video. We also surveyed those who missed the debates to get their impressions from followup media exposure.

Michael Dorsher, McGill University

mdorsher@uwec.edu

Jack Kapfer, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire

kapferja@uwec.edu

Jan Larson, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire

larsoja@uwec.edu

David Crowley, McGill University

dcrowley@rogers.com

Harold Waller, McGill University

harold.waller@mcgill.ca

Paper Media, Priming, and Leadership Evaluations in Britain

We examine priming effects in the 2001 and 2005 elections in Britain. We use rolling cross-sectional data to look at the relationship between the amount and tone of press coverage of an issue and the issue's influence on evaluations of Tony Blair.

Daniel Stevens, University of Exeter

D.P.Stevens@exeter.ac.uk

Susan Banducci, University of Exeter

S.A.Banducci@exeter.ac.uk

Jeffrey Karp, University of Exeter

J.Karp@exeter.ac.uk

Jack Vowles, University of Exeter

J. Vowles@exeter.ac.uk

Paper Fired by The Press! Ministerial Dismissal in a Polarized Pluralist Media System

This article examines political scandals in 1990s which confirm the Portuguese press professionalism and reveal a number of countertendencies to the convergence towards the Liberal model that hinder the prospect of a complete homogenization.

Rui Alexandre Novais, *University of Porto/ University of Liverpool* rnovais@letras.up.pt

Paper Mediating Executive Torture: The Bush Administration, the News Media, and the Representation of Human Rights

Based on a content-analysis of the New York Times and Washington Post's coverage of Abu Ghraib, this paper explains why the news media does not deem everything "fit to print" when it comes to the president's human rights record.

Mark Major, Rutgers University

majormgm@gmail.com

Disc. Richard Flickinger, Wittenberg University

rflickinger@woh.rr.com

Rui Alexandre Novais, *University of Porto/ University of Liverpool* rnovais@letras.up.pt

28-21 Success and Failure in Accomplishing Feminist Policy Agendas

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am **Chair Janet K. Boles**, *Marquette University*

Janet.Boles@mu.edu

Paper Explaining Policy Innovation and Diffusion in Argentina: From Gender Quotas to Civil Unions and Same-Sex Marriage

This paper will compare and contrast the processes that led to the adoption of quota legislation in Argentina with civil unions and same-sex marriage and their diffusion at national and sub-national levels

Adriana M. Crocker, University of Illinois, Springfield acroc2@uis.edu

Paper The Role of Personal Experience in Women's Substantive Representation

I draw upon 54 in-depth interviews with both female and male German parliamentarians to address the origins of women's substantive representation, with particular attention to the role of personal experience as an intermediary variable.

Christina V. Xydias, Ohio State University

xydias.1@osu.edu

Paper

The Personal is Partisan? Feminism, Partisan Politics, and Policy in the U.S., Britain and Sweden

This paper examines how parties in Britain, the U.S. and Sweden have responded to feminist concerns. Party pledges found in platforms/manifestos are analyzed, along with the enactment of these pledges. What factors affect feminist policy success?

Terry J. Royed, University of Alabama

troyed@bama.ua.edu

Paper Legislating Women's Issues: The Case of Lithuanian Seimas

This paper examines gender and party effects in bill initiation in a specific policy area, women's issues, in Lithuania's Seimas.

Raminta Stockute, University of Kansas

Raminta@Ku.edu

Disc. Samantha Velluti, University of Lincoln

svelluti@lincoln.ac.uk

Alesha Elizabeth Doan, University of Kansas

adoan@ku.edu

29-6 **Identity Intersectionality**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Stephen Charles Wesley Graves, University of Nevada, Reno

gravess4@unr.nevada.edu

Paper Not Ready to Make Nice: The Politics of Identity and Why Union Voters Wanted a Class Champion in 2008

This paper examines how union members from three presidential election 2008 battleground states interpreted the primary campaigns of Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama and John McCain through the lens of gender, race, and class.

Robert Bruno, University of Illinois

bbruno@illinois.edu

Monica Bielski-Boris, University of illinois

mbielski@illinios.edu

Paper Between the Racial Divide: The Identity and Political Attitudes of Mixed-Race Adolescents

Examines the relationship between mixed-race heritage and political behavior. I use Add Health data to analyze factors associated with multiracial identity, fluidity of identity over young adulthood, and how being mixed-race relates to politics.

Lauren D. Davenport, Princeton University

ldavenpo@princeton.edu

Paper Candidate Experience and the Intersection Between Race and Gender

The research project explores whether concerns about the prior experience of black and/or female candidates merely reflects underlying racial and gender prejudices.

Tony Eugene Carey Jr., Stony Brook University

tecarey@notes.cc.sunysb.edu

Mary-Kate Lizotte, Stony Brook University

mklizotte@yahoo.com

Paper Working to Live or Living to Work?: Race, Class and the Politics of Work

What are the political implications of the differential ways racialized populations experience the workplace, its benefits and its disadvantages? In this paper, I use survey data and in-depth interview data to answer this question.

Jamila Diana Celestine-Michener, University of Chicago jamila@uchicago.edu

Uncovering Blackness: Racial Politics and Black Consciousness Paper

This paper examines the complex interaction between racial democracy and black identity in revolutionary Cuba. It uncovers black political consciousness despite a state that inhibits its development.

Danielle Pilar Clealand, University of North Carolina dpc@email.unc.edu

Disc. Dara Z. Strolovitch, University of Minnesota

dzs@umn.edu

Intoxication, Moderation and Envy in Plato's Dialogues 30-3

Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room

Chair Jerry Herbel, Georgia College & State University

jeherbel@cox.net

Paper **A Platonic Plea for Moderation**

After discussing several misguided readings of Plato's account of moderation, this paper shows the richness and the pertinence of this fundamental Platonic virtue.

Sophie Bourgault, University of Ottawa

sbourgau@uottawa.ca

Paper **Aristophanes and Plato on Moderation and Nobility in Politics**

This paper argues that Plato responds to Aristophanes' charge against philosophy, for its destructive effects on political life. The philosophic investigation of to kalon (the noble or beautiful) may lead statesman to become moderate.

Andrew M. Gross, University of Toronto

amgross55@hotmail.com

Plato's Reformulation for the Symposium

In this paper I examine the place of the drinking symposium and intoxication in Plato's dialogues. Emphasis is on the views on drinking expressed in the Symposium and the regulation of intoxication proposed in the first two books of the Laws. Michael A. Rinella, State University of New York Press

drmike15@aol.com

Paper It's Not Sleazy Being Green: Envy as Plato's Guard Dog

Envy is not necessarily a destructive political emotion. Using the guard dog analogy from Plato's Republic, I argue that if envy is trained to have injustice as its object, it serves as a healthy emotion within individuals and within a republic.

Isaiah Lee O'Rear, University of Georgia ilorear@gmail.com

Matthew Post, University of Dallas Disc.

mattdpost@gmail.com

Jerry Herbel, Georgia College & State University

jeherbel@cox.net

31-12 **Sexual Politics in Modern Political Thought**

Price on the 5th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room Chair H. Abbie Erler, Kenyon College

erlerh@kenyon.edu

Paper **Dear Prudence: The Feminization of Hobbesian Man**

This paper will begin a systematic exploration of the apparent feminization of male nature which Hobbes undertakes in Leviathan. It will examine the problem of manliness and the privileging of attributes traditionally coded as feminine.

Marylu Hill, Villanova University marylu.hill@villanova.edu

Pride and Sexual Friendship: The Battle of the Sexes in Paper

Nietzsche's Post-Democratic World

This paper addresses and ignored aspect of Nietzschean philosophy: that of the role of modern woman in the creation of a future horizon.

Lisa Uhlir, Tarrant County College

lisa.uhlir@tccd.edu

Building Bonds by Binding Women: The Quest for Political Paper Community in Rousseau

This paper explores the central role that sexual competition holds in Rousseau's political thought.

H. Abbie Erler, Kenyon College

erlerh@kenyon.edu

Paper Gender, Politics and Political Thought: Revisiting Marx's Early Work

There are significant points concerning gender in the early Marx than can become a starting point for understanding the intersectionality of gender and class, although certain points of his work bear the mark of the period in which he lived.

Heather A. Brown, Purdue University

habrown@purdue.edu

Disc. Laura Ann Roost, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

lroost2@unl.edu

Paper

32-9 **Variations of Deliberative Democracy**

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Genevieve Fuji Johnson, Simon Fraser University Chair

genevieve johnson@sfu.ca

The Political Economy of Deliberative Democracy

This piece tries to imagine thinking constitutionally about deliberative democracy. I try to develop a realizable understanding of deliberative institutional relationships that must interact with a pre-existing culture, law, and diverse interests.

Steven Douglas Maloney, University of St. Thomas

steven.maloney@stthomas.edu

The Civil Republic: Deliberation, Contestation, and Civility

In developing an account of republican civility, the paper critically examines the role of civility in models of deliberative democracy. John Maynor, Middle Tennessee State University

jmaynor@mtsu.edu

Deliberative Democracy in Historical Perspective: The Lincoln-Paper **Douglas Debates**

The Lincoln-Douglas debates raised issues that are very similar to those raised in contemporary debates over more substantive and more procedural versions of deliberative democracy.

David F. Ericson, University at Albany, SUNY

DEricson1@uamail.albany.edu

Public Reason in the Thought of M.K. Gandhi: Soul-Force, **Paper**

Conversion and Democratic Deliberation

Gandhi provides us with the basis for a theory of political deliberation that both explains the psychological preconditions necessary for its existence and that expands the concept of reason itself

Robert Sparling, University of Ottawa

robert.sparling@utoronto.ca

Disc. Chul-hee Shin, Seoul National University

chulheeshin@empal.com

33-6 **Pragmatist Political Theory**

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Jason Evan Kosnoski, University of Michigan, Flint Chair

kosnoski@umflint.edu

Dewey and Goodin on the Value of Monological Deliberation Paper

In this paper, I argue that deliberative democratic theorists ought to reconsider Robert Goodin's alternative (monological) account as a pragmatic strategy for sustaining the deliberative turn in democratic theory.

Shane Jesse Ralston, University of Maine

shane.ralston@umit.maine.edu

Paper Dewey and Arendt on the Renewal of the Public

This paper critically compares John Dewey and Hannah Arendt's theorization of the public realm.

Roudy Hildreth, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale roudy@siu.edu

Paper Confucian Democracy as Pragmatic Politics

Drawing on Dewey's democratic theory, this paper argues that Confucian democracy is not only a cultural project but also a political vision where all, not only elites, are equal partakers of common life.

Sungmoon Kim, University of Richmond

skim23@richmond.edu

Paper Pragmatism and Praxis: John Dewey and Georg Lukacs

Despite common Hegelian origins and a desire to develop a practical political theory, John Dewey and Georg Lukacs adopt distinct methodological approaches. This paper analyzes the significance of pragmatism and praxis for democratic theory.

Craig Garica, University of Notre Dame

cgarcia6@nd.edu

Disc. Nora Hanagan, Duke University

nah7@duke.edu

Ian Ward, University of Maryland

iward@gvpt.umd.edu

34-6 Developing Citizens

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair James P. Simeone, Illinois Wesleyan University

jsimeone@iwu.edu

Paper American Educational Policy and Practice: Is It Really

Promoting Democracy?

Educational policies and practices have created a paradox where the expressed intention to promote democracy education are instead destroying it. This is a result of the failure of the federal and state governments to meet their responsibilities.

Lawrence Robert Schultz, Nonaffiliated

elahrens2000@yahoo.com

Paper Why Virtue? Reflections on the English Republican Thought of James Harrington

An exploration of the function and role of virtue in the political thought of James Harrington. Particular attention too is given to development of virtue in citizens' character versus merely promoting virtuous behavior.

John Charles Evans, California State University, Northridge john.evans@csun.edu

Paper Thinking About Freedom: Kant, Hamann, and the Metaphor of Growth

When Kant defines enlightenment in terms of 'immaturity' and 'maturity' he employs the metaphor of growth. J. G. Hamann acknowledges the usefulness of the metaphor, but argues that it undermines Kant's account of freedom, both political and moral.

Max N. Hammond, University of Chicago

mnhammon@uchicago.edu

Disc. John G. Gunnell, State University of New York

jgg@albany.edu

34-20 Human Rights

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair Murray W. Skees, University of North Florida

murrayskees@yahoo.com

Paper A Theory of Human Duties From Human Rights

Theories justifying human rights, if we take them seriously, generate both duties and the limits to duties anyone can be expected to assume and we therefore should give and do to the point of marginal human right fulfillment.

Eamon Thomas Aloyo, University of Colorado, Boulder

aloyo@colorado.edu

Paper Replacing the Nation-State with the Human-Rights State, with Advice from Georg Simmel

Replace the nation-state version of human rights (universal inclusion) with the human-rights state (local inclusion), to avoid human rights as missionary proselytizing, international power-politics, or cultural imperialism.

Benjamin Gregg, University of Texas, Austin

bgregg@austin.utexas.edu

Paper <u>Updating the Geneva Conventions for Unconventional Warfare:</u>

Non-Uniformed Combatants and POW Treatment

Updating the Geneva Conventions for Unconventional Warfare: Non-Uniformed Combatants and POW Treatment," for the Human Rights panel (34-20). Yvonne received her PhD from UC Berkeley in 2008 but she is now a postdoctoral fellow at Brown.

Yvonne Chiu, Brown University yvonne chiu@brown.edu

Disc. David Jeffrey Watkins, Seattle University

djw172@gmail.com

35-5 Applied Social Choice

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair Mark Fey, University of Rochester
markfey@mail.rochester.edu

Paper Uncovering Regularities in Majority Rule Decision-Making

We use our uncovered set estimation technique to develop new insights into the general characteristics of majority rule, including the distributional consequences and opportunities for strategic behavior

William Bianco, Indiana University

wbianco@indiana.edu

Itai Sened, Washington University, St. Louis

sened@artsci.wustl.edu

Paper Strategic Manipulation of Representative Institutions

We show that extensions of the Gibbard-Satterthwaite and Arrow Possibility Theorems hold in the restricted domain of single-peaked preference profiles.

John W. Patty, Harvard University

iwpatty@gmail.com

Elizabeth Maggie Penn, Harvard University

epenn@gov.harvard.edu

Sean Gailmard, University of California, Berkeley

gailmard@berkeley.edu

Paper The Impossibility of Non-Interference

Formal analysis of liberal approaches to social decision making, and in particular the principle of Non-Interference.

Roberto Veneziani, Queen Mary, University of London

r.veneziani@qmul.ac.uk

 ${\bf Marco\ Mariotti},\ {\it University\ of\ London}$

m.mariotti@gmul.ac.uk

Paper Two New Solutions for Sen's Impossibility of a Paretian Libertarian

The paper disscuses Sen's libertarian paradox (1970), introduces a new criterion for selecting the best solution for Sen's result, and proposes two new solutions which satisfy the above mentioned criterion.

Daniel Mihai Ungureanu, SNSPA

mihaidungureanu@yahoo.com

Scott Moser, Nuffield College, Oxford University

scott.moser@politics.ox.ac.uk

36-5 **Methodological Innovations in International Relations**

Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room

Derrick V. Frazier, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Chair

dvfrazie@illinois.edu

Empirical Regime Specific Models of International, Inter-group Paper **Conflict, and Politics**

The paper proposes models for investigating a series of multivariate dynamic models --- subject to structural shifts or breaks --- of international conflict and political economy. The results show how to test, evaluate and interpret these models.

Patrick T. Brandt, University of Texas, Dallas pbrandt@utdallas.edu

A Structural Model of International Conflict Paper

I structurally estimate parameters in a dynamic model of international conflict by applying a method for estimating parameters in dynamic games developed by Bajari, Benkard and Levin (2007).

Yoji Sekiya, University of Rochester yoji.sekiya@rochester.edu

Assessing Compliance with International Agreements: Paper

Structural Estimation of a Simultaneous-Move Game

This paper analyzes states' compliance behavior with international agreements using structural estimation of a simultaneous-move

Yukari Iwanami, University of Rochester yukariiwanami@hotmail.com

A Bayesian Model of Latent Relevance and Dyad Effects in Paper **Dyadic Analysis of Conflict**

This paper introduces a bayesian model that estimates latent relevance and dyads effects in the dyadic analysis of conflict with binary dependent variables.

Jun Xiang, University of Rochester jxiang2@mail.rochester.edu

David Carter, Pennsylvania State University Disc.

dbc10@psu.edu

William Reed, Rice University

strandvej@rice.edu

38-8 Why Lobby?

Room Honore on the Lobby Level, Fri at 8:00 am Russell S. Harrison, Rutgers University, Camden Chair

ruharris@camden.rutgers.edu

Lobbyists on Legislating, Legislators on Lobbying: A Missouri Paper Case Study

Responses from surveys of lobbyists and legislators in one American state identify perceived power of various lobbies and effective techniques for influencing legislation and policy. Attitudes

toward term limits and lobbying reform are measured. James W. Endersby, University of Missouri

endersby@missouri.edu

William T. Horner, University of Missouri

hornerwt@missouri.edu

Paper The Three Levels of Transnational Lobbying: A Three-Level **Game Analysis**

Interest groups wish to expand their organization to achieve maximum results. In order to achieve these results interest groups at times become transnational organizations. As a result, domestic interest groups become involved in a three-level game.

Sara Moats, West Virginia University sara.moats@mail.wvu.edu

Politics, Collective Action, and the Organization of Industry Paper Lobbying

American businesses conduct a substantial amount of political lobbying through associations. This paper evaluates the extent to which trade association and firm lobbying are substitutes, complements, or serve entirely different functions.

Lee Drutman, University of California, Berkeley

drutman@berkeley.edu

Issue Advertising, Inside Lobbying, and PAC Giving: Advocacy **Paper** and the Choice of Strategies

This paper develops and tests a model of the choice of lobbying

strategies by private and public interest groups. Richard L Hall, University of Michigan

rlhall@umich.edu

Disc. Bethl Leech, Rutgers University

leech@polisci.rutgers.edu

40-7 **Congressional Delegation and Oversight**

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Alan Rozzi, Santa Clara University Chair

arozzi@scu.edu

Paper **Managing Institutional Conflict and Constitutional Legitimacy** in Congressional Investigations of Intelligence, 1947-2004

I explore the extent to which congressional investigations of intelligence since 1947 have addressed perceived challenges to dominant political regimes and constitutional norms at the expense

of greater institutional gains relative to the President. Meredith A. Wooten, University of Pennsylvania

mwooten@sas.upenn.edu

Paper Punish or Posture? The Policy Consequences of Congressional **Oversight Hearings**

Do legislative hearings into executive branch wrongdoing have any bite to go with their bark? We examine legislative, budgetary and personnel changes at the targeted executive bureaus in the period following an oversight hearing.

Brian D. Feinstein, Harvard University

bdfeinst@fas.harvard.edu

Federal Policy Delegation Paper

Congress allocates policy authority to national entities, state policy actors, or both. In this paper I examine why & under what conditions national legislators choose one type of federal design over another

Pamela Clouser McCann, University of Michigan

pclouser@umich.edu

Disc. Alan Rozzi, Santa Clara University

arozzi@scu edu

Jason MacDonald, West Virginia University

jason.macdonald@wvu.edu

40-12 **Committees in Congress**

Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room Chair

William J. Kubik, Hanover College

kubik@hanover.edu

Committee Assignments in a No-Re-election System: The Case **Paper**

This paper explains a surprising finding for Mexico's congress: despite no-consecutive reelection and weak committees, legislators are placed on committees that one would expect given their districts' characteristics and their prior experience.

Joy K Langston, CIDE joy.langston@cide.edu Javier F. Aparicio, CIDE

javier.aparicio@cide.edu

Agents and Outliers: Committee Preferences and Majoritarian **Paper** Constraint

I argue that committees are composed of individuals whose policy preferences within their jurisdiction differ from the preferences of their party as a whole and the behavioral implications of this variation is influenced by majoritarian organization.

David Fortunato, Rice University

fortunato@rice.edu

Paper Where Are the Women: Committee Assignments in an Era of Responsible Parties

I seek to advance an understanding of women's committee assignments by comparing the role of gender to other factors generally expected to impact committee assignments of legislators (constituency, background [Frisch and Kelly 2006; Shepsle 1978]). Sally Friedman, *University at Albany, SUNY*

Sally Friedman, University at Albany, SUNI friedman@albany.edu

Paper Are Pork and Policy Substitutes? Evidence from Japanese Legislator Surveys

Are clientelistic behaviors and programmatic position-taking of legislators substitutive, complementary, or orthogonal? Using Japanese legislator surveys, we find that the levels of clientelism and programmatic position-taking are not substitutes.

Megumi Naoi, University of California, San Diego megumi.naoi@gmail.com

Matthew Kearney, University of California, San Diego kearneym@gmail.com

Disc. Tony L. Hill, Massachusetts Institute of Technology tlh@mit.edu

William J. Kubik, Hanover College kubik@hanover.edu

41-8 To Run or Not to Run (for Elected Office)

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Andrea McAtee, University of South Carolina

mcateea@mailbox.sc.edu

Paper Run for Office? I Could Never Do That: Gender, Self-Perceived Qualifications, and Political Ambition

Based on results from the second wave of the Citizen Political Ambition Panel Study, we provide the first thorough analysis of why well-credentialed women are less likely than men to consider themselves qualified to run for office.

Jennifer L. Lawless, Brown University

 $jennifer_lawless@brown.edu$

Richard L. Fox, Loyola Marymount University richard.fox@lmu.edu

Paper Sterner Stuff: A New Measure of Ambition Among Members of Congress

This paper produces a new measure of revealed ambition for higher office among members of the US Congress, both within and outside their chamber. It then uses this measure to examine the effects of demographic and institutional change on ambition.

Joseph Sempolinski, *Yale University* joseph.sempolinski@yale.edu

Paper Taking the Stationary and Going Home: The Effect of Legislative Power Disparity on Congressional Retirement Decisions

In this paper we take a closer look at why minority party status matters in terms of Congressional retirement decisions by focusing on the effect of individual and party legislative power.

Sue Ann Skipworth, *University of Mississippi* saskipwo@olemiss.edu

Zachary Baumann, *University of Mississippi* zbaumann@olemiss.edu

Paper Redistricting, Uncertainty, and Representation

We show that strategic mapmakers affect incumbents' decision to seek reelection or retire as well as election outcomes. We use of a precise measure of redistricting-induced constituency change to address questions of elections and representation.

Antoine Yoshinaka, University of California, Riverside antoine@ucr.edu

Chad Murphy, University of California, Riverside cmurp002@ucr.edu

Paper Constituency Congruency and Candidate Competition in Primary Elections for the U.S. House

We examine state legislators who emerge to run during the primary election. Using GIS software, we test if state legislators with high levels of congruency are likely to run in the primary and if congruency has a positive effect on their vote share.

Jamie L. Carson, University of Georgia

carson@uga.edu

Michael H. Crespin, University of Georgia

crespin@uga.edu

Carrie P. Eaves, University of Georgia

cpeaves@uga.edu

Emily Wanless, University of Georgia

orchare@uga.edu

Disc. Thomas Brunell, University of Texas, Dallas

tbrunell@utdallas.edu

Nicholas L. Pyeatt, University of North Carolina

npyeatt@email.unc.edu

42-3 Immigration and International Law in U.S. Courts of Appeal

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Sean Farhang, University of California, Berkeley

farhang@berkeley.edu

Paper The Influence of Ideology Judicial Decision Making in Immigration Cases in the U.S. Courts of Appeals

The paper assesses the influence of ideology on judicial decision making in immigration cases at three Courts of Appeals, the Third, Fifth, and Ninth Circuits.

Anna Law, DePaul University

alaw1@depaul.edu

Margaret Williams, Federal Judicial Center

mswilliams77@gmail.com

Paper The Consequence of Immigration Reform for the U.S. Courts of Appeals

In this paper, I examine the effects of recent immigration reforms on decision making by US Courts of Appeals judges.

Chad Westerland, University of Arizona

cwesterl@email.arizona.edu

Paper Who is Really in Control? Explaining the Variance in Federal Immigration Prosecution

This paper focuses on the disparity of federal immigration enforcement along the U.S. southern border despite the attempts of Congress and the President to control prosecutorial discretion

Lydia Brashear Tiede, University of Houston

lbtiede@uh.edu

Daniel Rodriguez, *University of Texas* DRODRIGUEZ@LAW.UTEXAS.EDU

Paper International Law and the Attitudinal Model: A View From the Courts of Appeals

This paper examines how the U.S. Courts of Appeals decide cases involving questions of international law.

Alan Tauber, University of South Carolina

taubera@gwm.sc.edu

Disc. Stephen L. Wasby, University at Albany, SUNY

wasb@albany.edu

Sean Farhang, University of California, Berkeley

farhang@berkeley.edu

42-29 Stability and Change in Comparative Perspective

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Sonia Alianak, University of Texas, Pan American

alianak@utpa.edu

Paper Anti-Terrorism and Executive Power

In this paper, I argue that fewer legal restrictions on surveillance powers do not necessarily enhance security enhance security.

Tiberiu Dragu, Stanford University

tdragu@stanford.edu

Determinants of Judicial Independence: Lessons from Three Paper 'Cases' of Constitutional Courts in Peru 1982-2007

This article compares and contrasts the recent case of the Peruvian Constitutional Tribunal and two 'cases' of 'failed' constitutional courts in Peru to test several theories that aim to explain the emergence of independent courts in democracies.

Eduardo Dargent, University of Texas, Austin

edargent@yahoo.com

Transnational Judicial Networks: Explaining Patterns of Paper Judicial Activism Against Corruption in Europe

Judicial networks forged through the transnational collection of evidence explain French judicial activism against corruption under conditions of limited independence while "unsolving" institutional explanations of German prosecutorial apathy.

Kim Sims, Northwestern University

kimsims75@yahoo.com

Joseph W. Doherty, University of California, Los Angeles Disc. doherty@law.ucla.edu

Intergovernmental Politics and Relations 45-12

Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Sean Nicholson-Crotty, University of Missouri

nicholsoncrottys@missouri.edu

Measuring the Impact of Jurisdictional Variation in American Paper

Indian Criminal and Social Justice

Indian country in the US is subject to a wide variety of jurisdictional arrangements. This paper develops a measure of jurisdictional variation and employs it to study correlations between this and other measures in a sample of the 33 states.

Rich Braunstein, University of South Dakota

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William D. Anderson, University of South Dakota

William.Anderson@usd.edu

Daniel Palmer, University of South Dakota

dpalme01@usd.edu

Letitia Stover, University of South Dakota

letitia.stover@usd.edu

Paper Citizens' Perceptions of Intergovernmental Policy

Responsibilities

This paper examines citizens' perceptions of governmental responsibilities across a wide range of policy areas. The empirical results show that citizens do assign varying roles to the national, state, and local governments.

Saundra Kay Schneider, Michigan State University

sks@msu.edu

William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University

jacoby@msu.edu

Paper Managing Homeland Security in American States: Politics vs Risk in State Allocations of Federal Security Grants

This paper tests whether politics or public interest (terrorism risk) determines homeland security allocations to U.S. states. The key innovation is whether grant eligibility changes incentives for 'pork' behavior.

Holly T. Goerdel, University of Kansas

hgoerdel@ku.edu

Carol S. Weissert, Florida State University Disc.

cweissert@fsu.edu

46-18 Race, Identity and Place

Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room Chair

Christina Michelle Greer, Smith College

cgreer@email.smith.edu

What About a Single Mother's Chamber of Commerce?: The **Paper Construction of Social Identities in Neighborhood Associations**

This paper investigates how gendered, racial, and ethnic identities are relevant to people's understanding of their experiences in

neighborhood associations.

Michelle Lynne Wade, Southern Illinois University

mwade@siu.edu

Home Run or Strikeout: Dynamics of Public Opinion on New **Paper Sports Facilities**

In this paper we utilize data from the 2005 New York Times New York City Poll to explore what factors help shape support or opposition to new sports stadiums and arenas.

Scott Lasley, Western Kentucky University

scott.lasley@wku.edu

Joel F. Turner, Western Kentucky University

joel.turner@wku.edu

Blueprint for All? Evaluating the Cincinnati Police-Community **Paper Collaborative Agreement**

This paper seeks to evaluate the public dispute resolution process that took place in Cincinnati, Ohio following the 2001 riots that resulted in the Collaborative Agreement.

Amber Thorne Hamilton, Kent State University

athorne@kent.edu

Disc. Richard Gary Greenleaf, Elhurst College

greenleafr@elmhurst.edu

47-6 **Lessons from Disaster Preparation and Response**

Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room

Sean Hildebrand, Western Michigan University Chair

sean.hildebrand@wmich.edu

Politics of Disaster: Case Studies of Accountability, Policy **Paper**

Windows, and Resultant Initiatives Following Tragedy

Complementing previous literature on policy change following catastrophic events, this effort investigates four disparate case studies and provides enhanced insight on climates of accountability, policy windows, and resultant initiatives.

Timothy Lindberg, University at Albany, SUNY

tm753631@albany.edu

Paper Need—Response Matching in Homeland Security Policy: An Explanation of State and Local Capacity and Effort in

Implementing National Policy Goals

This paper develops an integrated model of local homeland security policy performance (preparedness efforts) as a function of underlying need-response matching.

Brian J. Gerber, Louisiana State University

bgerber@lsu.edu

Melanie Gall, Louisiana State University

gallm@lsu.edu

Warren S. Eller, Louisiana State University

weller@lsu.edu

Emergency Response to Catastrophes: Evaluating the Response to the I-35 Bridge Collapse

Paper evaluates the emergency response to the I-35 bridge collapse with particular focus on the impact of networks; consistency with federal, state, and local emergency response plans; and the behavior of bureaucracies

Alethia Hillman Cook, East Carolina University

cooka@ecu.edu

Coordination of A Distributive Policy: The Case of Infection Paper **Control in Hong Kong**

The paper is interested in the coordination of the infection control policy in Hong Kong which is viewed as a distributive policy. It will illustrate how the nature of disease affects the coordination in aspect of resources distribution.

Yizheng Zheng, University of Hong Kong

h0593075@hkusua.hku.hk

Gerard William Boychuk, Balsillie School of International Affairs Disc. gboychuk@uwaterloo.ca

47-23 Accountability in the Non-Profit World

LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room Chair Anne Louise Viricel, University of LaVerne aviricel@brandman.com

Paper **Charity Watchdogs and Non-Profit Accountability**

Do nonprofit ratings impact donation levels? What conditions might be necessary for rating systems to work? We use both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine whether changes in ratings given by charity watchdogs affect donor contributions.

Rebecca Szper, University of Washington rszper@gmail.com

Aseem Prakash, University of Washington

aseem@u.washington.edu

Regulating the Virtuous: Voluntary Accountability Programs in the Nonprofit Sector

Drawing on principal-agent literature we provide a theoretical account of how voluntary accountability programs mitigate governance failures in nonprofits by acting as a signaling mechanism. Data on 32 such programs illustrates how they function.

Mary Kay Gugerty, University of Washington

gugerty@u.washington.edu

Aseem Prakash, University of Washington

aseem@u.washington.edu

Building Accountability in Higher Education: Toward a Professional Assessment Regime

Building on prior work on demands for greater assessment and accountability in higher education, this paper suggests how the "Professor's Profession" might use assessment to respond to legitimate demands for accountability while maintaining autonomy. David C. Paris, Hamilton College

dparis@hamilton.edu

Disc. Anne Louise Viricel, University of LaVerne aviricel@brandman.com

48-9 **Political Institutions and Economic Policy**

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Kseniya M. Khovanova, University of Illinois, Chicago Chair

kkhova2@uic.edu

Paper **Cabinet Structure and Fiscal Policy Outcomes**

Empirical work on the fiscal effect of cabinet size is limited and has a number of weaknesses. I introduce a new panel dataset of spending ministers in 57 countries and present evidence of a strong positive association with deficits and spending.

Joachim Wehner, London School of Economics and Political Science

j.h.wehner@lse.ac.uk

Government Spending in Coalition Governments: Government Fragmentation and Coalition Agreements

This paper seeks to examine the role of coalition agreements and the ideology of the prime minister in moderating the positive effect of government fragmentation on government spending.

Nam Kyu Kim, University of Michigan

namkyu@umich.edu

Beyond the Neo-developmental Paradigm: Political **Paper** Transactions and High-tech Development in Finland, Taiwan

I apply a transaction cost politics approach to understand the ways in which political institutions affect the transactions that political actors are able to undertake, and the evolution of state-industryscience embeddedness that emerge.

Youngmin Jo, Indiana University

yojo@indiana.edu

Disc. Joachim Wehner, London School of Economics and Political

Science

j.h.wehner@lse.ac.uk

51-12 **Business and Politics in American Political Development**

Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room

Chair Ryan T. Moore, Washington University, St. Louis

rtm@WUSTL.EDU

Paper Redirecting National Programs: State Interests and National **Antebellum Railroad Plans**

National intervention changed American rail development in the 1850s. However, states still possessed some power to direct national plans, though not all states were equally successful at these attempts.

Zachary A. Callen, University of Chicago

zcallen@uchicago.edu

Paper The Delegated State: Marketizing Governance of American **Social Provision**

Explores history of and motivations behind the delegated American state: how and why government responsibilities are delegated to private actors to achieve public aims and with what consequences for citizens and the nature of American governance.

Andrea Campbell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology acampbel@mit.edu

Kimberly Morgan, George Washington University

kjmorgan@gwu.edu

Paper Divided Business, Depression, and Free Trade: The National Foreign Trade Council and the Opening of the U.S. Market

The transformation of American trade policy in the 1930s was so swift and decisive that scholars forget that the business community was deeply divided over the issue. The N.F.T.C. was instrumental in organizing business support for open trade.

McGee Young, Marquette University mcgee.young@marquette.edu

Richard Lehne, Rutgers University Disc.

lehne@rci.rutgers.edu

Timothy Werner, University of Wisconsin, Madison

werner@polisci.wisc.edu

53-4 **Political Networks and Diffusion**

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

J. Celeste Lay, Tulane University Chair

jlay@tulane.edu

GIS Mapping of Health Professionals and Racial/Ethnic **Paper** Communities

We will present an analysis of spatial distribution of three helping professions - general medicine, psychology, and social work and the racial or ethnic congruence between professionals and communities across the United States.

Paul DuongTran, Fordham University

duongtran@fordham.edu

Gregory Acevedo, Fordham University

gracevedo@fordham.edu

Paper Influence, Persistence, and the Spread of Ideas

This paper presents a model of the spread of ideas through a society. I show that persistent, or sticky, characteristics of an idea are as important in predicting idea spread as the more commonly studied characteristic of influence.

Andrea Elizabeth Jones-Rooy, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor ajonrooy@umich.edu

Paper Floods, Fires, and New Friends? The Cultural and Structural Impact of Natural Disasters on Social Capital

This paper explores how natural disasters impact social capital, both structurally (networks) and culturally (norms). Qualitative interviews from the 2008 Flood in Cedar Rapids, IA, provide a case for understanding how disasters alter community life.

Kevin Farrington Adler, *University of Cambridge* kevin1393@gmail.com

Paper Co-optating Guanxi: How Taiwanese Petrochemical Industry Neutralized Environmental Opposition Through Social Ties

I seek to understand the environmental politics in contemporary Taiwan. The central question is why pollution victims are powerless to change the unfavorable status quo even though they are connected and capable of staging collective actions.

Ming-sho Ho, National Sun Yat-sen University mingshoho@gmail.com

Disc. Sourabh Singh, Rutgers University ssingh@sociology.rutgers.edu

54-7 Religious Leaders and Political Activism

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Katherine Knutson, Gustavus Adolphus College

knutson@gustavus.edu

Paper The Political Contacting Behavior of American Clergy

Using data drawn from the Kent County (MI) Congregations Study, this paper examines the political contacting behavior of American clergy. How often do clergy contact public officials? Which officials Paper do they contact? What issues are most important?

James M. Penning, Calvin College

penn@calvin.edu

Neil Carlson, Calvin College

nec4@calvin.edu

Paper We are the World: Is Aid to Africa Linked with Black Fortunes at Home in the Black Church?

Do black pastors link black economic fortunes at home to the state of the African brother and sister? Liberation theology will be utilized to analyze interviews and to anchor the work in a broader framework with explicit global applications.

Larycia A. Hawkins, Wheaton College larycia@yahoo.com

Paper Sunday School Teachers as Activists: The Political Influence of Female Lay Leaders in Religious Congregations

We examine the political orientations and activities of women lay leaders (non-ordained) in religious - a ubiquitous, yet unstudied, cadre of religious leaders. Results further specify the intersection of gender, religion, and politics.

Franklyn C. Niles, *John Brown University* fniles@jbu.edu

Meghan Kunes, *John Brown University* kunesm@jbu.edu

Paper Sense and Nonsense about Iranian Shi'ite Clergy

This study is to address the myths presented by the media, scholarly works and politicians about Iranian Shi`ite clergy. Historical facts will be addressed to criticize the public perceptions of the history of the most important Shi`ite institution.

Majid Mohammadi, Glenville State College majid.mohammadi@glenville.edu

Paper Palestinian Political Elite: Their Failure During the British Mandate

Paper explores the role of the Palestinian political elite in state building during the 1920s &1930s period by examining a series of correspondences between members of the political elite.

Karam Dana, University of Washington

karam@u.washington.edu

Disc. Sue E. S. Crawford, Creighton University

crawford@creighton.edu

Katherine Knutson, Gustavus Adolphus College

knutson@gustavus.edu

56-10 Assessing Student Engagement and Learning in their Communities

Room Empire on the Lobby Level, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair J. Cherie Strachan, Central Michigan University

strac1jc@cmich.edu

Paper Civic Engagement and Community College Students: The Relevance of Learning Communities and Service Participation

The research project compared the civic engagement of two groups of community college students after participation of one group in a learning community that included a service participation requirement.

Robbin Smith, Central Connecticut State University smithr@ccsu.edu

r Feeding the Mind: Integrating Service-Learning into an American Public Policy Course

Using a multi-method approach, I examine the effectiveness of service-learning in an American public policy course, ranging from meal delivery to people with HIV/AIDS to writing letters to legislators to lobbying for state funding.

Angela High-Pippert, University of St. Thomas

ahighpippe@stthomas.edu

per Learning By Doing: An Analysis of Service Learning Projects as a Pedagogical Tool for Teaching Research Methods

Does service learning improve student retention of course materials in methodology courses? A descriptive case study is used to analyze this question. This paper examines test scores, research journals, and a survey of student attitudes.

Mary Hallock Morris, University of Southern Indiana mhmorris@usi.edu

Paper Filling the Female Political Pipeline: Assessing a Mentor-Based Internship Program

This paper will assess the success of an internship program designed to encourage young women to pursue political office after graduation. It will look at job placement, graduate school choices, and personal feelings on running for office.

Leanne Doherty, *Simmons College* leanne.doherty@simmons.edu

Disc. Elizabeth Anne Bennion, Indiana University, South Bend ebennion@iusb.edu

J. Cherie Strachan, Central Michigan University strac1jc@cmich.edu

65-1 Good and Evil, Ancient and Modern (Co-sponsored with Society for Greek Political Thought, see 59-4)

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair Charles Rubin, Duquesne University

rubin@duq.edu

aper Francis Bacon's "Model of Christian Charity"

Bacon's New Atlantis suggests that his vision of a scientific utopia relied upon a radical refashioning of Christian charity. While compelling at one level, this vision is unsettling by the standards of philosophical liberalism and Christianity.

Matthew Holland, Brigham Young University matt holland@byu.edu

Paper Failed Revolution in Aristophanes' Birds

Revolutions often fail and do so with disastrous consequences; I seek to understand the various reasons that explain this mostly unhappy result. I pursue this goal by analyzing Aristophanes' Birds, a play with a most radical revolution at its core.

Wayne Ambler, University of Colorado, Boulder wayne.ambler@colorado.edu

Paper Aristotle in Paradise: The Son of God as Milton's Magnanimous Man

Milton appears at times as both strong advocate of classical learning and as harsh critic of its pretensions. His account of the Fall and Redemption resolves this paradox by making the nobility of Athens dependent on its subservience to Jerusalem.

Anthony D. Bartl, Baylor University

tony_bartl@baylor.edu

Paper One Ring, Two Dark Lords, Seven Horcruxes and an

Augustinian Conception of Evil

This paper looks at the nature of evil in Tolkien and Rowling's works, arguing that despite their differences, the moral basis in both is grounded in the work of St. Augustine. It concludes by considering the political implications of this finding.

Andrew William Bramsen, *University of Notre Dame* abramsen@nd.edu

Disc. Christopher A. Colmo, Dominican University

farabi@dom.edu

Charles Rubin, Duquesne University

rubin@duq.edu

Friday, April 3-10:00 am

1-101 Roundtable: Race, Ethnicity, and 2008 Presidential Election (Co-sponsored with Electoral Campaigns and Race, Class, and Ethnicity, see 23-102 and 29-101)

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

This panel will discuss the importance of race and ethnicity in the 2008 Presidential Election. The topics discussed will include turnout, electoral behavior, and representation.

Panelist Michael Jones-Correa, Cornell University

mj64@cornell.edu

Darren Davis, University of Notre Dame

Darren.W.Davis.240@nd.edu **Jane Junn**, *Rutgers University*

junn@rci.rutgers.edu

Valerie Martinez-Ebers, University of North Texas

valmartinez@unt.edu

Paula McClain, Duke University

pmcclain@duke.edu

Gary Segura, Stanford University

segura@stanford.edu

2-5 Strategic Interactions Between Cabinets and Legislatures in Parliamentary Democracies

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Lanny Martin, Rice University

lmartin@rice.edu

Paper No-Confidence Motions and Government Support

We argue that by proposing no-confidence motions, opposition parties send signals of the government's incompetence to key members in the electorate at strategically-chosen times. Thus, we expect to observe shifts in support following challenges.

Laron K. Williams, Texas A&M University lwilliams@polisci.tamu.edu

Guy D. Whitten, Texas A&M University

whitten@polisci.tamu.edu

Paper Reshuffling the Deck: The Policy Effects of Cabinet Reshuffles

Cabinet reshuffles are often considered to reduce specialization and, therefore, competence in cabinets. In this paper I show how costly cabinet reshuffles can allow cabinets to coordinate on an equilibrium in which shirking is minimized.

Indridi H. Indridason, University of California, Riverside ihi@hi.is

Paper The Impact of No-Confidence Motions on Party Policy Change in Established Democracies

We develop a spatial model that generates empirically testable expectations on the influence of no-confidence motions on party positions. We test these hypotheses using an original data on no-confidence motions and subsequent party policy shifts.

Zeynep Somer-Topcu, *University of California, Davis* zsomer@ucdavis.edu

Elizabeth Simas, University of California, Davis ensimas@ucdavis.edu

Paper Cabinets and the Transposition of EC Directives. A Comparative Analysis of Policymaking Delegation in 15 Countries of the European Union from 1984 to 2003

This article investigates the delegation of policymaking to executive agencies in the course of the legal transposition of EC directives by cabinets in 15 member states of the EU from 1986 to 2002 using the delegation model of Epstein and O'Halloran.

Thomas König, *University of Mannheim* koenig@uni-mannheim.de

Paper Opposition Parties, No-Confidence Motions, and the Timing of Elections in Parliamentary Democracies

By choosing when to support no-confidence motions, opposition parties can have profound influence on the timing of elections in parliamentary democracies.

Laron K. Williams, Texas A&M University

lwilliams@polisci.tamu.edu

Disc. Thomas König, University of Mannheim

koenig@uni-mannheim.de

Lanny Martin, Rice University

lmartin@rice.edu

3-5 The Politics of Redistribution in Developing Countries

Room Medinah on the 6th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Maureen Donaghy, University of Colorado, Boulder

Donaghy@colorado.edu

Paper Distributive Politics and Power in India: Evidence from Satellite

Using a novel set of satellite imagery, I trace large fluctuations in the availability of electrical power across northern India to competing pro-industrial and pro-poor political agendas over the last two decades.

Brian Min, *University of California*, *Los Angeles* bmin@ucla.edu

Paper The Geography of Patronage: Building Schools in India

This paper utilizes a unique dataset on politics and school infrastructure to explore the patterns of patronage politics in India

 ${\bf Milan\ Vaishnav},\ Columbia\ University$

mv2191@columbia.edu

Neelanjan Sircar, Columbia University

ns2303@columbia.edu

Paper Swing vs Core Districts in a Conditional Cash Transfer

Program in Ecuador

I examine whether or not recipients were added to the beneficiary list of a social welfare program in Ecuador given their presence in swing or core voting districts.

Matthew S. Winters, Princeton University

mswinter@princeton.edu

Paper Policy Records, Redistribution, and Voting Behavior in Brazil:

Evidence from an Experiment in Recife

We conduct an experiment in Brazil, informing voters of party positions on Bolsa Familia (BF), an anti-poverty program with 46 million people. Results reveal the impact of information on voting behavior for the poor who receive and do not receive BF.

Miguel F. P. de Figueiredo, University of Berkeley/Yale Law School

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F. Daniel Hidalgo, University of California, Berkeley

fdhidalgo@berkeley.edu

Yuri Kasahara, Fundacao Getulio Vargas

yuri.kasahara@fgv.br

Disc. Sebastian Karcher, Northwestern University

karcher@u.northwestern.edu

4-16 Social Movements and Democratic Consolidation

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Shannon Drysdale Walsh, University of Notre Dame

shannondrysdalewalsh@hotmail.com

Paper Transition vs Consolidation and "EAST" vs "SOUTH": A Theoretical Argument for Inter-Regional Comparison of Social

Movements in Eastern Europe and Latin America

This paper provides a theoretical argument for conducting interregional comparisons of social mobilisation in Eastern Europe and Latin America within the broader scope of democratization theory.

Olga Onuch, Nuffield College, Oxford University olga.onuch@politics.ox.ac.uk

Paper Civil Society's Democratic Potential in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis of the Organizational, Mobilizational,

and Dialogical Capacity of Civil Society in the Region

How democratic is civil society in Latin America? Utilizing the Latinobarometer I analyze the strength of civil society activity across 18 countries. I compare how three modes of civil society activity affect the democratic orientations of citizens.

Alix Ann Van Sickle, University of California, Irvine avansick@uci.edu

Paper Democratization Through Resistance? Contentious Politics of the Nicaraguan Anti-Water Privatization Social Movement

Taking Nicaragua as a case study, this paper argues that social movements may legitimize both formal democratic institutions as well as enact contentious politics towards democratic "consolidation."

Sarah Turner Romano, University of California, Santa Cruz sromano@uese.edu

Paper The Origin of Uninstitutionalized Movement Politics in Korea: Scarce Society

Having its inspiration from the candlelight demonstration, demographical and social characteristics of Korea will be closely examined by comparing with other nations to find the origin of flourishing demonstration movements in Korea recently.

Kyu Hwan Rah, Korea University

kyuhwanrah@gmail.com

Disc. Alix Ann Van Sickle, University of California, Irvine avansick@uci.edu

Patrick Bernhagen, University of Aberdeen p.bernhagen@abdn.ac.uk

5-9 Federalism and Decentralization

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am
Chair Pablo Beramendi, Duke University

pb45@duke.edu

Paper The Impact of Judicial Review on Federalism in Spain, Belgium and Canada

Do courts affect the way in which federalism works? Courts shape the strategies available to politicians to comply or defect from federalism. European systems of judicial review promote litigation, while the American system promotes negotiation.

Gemma Sala, Grinnell College

salag@grinnell.edu

cohen.271@osu.edu

Paper Oil Wealth, Federal Distribution, and Civil War

This study explores the relationship between oil wealth and federalism. In turn, it explores whether federalism inhibits or reinforces oil wealth's proclivity towards encouraging civil conflict.

Ryan Kennedy, University of Houston rkennedy@uh.edu
Michael Cohen, Ohio State University

Paper The Effects of Malapportionment in Parliamentary Systems: Evidence from a Comparative Analysis of Government

Formation Across India's States

Malapportionment in parliamentary systems causes the cabinet to be unrepresentative of the population. I explore this effect through theory building and empirical testing, using a new 30-year panel dataset on government formation in India's states.

Rikhil R. Bhavnani, Stanford University

rbhavnani@gmail.com

Disc. Pablo Beramendi, Duke University

pb45@duke.edu

5-10 <u>Institutions and Strategic Policy Implementation</u>

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am
Chair Michelle L Dion, Georgia Institute of Technology
mdion@gatech.edu

Paper Electoral Incentives, Group Identity and Preferences for Redistribution

The paper analyses the conditions under which politicians have electoral incentives to provoke group identities and how this have a subsequent impact on individual preferences for redistribution.

Francesc Amat, Juan March Institute and Oxford University famat@ceacs.march.es

Paper Electoral Systems and Military Spending

The question posed in this paper is how do electoral systems affect the levels of military spending in advanced and developing democracies?

Lance Young Hunter, Texas Tech University

hunter.lance@gmail.com

Joseph W. Robbins, McMurry University

robbins.joe@mcm.edu

Paper

What a Difference a Regime Makes: Do Democracies Spend More on Education than Non-Democracies?

In this paper, we challenge the idea that competitive elections lead to increased education expenditures and find little evidence that democracies systematically allocate public goods differently from non-democracies.

Matthew Steven Dabros, Purdue University

mdabros@purdue.edu

Dwayne Woods, Purdue University

dwoods2@purdue.edu

Disc. Daniel Carl Ehlke, Brown University

Daniel Ehlke@brown.edu

Michelle L Dion, Georgia Institute of Technology

mdion@gatech.edu

7-19 Institutions and Policy Implementation in the EU

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Katrin Auel, University of Oxford

katrin.auel@politics.ox.ac.uk

Paper Administrative Networks as Informal Problem Solving Mechanisms in the European Union

This paper focuses on the origin and role of administrative networks of national and supranational officials.

Konstantinos Kourtikakis, University of Mary Washington kkourtik@umw.edu

Paper The Europeanization of Innovation Policy in Ireland and Estonia

This paper examines the implementation of innovation policy in two small EU Member States. In general, Estonia and Ireland are praised for their innovation performance. Yet, the Irish enforcement system is marked by considerable shortcomings.

Anna Gwiazda, Dublin City University

anna.gwiazda@dcu.ie

Paper Europe Courts: Serving a Minority of States

The European Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights are widely used, but cases from a small number of states comprise the majority their workload. I explore why a handful of states account for a majority of these courts' activites

Theresa Squatrito, University of Washington

tsquatri@u.washington.edu

Paper A Structural Model of the European Commission's Enforcement of European Law

The paper presents a structural model of the European Commission's decision to bring action against a member state government that has violated European law.

Christopher Thomas Stanton, Stanford Graduate School of

Business cstanton@stanford.edu

Disc. Katrin Auel, University of Oxford

katrin.auel@politics.ox.ac.uk

Dana Adriana Puia, University of Pittsburgh, European

Commission

dana-adriana.puia@ec.europa.eu

8-8 Greasing the Wheels: Clientelism and Corruption in Latin America

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am **Chair Denis Alberto Rey**, *University of Tampa*

denis.rey@ut.edu

Paper Electoral Strategies, Career Choices, and Corruption Under Open-List Proportional Representation

This research investigates the prevalence of corruption among Brazilian legislators by building a model of the incentives and opportunities that make them susceptible to such illicit practices.

Taeko Hiroi, University of Texas, El Paso

thiroi@utep.edu

Paper From Corruption to Corruption Scandal: The Political Dynamics of Corruption Scandals in Argentina, Brazil and Chile

This article analyzes the development of corruption scandals. Focusing on the impact of political variables (intra and inter-party competition), I propose a formal explanation for the causes of scandals, and apply it to three Latin American cases.

Manuel Balan, University of Texas, Austin manuelbalan@gmail.com

Paper Political Negotiating in the Budgetary Process of the Ricardo Lagos Administration: A Case Study

The Chilean budgetary process is characterized for being highly centralized in the Executive Power. I argue that the marginal role assigned to the Congress allows corruption and a great waste of resources.

Ignacio Arana, *University of Pittsburgh* iga3@pitt.edu

Paper Reforming Under a "Veil of Ignorance": Electoral Uncertainty and Party Funding Reforms From a Comparative Perspective

Electoral uncertainty creates "a veil of ignorance" that makes politicians willing to enact fair systems of public funding of parties and campaigns, particularly when other sources of resources (private contributions and corruption) are scarce.

Angel Eduardo Alvarez, *Universidad Central de Venezuela* aalvare3@nd.edu

Disc. Ozge Kemahlioglu, Florida State University okemahlioglu@fsu.edu

8-11 <u>Latin American Social Movements in the Shadow of</u> Neoliberalism

Room Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Amalia Pallares, University of Illinois, Chicago

amalia@uic.edu

Paper Neoliberalism and the Democratic Arena: A Bolivian

Perspective on Economic and Political Stability

This paper maintains that a broadening of the democratic arena in not only political, but also in economic and social terms is necessary for a country to achieve democratic stability. I illustrate these claims through the case of Bolivia.

Meghan Giulino, Georgetown University

meg34@georgetown.edu

Paper Bringing the State Back In: Indigenous Rights Reform and Neoliberalism in Bolivia

A nuanced examination of the relationship between domestic social movements, transnational actors and neoliberal reforms is needed to understand how social movements are making rights claims during neoliberalism

Christopher Strunk, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities stru0173@umn.edu

Paper Empty Words?: Indigenous Social Movements and the Language of Neoliberalism in Contemporary Ecuador

This paper explores the rhetorical uses of neoliberalism in Ecuador. I consider neoliberalism not only as sets of economic and social policies, but as a discourse around which groups mobilize and position themselves vis-à-vis their adversaries.

James Bowen, Saint Louis University jbowen5@slu.edu

Paper Social Movement Institutions, State Development and Neoliberalism: A Case Study of the MST in Brazil

This paper argues that social movement formation is a function of state formation. Illustrating my argument with the case of Brazil, I claim that social movement institutional development has coterminously developed with a neoliberal state.

Anthony Robert Pahnke, *University of Minnesota, Twin Cities* pahnk001@umn.edu

Paper The Impact of Social Movements on State Policy: Women and Human Rights Movements in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay

Under what conditions do social movements have an impact on state policy? The paper answers this question by analyzing women and human rights movements in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay from the time of their democratic transition until 2007.

Cora Fernandez Anderson, *University of Notre Dame* cfernan1@nd.edu

Disc. Clive S. Thomas, University of Alaska, Juneau

CSThomas@uas.alaska.edu

Amalia Pallares, University of Illinois, Chicago amalia@uic.edu

9-9 The Political Economy of Upgrading and Technology Policy

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Tomoaki Nomi, Southeast Missouri State University

tnomi@semo.edu

Paper The Emergence of the Post-Developmental State in South Korea: The Changing Role of Government in Technology Development in IT Sector

The paper analyzes the emergence of the Korean postdevelopmental state after a financial crisis, by examining the process of a series of government-targeted technology development in the IT sector.

Hyun Park, *Chung-Ang University* parkhyun1883@hanmail.net

Paper The Political Economy of R and D Collaboration in Korea and Taiwan: An Introduction to the Innovation-Based

Developmental State

Korea and Taiwan are growing as a function of an innovation-based developmental state. A description of public R&D funding shows how this construct has now replaced the existing political economic model of East Asian growth.

Matthew A. Shapiro, *Illinois Institute of Technology* matthew.shapiro@iit.edu

Paper Political Transformation and the Evolution of Developmental Coalition: Contrasting Evidence from Korea and Taiwan

This paper analyzes the transformation of technology policy networks in Korea and Taiwan. I apply a transaction cost politics approach to understand the ways in which political institutions affect the transactions that political actors can undertake.

Youngmin Jo, Indiana University

yojo@indiana.edu

Paper Export Upgrading in an Era of Globalization: Cases From China's Export Zones

This paper examines China's effort to upgrade its export sector through a comparative study of three coastal localities, and traces the varied patterns and outcomes of upgrading to the interplay of old and new institutions within the local contexts.

Ling Chen, Johns Hopkins University chen.lingchen@gmail.com

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Disc. Tomoaki Nomi, Southeast Missouri State University

tnomi@semo edu

Patrick Flanagan, St. John's University

flanagap@stjohns.edu

10-1 **Conflict Management in Africa**

Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Room

Jennifer De Maio, California State University, Northridge Chair

jdemaio@csun.edu

Paper Resources and Rebel Organization: A Comparative Study of **Armed Groups in Ituri**

All civil wars are violent by definition, but important variation exists in the humanitarian impact of war. This paper proposes a theory of rebel group behavior based on the type of resources available. Randomized fieldwork in Ituri provides a test.

Nicholai Hart Lidow, Stanford University

nlidow@stanford.edu

Paper **Explaining Variability in the Level and Management of Ethnic**

Conflict in East Africa: Beyond the Politics of Group-Based

Segmentation

This study investigates variability in handling of ethnic conflicts in East Africa and how the presence or absence of sub-group identities impact institutions, discourses, and culture which are relevant in defining the scope of conflict management.

Jane Omudho Okwako, Western Michigan University

jokwako@yahoo.com

Is War Contagious?: The Transnationalization of Conflict in Paper **Darfur**

> The transnationalization of war in Darfur is not the result of diffusion or contagion. Instead, the spillover of violence stems from calculations on the part of the Sudanese government which is using the violence to wage proxy wars in Chad and CAR.

Jennifer De Maio, California State University, Northridge

jdemaio@csun.edu

Disc. Fodei Batty, Western Michigan University

fodei.batty@wmich.edu

Armed Oppositions in the Middle East 11-15

Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Room

Sarah Elizabeth Parkinson, University of Chicago Chair

sparkinson@uchicago.edu

Modeling Support for the Insurgency in Iraq Paper

> This paper presents a formal model that predicts support for insurgent groups among rational citizens in Iraq. The predictions are tested using survey data drawn from interviews conducted in Iraq.

Vicki Hesli, University of Iowa

vicki-hesli@uiowa.edu

Jae Mook Lee, University of Iowa

jaemook-lee@uiowa.edu

Na Kyeong Lee, University of Iowa

nakyeong@uniowa.edu

Paper The Failure of Terror: The Rise and Fall of Alqaeda of the Two

This paper will use both the institutional and ideational approaches to explain the rise of al-Qaeda in Iraq and its recent failure in advancing its jihadist ends.

Ribhi I. Salhi, McHenry County College

rsalhi@mchenry.edu

The Other Afghanistan: Taming the Northern Alliance Paper Warlords

> After the overthrow of the Taliban Afghanistan was balkanized into fiefdoms controlled by Northern Alliance warlords. This paper analyzes the Karzai government's remarkable success at sidelining these warlords and improving security in the north.

Neil A. Englehart, Bowling Green State University

neile@bgsu.edu

Sources of Popular Support for Suicide Terrorism in the Paper **Muslim World**

Using survey data from six Muslim nations, this study uses standard multivariate statistical techniques to investigate several theoretically-based hypotheses that posit sources of support for suicide terrorism.

John Alden, University of Iowa

john-alden@uiowa.edu

Paper Why Do Armed Groups Mobilize Ethnic Identities?

This paper draws on variation in the mobilization practices of armed groups participating in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to explain why armed groups will sometimes make ethnic appeals and other times make appeals based on non-ethnic identities.

Yael Zeira, New York University

yz352@nyu.edu

Disc. Sarah Elizabeth Parkinson, University of Chicago

sparkinson@uchicago.edu

12-1 Citizen Politics

Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Room

Aidan Conway, York University Chair

aconway@yorku.ca

Both Too Much and Too Little: Exploring the Paradox of **Paper**

Federalism in Quebec and the Rest of Canada

Federalism is indeed a paradox, but the paradox goes much deeper than has been noted: even in the same county, federalism fans the flames of secessionism for some groups and reduces such calls in

Lawrence M. Anderson, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater andersol@uww.edu

Paper Parties, Ideology and Green Politics in Canada: Recent Trends

We update our understanding of environmental attitudes among the Canadian electorate, investigate how the environmental issue maps onto the ideological spectrum in Canada, and analyze how environmental attitudes contribute to party preferences.

Laura Stephenson, University of Western Ontario

lstephe8@uwo.ca

Cameron Anderson, University of Western Ontario

cander54@uwo.ca

Paper America's "Democratic Christianity" and Canadian Prairie **Populism**

This paper considers the extent to which the notion of an American "Democratic Christianity" helps us gain insight into the development and structure of early Canadian Prairie Populism.

Clark Banack, University of British Columbia

clarkbanack@hotmail.com

Characterizing Political Bloggers' Online and Offline Civic **Paper Involvement: Why the Quebec Experience Matters**

This paper offers an in-depth analysis of the online and offline socio-political behavioral profile of "A-list" Quebec-based political bloggers. The data used for this study was collected through a secure online survey conducted in April 2008.

Vincent Raynauld, Carleton University

vraynaul@connect.carleton.ca

Thierry Giasson, Laval University thierry.giasson@com.ulaval.ca

Cynthia Darisse, Laval University

cynthia.darisse@ulaval.ca

Anatomy of Defeat: The Manitoba Progressive Conservatives in **Paper** the 2007 Provincial Election

What are the building blocks of a winning political party? This paper examines the Manitoba Progressive Conservative Party in the 2007 election, and assesses the impact of such factors as leadership and organization in shaping electoral outcomes.

Kelly L. Saunders, Brandon University

saundersk@brandonu.ca

Disc. Tony L. Hill, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

tlh@mit.edu

Aidan Conway, York University

aconway@yorku.ca

13-6 On the Outside Looking In? Ethnic Minorities and

Voting in Post-Communist Countries

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair James Walter Warhola, University of Maine

james warhola@umit.maine.edu

Paper Minority Parties and European Elections: Trends from Bulgaria and Romania

This paper examines the role of EU-level party competition for the effective political representation of ethnic minorities in Eastern Europe on the example of the 2007 European elections in Bulgaria and Romania.

Maria Spirova, Leiden University

mspirova@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Boyka Stefanova, University of Texas, San Antonio

Boyka.Stefanova@utsa.edu

Paper Ethnic Voters and Political Choice: Explaining Party Choice in the Post-Soviet Republics

How do ethnic group members choose between supporting ethnic parties or non-ethnic ones? I contend that competition, resources, and open institutions provide environments which determine the parties ethnic group members support.

Holley E. Hansen, University of Iowa

holley-hansen@uiowa.edu

Paper Economic Crisis and Nationalist Demobilization

Contrary to the assumptions of competition and group conflict theories, I find that support for Latvian nationalism decreased over time in localities (n=560) with the worst economic performance and the most ethnically diverse populations.

Stephen Bloom, Southern Illinois University

bloom@siu.edu

Disc. James Walter Warhola, University of Maine

james_warhola@umit.maine.edu

Maria Spirova, Leiden University

mspirova@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Minodora Adriana Buliga-Stoian, University at Binghamton,

SUNY

mbuliga 1 @binghamton.edu

14-200 Poster Session: International Political Economy

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Post. 1 Impact of Micro-Credit on Women's Empowerment in Bangladesh: What is the Evidence?

The paper discusses different explanations (both positive and negative) of micro-credit's impact on women's empowerment in rural Bangladesh.

AKM Khairul Islam, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale akmkhair@siu edu

Mizanur R. Miah, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale miah@siu.edu

Post. 10 The Effects of Women's Rights on the Success of Microcredit Lending Institutions

This paper explores the relationship between gendered oppression at the state level and the success of microcredit lending institutions.

Matthew Krain, College of Wooster

mkrain@wooster.edu

Elisabeth C. Bremer, Magis Americas

elisabethcbremer@gmail.com

Post. 11 The Fundamental and Conceptual Differences Between Micro-Loans and Microfinance Programs

Microfinance programs have changed from simple micro-credit schemes into programs that focus on economic development by providing access to credit alongside savings programs and investment training, making it an effective tool for development.

Lindsay Alice Jouben, *West Virginia University* lindsay.jouben@gmail.com

Post. 12 Private Authority, Sovereignty and Governance: Transnational Advocacy and Tax Reforms in Europe

Trannational policy networks significantly shape domestic policy when the relevant national bureaucracy is weak, political parties can be easily penetrated and domestic economists are excluded.

Cornel Ban, *University of Maryland* cban@gvpt.umd.edu

Post. 13 Government Ideology and Market Openness

This paper studies the impact of government ideology on market openness policies in developed and less developed countries. **Eunyoung Ha**, *Claremont Graduate University*

eunyoung.ha@cgu.edu

Post. 14 3rd Dimensional Realism: Power in International Political Economy

This paper presents a realist theory of IPE. Economics is seen as the continuation of warfare by other means, not distinct from politics. Three conceptualizations of power (productive, economic, and structural) are presented.

Adam Stant, Miami University

stantaa@muohio.edu

Post. 15 East Asian Economic Growth, Crisis and Recovery: Some Lessons

The paper discusses what lessons other countries can learn from East Asian economic growth, crisis and subsequent economic adjustment after crisis.

AKM Khairul Islam, Southern Illinois University. Carbondale akmkhair@siu.edu

Post. 16 Resource Dependence, Economic Interdependence and Governance: The Effect of Economic Globalization on the Resource Curse

This paper examines the effect of international economic integration on institutional performance in resource-abundant economies.

Johannes Karreth, *University of Georgia* jkarreth@uga.edu

Post. 2 Be More Flexible?: The Effect of Labor Market Flexibility on Unemployment in Developing Countries

This paper explores the impact of labor market flexibility on the unemployment rate in developing countries.

Jaewook Chung, Arizona State University jwchungir@gmail.com

Post. 3 Putting Rules into the World: Explaining the Use of International Dispute Institutions in Agreements

I will contribute this paper to explaining why states incorporate third-party dispute resolution into treaties by testing proposed hypotheses.

Zhiyuan Wang, George Washington University jrywanw@gwmail.gwu.edu

Post. 4 To What Degree Is Industrial Policy Feasible In the Epoch of Globalisation? Comparative Analysis between Japanese and Chinese Industrial Policies in Automobile Industry

Based on the Sino-Japanese comparative analysis in automobile industry, it is still difficult for developing countries to catch up with international competitors, provided the economic and political changes brought by economic globalization.

Zhibo Qiu, *University of Hong Kong* zhiboqiu@yahoo.com.cn

Post. 5 Production Regimes and Social Policy in the Global Economy

This study uses production regimes as framework to explain the pattern of welfare spending among developing countries.

Huisheng Shou, University of Illinois

hshou2@illinois.edu

Post. 6 IMF Programs and Sovereign Credit Ratings: Do IMF Programs Help Leftist Governments Restore Investor Confidence?

In this paper, I test whether leftist governments get penalized in government bond markets. I further explore whether International Monetary Fund (IMF) programs help leftist governments gain investor confidence.

Hye Jee Cho, *University of Rochester* chyejee@mail.rochester.edu

Post. 7 Political Economy of Development and Rule of Law

Is the rule of law a necessity for national economic development, or just a libertarian luxury? Recent economic analyses are reported, theoretical and practical.

George Steven Swan, North Carolina A&T State University swan@ncat.edu

Post. 8 Building Credibility in Global Financial Markets: Financial Liberalization and the International Monetary Fund

Using a new/original database on financial openness which captures the range of policy tools available to governments, I test the relationship between the IMF and a country's decision to liberalize , 1970-2004.

Nancy Brune, *University of Nevada*, *Las Vegas* nancy.brune@unlv.edu

Post. 9 Food Prices and Social Unrest: Making Sense of Agriculture Protectionism

Based on historical and recent unrest over high food prices, this paper investigates the correlation betwen commodity prices and social unrest. Under what circumstances would any rational politician allow food prices to rise?

Joe Weinberg, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill jjweinbe@email.unc.edu

15-8 International Aspects of Civil Wars

Room LaSalle 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Bethany Ann Lacina, Stanford University

blacina@stanford.edu

Paper International Mediation Between States and Insurgent Groups

This is a systematic quantitative analysis that explore the correlates of success/failure in mediation attempts between state parties and non-state/insurgency groups

Vagisha Gunasekara, *Purdue University* vgunasek@purdue.edu

Paper Insufferable Peace: The Impact of Third-Party Intervention on Repression in Post-Conflict Societies

Why do some post-conflict societies experience repression and others do not? This paper examines the influence of interventions by intergovernmental organizations on repression levels after a civil conflict.

Cynthia McMeekin, *University of Georgia* mcmeekin@uga.edu

Paper International Aspects of Civil War: A State and Dyadic Level Examination of the Civil War-Interstate Conflict Nexus

This paper examines the international aspects of civil war. I examine the conditions under which civil war leads to international conflict, as well as the conditions under which international conflict leads to civil war.

Aimee A. Tannehill, *University of California*, *Davis* aatannehill@ucdavis.edu

Disc. Bethany Ann Lacina, Stanford University blacina@stanford.edu

15-9 Ideas, Identity, and International Relations

Room Sandburg Boardroom 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Vsevolod Gunitskiy, Columbia University

vg2122@columbia.edu

Paper Origins of The American Taiwan-Strait Policy: The Wilsonian Internationalist Identity and Truman Administration's Decision for Strategic Ambiguity

The paper seeks to explain the origin of the American strategic ambiguity policy in the Taiwan Strait. As Wilsonianism constitutes the US internationalist identity in the 20th century, strategic ambiguity is adopted in 1949 in light of its framework.

Dean Phillip Chen, *University of California, Santa Barbara* dpchen10@umail.ucsb.edu

Paper Identity Is What Anarchy Makes of It: The International Sources of National Identity

This paper argues that material pressures and incentives arising from the international system often profoundly affect the (re)production of national foreign policy identities and strategic cultures

Elias Götz, *University of Aarhus* elias@ps.au.dk

Paper Slavery and Major Power Warfare: Similar Paths to Obsolescence?

This paper will critically examine the historical record of the decline of slavery to assess whether it represents an analogous case to the supposed decline of great power warfare in the modern world.

John P. Callaghan, University of Cincinnati

jpc 45@yahoo.com

Paper Peaceful Revision of International Politics An Exploratory Study of Identity and Power Transitions

The proposed paper advances the claim that pressures of domestic and international identities of revisionist and status quo, states conceptions of who they are and their interaction with others, impacts the nature and extent of their behavior in IR.

Shivaji Kumar, Ohio State University

kumar.140@osu.edu

Disc. Vsevolod Gunitskiy, Columbia University

vg2122@columbia.edu

16-5 Examining U.S. Non-Proliferation Efforts

 $\textbf{Room} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at } 10:00 \text{ am}$

Chair Christopher Way, Cornell University

crw12@cornell.edu

Paper The Paradigm Shift in U.S. (Non) Proliferation Policy Towards India: Exploring the Role of Scholars and Policy-Experts

This paper investigates how the nuclear estrangement between India and US has been replaced by nuclear cooperation. Employing constructivist approach, it focuses on the role of policy-experts and scholars as agents of change.

Vandana Bhatia, University of Alberta

vbhatia@ualberta.ca

Paper Economic Interdependence and Security on the Korean Peninsula: The Impact of North Korean Special Economic Zones

The US can use existing special economic zones to integrate North Korea into the international economy. The end goal is not to "buy off" North Korea's nuclear weapon program, but to change North Korean incentives away from using nuclear weapon.

Peter Thompson, *Michigan State University* thomp909@msu.edu

Paper New Version of the Old Story: Is There Any Chance of Success for the NPT's Future in the 2010?

In this presentation whether; the rhetoric of the different parties to the NPT treaty in the wake of 2010 (NPT) Review Conference has any chance of success in the wake of security realities on the ground.

Nursin Guney, Yildiz Technical University gnursin@hotmail.com

Disc. Christopher Way, Cornell University

crw12@cornell.edu

17-7 **War Outcomes and Peace Settlements**

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor. Fri at 10:00 am Sobek David, Louisiana State University Chair

dsobek@lsu.edu

Determining Post-War Outcomes: The Inner Workings of Paper

Demobilizing Armed Groups

Why do armed groups disappear, return to arms, or maintain social and political control? Through surveys and in-depth case studies, this paper seeks to explain variation in the post-demobilization trajectories of armed organizations.

Sarah Zukerman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology zukerman@mit.edu

Paper

Peace May Sell: Promotion, Implementation and Popular **Support for Peace Agreements**

> This paper uses Kahneman & Tversky's prospect theory to analyze how leaders and opponents attempt to frame and 'sell' peace agreements to their constituents using the Good Friday and Oslo Agreements as case studies.

Landon Hancock, Kent State University

lhancoc2@kent.edu

Joshua N. Weiss, Harvard University

iweiss@law.harvard.edu

Glen Deurr, Kent State University

gdeurr@kent.edu

Paper Military Force as a Policy Instrument: The Determinants of **War Outcomes**

This paper develops a generalizable theory of war outcomes and tests hypotheses about the conditions under which states are able to attain their political objectives through the use of military force.

Patricia Lynne Sullivan, University of Georgia

tsulli@uga.edu

Creating Peace: Negotiated Settlements and the Resolution of Paper Civil War

> 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.

Frank D. Vaughan, West Virginia State University

fvaughan@wvstateu.edu

Disc. Sobek David, Louisiana State University

dsobek@lsu.edu

17-8 **Regime Type and Armed Conflict**

Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Room Chair

Dona Roy, University of South Carolina

rov4@mailbox.sc.edu

Paper **Do Democracies Make Superior Counter-Terrorists? Revisited**

> Work on the strategic effectiveness of terrorism is replicated and expanded, and evidence is offered which shows that democracies are particularly resistant to the demands of terror.

Dylan Sean McLean, University of Buffalo

dmclean2@buffalo.edu

Democratic Winners and Post-Conflict Territorial Strategy Paper

This study proposes to compare the sources of strategic decisions made by the victorious toward the defeated at the end of interstate conflict and in particular, examine the impacts of domestic political system on such decisions.

Ajin Choi, Yonsei University choiajin@yonsei.ac.kr

Not in My Backyard: Democracy, Conflicts and the Location of **Paper**

> This study intends to explore the relationship of democracies and spatial characteristics of conflicts that they engage. I argue that democracies tend to keep deadly conflicts away from homeland, and fewer wars are found on democratic territories.

Roger Chi-feng Liu, University of South Carolina

roger.cf.liu@gmail.com

Paper

Games Between Cats and Dogs: A Study of Conflict Escalation

Between Democratic and Autocratic Countries

I argue that foreign policy preferences and power parity create statistical influences on the conflict escalations once democrats and autocrats get involved in disputes. The ordered probit model is employed as my empirical estimation.

Charles Chonghan Wu, University of South Carolina

diplomatwu@gmail.com

Oil Abundance and Violent Challenge to the State: Evidence **Paper** from Worldwide Oil Explorations and Discoveries

By exploiting the randomness in the success or failure of oil explorations and discontinuity in the size of oil discoveries, we find that oil wealth does not cause conflict but is associated with higher military spending in non-democratic countries.

Anca M. Cotet, Ball State University

amcotet@bsu.edu

Kevin K. Tsui, Clemson University

ktsui@clemson.edu

Disc. Dona Roy, University of South Carolina

roy4@mailbox.sc.edu

17-9 **Rationalist Explanations for International Conflict**

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor. Fri at 10:00 am

Scott Wolford, University of Colorado, Boulder Chair

scott.wolford@colorado.edu

Paper Rationalist Explanations for Religious Civil War

This paper uses Fearon's three casual logics—private information, commitment problems and issue indivisibilities—for the failure of leaders to reach negotiated settlements in interstate conflict and apply them to the study of religious civil war.

Shelliann Joy Powell, University of Georgia

powells3@uga.edu

Paper Endogenous Territorial Claims

> We use a matching technique to correct for the endogeneity of territorial claims. Our results are consistent with bargaining explanations for militarized conflict.

Daina Chiba, Rice University

d.chiba@rice.edu

William Reed, Rice University

krig@rice.edu

Preventing Preventive Wars with Signals of Reassurance Paper

This paper offers a formal model that examines the role of various "signals of reassurance" for avoiding preventive wars and illustrates its empirical implications with several case studies.

Philipp Fuerst, Emory University

kfuerst@emory.edu

A Rationale for Alliances of Restraint **Paper**

> This paper develops a rationale for "alliances of restraint" that shares a common logic with models of signaling in extended

Jeffrey M. Ritter, Rutgers University

jeffritt@rci.rutgers.edu

Disc. Scott Wolford, University of Colorado, Boulder

scott.wolford@colorado.edu

18-6 U.S. Defense Policy

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Fubara Tam David-West, University of Texas, Dallas

ftd051000@utdallas.edu

Paper Flexible Integration: American National Security Policy and the Formation of Territorial Unions

This paper will argue that a strategy of "flexible integration" is superior to other policy frameworks for the purposes of removing grave threats to the U.S. that arise from nationalistic-territorial conflicts

David A. Rezvani, *Trinity College* david.rezvani@trincoll.edu

Paper The U.S. Weapons Acquisition Process: Persistent Problems, Problematic Reforms

This paper examines the current debate over U.S. weapons programs cost overruns, performance shortfalls and failures, revisting existing models of the defense acquisition process and analyzing the sources of persistent problems in that process. **Vincent A. Auger**, *Western Illinois University*

Vincent A. Auger, Western Illinois University va-auger@wiu.edu

Paper Military Transfers and its Effects on Democratization

If the spread of democracy remains the cornerstone of American foreign policy, are we successfully pursuing that end in regard to military transfers?

Robert J. Dillard, Texas Tech University

jeff.dillard@ttu.edu

Royce C. Wu, Texas Tech University

royce.wu@ttu.edu

Disc. James David Perry, Independent Scholar

ajdperry@hotmail.com

Fubara Tam David-West, *University of Texas*, *Dallas* ftd051000@utdallas.edu

19-8 Empirical Studies of International Trade and Environmental Agreements

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am
Chair Tanya Georgieva Bagashka, University of Houston

tbagashka@uh.edu

Paper Why Some Regional Trade Agreements Work: Ambition, Outside Options, and Legalization

RTAs proliferate, but their institutional structure and the degree to which they achieve their goals varies. We present a simple model and results of an expert survey to explain the de facto and the de jure institutional design of these agreements.

Julia Gray, University of Pittsburgh

jcgray@gmail.com

Jonathan Benjamin Slapin, Trinity College, Dublin jonslapin@gmail.com

Paper The Influence of Domestic Politics on Preferential Trade Agreements, 1950-1992

This paper examines the influence of domestic politics on policymaking process regarding preferential trade agreements (PTAs) by analyzing worldwide PTA data between 1950 and 1992 with a logit model.

Jungwon Yang, *University of Pittsburgh* jeongwon2@gmail.com

Paper Institutionalization vs Flexibility: What Drives Ratification
Behavior in the Realm of Multilateral Environmental Politics?

In this paper we study the effect of treaty design on ratification behavior in the realm of multilateral environmental politics.

Gabriele Stella Ruoff, ETH Zurich

ruoff@ir.gess.ethz.ch

Thomas Bernauer, ETH Zurich

thbe0520@ethz.ch

Anna Kalbhenn, ETH Zurich

annaka@ir.gess.ethz.ch

Vally koubi, ETH Zurich

vally.koubi@vwi.unibe.ch

Disc. Tanya Georgieva Bagashka, University of Houston

tbagashka@uh.edu

20-3 Institutions and Ethnic Identity

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Michelle L. Hartman, Saint Peter's College

mlhartphd@aol.com

Paper Centrifugal Elections: Electoral Regimes and Ethnic

Identification in Africa

This paper shows that political partisans living under PR electoral regimes in Africa are more likely to identify with sub-national ethnic groups than partisans living under majoritarian regimes.

Eric S. McLaughlin, University of Redlands

eric mclaughlin@redlands.edu

Paper Talking Ethnic But Hearing Multi-Ethnic: The Peoples'
Democratic Party (PDP) in Nigeria and Durable Multi-Ethnic

Parties in the Midst of Ethnic Violence

How do multiethnic parties survive during heightened ethnic violence? In Nigeria, party rules allow members to rally ethnoreligious support but provide cues that ethnic "talk" by their rivals within the party does not violate the multiethnic deal.

Brandon Kendhammer, University of Wisconsin, Madison

btkendhammer@wisc.edu

Paper The Politics of Identity Formation: From British Colonialism to Bengali Nationalism

My paper explores intra-Muslim differences in identity formation under British colonial rule in India. It examines variance in the policies of the British which I aruge led to contrasting political identities amongst the Muslims of Bengal and Punjab.

Bushra Asif, University of Chicago

basif@uchicago.edu

Paper Reconstructing National Identity in the Western Balkans

By examining the experiences of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo this paper argues that the crafting of democratic state institutions not only serves to regulate and manage ethnic conflicts but it also affects identity shifting.

Anika Bishka, University of Illinois, Chicago abishk2@uic.edu

Disc. Nadav Shelef, University of Wisconsin

shelef@wisc.edu

Nikolaos Biziouras, United States Naval Academy BIZIOURA@USNA.EDU

21-7 Group Dynamics and Political Psychology

Room Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Justin W. Holmes, University of Northern Iowa

justin.holmes@uni.edu

Paper We're Closer Than I Thought: Heterogeneity of Social

Networks, Moral Messages and Political Persuasion Social network heterogeneity decreases resistance to political

persuasion by reducing the confidence that people have in the correctness of their attitudes, but messages carried by morally-motivated sources decrease heterogeneity based persuasion.

Pazit Ben-Nun-Bloom, Stony Brook University

pbennun@notes.cc.sunysb.edu

Lindsey Clark Levitan, Stony Brook University

llevitan@notes.cc.sunysb.edu

Paper Self-Reliance, Noisy Information, and Social Communication in Politics 24-10

This paper is based on a small group experiment that addresses the consequences of noisy information for vote choice. Subjects obtain information both directly through their own efforts, as well as indirectly from communication with other subjects.

Robert Huckfeldt, University of California, Davis

rhuckfeldt@ucdavis.edu **TK Ahn**, *Korea University*

tahn3118@gmail.com

Matthew Pietryka, University of California, Davis

mtpietryka@ucdavis.edu

Jack Reilly, University of California, Davis

jlreilly@ucdavis.edu

Paper Information Sharing in Democratic Deliberation

Deliberation requires citizens to share information. This paper develops a theoretical account of information sharing in deliberation and tests this theory using an experimental design that combines insights from psychology and economics.

C Daniel Myers, Princeton University

cdmyers@princeton.edu

Paper Social Networks as a Shortcut to Information and Correct Voting

This paper reports on a small group experiment designed to study how the preferences of an individual's social network affect that individual's candidate evaluations and vote choice.

John Barry Ryan, University of California, Davis

jbrryan@ucdavis.edu

Disc. Justin W. Holmes, University of Northern Iowa

justin.holmes@uni.edu

22-19 Economic Voting: Measuring Things

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am
Chair Helmut Norpoth, Stony Brook University

helmut.norpoth@sunysb.edu

Paper Untangling Economic Voting

We analyze both the determinents and political consequences of respondents' percpetions of gas prices and unemployment. We use these responses to test mechanisms that may cause correlations between the state of the economy and vote choice.

Marc Meredith, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

mmeredit@mit.edu

Stephen Ansolabehere, Harvard University

sda@gov.harvard.edu

Erik Snowberg, California Institute of Technology

snowberg@hss.caltech.edu

Paper The Economic-Electoral Connection Revisited: Do Subnational Economic Conditions Matter?

We evaluate the influence of subnational economic conditions on the U.S. presidential vote and find that state and local conditions are not correlated with electoral outcomes once we control for national common shocks in each election.

Meredith Levine, Yale University

meredith.levine@yale.edu

Paper Economic Conditions and the Presidential Campaign Race

We model relative support for Barack Obama and John McCain over the course of the presidential campaign as measured in daily tracking polls as a function of the DJIA, media coverage of the economy and important campaign and economic events.

Suzanna Linn, Pennsylvania State University

slinn@la.psu.edu

Jonathan W. Moody, Pennsylvania State University

jwm284@psu.edu

Disc. Helmut Norpoth, Stony Brook University

helmut.norpoth@sunysb.edu

4-10 Electoral Laws, Strategic Voting, and the Effective

Number of Parties

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Shane Singh, Michigan State University

singhsh3@msu.edu

Paper Strategic Voting in Legislative Majority Runoff Elections in a Semi-Presidential System: The 2007 French Legislative

Election

Using a 2007 pre-election internet survey this paper examines modalities and extent of strategic voting in French legislative elections, which are held under the majority runoff system and from now on just after the presidential election.

Annie Laurent, CNRS-CERAPS annie.laurent@univ-lille2.fr

Bernard Dolez, University of Paris 13

bdolez@aol.com

District Magnitude and Multipartism in Presidential Systems: The Crucial Impact of Election Timing

What determines levels of partisan fragmentation in legislative elections in presidential systems? We argue that district magnitude has impact, but it is conditional on election timing using data from Argentine elections held between 1983 and 2007.

Tiffany Barnes, Rice University

tdb1@rice.edu

Mark P. Jones, Rice University

mpjones@rice.edu

Paper Estimating Contamination Effect of the Japanese Mixed

Electoral System with the Heckman and Vytlacil MTE

Approach

How much SMD candidates mobilize extra PR votes, i.e. contaminate in the mixed electoral system? With the Heckman and Vytlacil MTE approach, this paper derives the contamination effect at the districts where parties actually nominated candidates.

Michio Umeda, University of Michigan

umedam@umich.edu

Disc. Andrew James Drummond, University of Arkansas, Little Rock

ajdrummond@ualr.edu

25-7 Contemporary Studies of Racial Attitudes

Room Empire on the Lobby Level, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Francis Neely, San Francisco State University

fneely@sfsu.edu

Paper Overt Racism and White Opposition to Residential Integration

We examine the determinants of white attitudes toward housing policies and find that overt racism drives opposition to policies designed to increase racial integration. Data come from a survey of

NY state residents conducted in the fall of 2000.

Leonie Huddy, Stony Brook University

leonie.huddy@sunysb.edu

Stanley Feldman, Stony Brook University

stanley.feldman@sunysb.edu

David Perkins, Stony Brook University

franciscoperkins@hotmail.com

Paper Racial Resentment, Not Southern Pride: Explaining Support for Confederate Battle Symbols on the Georgia State Flag

We find that support for Confederate symbols on the Georgia state flag is positively associated with racially resentful attitudes but negatively associated with knowledge of Southern history.

Spencer Piston, University of Michigan

spiston@umich.edu

Gregory B. Markus, University of Michigan

gmarkus@umich.edu

Paper Symbolic Racism and White Americans' Attitudes About Immigration by Different Ethnic Groups

This paper explores whether symbolically racist attitudes toward one ethnic minority group influence preferences for immigration generally or only for immigrants of that ethnicity.

Nicholson-Crotty Sean, University of Missouri

nicholsoncrottys@missouri.edu Lingyu Lu, University of Missouri

Lingyulu@mizzou.edu

Paper As Far As the Eye Can See: Geographic Context and Black Group Identification

Theory and extant work suggest that extremes in geographic context should disrupt Black group identification. This research work examines this important question: How does high contextual poverty and low racial context affect Black group ID?

Harwood McClerking, Ohio State University

mcclerking.1@osu.edu

Disc. Francis Neely, San Francisco State University fneely@sfsu.edu

25-20 Party Identification and Public Opinion

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Helen Brudner, Fairleigh Dickinson University

brudner@fdu.edu

Paper Jewish Liberalism in America: Still A Paradox?

Are Jews as liberal as they have historically been characterized or have there been attitude shifts in the 21st century? I present results from three new surveys specifically designed to examine Jewish political identification and behavior in the US.

Samuel J. Abrams, New York University

sabrams@nyu.edu

Paper Partisan Macroeconomic Cleavage and Competency Effects upon Presidential Approval: Case of the Bill Clinton Administration

This study tests the partisan cleavage and competency effects upon Clinton popularity. Both are significant. Also, Clinton's impeachment caused a small popularity boost. This likely occurred since most citizens viewed the punishment as excessive.

Gerald T. Fox, High Point University

jfox@highpoint.edu

Paper Priming Partisanship: Party ID, Question Order Effects, and Polarization in Conventional Political Science Surveys

Relying on original data from an experimental survey, this paper examines the extent to which party identification questions used in conventional political science surveys prime respondents with partisan considerations and bias subsequent responses.

Austin Hart, University of Texas, Austin austinhart.ut@gmail.com

Disc. Pia Knigge, Auburn University, Montgomery pknigge@aum.edu

26-7 Political Parties and Participation (Co-sponsored with Electoral Campaigns, see 23-23)

Room Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Heather K. Evans, Indiana University

hkbarton@indiana.edu

Paper A Eulogy for the Donkey and the Elephant: How Inspirational Leaders Kill Political Parties and How America is Left Wondering Who It Is

This paper focuses on the context of political weakening political parties and argues two major consequences of the weakening are inspirational leaders and a lack of political ego identity, which have consequences for political participation.

Bobbi Gentry, CUNY-Graduate Center

bgentry@gc.cuny.edu

Paper Preaching to the Choir or Yelling at the Deaf? Discovering the True Role of Party Platforms and How Interest Groups Influence Them

We use a formal model to explain the conditions under which political parties will incorporate interest group positions onto party platforms. We perform content analysis of 1996, 2000, and 2004 DNC party platforms and platform hearing testimony.

Gina Yannitell Reinhardt, Texas A&M University

greinhardt@buschschool.tamu.edu

Jennifer Nicoll Victor, *University of Pittsburgh* jnvictor@pitt.edu

Paper Call and Response: Citizen Communication with Congress

Using new public opinion data, I study how the electorate makes contact with their representatives in Congress, focusing on the reasons for contact and the means through which citizens express their preferences.

Emily Grace Hickey, Harvard University ehickey@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Understanding the Effect of the Party System on Voter Turnout Through the Lens of Habitual Voting

This paper investigates the effect of the party system on individuals' turnout decisions. I provide evidence that some individuals' turnout decisions are strongly affected by the party system while others largely relegate such decisions to routine.

James Doulgas Melton, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign melton@uiuc.edu

Paper Measuring the Influence of Turnout on House Election Results: An Instrumental Variable Approach

The following paper tests a simple turnout-incumbency theory using a dataset of House elections spanning almost thirty years (1972-2000).

Jean-Francois Godbout, Simon Fraser University godbout@sfu.ca

Disc. Hahrie Han, Wellesley College hhan@wellesley.edu

26-9 Social Structures and Political Participation (Cosponsored with Voting Behavior and Mass Media and Political Communication, see 22-23 and 27-27)

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Edward Matthew Burmila, Indiana University, Bloomington eburmila@indiana.edu

Paper An Empirical Evaluation of the Spillover Effects of Felon Disenfranchisement and Social Networks

Recent work has estimated the effects of felon disenfranchisement and its political consequences. This study significantly expands the estimate by incorporating work on social networks and tests these estimates with empirical evidence.

Chris Finn, University of California, Berkeley cfinn@berkeley.edu

Paper Social Network Structure and Peer-to-Peer Voter Mobilization: Evidence from Social Network Surveys

Analyzing social network survey data, this paper investigates the role of network structural characteristics in shaping both the diffusion of mobilization appeals through a population and individuals' acceptance of those appeals to turn out to vote.

Kevin Collins, Princeton University

kwcollin@princeton.edu

Paper The Internet's Effects on Presidential Candidate Support

This paper evaluates the internet's effect on voters' support of presidential candidates. Data compiled during the 2008 primaries is used to study relations between voters who use the internet versus traditional media and the candidates they support.

Sylvia Yu Friedel, *University of California*, *Los Angeles* Sylvia. Yu@ucla.edu

Who Persuades, and Why? Interpersonal Persuasion as a Form Paper of Participation

Uses data from the 2000, 2004, and 2008 NAES to build a model of interpersonal persuasion that includes both individual-level variables and campaign events and compares those who engage in persuasion to those who report being its target.

Emily Thorson, University of Pennsylvania

ethorson@asc.upenn.edu

Opinion Expressions under Social Sanctions Paper

A game-theoretic analysis of who expresses what, who chooses to keep silent, when a group of individuals are punished by the majority if correctly identified by their expressions.

Mehmet Bac, Sabanci University

bac@sabanciuniv.edu

Scott D. McClurg, Southern Illinois University Disc. mcclurg@siu.edu

27-9 **Innovative Media Measures**

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Juan Enrique Huerta, McGill University/Tecnologico de

Monterrey

jehuerta@itesm.mx

Whose Opinions Matter? A Social Network Analysis of Paper References to Editorials and Opinion Columns on the Senate

I examine references to newspaper editorials and opinion columns on the Senate floor. I show which editorials and columns capture the attention of Senators and I use social network analysis to draw linkages across newspapers and legislators.

Philip Habel, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale habel@siu.edu

A Media-Based Measure of Presidential Ideal Points Paper

We develop a measure of the ideological positions of presidential candidates between 1932 and 2008.

Gregory Caldeira, Ohio State University

caldeira.1@osu.edu

Christopher Zorn, Pennsylvania State University zorn@psu.edu

Paper **A New Measure of Political Communication**

A key element of political communication is the exchange that takes between citizens, particularly in deliberative settings. The aim of this paper is to offer a measure of the quality of these deliberative exchanges.

Shawn Rosenberg, University of California, Irvine swr@uci.edu

Andre Bachtiger, University of Berne

ndre.baechtiger@ipw.unibe.ch

Marco R. Steenbergen, University of Bern

marco.steenbergen@sowi.unibe.ch Molly Patterson, Aquinas College

m.patterson@aquinas.edu

All Politics is Local (News): The Effects of Crime and Local Paper **News on Presidential Elections**

The effects of local and locally reported murder rates on the 2004 presidential election.

Jeffrey W. Ladewig, University of Connecticut jeffrey.ladewig@uconn.edu

Kimberly Gross, George Washington University Disc.

kimgross@gwu.edu

28-10 **Institutional Determinates of Women's Representation**

Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Room

Katja E. Vermehren, University of Colorado, Boulder Chair

katja.vermehren@colorado.edu

Paper **Electoral Systems and Political Ambition: Evidence from the** German Laender

Based on a mail survey of the German candidate pool, this paper investigates the ways in which state-level electoral systems shape political ambition among German men and women.

Louise Karen Davidson-Schmich, University of Miami

davidson@miami.edu

Incentives for Personal Votes and Women's Representation in Paper Legislatures

We argue that those systems with weak incentives for personal votes (party-centered systems) increase women's representation in comparison with systems that feature strong incentives for personal votes (candidate-centered systems).

Frank Thames, Texas Tech University

frank.thames@ttu.edu

Margaret Williams, Federal Judicial Center

mwilliams@fjc.gov

Paper Gender and Candidate Emergence in Comparative Perspective

This is an exploratory paper looking into explanations for the degree of women's representation in elected office cross-nationally. Are there patterns based on electoral system, region, etc? Or is each case unique?

Betty D. Ray, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

bettyray@uwm.edu

Michael D. Tyburski, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee tyburski@uwm.edu

Disc. Adriana M. Crocker, University of Illinois, Springfield

acroc2@uis.edu

Mala Htun, New School for Social Research

htunM@newschool.edu

29-200 Poster Session: Race and Ethnic Politics

Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Post. 17 The Declining Significance of Race in Nonwhite Politics: A Comparative Historical Analysis of Congressional Elections in

Minority Districts in New York City

This paper examines stability and change in the content of nonwhite political appeals in three congressional districts in New York City. Because of shifting social and institutional conditions, the salience of race declined over the 20th Century.

Michael Fortner, Harvard University

Fortner@fas.harvard.edu

30-4 **Statesmanship and the Work of Politics**

Room Hancock on the 6th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Joseph Anthonty Harder, Macomb Community College

jah5y98 98@yahoo.com

The Invention of Political Science Paper

The paper advances a definition of ancient political science derived from Plato's reflection on the sophist Protagoras and applies its lessons to three domains: statesmanship, penology, and the relation between technical arts and political rule.

Chad Elliott Noyes, Harvard University

chad@post.harvard.edu

Paper The Philosopher as Midwife and the Statesman as Weaver: An Alternative to the Philosopher-King

In focusing on the weaver and midwife analogies, this paper aims to demonstrate the novelty and uniqueness of the political philosophy portrayed in The Statesman and the Theaetetus as distinct from the rest of the Platonic corpus.

Lindsay Knight, University of Chicago

lindsayk@uchicago.edu

Paper Classical Philosophy and the Problem of Innovation: Aristotle's Politics V

Though rarely studied, Aristotle's Politics V presents his most comprehensive reflection on the inclination of men for and against political change. This paper explores the problem of advising political changes for the sake of political preservation.

Gladden J. Pappin, Harvard University pappin@fas.harvard.edu

Disc. Gabriel Bartlett, Ashland University gabe.bartlett@gmail.com

31-1 Locke and the Ancients (Co-sponsored with Foundations of Political Theory: Ancient, see 30-11)

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am
Chair Glenn A. Moots, Northwood University
moots@northwood.edu

Paper Locke, Cicero, and Seneca: Preliminary Considerations

Most debates about Locke's sources address religion or early modern authors. But what about classical philosophy (Seneca and Cicero)? This paper considers their influence and suggests how and why those overlooked comparisons may be more substantial.

Glenn A. Moots, *Northwood University* moots@northwood.edu

Paper John Locke and Care of the Soul

This paper seeks to reconcile the modern epistemology of Locke's "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" with the philosophy of education found in his "Thoughts Concerning Education" and his "Conduct Of The Understanding."

Dwight David Allman, *Baylor University* dwight_allman@baylor.edu

Paper Locke's Aristotle: A Modern Political Remedy for an Ancient Political Diagnosis

John Locke aims at a modern restoration of a natural philosophy of politics. Locke indicates that Aristotle is the best guide to political life. To understand Locke's project we must see how he revises the scholastic reading of Aristotle.

Peter Josephson, *Saint Anselm College* pjosephs@anselm.edu

Paper How Ciceronian is John Locke?

I argue that there is greater kinship between Locke and Cicero than is typically thought. Yet Locke is far from a true Ciceronian, as his political thought reveals. Just how Ciceronian is John Locke?

Steven Forde, *University of North Texas* forde@unt.edu

Disc. Phillip Mitsis, New York University

phillip.mitsis@nyu.edu

Adam George Yoksas, Loyola University, Chicago ayoksas@luc.edu

32-10 The Potency of Ephemeral Publics

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair John Zumbrunnen, University of Wisconsin, Madison

zumbrunnen@wisc.edu

Paper Silence in Presence: Feminist and Democratic Implications of the Saturday Mothers Vigils in Turkey

The paper explores the role of silence in contemporary democratic theory by studying the silent vigils held by the mothers of the disappeared in Turkey. The vigils present a model of democratic engagement and invite a feminist critique of militarism.

Zeynep Gulru Goker, *CUNY Graduate Center* zgoker@gc.cuny.edu

Paper Political Agency Without Civic Responsibility: An Alternative Interpretation of the Candlelight Vigils in South Korea

By analyzing South Korea's recent candlelight vigils, this paper shows the impotence of a political agency who oscillates between collective protesters responding only to dramatic issues and atomized individual without civic responsibility.

Jun-Hyeok Kwak, Korea University

junkwak@korea.ac.kr

Gye-won Jo, *Korea University* gyewonjo@gmail.com

gyewonjo@gman.com

Paper On the Disorder of Democratic Theory Through the Non-Elite Ukrainian Lenses

In this paper I critique the varieties of democratic theory and how they approach the question of democracy. I use the 'bottom-up' approach to situate Ukrainian non-elite political thinking as the basis of critique and democratic theorizing.

Mayia Ramirez, University of California, Riverside mrami022@ucr.edu

Paper The Theory and Practice of Deliberative Democracy: A Study of Actor Motivation in Three Canadian Cases

Examining context-based explanations derived from Canadian cases, I find that actor motivation is key in deliberative empowerment. I explore public pressure, political pressure, economic interest, and moral principle that may determine motivation.

Genevieve Fuji Johnson, Simon Fraser University genevieve_johnson@sfu.ca

Disc. Sungmoon Kim, University of Richmond

skim23@richmond.edu

32-23 Sovereignty, Exception, and Exclusion

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Jonathan Guy Allen, Northern Michigan University ionallen@nmu.edu

Paper Statelessness and the Contestation of Community: On the Interrelation Between Democracy and Global Justice

Drawing on discourse ethics and agonistic democratic theory I offer an account that attempts to overcome the exclusions revealed by statelessness by appealing to the contestability of community and the fundamentally unsettled nature of the political.

Kiran Meisan Banerjee, University of Toronto kaspian@uchicago.edu

Paper Particularized Trust: "Involuntary Trust" Relationships in Democratic Society

Particularized trust is deemed detrimental to democratic life, but this ignores situations where trust is not extended to entire populations within a community. This paper examines involuntary trust relationships and their implications for democracy.

Kristen Fauson, Georgetown University fausonk@gmail.com

Paper The Twenty-First Century Response to Carl Schmitt

This paper assesses several recent critical responses (Habermas, Agamben, Negri and Hardt) to Carl Schmitt which are each concerned with the possibility of human rights catastrophes stemming from unbounded power in the legal state of exception.

Jacqueline Renee Hunsicker, *University of Texas, Austin* jacquelinehunsicker@gmail.com

Peter C. Mohanty, University of Texas, Austin pete.mohanty@gmail.com

Paper Governing the Ungovernable: Indian Policy and American Nationalism

Beginning from Foucault's work on governmentality, this paper analyzes the ways in which policies for dealing with Native Americans in the United States are connected to the development and character of American national identity.

John Mark French, University of Illinois, Chicago jfrenc2@uic.edu

Disc. Mina Suk, Johns Hopkins University

msuk@jhu.edu

33-7 Justice, Global and Local

Room Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor. Fri at 10:00 am

Helen G. Brudner, Fairleigh Dickinson University Chair

brudner@fdu.edu

Deploying Cognitive Sociology to Advance Human Rights Paper

> Approaching human rights as cognitive culture and a social construction, I develop a logic of spreading locally valid human

rights through cognitive socialization. Benjamin Gregg, University of Texas, Austin

bgregg@austin.utexas.edu

Paper European Empire and Global Justice: Alexandre Kojeve and

the Cosmopolitan Dream

This paper examines Alexandre Kojeve's dialectical union of abstract and concrete cosmopolitanism in the form of the universal justice of a Global State.

Gaelan Murphy, Grant MacEwan College

murphyc23@macewan.ca

Sartre's Shame: Radical Philosophy and the Question of Paper

Political Responsibility

An examination and critique of Sartre's Communists and the Peace as an example of political irresponsibility. The issue of political responsibility will be explored through an examination of Claude Lefort's reply and the current work of Agnes Heller

Lawrence James Olson, George Washington University

lolson74@gmail.com

Disc. Peter Stone, Stanford University

peter.stone@stanford.edu

Gaye Ilhan Demiryol, Yale University

gaye.ilhan@yale.edu

33-23 **Citizenship and Community**

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Thomas C. Ellington, Wesleyan College Chair

tellington@wesleyancollege.edu

Confronting Reality: Multiculturalism, Liberalism, and the Paper

Real World

Based on Will Kymlicka's work on multiculturalism and the liberal state, this paper discusses the inherent tension between minority group protection and liberal individualism using the example of Turkish immigrant women in Berlin, Germany.

Annika Marlen Sabine Hinze, University of Illinois, Chicago

ahinze2@uic.edu

Freedom, Status and Respect Paper

Civic republicans say that liberals fail to integrate a notion of status into their concept of liberty. Is this right? I suggest not, but argue nevertheless that liberals understand personal status in a way that is Hobbesian rather than republican.

Colin Bird, University of Virginia

cpb6f@virginia.edu

Aristotle's Civic Friendship and Reinvigorating the Notion of Paper

Republican Citizenship

In this paper, I argue that with the help of civic, political and social rights, of Aristotle's notion of civic friendship and of reconstruction of downtown areas, we can create a more cooperative, participatory and unselfish political environments.

Sezgin Seymen Cebi, Kadir Has University

sezginseymen@yahoo.com

The Threshold Patriotism of Simone Weil Paper

Against readings that emphasize the pathos of her biography, this paper presents Simone Weil as a compelling political theorist who challenges the discipline's tendency to privilege the nation-state as the site of politics par excellence.

David Laurence Rice, Duke University

dlr9@duke.edu

Disc. Amy L. Shuster, University of Minnesota, Duluth

ashuster@d.umn.edu

34-7 **Conflict and War**

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor. Fri at 10:00 am

Donald Vaughn Poochigian, University of North Dakota Chair

donald.poochigian@und.nodak.edu

Privatization, Force, and Jus in Bello Rules: The Normative **Paper**

This paper considers the problems posed for just war theory by the rise of Private Military Companies (PMCs). Jus in bello norms incorporate statist assumptions, which PMCs undermine.

Amy Eckert, Metropolitan State College of Denver

aeckert@gmail.com

The State of War, the Failed State, and Anarchy Defined **Paper**

Through Jean-Paul Sartre's Existentialism

Three definitions based on Jean-Paul Sartre's existentialism are offered for terms used in armed conflict studies: the state of war, the failed state, and anarchy. The concepts of nothingness and being are used to provide an a priori definition.

Kiyoshi Matsukawa, University of Tokyo

kmatsukawa@yahoo.com

Justifying Nuclear Weaponization via Identity: Reversing **Paper**

Humiliation and Achieving Differentiation

State leaders that pursue nuclear weapons do so often for reasons other than security. The overwhelming motives are to avoid humiliation and to achieve differentiation and these motives often trump the security motive as traditionally defined.

Thomas E. Doyle, University of California, Irvine

tdoyle@uci.edu

Paper The Relationship Between War and Sovereignty in the United

States' War on Terror

Throughout society, "war" is a relatively uncontested concept: it is an instance of armed conflict between state actors. As the post-9/11 "War on Terror" reveals, however, the idea of war is also sometimes applied to very different phenomena.

Christopher McIntosh, University of Chicago

cbm@uchicago.edu

Disc. Donald Vaughn Poochigian, University of North Dakota

> donald.poochigian@und.nodak.edu Yvonne Chiu, Brown University yvonne_chiu@brown.edu

35-6 **Cabinets and Coalitions**

Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Room

Chair Pohan Fong, Northwestern University

p-fong@kellogg.northwestern.edu

Composing a Cabinet and Assigning Jurisdictions: An Analysis **Paper**

of a Prime Minister's Strategies

We provide a formal analysis of the Westminster Model and explore how the Prime Minister organizes her government so that she can implement her policy agenda.

Torun Dewan, London School of Economics

t.dewan@lse.ac.uk

Rafael Hortalla-Valve, London School of Economics

R.Hortalla-Valve@lse.ac.uk

Trading Office for Policy: A Legislative Bargaining Model of

Minority and Super-Majority Governments

In this paper, we develop a multistage non-cooperative bargaining model of multi-party government formation where political parties care both about the allocation of cabinet portfolios and the expected policy implemented by the future government.

Anna Bassi, New York University

anna.bassi@nyu.edu

The Undercut Procedure: An Algorithm for the Envy-Free **Division of Indivisible Items**

We propose a procedure for the division of indivisible items between two individuals, explore its properties, and discuss its applications, for example to splitting cabinet ministries in a coalition government or issues in a negotiation.

D. Marc Kilgour, Wilfrid Laurier University

mkilgour@wlu.ca

Steven J. Brams, New York University

steven.brams@nyu.edu

Christian Klamler, University of Graz

christian.klamler@uni-graz.at

Disc. Pohan Fong, Northwestern University p-fong@kellogg.northwestern.edu

36-9 **Modeling Dynamics**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Patrick T. Brandt, University of Texas, Dallas Chair

pbrandt@utdallas.edu

Paper Causal Inference with Censored Longitudinal Data: The Case of **Transitional Justice**

The purpose of this paper is to estimate the causal effect of transitional justice on democracy using censored-longitudinal data analysis, competing risks and frailty model.

Byung-Jae Lee, University of Texas, Austin

bilee@mail.utexas.edu

Paper A Bootstrap Approach to Time Invariance in Panel Data

I use MC simulation to show that correct confidence intervals for rarely varying and time invariant variables in panel data settings can be obtained with a block bootstrap. Common corrections for serial correlation are shown to be inadequate.

Jonathan Michael Bischof, Harvard University jbischof@fas.harvard.edu

Maximum Likelihood Estimation of a Latent AR(p) Paper Generalized Linear Model

This study proposes a random-effect maximum-likelihood estimator of the generalized linear model with the linear-predictor represented by a latent Gaussian AR(p) time series.

Bruce Desmarais, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill bdesmara@email.unc.edu

Employing Matching Methods on a Time Series Analysis Paper

An exploration of what considerations should be taken when using matching methods on a time series analysis and an example application of how these methods can help recover a causal effect of a debate over time.

Erin Hartman, University of California, Berkeley ekhartman@berkeley.edu

Paper **Bayesian Estimation of Multiple Change-Point Models with** Covariates via Reversible Jump Markov Chain Monte Carlo

We explicate how the Reversible Jump MCMC algorithm solves the multiple change point problem and use our algorithm to analyze electronic futures market prices on the 2008 Democratic presidential primary candidates.

Dominik Hangartner, Washington University, St. Louis hangartner@ipw.unibe.ch

Skyler Cranmer, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill skylerc@email.unc.edu

Vera Eva Troeger, University of Essex Disc.

vtroe@essex.ac.uk

Patrick T. Brandt, University of Texas, Dallas pbrandt@utdallas.edu

38-200 Poster Session: Political Parties and Interest Groups

Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Room

Post. 18 Political Trading

This paper examines the extent to which Members of Congress earn investment returns based on political information and relationships

Andrew Eggers, Harvard University

aeggers@fas.harvard.edu

Jens Hainmueller, Harvard University

jhainm@fas.harvard.edu

Post. 19 Lobbying: Who Dominates and Does it Matter?

While business often dominates the lobbying universe, imbalances may not carry through to actual legislation. I assess disparity in state lobbying on specific bills and determine the effect on outcomes both for votes and agenda setting.

David Emanuel Nelson, University of Wisconsin, Madison denelson3@wisc.edu

Post. 20 Compensation for Oocyte Donation: Political Mobilization and Women's Interests

This paper examines the politicization of oocyte donation within the larger context of the mobilization of organized interests in other areas of fertility medicine, with particular emphasis on reproductive choice and the moral status of the embryo.

Alisa Von Hagel, Northern Illinois University avonhagel@yahoo.com

39-5 **Public-President Relations**

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Heather A. Larsen-Price, University of Memphis

hlrsnprc@memphis.edu

Paper The Effect of Public Opinion on Policy Outcomes in Sequential **Veto Bargaining**

This paper considers how current public opinion and anticipated future public opinion may affect policy outcomes in the United States after the president vetoes legislation with the intention of changing it.

Cari Lynn Hennessy, Northwestern University cari.hennessy@u.northwestern.edu

Paper Stonewalling: A Strategic Analysis of Presidential Responses to Scandal

When a presidential administration is accused of scandalous behavior, when does it reveal what it knows? A signaling model is utilized to generate predictions of presidential stonewalling and media response, which are then evaluated empirically.

Scott James Basinger, University of Houston sjbasinger@uh.edu

Party Leadership from the Oval Office: The Politics of **Paper Immigration Reform**

This paper examines President Bush's actions on immigration reform within the broader scope of their impact on the party system.

Amnon Cavari, University of Wiscnosin, Madison cavari@polisci.wisc.edu

Justin Scott Vaughn, Cleveland State University Disc.

j.s.vaughn@csuohio.edu

40-8 Comparative Legislatures I

Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Room

Chair Jov K Langston, CIDE

joy.langston@cide.edu

Paper Cohabitation and Policy Moderation in Semi-Presidential Systems. The Case of the French Fifth Republic

This study examines whether, in semi-presidential systems, the sharing of executive power by a president and a prime minister from opposing political parties leads to compromise in the formulation and enactment of public policies.

Sebastien G. Lazardeux, University of Washington sgl2@u.washington.edu

Paper EDMs and the Electoral Connection in the British House of Commons

Early Day Motions (EDMs) are a unique window into the legislative priorities of individual Members of Parliament (MPs). The core hypothesis examines the electoral environment's impact on the prelegislative activitie of EDMs.

Stewart L. French, Saginaw Valley State University slfrench@svsu.edu

Paper Two Sides of the Same Coin? About the Connection Between the

Form of Government and the Arrangement of Bicameralism

The analysis proves that bicameralism and presidentialism are "children" of the separation of power-tradition and there is a strong empirical connection between the form of government and the strength, legitimation and function of second chambers.

Steffen Kailitz, *Hannah-Arendt Institute* steffen.kailitz@phil.tu-chemnitz.de

Paper The Rise of Federal Politics in Mexico's Legislative Branch

Tests for federal cleavages in Mexican national parties' roll call votes.

Francisco Cantu, University of California, San Diego

kntu@yahoo.com

Scott Desposato, *University of California, San Diego* swd@ucsd.edu

Disc. Joy K Langston, *CIDE* joy.langston@cide.edu

40-20 Rescuing the Bailout in Congress

Room LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Kris Miler, University of Illinois

kmiler@illinois.edu

Paper 2008 Wall Street Bailout Bill: Ends Against the Middle in the United States Congress

This paper examines the 2008 Wall Street Bailout Bill in Congress that pitted President Bush and the congressional leadership against an unusual voting alliance of liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans.

Wesley Hussey, California State University, Sacramento whussey@csus.edu

Paper Is it for the Rich or the Poor? Analysis of the Vote for the Bailout Bill in 2008

I analyze the vote for "the bailout bill" in terms of the members' political career as well as the characteristics of their constituency - race, median income, and financial situation including the percentage of mortgage owners - in each district.

Shinya Wakao, University of Texas, Austin

swakao@gmail.com

Disc. Kris Miler, University of Illinois

kmiler@illinois.edu

41-6 More Than Just Incumbency

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair William M. Salka, Eastern Connecticut State University

salkaw@easternct.edu

Paper Jack and Jill on the Hill: The Electoral Implications of Gender and Incumbent Voting Behavior

We develop and test a theoretical account of the electoral implications of gender and incumbent voting behavior. We find that women pay higher electoral costs than men when their voting behavior is more liberal than district preferences.

Sarah Poggione, Florida International University

poggione@fiu.edu

Janna L Deitz, Western Illinois University

JL-Deitz@wiu.edu

Paper The Personal Vote Revisited: Factoring in the Electoral Considerations

We revisit Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina's classic analysis to test whether the "personal vote" is an artifact of the lack of electoral competition (e.g. a weak challenger) or a cause of incumbents' political strength.

Jonathan Krasno, University at Binghamton, SUNY

jkrasno@binghamton.edu

Gregory Robinson, Binghamton University

grobinso@binghamton.edu

Benjamin Farrer, University at Binghamton, SUNY

bfarrer1@binghamton.edu

Paper Partisan Banners: Adaptive Parties in Multi-District Competition

Agent-based model simulating multi-district competition. Candidates are modeled as autonomous agents contesting elections while sharing a brand-name. With multiple districts, complexity has a non-linear relationship to incumbent victory.

Michael Tofias, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

tofias@uwm.edu

Paper The Effects of Local Casualties on the 2006 Midterm Elections

We investigate the impact of local casualties on the 2006 midterm elections. Specifically we look at whether incumbents paid an electoral cost in districts with higher numbers of local casualties from the Iraq war.

Harriet Baker, Duke University

harriet.baker@duke.edu

Kathryn McNabb Cochran, Duke University

kwm5@duke.edu

Disc. Matthew G. Jarvis, California State University, Fullerton

mjarvis@fullerton.edu

42-6 Judges in the States

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Paul Brace, Rice University

pbrace@rice.edu

Paper The Party on the Bench: Party Politics and State High Court Appointments

This paper explores the role that party affiliation plays in the judicial selection process for state supreme courts.

Aman L. McLeod, Rutgers University, Camden amcleod@camden.rutgers.edu

Paper <u>Electoral Control and the Politics of Judicial Independence</u>

This paper assesses the link between judicial selection mechanisms and the political independence of state courts of last resort.

Joseph Daniel Ura, Texas A&M University

jura@politics.tamu.edu

Paper Preference Change on State Supreme Courts

The paper examines how and why preferences of state supreme court justices change over time. We attack this problem through the use of our own dynamic ideal point scores of state supreme court justices' ideology.

John Hudak, Vanderbilt University

john.hudak@vanderbilt.edu

Jenna E. Lukasik, Vanderbilt University

jenna.e.lukasik@vanderbilt.edu

Paper The Politics of Self-Assignment: Who Writes the Majority Opinion on State Supreme Courts?"

Unlike the USSC, not all chief justices on state high courts have opinion assignment power. Examination of opinion assignment on these courts thus allows a test of when policy goals influence opinion assignment more or less than organizational goals.

Teena Wilhelm, University of Georgia

twilhelm@uga.edu

Laura Langer, University of Arizona

llanger@u.arizona.edu

Disc. Paul Brace, Rice University

pbrace@rice.edu

Craig Foster Emmert, University of Texas, Permian Basin emmert c@utpb.edu

42-24 <u>Decision Making on Federal Courts</u>

Room Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Sara C. Benesh, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

sbenesh@uwm.edu

Paper Under What Conditions do Federal Circuit Courts of Appeals Judges Fear Reversal from their Circuit En Banc?

The goal of analysis is to determine whether judges behave strategically by altering their decision making in order to avoid review by their circuit en banc in cases that are more likely to be reviewed by an en banc panel.

Jennifer Barnes Bowie, George Mason University jbowie@gmu.edu

Paper Publication and Strategic Lawmaking on the Court of Appeal

We examine whether federal appellate judges are ideologically motivated to strategically exploit the decision whether to publish opinions.

Sean Farhang, *University of California*, *Berkeley* farhang@berkeley.edu

Gregory J. Wawro, Columbia University

gjw10@columbia.edu

Paper The Hierarchy of Justice: Exploring the Influence of the Separation of Powers Structure on U.S. Supreme Court-Circuit Court Interaction

The study explores the influence of the preferences of Congress and the President on the tendency of U.S. Courts of Appeals judges to comply with U.S. Supreme Court preferences across both constitutional and statutory cases decided between 1954-2007.

Tajuana D. Massie, South Carolina State University tmassie@bellsouth.net

Paper Balancing Legal and Policy Preferences in the District Courts: Procedural Rules, Partisan Decisions, and the Tradeoffs Between Them

This paper explores two types of judicial preferences (legal and policy) to understand when the two types of preferences compete and the conditions under which each gains or loses importance. **Shelley Pierce Murphey**, *University of Colorado*, *Boulder* smurphey@gmail.com

Paper The Work of a U.S. District Judge: Alfred T. Goodwin on the District of Oregon

An examination of the work of the cases heard by a U.S. district judge and the judge's other service (on 3-judge district courts and the court of appeals), through intensive examination of one judge.

Stephen L. Wasby, *University at Albany*, *SUNY* wasb@albany.edu

Disc. Sara C. Benesh, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee sbenesh@uwm.edu

Scott E. Graves, *Georgia State University* polseg@langate.gsu.edu

43-12 Historical Perspectives on Legal Doctrines: 20th and 21st Centuries

Room Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am
Chair Alan Tauber, University of South Carolina

taubera@gwm.sc.edu

Paper Old Judicial Federalism: Desegregation Litigation in State Courts in the Era Before Brown vs Board of Education and Its Impact on Contemporary Integration Efforts

In the era before the U. S. Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education, litigants brought to state courts challenges to rules that created separate schools for the races. This paper explores the impact of these decisions then and now.

Charles Frederick Jacobs, St. Norbert College charles.jacobs@snc.edu

Paper The Development of Civil Liberties Within and Across the Fifty States: Introducing the State Civil Liberties Database, 1776-2008

This paper introduces both the State Civil Liberties Database and a newly developed tool of analysis. Using computational forensic linguistics, this new method allows researchers to trace historical legal development within and across the 50 States.

Sean Richard Boutin, *Cornell University* srb28@cornell.edu

Paper Victorian Liberty: Re-Examining the Judicial Review of Morals Laws in the Lochner Era

This paper attempts to explain why some laws regulating liquor, gambling, and sexual conduct were upheld by the Lochner era judiciary, while others were struck down as violating a constitutionally protected sphere of personal liberty.

John W. Compton, University of California, Los Angeles compton john@yahoo.com

Disc. Grier Stephenson, Franklin & Marshall College grier.stephenson@fandm.edu

45-5 Spending Among the American States

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Robert Lowry, University of Texas, Dallas robert.lowry@utdallas.edu

Paper How to Measure State Spending, and Why We Can't Agree
About It

We conduct a meta analysis of research on state spending. We then theorize about the conditions under which scholars utilize various budgetary indicators and test our theory with state data from 1965 to 2004 in multiple policy areas.

Adam J. Newmark, Appalachian State University

newmarkaj@appstate.edu

Christopher Witko, St. Louis University

cwitko@slu.edu

Paper Partisanship, Political Polarization and State Budget Outcomes: The Case of Higher Education

We argue that partisanship matters in policy areas where the distribution of policy positions do not fall clearly on the left-right political spectrum. However, these effects are influenced by political polarization and by economic conditions.

Luciana Dar, University of California, Riverside luciana.dar@ucr.edu

Matthew Spence, University of California, Los Angeles mspence@ucla.edu

Paper <u>Judicial Remedy or Judicial Tyranny?: Evaluating the Federal</u> Court Takeover of the California Prison System

In 2008, the California prison medical receiver asked a federal court to give him access to \$8 billion of state funds and to hold elected officials in contempt if they fail to pay. This raises questions about judicial power and our federalist system.

Jennifer E. Walsh, Azusa Pacific University jwalsh@apu.edu

Disc. Allen Kingsley Settle, California Polytechnical State University asettle@calpoly.edu

46-5 Comparative Insights on Urban Politics

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Chair Terry Nichols Clark, *University of Chicago*

tnclark@uchicago.edu

Paper Organizing and the Politics of Difference: Social Policy Regimes and Nonwhite Civil Society in New York City and London

This paper examines the relationship between the state and nonwhite civil society, specifically the connection between social policy regimes and the activities and ideologies that nonwhite organizations adopt.

Michael Fortner, Harvard University

Fortner@fas.harvard.edu

A Theory of Translocal Relations Paper

This essay highlights the translocal relations as a unit of analysis in international relations. Developing the theory of translocal relations expands the boundaries of IR in analyzing variations in policies and networks of sub-national units.

Taedong Lee, University of Washington, Seattle

taedong2@u.washington.edu

Paper A New Interpretation of the Transformation of City Politics in Bogotá D.C., Colombia: Governance, Leadership and Incentives in a Latin American Capital City

Understanding the "new model" of Bogotá's politics through an institutional framework offers new perspectives on Colombian future and Latin American big cities development. The analysis focuses on multilevel urban governance and incentives.

Jaime Torres-Melo, University of Los Andes jatorres@uniandes.edu.co

Yue Zhang, University of Illinois, Chicago Disc. yuezhang@uic.edu

47-11 Defining, Framing, and Reconceptualizing Race: Policy **Adoption and Policy Outcomes**

Room Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Lisa L. Miller, Rutgers University Chair

miller@polisci.rutgers.edu

The Evolution of the Discourse on the Racial Achievement Gap Paper

Using content analysis, this paper examines the discourse on educational disparity in the U.S. I contend that the way in which the problem is framed and defined does have significant consequences for which policies are even discussed and adopted.

LaFleur Stephens, University of Michigan

lafleurs@umich.edu

Does Race Matter? A Study of Traffic Ticket Outcomes in the Paper City of Seattle, Washington

This study of approximately 326,000 traffic citations acquired from the Seattle Municipal Court focuses on the motorists' race, age, reason for the stop, and grounds for the court dismissal.

Richard G. Greenleaf, Elmhurst College

greenleafr@elmhurst.edu

Teri J. Bengtson, Elmhurst College

bengtsont@elmhurst.edu

Fractionalization in U.S. Cities - A Dynamic View Paper

In this paper, I empirically analyze the effects of public policy on ethno-racial fractionalization in U.S. cities. I find that fractionalization is a function of public policy and not an exogenous cause of it.

Sreenath Majumder, University of Houston smajumd3@mail.uh.edu

The Politics of Genomics Research: The Implications of DNA Paper for Racial Identification, Political Parties, and Americans'

Views of Scientific Innovation

What are the political effects of genomics research, especially its implications for racial boundary blurring or reification, and its partisan or ideological associations? To find out, we conduct content analyses of over 100,000 newspaper articles.

Jennifer L. Hochschild, Harvard University

hochschild@gov.harvard.edu Mava Sen, Harvard University

msen00@gmail.com

Disc. Lisa L. Miller, Rutgers University

miller@polisci.rutgers.edu

Meghna Sabharwal, City College of New York msabharwal@ccny.cuny.edu

47-25 Thinking about Punishment

Room Chicago on the 5th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Donald P. Haider-Markel, University of Kansas Chair

dhmarkel@ku.edu

Paper Politics and Prosecutors: A Multilevel Analysis of Sentence **Outcomes in California**

This paper analyzes of the influence of individual-level and contextual (county-level) factors on sentence length using a hierarchical linear model applied to data on the entire population of inmates held in California correctional facilities.

Elsa Y. Chen, Santa Clara University

echen@scu.edu

Restitution, Retribution and Re-entry: Judicial Discretion and **Paper Crime Policy Priorities**

A study of judicial discretion reveals disparities in amount and type of monetary sentences and the role of offender characteristics. The findings have actionable implications for crime policy as it pertains to restitution, retribution and re-entry.

Karin Danielle Martin, University of California, Berkeley karin martin@berkelev.edu

Economic Conditions and the Risk of Execution in the Paper **American States**

Do economic conditions explain the risk of execution faced by death row inmates? I argue that during periods of economic downturn, inmates face a higher risk of execution than during periods of economic boom.

Isaac Unah, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill unah@unc.edu

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

dhmarkel@ku.edu

49-2 **Democracy and the Environment**

LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Room

Chair Quan Li, Texas A&M University

quanli@tamu.edu

Paper **Democracy and Environmental Protection: An Empirical Analysis**

Do democracies actually address pollution problems, that is, reduce pollution, better than non-democracies?

Lyle A. Scruggs, University of Connecticut

lyle.scruggs@uconn.edu

Paper Pluralism by Design and the Politics of Public Participation: Air **Quality Governance Reform in South Africa**

This paper explores how a legal requirement for equal public participation included in South Africa's environmental legislation in 1998 has affected environmental interest group participation in, and influence on, air quality governance.

Achim Halpaap, United Nations Institute for Training and Research

achim.halpaap@unitar.org

The Effects of Democracy on State Compliance With Paper **International Environmental Agreements**

This study offers a multivariate analysis on the associations between democratic institutions and green party representation on state complaince with international environmental agreements.

Joel R. Carbonell, Kent State University jcarbon2@kent.edu

Democracy and Environmental Public Goods: How Visibility Paper Affects Provision

I argue that democracies provide more high visibility environmental public goods than nondemocracies, but do not provide more low visibility environmental public goods.

Andrea Morrison, University of California, Davis

almorrison@ucdavis.edu

Disc. Alberto Simpser, University of Chicago

asimpser@uchicago.edu

50-8 Network Analysis and Legislative Interactions

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am
Chair Oliver James, University of Exeter
o.james@exeter.ac.uk

Paper Decision-Making in the Public Sector: The Electoral Reform in Taiwan-" Single-seat Districts Two Votes System" and "Cutting

the Legislative Seats in Half" case study

The governmental politics model (or bureaucratic politics model by Wiarda) explains most of the legislature's arena. Power is matter and the most decisions in Congress are made based on partisan struggle rather than rationality.

Edward K. Hwang, *Northern Illinois University* edhwang@chu.edu.tw

Paper The Role of Personal Ties in Collaborative Public Management: The Development of Emergency Management Policy Networks

This paper assesses the impact of personal identity and prior relationships on the emergence and persistence of collaborative networks in emergency management.

Scott Robinson, Texas A&M University srobinson@bushschool.tamu.edu

Paper Strategic Decision Making and Its Effect on Collaboration Performance

Bounded rationality and high transaction costs keep decisionmakers in the organization from optimal choice of network partners. This paper proposes that strategic decision making on network is critical for the success of collaboration performance.

Sangyub Ryu, University of Georgia

greatyub@gmail.com

Chansu Jung, University of Georgia csjung@uga.edu

Paper Gate-Keeping Executives or Disinterested Legislatures? National Parliaments and Their Involvement in the Open

Method of Coordination

The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) can have an effect on the national policy making process outside of the control of national parliaments. This paper shows that differences between OMCs influence the involvement of parliaments.

Rik De Ruiter, University of Twente

r.deruiter@utwente.nl

Disc. David J. Houston, University of Tennessee

dhouston@utk.edu

50-17 The Role of Attitudes and Opinions in Public

Administration

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am
Chair Daniel P. Hawes, Kent State University

dhawes2@kent.edu

Paper Right-Wing or Care-Oriented Public Employees: The Effect of Employee Norms on Handling of Cases in Social Insurance Administration

The article examines the extent to which public employee attitudes explain regional variations in sick-leave benefits in Sweden and finds two significant results: right-wing orientation and careorientation ampng employees.

Helena Stensöta, University of Gothenburg helena.stensota@pol.gu.se

aper Citizen Input and Agency Efficiency: Evidence from U.S. State Agencies

We evaluate the effect of citizen participation on efficiency of agency's service provision by examining the practices of seeking citizen input of two agencies across the 50 states – Corrections and Child Protection Services.

Milena Neshkova, Florida International University mneshkov@fiu.edu

David (Hai) Guo, Florida international University haguo@fiu.edu

Paper Homophily and Diversification Within the Social Service Inter-Organizational Networks

This paper tests how cliques are formed within the social service provision according to actors' beliefs and backgrounds and the effects of cliques' characteristics on overall network efficiency by using the Indiana Community Survey data.

Helen Kang-Huey Liu, Indiana University, Bloomington

hkliu@indiana.edu

David A. Reingold, Indiana University, Bloomington

reingold@indiana.edu

Disc. Vicky M. Wilkins, University of Georgia

vwilkins@uga.edu

Lina Svedin Maria Svedin, University of Utah

lina.svedin@poli-sci.utah.edu

51-4 Perspectives on the American Founding

Room Honore on the Lobby Level, Fri at 10:00 am

Chair Paul Finkelman, Albany Law School

pfink@albanylaw.edu

Paper A Fundamental Article of Republican Government: Fixity of Suffrage Law in the United States Constitution of 1787-88

This paper considers the efforts of late 18th-century Americans to reconcile their traditional republican theories about election reform with the design of a new federal republic; it then inquires into the empirical soundness of those theories.

Kirsten Nussbaumer, University of Minnesota

nussb005@umn.edu

Paper The Birth of Liberty

An examination of classical republicanism and liberalism in the American Founding.

Sarah Mackenzie Burns, Claremont Graduate University sarah.burns@cgu.edu

Paper Justifying the Constitutional Convention: Federalist 40 and the Use of the Rhetorical Syllogism

Federalist 40 defends the Constitutional Convention against charges of illegality and usurpation by making use of the rhetorical syllogism. The paper shows how this happened and discusses some of the subsequent implications

William Collins, Samford University wpcollin@samford.edu

Disc. Paul Finkelman, Albany Law School

pfink@albanylaw.edu

Kirsten Nussbaumer, University of Minnesota

nussb005@umn.edu

52-4 <u>Multiple Perspectives in Geography</u>

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am
Chair Helen Drake, Loughborough University

h.p.drake@lboro.ac.uk

Paper Small States, Geography, and Social Revolutions

A geographical analysis of social revolutions in small states. **Anoulak Kittikhoun**, *City University of New York*

akittikhoun@gc.cuny.edu

Paper Explaining the Far Right Resurgence in English Local Elections 2002-2008: A Spatial Model of Aggregate Data

This paper conducts a geographically weighted regression analysis of far-right electoral success in British local elections since 2008. The impact of both socio-demographic "demand" and political "supply" factors are tested.

Robert Ford, University of Manchester

rob.ford@manchester.ac.uk

Matthew Goodwin, University of Manchester matthew.goodwin@manchester.ac.uk
Peter John, University of Manchester

peter.john@manchester.ac.uk

Paper Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco: So Much in Common, But So Different

Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco have a lot in common: human geography, history, their belonging to the "Arabo-Muslim" world, and their closeness, economically and culturally, to France. But they are quite different for political reasons.

Chair

Yves Jean Montenay, ICEG iceg2009@gmail.com

Paper Finding Europe's Pitch: Comparing the Borders of European Politics, Economics, and Society

Can people's who play soccer unite politically and economically? This paper compares the membership of the Union of European Football Associations and the European Union to define "Europe" and its borders.

Jeremy Wells, *Louisiana State University* jwell33@lsu.edu

Disc. Helen Drake, Loughborough University h.p.drake@lboro.ac.uk

54-14 Religious Discourse and Public Life

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am
Chair Sara R. Jordan, University of Hong Kong
sjordan@hku.hk

Paper The Role and Place of Religion in Democratic Society: Four Models

I explore religion in democratic society,proposing 4 models:Religion Over Public Landscape;Religion Banned from Public;Public Landscape as Religious Space;and Public Landscape as Varied Topography,where religion is not treated as a special case.

Mark S. Cladis, Brown University mark_cladis@brown.edu

Paper Lessons of the Joint Declaration for the Conduct of Public Political Dialogue

I argue that citizens should not fear to argue for their preferred political outcomes on the basis of their comprehensive doctrines. The risk of discord is offset by the potential for increased understanding and appreciation of the other.

Amy L. Cavender, Saint Mary's College

acaven de @saint marys.edu

Paper Justifications of the Ultimate Sacrifice in Online Discourse: The Influence of Combat Experience on National Religion and Primary Group Affiliation

When the relation between identity, religion, politics and war reenters the agenda, a closer look at the motivation of the front-line soldier may be worthwhile. In this paper, I do so by analysing online diaries of American Servicemen in Iraq.

Morten Braender, *University of Aarhus* mortenb@ps.au.dk

Paper Snozberries and Political Science: Religious Experience, Political Foundations, and the Dreaming of Dreams

This paper explains how to devise a historical method drawing from how political leaders ground social change in religious experience. The experience authorizes the leader to speak with divine authority and persuade audiences to follow her.

James McGill Patterson, *University of Virginia* jmp3r@virginia.edu

Disc. Sara R. Jordan, University of Hong Kong sjordan@hku.hk

Morten Braender, *University of Aarhus* mortenb@ps.au.dk

56-3 Reinvigorating the Ubiquitous U.S. Government Course

Room Adams on the 6th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Chair Michael Comiskey, Pennsylvania State

 Michael Comiskey, Pennsylvania State University, Fayette cmc2@psu.edu

aper Problem Based Learning in Introductory American Politics Classes

Problem Based Learning is used heavily in the natural sciences, but in political science use is limited. The authors' analysis of using PBL in introductory American politics courses suggest PBL is a viable pedagogical tool in political science.

Jonathan Williamson, Lycoming College

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Alison Gregory, Lycoming College

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Paper Developing A Blended Learning Version of the Introduction to American Politics Course

How to develop a blended learning version of the Introduction to American Politics course.

Evan C. McKenzie, University of Illinois, Chicago

ecmlaw@gmail.com

Jason Stodolka, University of Illinois, Chicago

jstodo2@uic.edu

Paper Getting Political Science in on the Joke: Using TV's ,The Daily Show, to Teach Introductory U.S. Politics

"The Daily Show" has built a strong viewership among young adults despite its reputation for sophisticated political content. I study the potential pedagogical value of such programming in engaging students in an introductory section of US politics. Staci Lynn Beavers, California State University, San Marcos sbeavers@csusm.edu

Paper Introduction to Government Textbooks and American Bureaucracy: What Students Read

Of all sections of American government covered in introductory undergraduate classes, the bureaucracy can often be the most difficult for young students to fully understand. We utilize this paper to examine how textbooks shape student knowledge.

William J. Miller, University of Akron

wjm15@uakron.edu

Derek Feuerstein, University of Akron

derek.feuerstein@mac.com

Disc. Michael Comiskey, Pennsylvania State University, Fayette

cmc2@psu.edu

57-205 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: American:</u> Voting and Elections

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am

Post. 21 Exploratory Study of Voter Registration vs Political Ideology of College Students: The Need for Third Party Expansion in the United States

A study aimed at assessing voter registration trends and political ideology of college students in an effort to determine if the decision to register with a particular partisan group arises from political ideology or from social influences.

Heather Marie Amos, Fayetteville State University hamos@uncfsu.edu

Robert Bruce Wiggins, Fayetteville State University rbwiggins01@uncfsu.edu

Post. 22 The Catholic Effect: Catholic Roll Call Behavior in Congress

This study examines the effect of being Catholic on a legislator's roll call behavior. It finds that affiliation with the Catholic Church is the most influential variable on roll call behavior for issues of interest to the Catholic Church.

Ryan Scott Brellenthin, *University of Notre Dame* rbrellen@nd.edu

Post. 23 How Did John McCain and Barack Obama Run Their Campaign in 2008 Compared to Franklin Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover in 1932 in the Same Context of Economic Crisis?

This paper is a comparison of the presidential campaigns of 2008 and 1932, in order to see how the 2008 candidates ran their campaigns compared to the 1932 candidates. The comparison focuses on the context, the candidates' strategies and the outcome. Kilian Brunschwig, Carroll University

kbrunsch@cc.edu

Post. 24 The Efficacy and Constraints of the Major Political Parties in **Promoting Their Positions on the Defense of Marriage Act**

Registered Democrats, Republicans and Independents were asked what they perceived the positions to be of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party on the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act. The goal was to see how effective each party.

Thomas Michael Bundy, California State University, San Bernardino

thomasmbundy@yahoo.com

Post. 25 Contemporary Effects of Vice Presidential Nominees

This paper explores the selection of vice presidential nominees by presidential candidates. It also explores the campaign effects associated with vice presidential nominations using the contemporary example of John McCain's choice of Sarah Palin.

Madison Leigh Cassels, Tulane University mcassels@tulane.edu

Post. 26 Guardedly Republican: The Voting Behavior of Gated Community Residents in Williamsburg-James City County in the 2006 and 2008 Elections

A study of voting patterns of gated community residents in Williamsburg showed that, even controlling for party selfidentification and income, such residents showed a significantly greater tendency to vote Republican than other area residents. William Clifford Dunn, College of William and Mary wcdunn@wm.edu

Post. 27 New Mexico Voter Confidence: Privacy Violations in the 2008 Election

An examination of whether precinct and poll worker characteristics contributed to voter privacy violations.

David Craig Odegard, University of New Mexico dodegard@unm.edu

58-100 Roundtable: How To Get Your Book Published: A **Conversation with the Publishers**

Spire on the 6th Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Room

This roundtable will offer advise from experienced publishers in both trade and academic houses, and will give attendees the opportunity to ask specific questions of the participants.

Panelist Brigid C. Harrison, Montclair State University

harrisonb@mail.montclair.edu Edwin Hill, Cengage Learning

Edwin.Hill@cengage.com

Mark Georgiev, McGraw-Hill Publishers

mark georgiev@mcgraw-hill.com

Leanne Anderson, Lynne Rienner Publishers

landerson@rienner.com

65-5 **American Mores**

Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 10:00 am Room Carol Lynn McNamara, Utah State University Chair

carol.mcnamara@usu.edu

The Moral and Political Lesson of All the King's Men Paper

This paper argues that far from presenting politics as necessarily corrupt, Robert Penn Warren's All the King's Men ultimately suggests the possibility of virtue in political life, thus providing an answer to Machiavelli.

Travis S. Smith, Northern Illinois University trav.smith79@gmail.com

Friendship and Happiness in The Scarlet Letter Paper

In The Scarlet Letter, Nathaniel Hawthorne examines conflict between individual liberty and society, presenting friendship as a means to bridge the private and the public good Elizabeth Suzanne Amato, Baylor University

Elizabeth_Amato@baylor.edu

Paper

Huck's Sound Heart and Twain's Pessimistic View of Law in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn

This paper explores the extent to which Mark Twain's novel, The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, reveals his doubts about the adequacy of the rule of law in the American South of the 19th

Christopher Thuot, Northern Illinois University cethuot@gmail.com

Hugh Henry Brackenridge, "Modern Chivalry": A Satire of **Paper Democratic Mores in Early America**

Brackenridge's, "Modern Chivalry," is one of the most important literary works of early American society. This paper gives Brackenridge's outrageous satire and sophisticated political theory the attention it deserves in American political thought.

Bruce E. Caswell, Rowan University caswell@rowan.edu

Carol Lynn McNamara, Utah State University Disc. carol.mcnamara@usu.edu

Robert M. Schaefer, University of West Georgia rschaefe@westga.edu

Friday, April 3-12:45 pm

1-6 Agencies and Oversight (Co-sponsored with Formal Modeling, see 35-16)

Room Adams on the 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Sean Gailmard, University of California, Berkeley

gailmard@berkeley.edu

Paper Learning From Empirical Studies of Agency Rulemaking

Existing empirical studies of agency rulemaking do not account for strategic behavior by agencies. We present a formal model of rulemaking that accounts for these incentives, and derive its implications for the analysis of rulemaking data.

Stuart V. Jordan, University of Rochester

sjordan@mail.rochester.edu

Lawrence S. Rothenberg, University of Rochester

lrot@mail.rochester.edu

Paper Partisanship and the Effectiveness of Oversight

Examines some of the overlooked benefits of partisanship. In particular, demonstrates that an overseer of the ``appropriate" paritsanship will outperform a non-partisan in terms of exercising its checks on the executive branch.

Justin Fox, Yale University justin.fox@yale.edu

Richard VanWeelden, Yale University

richard.vanweelden@yale.edu

Paper The Ally Principle and Bureaucratic Structure

I design models of legislative delegation in which bureaucracies consists of more than one player. By imposing various structures on bureaucracies, I analyze the relationship between the ally principle and bureaucratic structure.

Jinhee Jo, University of Rochester jjo2@mail.rochester.edu

Paper The Appointment Power

The paper develops a theory of presidential appointments to the executive branch as a mechanism to control the bureaucracy.

Tiberiu Dragu, Stanford University

tdragu@stanford.edu

Disc. Michael Ting, Columbia University

mmt2033@columbia.edu

2-6 Electoral Competition, Institutions, and Public Policy

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Markus Wagner, London School of Economics and Political

Science

m.wagner@lse.ac.uk

Paper The Rise of the New Labour and Competition for Issue
Ownership in British Party Politics: The Case of Foreign and

Security Policy

The paper examines how the strategy of altering issue ownership works in mainstream party competition. It specifically focuses on the efforts of the British Labour party under Neil Kinnock to alter the ownership of foreign and security issues.

Isa Camyar, University of Louisiana, Lafayette

ixc2997@louisiana.edu

Chris Gilcrease, University of Louisiana, Lafayette

jcg3022@louisiana.edu

Paper The Effects of Anti-Establishment Parties on Traditional
Parties: Evidence from Elite Interviews and Party Manifestos

Using elite interviews and evidence from party manifestos, I argue that traditional, mainstream parties alter their organizational structures and ideological parties in order to counter the electoral threat of anti-establishment parties.

Jason Matthew Smith, Texas A&M University

jsmith@politics.tamu.edu

Paper Decentralization: An Institutional Strategy of Appeasement Across Western Europe

This paper explores why governments decentralize powers to subnational authorities. Rather than a tool to bolster its subnational power, decentralization, I argue, is a means to bolster a governing

party's national-level electoral strength. **Bonnie M. Meguid**, *University of Rochester*

bonnie.meguid@rochester.edu

Paper <u>Do Parties Benefit from Incumbent's Personal Votes?:</u>

Comparative Analysis Across Different Electoral Rules

The paper examines under which electoral rules political parties benefit from personal votes cultivated by incumbents. It provides the first direct evidence of the electoral benefits of personal votes to parties across different electoral rules.

Kenichi Ariga, University of Michigan

kariga@umich.edu

Disc. Markus Wagner, London School of Economics and Political

Science

m.wagner@lse.ac.uk

Robin E. Best, Leiden University

rbest@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

3-7 <u>Modelling Authoritarian Regime Survival</u>

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Alexandre Debs, University of Rochester

adebs@mail.rochester.edu

Paper Authoritarian Responses to Foreign Pressure: Spending,

Repression and Sanctions

This paper explores the responses of authoritarian regimes to economic sanctions. We do so by analysing the effect of sanctions on public spending, its composition, and repression levels under different regime types.

Abel Escriba-Folch, Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals

aescriba@ibei.org

Paper Our Way or the Highway: How Institutions Affect the Ability of

Elites to Influence Dictators

This study investigates characteristics of dictators' elite support coalitions and how these characteristics affect elites' ability to unseat dictators and thereby constrain dictators' policy choices.

Erica Frantz, IPS

ericaemilyfrantz@yahoo.com

Paper A Formal Model of Urbanization and Redistribution in

Developing Autocracies

Urban areas present threats to autocrats, who attempt to mollify cities with subsidies paid for by taxes on the countryside. However such policies are self-undermining in the long-term as they exacerbate urbanization.

Jeremy Wallace, Ohio State University

wallace.jeremy@gmail.com

Paper Exit During Crisis: How Openness and Economic Crisis Affect
Democratization

Using a formal model of democratization and data on 122 authoritarian regimes from 1950-2002, I show that the availability of exit options, proxied by economic openness, conditions the effect of economic crisis on the likelihood of democratization.

Joseph Wright, Pennsylvania State University

josepghgwright@gmail.com

Disc. Alexandre Debs, University of Rochester

adebs@mail.rochester.edu

3-20 Electoral Politics in Developing Democracies

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Chair Wonbin Cho, University of Kentucky

wonbin.cho@uky.edu

Paper Does Party Centralization Affect Party Competition? Evidence from Indian States and Latin American Perspectives

This paper examines how the distribution of power within political parties affects party systems, using evidence from sub national legislator level data in India, and compares it with the party institutionalization experience in Latin America.

Srikrishna Ayyangar, University of the South, Sewanee

srikrishna.ayyangar@gmail.com **Suraj Jacob**, *James Madison University*

suraj.jacob@gmail.com

Paper The Impact of Campaign Donations on Legislative Voting Patterns in Brazil, 1998-2006

This paper examines the effect of campaign finance on Brazilian legislative vote choice from 1998 to 2006, specifically investigating the disproportionate effect of business' campaign contributions on leftist politicians' legislative behavior.

Justin Earl Lance, Ohio State University

lance.33@polisci.osu.edu

Paper <u>Do Political Budget Cycles Differ in Latin American</u> Democracies?

We find an "anti-political" budget cycle in a panel of fifteen Latin American democracies from 1973 to 2000. Though moderated by the transition to democracy, governments undertook fiscal adjustment by reducing spending.

Lorena Guadalupe Barberia, Fundação Getúlio Vargas

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George Avelino F., Fundação Getúlio Vargas

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Disc. Wonbin Cho, University of Kentucky

wonbin.cho@uky.edu

Jeff William Justice, Campbellsville University

jwjustice@campbellsville.edu

4-7 Electoral Politics in Transitional Countries

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Danielle Langfield, Ohio State University

langfield.1@polisci.osu.edu

Paper Re-Examining the "Two Step" Model: Emerging Democracy and Declining Party in Mexico and Paraguay

Literature on voting behavior emphasizes a "two step" model, however, there are divergent findings from these tests. In this paper, we reexamine the validity of the "two-step" argument using data from the 2000 Mexico and 2006 Paraguay elections.

Brandon Rottinghaus, University of Houston

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Aldo Ponce, University of Houston

afponce@uh.edu

Amalia Mena-Mora, University of Houston

amena-mora@uh.edu

Paper Explaining Founding Elections Results in Post-Communist Countries

In this paper, I explore whether or not state capacity measures correlate with the outcomes of founding elections, that is, the first open elections in former communist countries.

Jessica Fortin, *Leuphana Universitaet Lueneburg* jessica.fortin1@mail.mcgill.ca

Paper The Party's Not Over Yet: Elections, Political Parties, and Democratization in the Postcommunist States

Variation in postcommunist party development explains variable success of democracy there. Parties offer constraints on elites' pursuit of self-interest over public interest. Election system structures offer incentives to create or avoid parties.

Jonathan W. Riggs, Loyola University, Chicago

jriggs1@luc.edu

Disc. Danielle Langfield, Ohio State University

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5-21 Institutions and Voting Behavior

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Diging Lou, Rider University

dilou@rider.edu

Paper Do Stable Party Systems Shape Turnout Levels?

In this paper we evaluate the influence stable party systems have on aggregate participation levels. In brief, we find that stable party systems engender higher turnout levels even when controlling for a host of other factors.

Joseph W. Robbins, McMurry University

joseph.w.robbins@ttu.edu

Lance Young Hunter, Texas Tech University

lance.hunter@ttu.edu

Paper Election Timing and the Power of Interest Groups

I argue that the design of the election calendar and its impact on voter turnout greatly affects the extent to which interest groups can influence election outcomes and subsequent policymaking.

Sarah F. Anzia, Stanford University

sanzia@stanford.edu

Paper A Dwarf Amongst Giants? Understanding Third Party Vote in Contemporary French Elections Through the Front National

In this paper, we examine the role of a two-round electoral system in the shaping of voter preferences. In particular, we focus on the presence of an intertemporal ticket splitting mechanism for voters of third party candidates.

Verónica Hoyo, University of California, San Diego

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Henry Albert Kim, University of Arizona

h27kim@email.arizona.edu

Disc. Diqing Lou, Rider University

dilou@rider.edu

6-6 The Role of Parties in Mass Behavior

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Jong-sung You, University of California, San Diego

jsyou@ucsd.edu

Paper A Statistical Model of Electoral Coordination

We build a statistical model of electoral coordination by simultaneously modeling the determinants of party and voter behavior. Then, we apply our model to elections in Uruguay using a Bayesian multilevel estimation approach.

Ines Levin, California Institute of Technology

ilevin@hss.caltech.edu

Gabriel Katz, California Institute of Technology

gabriel@hss.caltech.edu

Paper Towards Greater Electoral Impact of Party Leaders? The Case of Italy

This study looks at the impact of party leaders under different institutional contexts, by examining the relative importance of party attachment, ideology, and leader evaluation on vote choice in elections conducted under different electoral rules.

Willy Jou, University of California, Irvine

jouw@uci.edu

Paper Coalition Considerations and the Undecided Voter

This research presents data from the Netherlands that focuses on undecided voters who were asked who they would vote for under four different hypothetical coalition government scenarios. Many undecided voters act strategically.

Renan Levine, University of Toronto

renan.levine@utoronto.ca

Paper Politicians as Free Agents: Political Careers in an Era of Party Switching in Canada

More Canadian elected officials have switched parties in the past ten years than in any other decade in history. This paper argues that floor crossing is further evidence of the decreasing strength of political parties in Canada.

David Campbell Docherty, Wilfrid Laurier University ddocherty@wlu.ca

ddocherty@wiu.ea

Disc. Catherine Eunice de Vries, University of Amsterdam

c.e.devries@uva.nl

6-9 Inequality, the Welfare State, and Mass Politics

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Chair Marco Lisi, University of Lisbon

marcolisi@sapo.pt

Paper The Political Consequences of Social Inequality: Democratic

Legitimation and Central and Eastern Europe

Uses new mass surveys to examine the effect of individuals' perceptions of social inequality on political engagement in Central and Eastern Europe.

Matthew Loveless, Oxford University matthew.loveless@politics.ox.ac.uk

Paper Social Inequality, Social Distance, and Social Conflict

Uses new mass surveys to examine the relationship between social inequality and social distance and social conflict in Central and Eastern Europe.

Stephen Whitefield, Oxford University stephen.whitefield@politics.ox.ac.uk **Matthew Loveless**, Oxford University matthew.loveless@politics.ox.ac.uk

Paper To Everyone Who Has, More Shall Be Given: Social Inequality and Political Participation in Mexico

Perceptions of social inequality, combined with the prevalent "substantive" view of democracy as greater socioeconomic equality, dampen voting and civic engagement, and increase protest in Mexico.

David Crow, University of California, Riverside david.crow@ucr.edu

Paper The Electoral Consequences of Social Policy: An Empirical Answer to the New Politics Literature

A widely cited claim in the welfare literature states that social policy carries tremendous risks for incumbents. This paper provides comparative evidence for the electoral consequences of social policy reform on the individual and macro level.

Nathalie A. Giger, University of Konstanz

nathalie.giger@uni-konstanz.de

Paper Taking Endogeneity of Generalized Trust Seriously: A Nultilevel Simultaneous Equation Modeling Approach for the Effect of Generalized Trust on Economic Inequality

The new approach of multilevel simultaneous equation model (Steele et al. 2007) confirms that there is significant negative effect of trust on inequality, while it controls both the society-level variables and the individual-level variables.

Changkuk Jung, Michigan State University jungchal@msu.edu

Paper Public Opinion About the Welfare State in Latin America: Subjective Beliefs, Objective Interest, and Preferences for

Why do some support state involvement in the provision of welfare and the alleviation of income inequality while others oppose it? This paper develops a theory of individuals' preferences for redistribution grounded in the context of Latin America.

Luis Antonio Camacho, University of Texas, Austin lcamacho@mail.utexas.edu

Disc. Nolan McCarty, Princeton University nmccarty@princeton.edu

7-200 <u>Poster Session: Politics and Policymaking in the European Union</u>

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Post. 1 Framing the 'NO': Setting the Agenda for Treaty Failure in the Netherlands and Ireland

We argue that information cascades reframed EU treaty issues in pro-EU publics, explaining why these publics rejected pro-EU legislation. We examine this argument with evidence from content analysis of Irish, French, and Dutch newspapers.

Jeroen Joly, University of Antwerp

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Lucie Spanihelova, University at Binghamton, SUNY

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Tobias Van Assche, University of Antwerp

tobias.vanassche@ua.ac.be

Brandon C. Zicha, University of Antwerpen/Binghamton

University

brandon.zicha@ua.ac.be

Post. 2 The Game of European Union Politics: Justifying the EU's Enlargement Decisions

The game of EU politics, to which the Union's enlargement policy is an example, is played by self-interested actors whose understanding of how to play the game is shaped by the underlying structure defined by "Europeanness" as well as sovereignty.

A. Mert Kartal, University of Wisconsin, Madison kartal@wisc.edu

Post. 3 How Can the Agent Influence Negotiations Between Principals? The Case of the European Commission and the Budget Review

How can the agent influence negotiations between principals? The strategies used by the Commission to neutralize the diverging interests of the EU states derive from the Commission's interest in budgetary reform and its negotiating power resources.

Dana Adriana Puia, University of Pittsburgh, European

Commission

dana-adriana.puia@ec.europa.eu

Alina Stefania Ujupan, European Commission

alina-stefania.ujupan@ec.europa.eu

Post. 4 The Normative Structure of the EU Foreign Policy: A Two-Level Game Approach

This paper offers a rationalist-two-level game approach to explain the normative character of the EU's CFSP.

Osman Sabri Kiratli, *University of Massachusetts*, *Amherst* okiratli@polsci.umass.edu

Post. 5 In Pursuit of Consolidated Administration: A Democratic Reading of EU's Accession Criteria for Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe, 1998-2006

The paper places the European Union's "consolidated administration" accession criterion into the framework of R. Dahl's democratization theory, while analyzing the administrative reforms of Central and Eastern Europe between 1998-2006.

Diana Camelia Iancu, SNSPA, Faculty of Public Administration dciancu@snspa.ro

Post. 6 The Effect of EU Decision-Making on the Early Resolution of Infringement Proceedings

The Commission's perspective on the resolution of infringement cases and the factors that might influence the decision of the Commission to continue the proceedings to a later stage.

Asya Zhelyazkova, *Utrecht University* a.zhelyazkova@uu.nl

Post. 7 Evaluating the Minority Policies of the New Members: Towards More Inclusionary Patterns?

Using comparative case study analysis, this paper assesses the post-accession minority governance patterns in the CEECs in three domains: EU's regional policy, language policy and representation in the European Parliament.

Kerem Oge, *Boston College* oge@bc.edu

Disc. Petia Kostadinova, University of Florida petiak@ces.ufl.edu

7-201 Poster Session: Current Issues in European Politics

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Post. 10 <u>Is There Room for Ideals in Politics? Explaining Attitudinal</u> Change in the Deliberations Preparing the European Higher Education Area, 1998-1999

This paper opposes constructivist to rational choice theories in its analysis of changes of individual attitudes during the deliberations which led to the Sorbonne declaration of 25 May 1998 and the Bologna declaration of 19 June 1999.

Cecile Hoareau, *London School of Economics* c.m.hoareau@lse.ac.uk

Post. 11 Policies of "Targeted Migration" and the Consequences for Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Europe

This project comprises a study of the relationship between liberal labor immigration policy and restricted humanitarian immigration policy.

Alexandria J. Innes, University of Kansas andrii@ku.edu

Post. 12 <u>Is European Union a "Cosmopolitan Experiment"?: The</u> <u>Problem of "Cosmopolitan Identity" and the Case of Turkey</u>

This study questions the definitions of European Union as a "cosmopolitan experiment" in view of the identity question. The accession of Turkey is presented as a case study to theoretically problematize Europe's "cosmopolitan character".

Selin E. Guner, Southern Illinis University, Carbondale selinece_guner@yahoo.com

Post. 13 Salience and the Art of Manipulation in Party Representation on the Issue of the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe: A Manifesto-Based Approach

We suggest that rather than political competition, the accession to the EU can be better explained by theories that examine the tools available to political elites to manipulate the policy space.

Lucie Spanihelova, *Binghamton University*, *SUNY* lspanih1@binghamton.edu

 $\textbf{Brandon C. Zicha}, \ \textit{University of Antwerpen/Binghamton} \ \textit{University}$

bzicha1@gmail.com

Post. 14 Government Capacity, Social Capital and Progress Toward the Maastricht Treaty Tolerance Objectives in a Multi-Ethnic European Union

This study tests the links between government capacity, social capital and tolerance in progress towards E.U. goals of social tolerance using data from the 3rd-5th waves of the World Values Survey.

Peter A. Noordijk, *Portland State University* noordijk@pdx.edu

Post. 15 The Support Base of Turkey in the European Parliament

Utilizing European Parliament Research Group's 'Members of European Parliament Survey' data, this article quantitatively and comparatively examines which political groups and individuals are more likely to support Turkey in the European Parliament.

Abdullah Yuvaci, *Centre College* abdullahyuvaci@yahoo.com

Post. 16 Constitutional Reform with Veto Players: The Reform of Federalism and Education Policy in Germany, Austria and Switzerland

During the past few years, nearly simultaneous attempts were made to modernize the federal systems of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. This paper will examine the reform of federalism and the effects on German, Swiss, and Austrian education policy.

Gunther M. Hega, Western Michigan University gunther.hega@wmich.edu

Post. 8 Kosovo Independence: Regional Implications

Serbs and Albanians have inhabited Kosovo for centuries. With both parties feeling entitled to the territory of the province, the threat of conflict was never far away. Although it happened and ended, a remaining question is: Ended or only suspended?

Branislav Radeljic, University of London

branislav.radeljic@gold.ac.uk

Post. 9 British Territorial Politics: An Overview of Approaches

Keywords: fiscal policies, territorial politics, theoretical approach.

Oleg Kodolov, *Kent State University, Stark* okodolov@kent.edu

Disc. Alexiadou Despina, University of Pittsburgh

dalexiad@pitt.edu

8-7 Public Policy in Latin America

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Rhonda Struminger, Texas A&M University

rstruminger@politics.tamu.edu

Paper Tourism and Economic Development in Guatemala: Lessons from Costa Rica

Costa Rica is one of the most successful countries in the world at building a viable and profitable tourism industry. What lessons can be drawn from the Costa Rican experience that would help contribute to tourism based economic growth in Guatemala?

Andrew P. Miller, Wilkes University andrew.miller1@wilkes.edu

Paper The Production of Informal Spaces Through Urban Policy in Queretaro, Mexico

This paper argues that informal settlements are produced by a restricted conception of space advanced through urban policy. It grounds this argument it in the Mexican city of Queretaro.

Lourdes Marcela Lopez Mares, *University of Illinois, Chicago* llopez25@uic.edu

Paper The Contemporary Urban Renewal Through 'Partial Plans' in Colombia: New Frontiers of Gentrification or a Valid Strategy for Local Equity?

The paper explores the negotiation of urban renewal projects in a Colombian case, determining how the role of local state has shifted and how the public realm is re-conceptualized.

Catalina Ortiz, University of Illinois, Chicago cortiz9@uic.edu

Paper Intergovernmental Coordination and Policy Success: Evidence From an Inventory of Federal Social Programs in Mexico,

To implement effective policies, government agencies must coordinate their actions. To disentangle successful coordination, we analyze an original database of all federal social programs that have operated in Mexico in the 2000-2009 period.

Laura Flamand, El Colegio de Mexico

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Sarah E. Martinez-Pellegrini, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte sarahm@colef.mx

Carlos Moreno-Jaimes, ITESO

cmoreno@iteso.mx

Disc. Natasha Borges Sugiyama, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee sugiyamn@uwm.edu

Kirk Andrew Hawkins, Brigham Young University kirk.hawkins@byu.edu

Institutions, Actors and Outcomes in Latin American 8-16 **Political Economy**

Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room

Chair Frank P. Le Veness, St. John's University

levenesf@stjohns.edu

Paper **The Political Economy of Latin American Exchange Rates**

This paper discusses theoretically and empirically the political economy of exchange rate policy in Latin America. In particular, the interactions between special interest groups, policymakers and agents are addressed.

Cesar M. Rodriguez, University of Pittsburgh

cmr37@pitt.edu

Explaining FDI Flows in Latin America: The Return of Risk Paper and the Returns on State Outlays

We seek to explain levels of FDI flows in 15 Latin American countries for a 20-year period. In the paper we argue that previous scholarship has not paid sufficient attention to the effects of different sorts of risk and prior state spending.

Eric M. Jepsen, University of South Dakota

eric.jepsen@usd.edu

Douglas Hecock, Bucknell University douglas.hecock@bucknell.edu

The Political Role of the Argentinean Central Bank, 1989-2007: Paper **An Approach from Signaling Games and Event History Analysis**

Thus far the discussion about Central Bank Independence has neglected the central bank as political actor, assuming a contrast between a "technical" central bank and "political" government. The goal of this paper is to question this assumption.

Miguel Rodriguez Lopez, Hamburg University miguel.rodriguez @uni-hamburg.de

Still Delivering? Clientelism in Neoliberal Times Paper

By studying two cases of radical reformers, I argue that the scope of clientelism after market reforms in Latin America varies mainly according to characteristics related to the socioeconomic and institutional/organizational macro-context.

Paula Munoz, University of Texas, Austin pmunoz@mail.utexas.edu

Paper Has the Policy of Eradication of Illicit Crops Improved the **Economic Conditions in Colombia?**

This work provides an estimation of the effect of the eradication of coca in Colombia on economic welfare. This article suggests a decrease of nearly one minimum wage per person every year, on average, due to the policy.

Maria Cecilia Acevedo, Harvard University Maria_Cecilia_Acevedo@ksgphd.harvard.edu

Central Bank Independence in Presidential Systems: A Two-**Level Theory**

I analyze the interplay of domestic and international incentives for politicians to give up their control over monetary policy by providing central banks with more independence. I use a sample of developed and developing countries from 1973 to 2003.

Ana Carolina Garriga, University of Pittsburgh

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Disc. Gina Yannitell Reinhardt, Texas A&M University

greinhardt@bushschool.tamu.edu

Maria Escobar-Lemmon, Texas A&M University escobar@polisci.tamu.edu

9-10 Regional Cooperation in East and Southeast Asia

LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room David Tzaan, Chinese Culture University Chair ting02122000@hotmail.com

East Asian Financial Regionalism: Taking Seriously Domestic **Paper Capacity and Sovereignty Costs**

This paper examines uneven developments of two different regional cooperative arrangements--Chiang Mai Initiave versus regional surveillance cooperation--among East Asian countries by taking seriously sovereignty costs and domestic capacity.

Heon Joo Jung, Indiana University, Bloomington heonjung@indiana.edu

Paper Ideas Outweigh Interests

This study examines that East Asian cooperation is dominated by ideas rather than interests. Specifically, focusing on China, Japan, and South Korea, this study will reveal that national identity influence state's behavior related to the cooperation.

Sojeong Lee, Seoul National University

aroha10@snu.ac.kr

Becoming States and ASEAN, 1967-2007: Tracing the Creation, **Paper Change and Reciprocal Dynamics of Institutions**

An analytically eclectic framework explains the internal and external dynamics of states' & ASEAN's institutional components. The study shows how member-states & ASEAN influenced each other constitutively, regulatively & by shaping interpretive frames.

Maria Consuelo Casimiro Ortuoste, California Sstate University, East Bay

maria.ortuoste@csueastbay.edu

Paper Beyond the Limits of Regional Security? The Story of East/ Southeast Asian Regional Order

In order to trace the possibility of regional security order outside of western world, this brief paper aims to evaluate the security regionalism in the Eastern/Southeastern Asia.

Visne Korkmaz, Yildiz Technical University visnekorkmaz@hotmail.com

Disc. M. Dujon Johnson, J.D., National Sun Yat-sen University mdujon@gmail.com

Won K. Paik, Central Michigan University paik1wk@cmich.edu

9-11 **Democracy and Civil Society in South Asia**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Tariq Thachil, Cornell University

tariq.thachil@gmail.com

Paper Welfare Civil Society and Democratic Governance in Rajasthan,

This paper deals with the conceptual, political and organizational tensions between the service-delivery organizations and the movement oriented organizations in civil society and their implications towards democratic political change.

Sarbeswar Sahoo, National University of Singapore sarbeswar@nus.edu.sg

Paper New Perspectives on Women's Empowerment and Grassroots Democracy in India

My paper examines the paradoxes, complications, and opportunities that arise as the paths of state and civil society actors, and 'poor and marginalised' women conflict and converge, and as grassroots democracy takes root in contemporary rural India.

Radhika Govinda, University of Cambridge radhika.govinda@gmail.com

Paper From Patching to Tailoring Development: A Lesson from the Indian Grassroot Anti-Damming Movement

This paper discusses the interrelationships among development, modernization and globalization in India. Its anti-damming practices facilitate the rethinking of these notions, and suggest the possible vision on development in developing countries.

Yitsui Tseng, *University of Denver* ytseng4@du.edu

Disc. Tariq Thachil, Cornell University tariq.thachil@gmail.com

11-11 Debating Islam: Thought, Power and Identity in the Middle East

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Mahmoud Hamad, Drake University
mahmoud.hamad@drake.edu

Paper Islam as Enlightenment

In the light of the work of Kant and Foucault, this paper examines once again the meaning of enlightenment albeit in the discursive world of Islam. Like Kant it understands the absence of enlightenment as a self imposed condition.

Muqtedar Khan, *University of Delaware* mkhan@udel.edu

Paper In the Name of Allah: The Political Discourse of Muslim Ulama

Who are the most publicly influential of Muslim scholars in twelve Arab countries? What political messages do they communicate in regards to terrorism, the clash of civilization theses, democracy, rights of non-Muslims; and women's rights?

Moataz A. Fattah, Cairo University/Central Michigan University moataz.fattah@cmich.edu

Paper Shiism, Identity Politics, and Democracy in Iraq

This paper offers an analysis of modern shiite political thought in Iraq. Given the power vacuum in 2003, a multiplicity of voices surfaced among Iraqi ayatollahs about the relationship between religion and politics, and democracy.

Caroleen Marji Sayej, Long Island University caroleen.sayej@liu.edu

Paper Self-Orientalization and Occidentalization in Intra-Muslim Conflict

This paper will explore the role of self-orientalization and occidentalization in modern identity formation in the Muslim world and its impact on perpetuating intra-Muslim conflict.

Ayse S. Kadayifci-Orellana, *American University* aysekadayifci@yahoo.com

Disc. Abdel Salam Sidahmed, University of Windsor sidahmed@uwindsor.ca

14-9 Foreign Direct Investment: Regulatory Policies and Their Effects

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Paul Martin Vaaler, University of Minnesota
vaal0001@umn.edu

Paper The Regulation of Foreign Direct Investment: Policy Choice in Transition Economies

The paper presents a formal model of the choice of FDI policies in democratic and non-democratic regimes and tests the observable implications of the model using an original dataset of FDI regulations in transition economies.

Sinziana Dorobantu-Popa, Duke University Sinziana.Popa@duke.edu

Paper ISI, EOI, and FDI: Foreign Direct Investment Regulation and Political Economy of Development and Market Reform

Examines sources of variation in foreign direct investment regulation in developing countries during era of import substitution industrialization and during subsequent economic reforms.

Sonal S. Pandya, *University of Virginia* spandya@virginia.edu

Paper Taking Credit and Assigning Blame for Globalization: Foreign Investment and U.S. Governor Approval

Using a survey experiment we examine how tax incentives affect the rewards (punishment) for attracting (not attracting) investment.

Nathan Michael Jensen, Washington University, St. Louis njensen@wustl.edu

Edmund J. Malesky, University of California, San Diego emalesky@ucsd.edu

Mariana Medina, Washington University, St. Louis

marianamedinag@gmail.com

Ugur Ozdemir, Washington University

uozdemir@artsci.wustl.edu

Paper Geographical Limitations on the Utility of Investment Liberalization

Many countries have failed to experience any significant increase in foreign investment after liberalizing investment regulations. We find that both the political and economic geography surrounding a country influence the success of liberalization.

Jude C **Hays**, *University of Illinois*, *Urbana-Champaign* jchays@illinois.edu

Clint Peinhardt, University of Texas, Dallas clint.peinhardt@utdallas.edu

Paper The Politics of Foreign Investment Protection in Democracies: The Role of Information and Institutions

This paper looks at the effects of voter information, within the context of electoral institutions, on levels of foreign investment protection in democracies, using a new measure of protection.

Erica Owen, University of Minnesota eowen@umn.edu

Disc. Paul Martin Vaaler, University of Minnesota

vaal0001@umn.edu

Stephen Weymouth, *University of California, San Diego* sweymouth@ucsd.edu

15-10 Foreign Aid and Leadership Tenure

Room Medinah on the 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Alejandro Quiroz Flores, New York University

agf200@nyu.edu

Paper Foreign Aid and the Tenure of Leaders

We investigate how changes in foreign aid affect the tenure of leaders in recipient countries.

Tobias Heinrich, Rice University

th5@rice.edu

Yoshiharu Kobayashi, Rice University yoshiharu.kobayashi@gmail.com

Paper Coups and the Economy after the Cold War

My theory argues that the end of Cold War affected coup patterns by changing foreign aid donors' incentives. I document that coups are fewer in number and have better economic consequences after the Cold War, as predicted by the theory.

Kerim Can Kavakli, University of Rochester kerimcan@gmail.com

Paper The Repression Effect

This paper examines the effect of predominantly untied foreign aid on political expression in predominantly poor, aid receiving countries

Faisal Ahmed, *University of Chicago* faisal@uchicago.edu

Disc. Alejandro Quiroz Flores, New York University

aqf200@nyu.edu

15-27 International Economic and Political Integration

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Courtney Hillebrecht, University of Wisconsin, Madison

hillebrecht@polisci.wisc.edu

Paper The East Side Story: Socialization and Empowerment in the EU Enlargement Context

The article evidences how political Executive actors responded to the opportunities and constraints created by EU enlargement towards the East.

Cristina Elena Parau, Oxford University

cristina.parau@csls.ox.ac.uk

Paper The Hidden Wars in European Integration? Explaining

National Preference Formation on European Treaty Reforms: A Two Level Game

Who defines the 'national interest'? This paper analyses preference formation in a comparative research design to answer the question of which factors determing 'the national interest' in the European integration process.

Rasmus Brun Pedersen, University of Aarhus

brun@ps.au.dk

Paper The Emergence of ECOWAS and the Limits of the Paradigms of International Politics

This paper attempts to test the major theories of international politics against the emergence of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In other words, do liberalism, constructivism and realism explain the emergence of ECOWAS?

Thierno Thiam, Purdue University

tthiam@purdue.edu

Paper Malaysia, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), and Limits of Muslim Cooperation

This paper studies the Malaysian attempt to reform the Organization of Islamic Conference between 2003 and 2007. By using realist and constructivist approaches, the paper examines the reasons for the failure of this attempt.

Ermin Sinanovic, United States Naval Academy sinanovi@usna.edu

Disc. Courtney Hillebrecht, University of Wisconsin, Madison hillebrecht@polisci.wisc.edu

16-7 Realism and International Security

Room Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair David V. Edwards, University of Texas, Austin dedwards@austin.utexas.edu

Paper Structural Man vs Power Politics: Reconstructing Waltz's Theory After 30 Years

This paper examines the legacy of Waltz's Theory of International Politics and offers a progressive replacement. This replacement is used to argue against the contention that the US Israel lobby is responsible for inequities in US-Israeli relations.

Jeffrey Michael Cavanaugh, Mississippi State University jcavanaugh@ps.msstate.edu

Paper Beyond Anarchy and Hierarchy: Transformational States in the International System

This paper challenges realist conceptions of world order by discussing the foreign policies of four cases - the early US, post World War II Japan, post World War II India, and the European Union.

Sunil A. Vaswani, *Johns Hopkins University* sunilvaswani@gmail.com

Paper Offense, Defense, and Risk: Why Orthodox Offense-Defense Theory is Backward

This paper reverses traditional offense-defense theory's hypotheses and argues that the offense-defense balance affects the frequency of conflict not by altering the incentives states face to compete, but rather the way in which they compete.

Steven Michael Ward, *Georgetown University* smw59@georgetown.edu

Paper International Structure and State Motivations

This paper examines the effects of international structure on state motivations.

Hasan Basri Yalcin, University of Cincinnati

hbyalcin@gmail.com

Disc. Alex Weisiger, University of Pennsylvania

weisiger@sas.upenn.edu

16-21 Security and Domestic Factors

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Derrick Frazier, University of Illinois

dvfrazie@uiuc.edu

Paper Domestic and Foreign Influences on Issue Framing Under

Prospect Theory

One of the crucial problems facing the Prospect Theory is the relatively weak understanding of the origin of gain/loss frames. This study attempts to assess the relative importance of domestic and international factors on the choice of frame.

Michael P. Jasinski, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

jasinskm@uwosh.edu

Jeffrey Berejikian, University of Georgia

jberejik@uga.edu

Paper An Insurgency Within the U.S. Army, 1975-1984: How Did Interventionists Survive the Weinberger Doctrine?

The U.S. Army now embraces counterinsurgency after decades of apprehension. I argue the genesis of this change was decades ago, when minority factions inside and outside the Army struggled for a different conception of the Army's role in the world.

Adam Joyce, New School for Social Research

joyca995@newschool.edu

Paper The Military, War and Political Power: Theory and Evidence

This paper examines the role of the military in shaping institutions and setting policy.

Gabriel Leon, London School of Economics

g.j.leon@lse.ac.uk

Paper Impunity and State Self-Discipline: Explaining Government Response to Human Rights Violations

This paper offers a new dataset measuring government response to human rights violations among security and police forces.

Nick Jorgensen, *University of Idaho* nickjorg@uidaho.edu

Disc. Dorothy "Didi" Lund, Ohio State University

lund.29@osu.edu

17-23 Conflict Termination

Room Sandburg Boardroom 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Charles M. Hinderliter, University of South Carolina

charles.hinder liter@gmail.com

Paper Sleeping With the Enemy: Winning Coalitions Against Power

Transitions and Civil War Settlements

In multiparty civil war, the risk of power transition in each warring side creates incentives to negotiate peace with an enemy. **Kiyoung Chang.** University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

kychang@email.unc.edu

Paper Moderating Political Violence or How Groups Learn to Stop Loving the Bomb

What moderates terrorist groups? Using case studies of former terrorist groups, we develop a theoretical framework for understanding the process through which armed extremist groups demobilize and moderate.

Kimberly B. Cowell-Meyers, American University

kcowell@american.edu

Catherine E. Warrick, Villanova University

cewarrick@earthlink.net

Paper Escalation, Diffusion, and Termination: An Analysis of the Dynamic Process of Civil War

This paper proposes and tests a unified framework building on the bargaining games between a state and a rebel leader and within a rebel group to examine the civil war as a dynamic process of escalation, diffusion, and termination.

Susumu Suzuki, *Wayne State University* susumu@wayne.edu

Paper The Reparations Game: An Analytical Framework of Reparations in Transitional Justice

This paper explores transitional justice and reparations from an analytical perspective. Using the tools of game theory and the comparative evidence of several cases we offer a formal model of reparations in transitional justice.

Casas Andres, *Universidad Javeriana*, *Columbia* andres casas@yahoo.com

German Herrera, *National University of Colombia, Bogota* kikeherrerat@yahoo.com

Disc. Glynn T Ellis, Georgia Southern University gellis@georgiasouthern.edu

17-24 War and Children

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Dennis M. Foster, Virginia Military Institute

fosterdm@vmi.edu

Paper Interstate and Intrastate Conflict and Their Effects on Infant Mortality, 1816-2006

We examine the impact of interstate and intrastate conflict on the infant mortality rate using an analysis of all independent nation states between 1816-2006.

Mohammed Rodwan Abouharb, Louisiana State University roda@lsu.edu

Mallory Thompson, *Louisiana State University* mthom84@lsu.edu

Paper Minors in Modern Insurgency: Empirical Analysis of Child Recruitment by Armed Groups

This paper offers a model that predicts recruitment of child soldiers by different armed groups in intrastate conflicts. Cross-country analysis, case studies and survey data are used to support the argument based on insurgency characteristics.

Vera Achvarina, *University of Pittsburgh* achvarina@gmail.com

Paper The Effect of Age Structure on Political Stability: State Response to the Young Revolutionaries

Presents a formal model to examine the effect of age distribution on political stability. I argue that the young are more prone to revolt and characterize state response(repression/concession) to changes in age structure. Evidence is presented.

Mehdi Shadmehr, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign* mshadme2@uiuc.edu

Paper Kids in Combat: An Empirical Study of the Impact of Children on Intra-State Conflict

Diverging from normative studies of child soldiers that focus on the effects of war on vulnerable children, this study explores the impact of children on war. I test three hypotheses about the effect of child soldiers on intra-state conflict.

Andrew Spath, *Rutgers University* spath@rci.rutgers.edu

Disc. Martha Thomas, Pennsylvania State University mst170@psu.edu

19-9 Alliance Formation and Maintainance

Room Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Carmela Lutmar, Princeton University

clutmar@princeton.edu

Paper Coalition of the (Un)willing: Explaining American Alliances in the 2003 Iraq War

This paper seeks to explain why the U.S. maintained particular Western allies in the 2003 Iraq war while losing others. A "strategic culture" theoretical framework is employed and tested against the empirical cases of France and Britain.

Elizabeth Mercurio, *Georgetown University* eam73@georgetown.edu

Paper Rethinking the Transatlantic Partnership After Bush

In this paper we draw lessons from recent experiments in governance in the US and the EU, respectively, in order to advance a new framework for transatlantic cooperation.

Patrick Cottrell, Linfield College

cottrell@linfield.edu

Mark Nance, North Carolina State University mtnance@wisc.edu

Paper Allied, But Close? Political Space Among NATO Members

By using voting behaviors of each NATO member compared to the voting behavior of the US, this paper applies spatial measure of policy similarity (S-score) to compare foreign policy positions of the member states.

Ferit Murat Ozkaleli, *Trakya University* muratozkaleli@yahoo.com

Paper Reputation and Interstate Alliances

When deciding whether to form an alliance, states use information about previous behavior – reputation - to judge the trustworthiness of their potential ally.

Alexander Steven Von Hagen-Jamar, University of Michigan avhj@umich.edu

Disc. Carmela Lutmar, Princeton University

clutmar@princeton.edu

21-8 Ambivalence

Room Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Todd K. Hartman, Appalachian State University

hartmantk@appstate.edu

Paper Using the "Big Five" Framework of Personality Structure to Identify the Antecedents of Attitudinal Ambivalence

I apply the "Big Five" framework of personality structure to the study of attitudinal ambivalence and find that the experience of ambivalence is a function of personality traits possessed by individuals

Delia Nichole Goolsby, *University of North Carolina*, *Chapel Hill* dgoolsby@email.unc.edu

Paper Ambivalence, Information Processing, and Behavior

Partisan ambivalence stems from a disjuncture between the identification and attitudinal components of partisanship. Across a variety of political contexts, it reduces partisan bias and increases reliance on high-value information.

Howard Lavine, Stony Brook University

Howard.Lavine@stonybrook.edu

Christopher Johnston, Stony Brook University johned 1@gmail.com

Marco R. Steenbergen, *University of Bern* marco.steenbergen@ipw.unibe.ch

Paper Ambivalent or Indifferent? Examining the Properties of Objective Measures of Partisan Ambivalence

The properties of objective measures of partisan ambivalence are examined. Results suggest that the measures are able to distinguish between those with conflicted thoughts about the parties, but not necessarily the intensity of such conflict.

Judd Thornton, *Michigan State University* thornt97@msu.edu

Religiosity as Affecting Ambivalence in Democratic Attitudes Paper

Religiosity increases ambivalence in democratic attitudes, and accordingly decreases reliance on democratic attitudes in the construction of other political opinions.

Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom, Stony Brook University

pazitbn@yahoo.com

Gizem Arikan, Stony Brook University

garikan@ic.sunysb.edu

Disc. Jennifer Wolak, University of Colorado

wolakj@colorado.edu

21-10 **Models of Political Thinking**

LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room Chair Drew Seib, Southern Illinois University seibjd@siu.edu

Paper The Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation: Online vs Memory-**Based processing**

Using data from recent elections, I test implications of the on-line and memory-based models of candidate evaluation, in terms of who is affected by what types of messages. In this way, I clarify the psychological underpinnings of campaign effects.

Bryce Corrigan, University of Michigan

becorrig@umich.edu

The Guide to Thinking Persons' Politics Paper

Two experiments examined the joint and independent effects of ability and motivation to think on responses to complex, morally ambiguous political arguments.

Thomas E. Nelson, Ohio State University

nelson.179@osu.edu

Allyson F. Shortle, Ohio State University

shortle.1@osu.edu

Sarah M. Bryner, Ohio State University

brvner.3@osu.edu

Emily Anderson, Ohio State University

anderson.1810@osu.edu

A New Model of Persuasion

Good arguments are notoriously not reliably easy to sell, or bad arguments easy to put down. I describe a "hill model" of persuasion which gives an account of how that happens and what might mitigate the adverse effects on democratic governance.

Howard Margolis, University of Chicago

jotm@uchicago.edu

The Implications of Implicit Stereotype Appeals for Group-**Centric Issue Opinion**

This work examines how variation in ties between groups and issues change the impact and durability of implicit stereotype priming on opinion. In two experiments, I examine the effects of verbal and visual stereotype priming on issue opinion.

Carl L. Palmer, University of California, Davis clpalmer@ucdavis.edu

Contextual Effects on Mass Perception: Sometimes You Think Like You Feel, Sometimes You Don't

A link between motivation and political context is developed to explain opinion dynamics. Analyses of real-world perceptions reveal what contextual factors produce accuracy- and partisanmotivated inference processes.

Evan Parker-Stephen, Texas A&M University eps@polisci.tamu.edu

Victor C. Ottati, Loyola University, Chicago Disc. vottati@luc.edu

22-4 **Issues 1: Models of Issue Voting**

Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room Noah Kaplan, University of Houston Chair

nkaplan1@gmail.com

The Issue Dynamic of the 2008 Presidential Election: A **Paper Preliminary Investigation**

We propose to compare the issue dynamic of 2008 to that of 1996, 2000, and 2004.

George Rabinowitz, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill rabinowitz@unc.edu

Stuart Elaine Macdonald, University of North Carolina, Chapel

macdonald@unc.edu

Measuring Proximity in a Non-Euclidean Policy Space **Paper**

This paper explores how to assess candidate-voter proximity in a non-Euclidean policy space where dimensions are correlated. A parametric Minkowski proximity model with a fractional distance norm is proposed in high-dimensional policy spaces

Kyle Leiker, Kansas University Medical Center

kleiker@kumc.edu

Min Ye, Coastal Carolina University

mye@coastal.edu

QUan Li, University of Central Florida

quanli@mail.ucf.edu

Issue and Trait Voting in the 2008 Election **Paper**

We explore the power of candidate traits and issue positions on the presidential and senate vote. In particular, we test proximity voting theories, while controlling for political sophistication and candidate trait evaluations.

Daron Shaw, University of Texas, Austin

dshaw@austin.utexas.edu

Jason Casellas, University of Texas, Austin

casellas@mail.utexas.edu

David Leal, University of Texas, Austin

dleal@austin.utexas.edu

Voting in Wartime: The 1944 Election

A test of the proposition, you don't change horses in midstream, with data from the 1944 NORC Election Study. The results show unmistakably that FDR would not have been re-elected in 1944 except for the still on-going war.

Helmut Norpoth, Stony Brook University

helmut.norpoth@sunysb.edu

Michael Morzenti, University of South Florida

mmorzent@mail.usf.edu

Victor Lange, Stony Brook University

vic.notintheface@gmail.com

Disc. Gabriel Lenz, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Gabe.Lenz@gmail.com

Noah Kaplan, University of Houston

nkaplan1@gmail.com

22-6 Partisanship and Voting

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Michael G. Hagen, Temple University

michael.hagen@temple.edu

Paper The Changing American Electorate: Partisanship and

Polarization, 1992-2004

American partisans and nonpartisans differ in their political involvement, information sources, and voting behavior. This paper examines changes in the two groups between 1992 and 2004, especially whether partisans have become more polarized.

Paul Allen Beck, Ohio State University

beck.9@osu.edu

Richard Gunther, Ohio State University

Gunther.1@osu.edu

Partisanship and Voting in the 2008 U.S. Election: Polarization and/or Realignment?

Analysis of the impact of party identification on the 2008 US Presidential Election, with a focus on change v. intensification of

Herbert Weisberg, Ohio State University

weisberg.1@osu.edu

Christopher Devine, Ohio State University

devine.61@osu.edu

Disc. Michael G. Hagen, Temple University

michael.hagen@temple.edu

23-15 **Tools for Voter Mobilization**

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Robert M. Stein, Rice University Chair

stein@rice.edu

Paper Thank You for Voting: Gratitude and Prosocial Behavior

Research in psychology demonstrates that gratitude can reinforce prosocial behavior. This paper reports the results of a randomized field experiment designed to investigate the impact of gratitude on voter turnout.

Costas Panagopoulos, Fordham University

costas@post.harvard.edu

Paper **How Does Vote By Mail Affect Voters? A Natural Experiment Examining Individual-Level Turnout**

Does vote by mail increase turnout? This paper analyzes panel data from five counties in California 2006 - 2008. Individual level work using panel data has not been done since Berinsky (2001) did using Oregon data from 1994 - 1996

Elizabeth Bergman, California State University, East Bay elizabeth.bergman@csueastbay.edu

The Changing Nature of Mobilization: Early Evidence from the Paper 2002 and 2006 Congressional Elections

National surveys from Congressional elections are used to shed light on the alleged expansion and transformation of campaigns' voter contact efforts.

Jason Rittenberg, University of Illinois iritten2@illinois.edu

Paper **Does Urban Sprawl Impede Political Mobilization? Findings** from Wisconsin's Municipal "Troops Home" Initiatives

Using a new dataset of more than 5,000 geocoded ballot access petition signatures from local antiwar initiatives, I estimate the extent to which suburban sprawl deters activist canvassers from identifying and mobilizing supporters.

Clayton M. Nall, Harvard University

nall@fas.harvard.edu

Robert M. Stein, Rice University Disc.

stein@rice.edu

Greg Vonnahme, University of Alabama

gvonnahme@ua.edu

24-7 **The System for Electing U.S. Presidents**

Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room Chair Burdett A. Loomis, University of Kansas

bloomis@ku.edu

A Different Nominee? The Role of the Rules in the 2008 Paper **Primaries**

I conduct an analysis of social choice theory to demonstrate that the voting procedure matters. I investigate whether the delegate allocation procedures used in the 2008 primaries contributed to which candidate became each party's nominee.

Caitlin Elizabeth Dwyer, University of Minnesota

dwyer077@umn.edu

Pipe Dream or Possibility? Amending the U.S. Constitution to **Paper Achieve Electoral Reform**

Those seeking to reform the Electoral College, including its possible elimination, usually reject the possibility of a successful constitutional amendment. This paper examines this conclusion and suggests how different kinds of amendments might pass.

Burdett A. Loomis, University of Kansas

bloomis@ku.edu

Two Cheers for the Electoral College **Paper**

The Electoral College is charged with violating the one person - one vote -standard, abandoning it would create even more problems. A close popular vote election would give candidates an incentive to seek recounts in all constituencies.

Melvin A. Kahn, Wichita State University

melvin.kahn@wichita.edu

It Didn't Start with Florida in 2000 **Paper**

While the SNAFU in Florida in 2000 brought attention to election problems in the US, in fact problems of fraud, inaccuracy, and maladministration of elections go back to the very earliest of

Jim Hutter, Iowa State University

jhutter@iastate.edu

Paxton Williams, George Washington Carver Birthplace Assoc. paxwill15@hotmail.com

Disc. Howard Sanborn, Virginia Military Institute

sanbornhb@vmi.edu

25-8 Political Trust, Efficacy and Civic Engagement

Room

Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Chair Armen Hakhverdian, University of Oxford

armen.hakhverdian@nuffield.ox.ac.uk

In What We Trust? A Multi-Level Study Into Institutional Paper **Determinants of Political Trust**

This cross-national, multi-level study considers political trust as a relational concept. We explain political trust by characteristics of state institutions (the objects of trust), respondents (subjects) and their interplay.

Tom van der Meer, Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP)

t.van.der.meer@scp.nl

Paul Dekker, Tilburg University

p.dekker@scp.nl

Trust in Government(s): How Citizens Form Independent Trust Assessments of Multiple Levels of Government

We examine the connections between trust in the federal, state, and local governments. We show that the distinctiveness in a citizen's view of government is a function of his or her civic engagement and the engagement of his or her community.

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

dave@polisci.tamu.edu

Miwa Nakajo, Texas A&M University

mnakajo@polisci.tamu.edu

Paper Dynamic Relationships Between Trust in Three Levels of Government and Civic Engagement

I examine the dynamic relationships between trust in three levels of government focusing on the role of civic engagement. The analysis employs VAR and SVAR models with MCMC.

Miwa Nakajo, Texas A&M University

mnakajo@politics.tamu.edu

The Impact of Hurricane Katrina on Trust in Government **Paper**

A survey of Hurricane Katrina survivors reveals that low levels of trust in government reflect the devastation and stress experienced by respondents. Trust also helps explain expectations regarding the time it will take the area to fully recover.

Keith Nicholls, University of South Alabama

knicholls@usouthal.edu

Paper The Paradox of Political Efficacy: Explaining Its Rise and Fall

This paper examines the historical trend in external political efficacy and attempts to provide individual and macro-level explanations of short and long term fluctuations.

Jason A. Wood, University of Cincinnati

woodj4@email.uc.edu

George F. Bishop, University of Cincinnati

george.bishop@uc.edu

Disc. W. Michael Donovan, Cedar Crest College

mdonovan@cedarcrest.edu

25-9 Survey Research Methods

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Kieran Christian O'Doherty, University of British Columbia

kcodoher@interchange.ubc.ca

Paper Doing More With Missing Data: Incorporating Systematic Missingness Into Survey Research

We propose a new strategy for handling missing data in survey research. We use a vector of indicator variables to flag empty cell entries and model their covariate structure to explicate why the information is missing for those observations.

David Ciuk, Michigan State University

ciukdavi@msu.edu

Kurt Pyle, Michigan State University

pylekurt@msu.edu

Paper Disconnected Modes: Mode Effects among Early Voter Phone and Election Day In-Person Exit Poll Surveys

Election day in-person exit polls are increasingly supplemented by phone surveys of early voters. We explore mode effects and find confounds from phone surveys. Understanding these effects can ensure exit polls are representative of voters.

Michael Patrick McDonald, George Mason University mmcdon@gmu.edu

Matthew Phillip Thornburg, *George Mason University* mthornb1@gmu.edu

Paper Trickles or Bursts? New Methods for Analyzing the Dynamics of Aggregate Opinion During Presidential Campaigns

This paper adapts statistical techniques from voice recognition to problems in public opinion. I ask whether changes in opinion come in steady trickles or sudden bursts, providing insight into the way information flows during presidential campaigns.

Abe Gong, University of Michigan

agong@umich.edu

Paper Public Opinion in an Autocratic Regime: An Analysis of Iranian Public Opinion Data, 2006-2008

With the recent completion of two-waves of public opinion surveys in Iran, we supply the first rigorous look at the reliability and validity of these data through a descriptive analysis of the two data sets.

Cale Horne, University of Georgia

cdhorne@uga.edu

Ryan Bakker, University of Georgia

rbakker@uga.edu

Disc. Kieran Christian O'Doherty, University of British Columbia

kcodoher@interchange.ubc.ca

26-3 Improvements in Measurement and Methodology: Political Participation (Co-sponsored with Methodology, see 36-15)

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Paul A. Djupe, Denison University

djupe@denison.edu

Paper Re-Defining Political Participation with Item Response Theory

This study uses item response theory to establish a new method for calculating the dependent variable of political participation.

Daniel Gillion, University of Rochester

dgillion@mail.rochester.edu

Paper Voter Mobilization in U.S. Congressional Elections

In this paper we develop a first differences model to account for change in environmental factors related to voting, while controlling for traditional demographic and attitudinal variables. To test the model we utilize ANES panel data.

Clayton Clouse, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee ceclouse@uwm.edu

Aaron C. Weinschenk, *University of Wisconsin*, *Milwaukee* acw@uwm.edu

Paper Participatory Equality and the Internet Revolution

Using a recent Pew survey we compare online and offline political activities and find the surprising extent to which Web-based political participation is structured by the same factors that have long been found to predict offline activity.

Kay Lehman Schlozman, Boston College

kschloz@bc.edu

Sidney Verba, Harvard University

sverba@harvard.edu

Henry Brady, University of California, Berkeley

hbrady@berkeley.edu

Paper Planning the Optimal Get-out-the-vote Campaign Using Randomized Field Experiments

We show how to derive partisan and non-partisan optimal GOTV campaign strategies using randomized field experiments. The proposed methodology provides an essential tool for political scientists to best inform policy makers using field experiments.

Kosuke Imai, Princeton University

kimai@Princeton.Edu

Aaron Strauss, Princeton University

abstraus@Princeton.EDU

Paper Who Matches?: Propensity Scores, Matching, and Bias in Estimating the Causal Effects of College Education on Participation

Propensity score matching offers a way to control for selection confounders in estimating the causal effects of education on participation. We replicate the best example to date, Kam and Palmer (2008), to asses the limitations of this approach.

John A. Henderson, *University of California, Berkeley* jahende 32@berkeley.edu

Sara Chatfield, University of California, Berkeley schatfield@calmail.berkeley.edu

Disc. Claudine Gay, Harvard University

cgay@gov.harvard.edu

26-10 Age and Political Participation (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-24)

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Fubing Su, Vassar College

fusu@vassar.edu

Paper From Voter Registration to Democratic Engagement: Understanding Students' Political Motivation and Participation

in A College Poll Worker Project

This paper asks the question: why do students get involved in local politics? I examine the question of political motivation and mobilization of college students to participate in local politics.

Sarita McCoy Gregory, Vassar College

sagregory@vassar.edu

Paper Young People and Voting: the Effect of Household and Local Context on the Turnout of Young People at a Recent British General Election

This paper provides a reliable estimate of turnout among young people at a recent British general election and examines the effects of household and local context on influencing the extent to which young people turnout in elections.

David Cutts, University of Manchester

david.cutts@manchester.ac.uk

Edward Fieldhouse, University of Manchester

ed.fieldhouse@manchester.ac.uk

Andrew Russell, University of Manchester

and rew.russell@manchester.ac.uk

Paper The Age Gap in Voter Turnout Through Time and Space

Some countries evidence a widening generational divide in turnout. In others turnout differences between younger and older voters are stable in time. What causes over-time movements of the age gap and how can between-country differences be explained?

Kaat Smets, European University Institute

kaat.smets@eui.eu

Paper The Cumulative Effects of Experience on Political Participation

This paper constructs an index of life-cycle events to test whether the accumulation of life events better explains participation differences than models with only individual life-cycle variables, both within and across age groups.

Craig Frizzell, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee cff@uwm.edu

Paper On the Origins of Political Interest: Family and Personality

Using two unique panels, each stretching over more than 30 years, I argue that parenting style and cultural and cognitive resources gained in childhood have a powerful effect on the likelihood of developing an interest in politics.

Danielle Shani, Princeton University

dshani@princeton.edu

Disc. Jean-Francois Godbout, Simon Fraser University

godbout@sfu.ca

27-10 The Political Attitudes and Behavior of Journalists, Audiences, and Media Organizations

Room Honore on the Lobby Level, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Jennifer Ogg Anderson, Vanderbilt University

jennifer.ogg@vanderbilte.edu

Paper The Political Attitudes of American Journalists

A comprehensive analysis of the survey data that purports to measure the political affiliations and policy opinions of American journalists.

William G. Mayer, Northeastern University

wgmayer@erols.com

Paper Content Analysis of Online News Coverage by Al Jazeera English: A Comparison to the BBC News and CNN

International

Project investigates whether online news coverage by Al Jazeera English based in the Middle East differs from the BBC News and CNN International. Content analysis of "top" news stories tests for differences in regional focus and topical emphasis.

Harvey D. Palmer, University at Buffalo, SUNY

hpalmer@buffalo.edu

Sarah Tanbakuchi, University at Buffalo, SUNY

sarah.tanba@gmail.com

Paper Operation Haunted Hall: Chicago Dailies' Coverage of Ghost Payrolling

This study investigates the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Sun Times' coverage of Operation Haunted Hall. It asks if the Chicago Sun Times or Chicago Tribune offer suggestions or instructions for remedying corruption?

Leniece T. Davis, North Central College

ltdavis@noctrl.edu

Disc. David Niven, Wright State University

niven.1@osu.edu

29-2 Political Participation

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Dianne M. Pinderhughes, University of Notre Dame

dpinderh@nd.edu

Paper Examining the Effects of Voluntary Associations on Electoral and Non-Electoral Participation Among African Americans

Using data taken from the 1996 National Black Election Study, this investigation examines electoral and non-electoral political

participation among African Americans.

Maruice Mangum, Texas Southern University

maruicemangum@yahoo.com

Randall Demil Swain, Eastern Kentucky University

randall.swain@eku.edu

MaCherie Placide, Western Illinois University

m-placide@wiu.edu

Paper Collective vs Dyadic Descriptive Representation and Minority Political Engagement

In this paper we argue that minority political engagement varies in accordance with the level of collective representation within state government.

Rene R. Rocha, University of Iowa

rene-rocha@uiowa.edu

Caroline J. Tolbert, University of Iowa

caroline-tolbert@uiowa.edu

Christopher Clark, University of Iowa

christopher-clark@uiowa.edu

Paper Political Empowerment and Participation Among Blacks, Latinos, and Whites in the 21st Century

We examine the effects of political empowerment on rates of participation among Blacks, Latinos, Whites, and women. Our data are drawn from the 2004-2005 National Politics Study (NPS).

Vincent L. Hutchings, University of Michigan

vincenth@umich.edu

Spencer Piston, University of Michigan

spencerpiston@gmail.com

Davin Phoenix, University of Michigan

dphoenix@umich.edu

Disc. Christina Michelle Greer, Smith College

cgreer@email.smith.edu

31-6 The Basis and Genesis of Locke's Political Philosophy

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Jennifer A. Mogg, Rhode Island College

jmogg@ric.edu

Paper From Nature to Convention: The Political Implications of

Locke's Theories of Law and Language

A careful reading of key works of Locke demonstrates a consistent account of developments in law, language, and politics from the natural to the conventional. This account provides the conditions for Lockean politics.

Howard Schweber, University of Wisconsin, Madison

schweber@polisci.wisc.edu

Paper Self-Ownership, Natural Rights and the Natural Law in Locke's Political Philosophy

One of the most controversial issues in recent Lockean scholarship concerns the apparent contradiction between Divine ownership and self-ownership of human beings. A means of resolving this contradiction is implicit in Locke's thought.

Stephen Adam Seagrave, University of Notre Dame

sseagrav@nd.edu

Before the Appeal to Heaven: Prerogative, Law, and Rebellion Paper in Locke's Political Theory

This paper argues Locke's prerogative is best understood in relation to both the law and rebellion. Considering the constitutive tension between the three gives Locke's political theory a balance lacking in theories of exception and the rule of law.

Antony J. Lyon, University of California, San Diego alyon@ucsd.edu

Paper John Locke and Modern Natural Science

Locke's epistemology is heavily influenced by the new scientific approach. This affects his moral and political theory. I look at Locke's theory in its relation to ancient, medieval, and modern science, as a way of shedding new light on his politics.

Steven Forde, University of North Texas

forde@unt.edu

Disc. Christopher S. McClure, Georgetown University chris.mcclure@gmail.com

32-12 **Governance and Democratic Accountability**

Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room John Soroski, Grant MacEwan College Chair

soroskij@macewan.ca

Non-Electoral Authorization and Accountability Paper

This paper generates a set of criteria to assess the potential benefits, dangers, and moral risks that arise when actors function as representatives outside of the formal procedures of electoral authorization and accountability.

Laura Montanaro, University of British Columbia

 $laura_m@interchange.ubc.ca$

The Concept of Governance-Driven Democratization Paper

Many of the new opportunities for democracy are emerging outside of electoral democracy, in domains of "governance." This paper identifies the possibility of "governance-driven democratization," and suggests an approach to normative assessment.

Mark E. Warren, University of British Columbia

warren@politics.ubc.ca

Pragmatic Democracy

This paper proposes a concept that seeks to dialectically overcome the false contradiction between representation and participation: pragmatic democracy.

Thamy Pogrebinschi, Rio de Janeiro University Research Institute thamy@iuperj.br

Legitimacy of Institutions, Not Norms Paper

Contrary to many contemporary accounts of political legitimacy, the article argues that political legitimacy is a property of political institutions that coercively enforce legal norms, rather than a property of those norms themselves.

James Robert Hunter, Princeton University

jrhunter@princeton.edu

John Soroski, Grant MacEwan College Disc.

soroskij@macewan.ca

32-13 **The Conditions of Civic Virtue**

Millenium on the 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room Chair Michael J. Faber, University of Southern Indiana

mfaber@indiana.edu

Civic Virtue Without Politics Paper

This paper defends the extra-political theory of civic virtue, which holds that the majority of the ways to exercise civic virtue in a liberal polity do not directly involve politics or activities on the periphery of politics.

Jason Brennan, Brown University jason_brennan@brown.edu

Liberals, Communitarians, and Privatists **Paper**

This essay introduces the political philosophy of privatism as a significant challenge to the liberal and communitarian philosophies that dominate American political thought.

Jonathan E. McKenzie, Purdue University

jemckenz@purdue.edu

The Last Refuge of Scoundrels?: The Contemporary Paper

Rehabilitation of Patriotism

This paper will consider recent attempts to articulate an understanding of patriotism which avoids the familiar criticisms of it as, at best, naïve romanticism and, at worst, violent and bigoted intolerance.

Sarah L. Houser, University of Notre Dame

shouser@nd.edu

Paper Moral Freedom and Political Agency: Rousseau's Liberating **Authorities**

This paper examines Rousseau's moral psychology and its implications for political agency by focusing on Emile and its sequel, Emile & Sophie to reconstruct his conception of liberating authority and the obstacles to freedom it aims to surmount.

Claudia Schaler, Brandeis University

cschaler@brandeis.edu

Ross J. Corbett, Northern Illinois University Disc.

rcorbett@niu.edu

33-9 **History and Injustice**

Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room

Wayne S. LeCheminant, Loyola Marymount University Chair

wlecheminant@lmu.edu

Elites, Institutions and Civil Society: A Theory of Political **Paper**

Reconciliation Following Mass Atrocity

This paper outlines a normative theory of political reconciliation

based on reciprocal respect and tolerance. Ernesto Verdeja, University of Notre Dame

everdeja@nd.edu

Paper Justice on a Temporal Plane: A Theoretical Discussion of **Historic Injustice**

Seeking to locate the meaning of justice within the debate on historic injustice, this paper engages in a conceptual discussion of reparation politics.

Sheena Kang, University of Chicago

sheena.kang@yale.edu

Uses and Abuses of History and Memory: Critical History and **Paper** Remembering the Present as Diagnostic Tools

This paper is an examination of Paul Ricoeur and Eric Voegelin's understanding of memory and history, especially as it relates to the underlying causes and cases of abusive history.

Peter Alan Petrakis, Southeastern Louisiana University ppetrakis@selu.edu

The Comfort Women Case Reconsidered: Inherited **Paper Responsibility with Reciprocal Nondomination**

> This paper reconsiders the comfort women case by operating reciprocal nondomination as a regulative principle with which both victims and wrongdoers can be guided to a deliberative process conducive to an agreement for transitional justice.

Jun-Hyeok Kwak, Korea University

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Eon Joo Park, Korea University piscespooh@korea.ac.kr

Disc. H. L. T. Quan, Arizona State University

h.a@asu.edu

Michael Kates, New York University

michaelkates@nyu.edu

34-9 With and Against Habermas

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Sezgin Seymen Cebi, Kadir Has University

sezginseymen@yahoo.com

Paper Choice, Integrity, Legitimacy: Democracy and the Value of Intransigence

Using Bernard Williams's work on moral agency and dilemmatic choices, this paper argues that for legitimacy to be achieved, democracies must recognize and address the costs to citizens' sense of integrity that results from democratic decision-making

Douglas William Hanes, McGill University douglas.hanes@mail.mcgill.ca

Paper Habermas and Constitutional Development

Beginning with Jürgen Habermas' theory of discursive democracy, I analyze how constitutions affect both behavior (discourse) and individual levels of perceived regime legitimacy.

Melissa Jeanette Scheier, *Georgetown College* Melissa_Scheier@Georgetowncollege.edu

Paper Discourse, Complexity, Life: Foucault's Materialist Theory of Discourse and the Issue of Normativity

The paper argues, utilizing the concept of life, how a normative politics can operate, and relativism avoided, in relation to Foucault's historicist conception of discourse. It frames its discussion on normativity to the criticisms made by Habermas

Mark Edwin Olssen, University of Surrey

M.Olssen@surrey.ac.uk

Paper Leadership in Democratic Public Spheres

In restricting democratic participation to public deliberation oriented toward mutual understanding, contemporary deliberative democrats neglect the ethical and technical requirements of political leadership.

Wynne Walker Moskop, Saint Louis University moskopww@slu.edu

Disc. Emily Howden Hoechst, Georgetown University ehoechst@mac.com

34-10 Comparative Political Theory

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Jon Carlson, University of California, Merced
jcarlson3@ucmerced.edu

Paper Re-Centering Knowledge: What Political Theory Stands to Learn from Area Studies

I argue that area studies offers an already-existing institutional platform for deparochializing political theory. It does not urge a cosmopolitan ethic so much as re-center political theory on other sites and method of knowledge-production.

Leigh Jenco, National University of Singapore pollkj@nus.edu.sg

Paper Domesticating Difference: A Comparative Perspective on India's Ancient Political Thought

This paper critiques a misleading interpretation of an important concept in Indian political theory: "matsyanyaya" as a "state of nature." I will show how this misleading interpretation "domesticates" crucial differences between these two concepts.

Stuart James Gray, *University of California*, *Santa Barbara* stuartgray@umail.ucsb.edu

Paper Otherness, Canonicity and Comparative Political Theory

Traditional western political theory, because of its exclusive reliance on the western canon, is a limited enterprise. Comparative political theory helps us in understanding criterion against which we measure the degree of civility of the Other.

Hassan Bashir, *Texas A&M University, Qatar* hassan.bashir@qatar.tamu.edu

Paper Colonialism, Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism of Rabindranath Tagore

This paper presents the notions of nationalism and internationalism of Rabindranath Tagore and discusses in detail the clear

cosmopolitan trend as contained in it.

Srobana Bhattacharya, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale srobana@gmail.com

Disc. Jon Carlson, University of California, Merced

jcarlson3@ucmerced.edu

35-7 Normative Evaluation of Institutions

Room Spire on the 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair David Epstein, Columbia University

de 11@columbia.edu

Paper A Social Choice Theory of Legitimacy

We provide a theory of legitimacy based on the notion of the Banks set. Applications to multi-institutional decision-making are examined.

John W. Patty, Harvard University

jwpatty@gmail.com

Elizabeth Maggie Penn, Harvard University

epenn@gov.harvard.edu

Paper Do Quotas Make Ethnic and Gender Groups Exert Less Effort in Competition?

Quotas are found in over 50 countries for positions in the national legislature. Tournament theory is used to examine the effect of quotas on agents' strategic effort expenditure in competition. The theory is evaluated using experimental methods.

Kristin Grace Michelitch, New York University

kristin.michelitch@nyu.edu

Paper Information Aggregation Properties of Agenda Procedures

The information aggregation properties of two commonly used agenda forms – the sequential agenda and the amendment agenda – are examined.

Scott Moser, Nuffield College, Oxford University scott.moser@politics.ox.ac.uk

Paper Aristotle's Politics on Corporate Governance: In Pursuit of the Common Good

Constitutions of large corporations, mainly serving one faction, usually equity, are deeply flawed (unjust). The paper offers Aristotle's mixed constitution with its associated laws as a model to advance the interests of multiple stakeholders.

Krishna K. Ladha, University of Maryland, Baltimore County krish.ladha@gmail.com

Pradyot K. Sen, *University of Cincinnati* SENPK@ucmail.uc.edu

Paper Should Minorities be in Power?

Under conflict conditions, majority control can lead to minority abuse, but I argue that minorities may not abuse majorities as much, so minority control may be the best of two evils. But small group control of many small groups may still be abusive.

Thorsten Janus, *University of Wyoming* tjanus@uwyo.edu

Disc. Dimitri Landa, New York University

dimitri.landa@nyu.edu

36-6 **Spatial Analysis**

Chair

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Michael Ward, University of Washington

mdw@u.washington.edu

Paper Conditional Diffusion: Smoke Free Air Legislation and Tobacco Taxation Policies in the United States 1970-2007

This paper argues that the effects of policy diffusion vary with political and institutional conditions in the jurisdiction subject to such influences. The argument is tested with state-level data on smoking regulation and taxation in the US.

Christian W. Martin, Northwestern University christian-martin@northwestern.edu

Paper The Spatial Organization of Elections and the Cube Law

This paper argues that spatial autocorrelation can help explain why the Cube Law is or is not sustained in elections under the first-past-the-post system. It uses spatial econometrics to investigate recent Taiwanese elections in testing the theory.

Tse-min Lin, *University of Texas*, *Austin*

tml@austin.utexas.edu

Feng-yu Lee, National Taiwan University

fylee323@ntu.edu.tw

Paper Who is in Your Neighborhood? New Approaches to Define Neighborhood Context

This paper will address the limitations and disadvantages of some commonly used contextual measurements. Using GIS, we develop a new technique to create spatially continuous neighborhood at different scales.

Iris Hui, University of California, Berkeley

iris hui@berkeley.edu

Weimin Li, California Institute of Technology

wli@csupomona.edu

Disc. David Darmofal, University of South Carolina

darmofal@gmail.com

Robert J. Franzese, Jr., University of Michigan

franzese@umich.edu

38-5 Party Systems and Party Success

Room Chicago on the 5th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Kathleen Marie Bruhn, University of California, Santa Barbara

bruhn@polsci.ucsb.edu

Paper Should Identical Institutional Rules Generate Identical Party

Systems? Evidence From Subnational Politics in Brazil

Should identical institutional rules of the game generate identical party systems? Despite sharing indistinguishable institutional features, party competition in subnational Brazil presents considerable variation. This paper analyzes its causes.

Simone R. Bohn, York University, Toronto

sbohn@yorku.ca

Paper Green Bolsheviks and Mensheviks: Understanding the Origins, Growth and Success of Islamic Parties

What accounts for the wide variation in the success of Islamic parties within Pakistan over time, across space and at different levels of aggregation (national/provincial/district)?

Haroon Ullah, Harvard University haroon_ullah@ksg.harvard.edu

Paper Status of Parliamentary Parties in 212 Polities

Surveys parliamentary party systems in 212 polities scored on the World Bank's governance indicators, reporting on seats held by the top three parties in two successive elections prior to 2006.

Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University

k-janda@northwestern.edu

Jin-Young Kwak, Konkuk University

jykwak@konkuk.ac.kr

Paper <u>Understanding Vertical Party Aggregation in Federal Systems</u>

This paper models the conditions under which political parties at different levels of government with share a common party label, using this model to analyze vertical party aggregation in Canada and Australia.

Michael Kellermann, Harvard University

kellerm@fas.harvard.edu

Disc. Kathleen Marie Bruhn, University of California, Santa Barbara

bruhn@polsci.ucsb.edu

Georgia Kernell, University of Pennsylvania

gkernell@sas.upenn.edu

39-12 Presidential Agenda Setting

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Shannon Linnea Bow, University of Texas

shannonbow@hotmail.com

Paper Strike When the Iron's Cold? The Politics of Presidential Attention in Political Time

This paper focuses on the prioritization of presidential attention among competing public policy issues, as well as changes to the distribution. Specifically, we study the role of presidential capital in the distribution and shifting of attention.

Paul Rutledge, Marshall University

rutledgep@marshall.edu

Bret Wilson, West Virginia University

bdw8299@hotmail.com

Paper Where Issue Ownership Stops and Governing Begins: The

Allocation of Presidential Policy Attention

Using an agendas-based approach, I find that issue ownership is not a product of presidential policy making. Instead, presidential policy attention is dispersed, and presidents, and their respective parties, do not "own" issues outside of campaigns.

Heather A. Larsen-Price, University of Memphis

hlrsnprc@memphis.edu

Disc. Amnon Cavari, University of Wisconsin, Madison

cavari@polisci.wisc.edu

40-9 Comparative Legislatures II

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Thomas Braeuninger, University of Konstanz

thomas.braeuninger@uni-konstanz.de

Paper Legislative Agenda and Foreign Policy in Latin America: Case of Chile

Tendencies in research and proposal of guidelines for studies and analyses in legislative agenda, characteristics of the legislative work in the case of Chile and methods to improve outputs in foreign policy.

Patricio Valdivieso, Institut of Political Science PUC Chile pvaldivf@puc.cl

Paper Setting the Agenda by Motions: Comparison Between Israel and England

Setting the agenda in a parliament is considered an important issue. The research will expand the empirical knowledge by investigating the Israeli and the British Parliaments. And will expand Cox and McCubbins model by testing motion for the agenda.

Osnat Akirav, Western Galilee College

osnatak@bezeqint.net

Paper Legislative Shirking with Multiple Principals: A Bayesian Analysis of EP Roll Call Data

We formally model and empirically test European Parliament (EP) legislative behavior over time, examining the effects of EP election proximity on party group ideological cohesion and movement.

Ryan J. Vander Wielen, Temple University

rvwielen@temple.edu

Rene Lindstaedt, Trinity College, Dublin

lindstar@tcd.ie

Jonathan Benjamin Slapin, *Trinity College, Dublin* slapinj@tcd.ie

Paper Parliamentarians' Careers in the German Bundestag: When Getting in is Just the Beginning

This study is based on statistical research of members of the Bundestag from 1994 to present and will look variables that enhance the probability of selection to leadership positions.

Melanie Kintz, Western Michigan University

melaniekintz@web.de

Disc. Thomas Braeuninger, University of Konstanz

thomas.braeuninger@uni-konstanz.de

David Fisk, University of California, San Diego

dfisk@ucsd.edu

40-21 <u>Yeas and Nays Are Not Exogenous: The Roll Call Record</u> Paper in Congress

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm **Chair Shawn Treier**, *University of Minnesota*

satreier@umn.edu

Paper The Vote Not Taken: How Omnibus Spending Bills Help Majorities Tame the Senate Floor

Using a new dataset tracking the legislative history of appropriations bills over 31 years, I show how omnibus spending bills evolved as a tool to allow Senate majorities to control the Senate floor.

Peter Christopher Hanson, *University of California*, *Berkeley* phanson@berkeley.edu

Paper Houses in Motion: Getting to the Unidimensional Congress 1953-2004

We study the dynamics of dimensional collapse in congressional roll call voting. We use issue classifications and a cluster analytic technique to estimate voting scores. We examine the dynamics of issue correlations to the underlying dimensions(s).

Michael Tofias, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

tofias@uwm.edu

Michael Ensley, Indiana University

ensley@indiana.edu

Scott de Marchi, Duke University

demarchi@duke.edu

Paper Asking for the Yeas and Nays: An Examination of Recorded and Unrecorded Votes in the 110th Congress

Why does Congress decide to record a vote on some measures, but not on others? We examine all public laws generated in the 110th Congress and consider whether sponsor ideology or bill content influence whether a bill receives a recorded vote.

Michael S. Lynch, University of Kansas

mlynch@ku.edu

Anthony J. Madonna, University of Georgia

ajmadonn@uga.edu

Paper Immigration as a Second Dimension? Evidence from the 109th Congress

This paper determines whether legislative voting behavior related to immigration reform in the 109th Congress can be explained best by the emergence of a second issue dimension, and not just partisanship.

Grace Michelle Jensen, Vanderbilt University

grace.jensen@vanderbilt.edu

Gbemende E. Johnson, *Vanderbilt University* gbemende.johnson@vanderbilt.edu

Diana Maria Orces, Vanderbilt University

diana.m.orces@vanderbilt.edu

Disc. Shawn Treier, University of Minnesota

satreier@umn.edu

42-1 New Directions in Judicial Politics Research

Room Empire on the Lobby Level, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair James Ralston Rogers, Texas A&M University

rogers@politics.tamu.edu

Paper Revisiting the Policy Preferences of United States Courts of Appeals Judges

We develop and deploy new estimates of U.S. Courts of Appeals judges' policy preferences.

Ryan C. Black, Washington University, St. Louis

rcblack@wustl.edu

Ryan J. Owens, Harvard University ryan_owens@gov.harvard.edu

Confirmation Bias in the United States Supreme Court Judicial Database

We ask whether an opinion issued by a liberal court is more likely to be assigned a USSCJD issue code that leads to a liberal judgment code, relative to an otherwise similar opinion issued by a conservative court (and vice versa).

Anna Harvey, New York University

anna.harvey@nyu.edu

Michael Woodruff, New York University

woodruff@nyu.edu

Paper Measuring the Content of Supreme Court Opinions

We develop an original Bayesian scaling model to estimate the location of Supreme Court opinions. Using data on which precedents are cited, we derive case locations in a multidimensional "doctrine space."

Tom S. Clark, Emory University

tom.clark@emory.edu

Benjamin E. Lauderdale, Princeton University

blauderd@princeton.edu

Paper Public Opinion and Senate Confirmation of Supreme Court Nominees

We study the relationship between state-level public opinion and the roll call votes of senators on Supreme Court nominees.

Jeffrey R. Lax, Columbia University

JRL2124@columbia.edu

Jonathan P. Kastellec, Columbia University

jpk2004@columbia.edu

Justin H. Phillips, Columbia University

jhp2121@columbia.edu

Paper Does the Median Justice Control the Content of Supreme Court Opinions?

We demonstrate that if judges have preferences over both case outcomes and rules, the median justice typically does not determine the content of Supreme Court decisions.

Georg Vanberg, University of North Carolina

gvanberg@unc.edu

Clifford J. Carrubba, Emory University

ccarrub@emory.edu

Barry Friedman, New York University friedmab@exchange.law.nyu.edu Andrew Martin, Washington University admartin@me.com

Disc. Jeffrey Staton, Emory University

jeffrey.staton@emory.edu

James Ralston Rogers, Texas A&M University

rogers@politics.tamu.edu

42-19 Exploring Conflict and Ideology in Context

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm **Chair Chad Westerland**, *University of Arizona*

cwesterl@email.arizona.edu

Paper The Attitudinal Model Down Under: Explaining Case Outcomes on the High Court of Australia

Despite the claims of many Justices, clear patterns can be seen in the ideological direction of case outcomes on the High Court of Australia. This paper provides evidence to support the use of the attitudinal model in explaining these outcomes.

Rebecca Wood, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

rebecca.wood@unlv.edu

Paper Taking the Measure of Ideology in Intellectual Property Cases

This paper tests which of three measures of case outcomes best apply to intellectual property cases: a minimum winning coalition model, a maximum winning coalition model, or a strategic model.

Tonja Jacobi, Northwestern University

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Matthew James Sag, DePaul College of Law

Matthewsag@gmail.com

Preferences of Supreme Court Justices in Native American Paper Cases: Does Partisanship Matter?

Do US Supreme Court justices have a policy preference towards Native Americans that can be predicted by partisanship? I test this quantitatively by examining individual votes of justices.

Gregory E. Rathje, Western Michigan University gregory.e.rathje@wmich.edu

Inconsistent Contract Enforcement Paper

We present a theoretical and empirical framework that identifies inconsistently-decided cases; measures the extent of such inconsistencies; and identifies underlying sources of conflicting decisions in a commercial law setting.

Anthony Niblett, Harvard University niblett@fsa.harvard.edu

Paper Judicial Ideology and the Norwegian Supreme Court: **Individual vs Collective Goods**

This study explicates an important ideological dimension of Norwegian Supreme Court justices, i.e. individual vs. public economic rights. This paper is part of a larger project that seeks to understand the politics of justice decision making.

William R. Shaffer, Purdue University

wshaffer@purdue.edu

Gunnar Grendstad, University of Bergen

gunnar.grendstad@isp.uib.no

Eric Waltenburg, Purdue University

ewaltenb@purdue.edu

Disc. Rachel L Ellett, Beloit College

ellettr@beloit.edu

Chad Westerland, University of Arizona

cwesterl@email.arizona.edu

42-100 Roundtable: Behind the Bench: Interviewing Law Clerks

Watertower on the 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

We will discuss some aspects of interviewing judges' law clerks; including both face-to-face interviews and written questionnaires. We explore both the "why" and "how to" on the process from the perspective of both the researcher and the clerk.

Panelist Wendy L. Watson, Southern Methodist University

wendyw@smu.edu

Mary Rose Alexander, Latham and Watkins

mary.rose.alexander@lw.com

Lisa A. Kloppenberg, University of Dayton

Lisa. Kloppenberg@notes.udayton.edu

Todd C. Peppers, Roanoke College

peppers@roanoke.eduu

Carolyn Shapiro, Kent College of Law, Chicago

cshapiro1@kentlaw.edu

Artemus Ward, Northern Illinois University

aeward@niu.edu

Stephen L. Wasby, University at Albany, SUNY

wasb@albany.edu

43-7 Theory, Philosophy and Law

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Michael Richter Fine, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire Chair

finemr@uwec.edu

Authorial Rights in the Copyright System Paper

Offers a critique of utilitarianism as the philosophical foundation for the copyright system in the United States for the theory's limitation in recognizing natural and moral rights of authors in their literary and artistic works.

Alina Ng, Mississippi College School of Law ng@mc.edu

Law, Sovereignty and Democracy: Hans Kelsen's Critique of **Paper** Sovereignty

The paper focuses on Hans Kelsen's critique of sovereignty and discusses it in the light of current debates about the decline of sovereign statehood and about the loosening of the link between democracy, constitutionalism and the state.

Petra Gumplova, New School for Social Research gumplovp@newschool.edu

Paper In Defense of Juristocracy: Gadamer and Judicial Virtue

Defense of growing judicial power by arguing that Gadamerian hermeneutical philosophy helps us see how the judiciary is especially qualified to wield that power, though abolishing life tenure for judges can help ensure judicial accountability.

Curtis M. Curtis, University of Portland

curtisw@up.edu

Paper Reassessing the Institutional Role of Judicial Power in the **Constitutional System: Current Theory and Future Prospects**

Judicial power as an institution deserves more attention from political scientists. This paper suggests the appropriate questions and materials incident to a constitutionally grounded analysis.

Matthew S. Brogdon, Baylor University

matt brogdon@baylor.edu

Textual Sovereignty and the "Many Disguises" of American Paper **Political Actors**

Examination of liberal democratic practice in America from a Schmittian perspective, emphasizing textual sovereignty and the legal priesthood's role in exercising that sovereignty, with attention to the recent turn toward a conservative juirsprudence

Tim Delaune, University of Massachusetts

tdelaune@polsci.umass.edu

Disc. Joseph S. Devaney, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay

devaneyj@uwgb.edu

Will Geisler, University of Dallas

andros47@gmail.com

44-2 **Comparative and Transnational Law**

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Chair

Sanford R. Silverburg, Catawba College

ssilver@catawba.edu

Paper The Importance of ECJ for Europe's Economic Success

The importance of the European Court of Justice for the economic success is analyzed in this paper. Due to the high level of unification in the EU, an efficient supra-national judiciary is essential in order to solve supra-national disputes.

Igor Martins de Borba, Marquette University

igor.borba@marquette.edu

Common Roots, Divergent Evolution: Insider Trading Doctrine **Paper** in the United States, Germany, and Japan

This paper identifies and analyzes the common roots and divergent evolution of existing operative insider trading rules in the United States, Germany, and Japan.

Joan MacLeod Heminway, University of Tennessee

jheminwa@tennessee.edu

Paper The Causes of Judicial Empowerment in Authoritarian States

Employing parametric and semi-parametric event history analyses, this paper presents empirical tests of popular causal explanations that attempt to answer the question of when and why authoritarian regimes establish quasi-independent courts.

Brad Epperly, University of Washington

epperly@u.washington.edu

Jennifer Fredette, University of Washington

jfredett@u.washington.edu

Disc. David Marrani, University of Essex

dmarrani@essex.ac.uk

Shannon Ishiyama Smithey, Westminster College smithesi@westminster.edu

45-6 State Parties and Elections

Room Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Willard B. Stouffer, Texas State University

billsto4@hotmail.com

Paper Measuring the Probability of Change in State Government Party Control

The costs and benefits of measures of state electoral competitiveness are discussed as they relate to established state politics theories. The probability state legislative chambers and governorships will switch party control is then measured.

Carl Eoin Klarner, Indiana State University cklarner@hotmail.com

Paper The Impact of State Legislative Professionalism on PAC Contributions

This paper examines the relationship between legislative professionalism and contributor motives. Contributors in professional legislatures are motivated by policy outcomes and contributors in amateur legislatures are motivated by election outcomes.

David W. Prince, Georgia Gwinnett College dprince@ggc.usg.edu

Paper Elections and Economic Development: Does An Electoral Mandate Influence a Governor's Economic Development Policies?

This paper examines the impact of a governor's electoral mandate on the economic development policies that he proposes to the legislature. The paper draws on a content analysis of gubernatorial legislative addresses from 1997 to 2006.

Charles Taylor, *Ball State University* cdtaylor@bsu.edu

Disc. Cynthia R. Rugeley, Texas Tech University cindy.rugeley@ttu.edu

46-16 The Politics of Metropolitan Regions

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair E. Terrence Jones, University of Missouri, St. Louis terry.jones@umsl.edu

Paper Re-Evaluating the Neighborhood Effects on Political
Participation: An Application of Propensity Score Matching
with Continuous Treatment

This paper reevaluates the neighborhood effects on political participation taking account of the effects from sorting, voice, and exit. Methodologically, this paper relies on propensity score matching with continuous treatment.

Masataka Harada, University of Chicago masa@uchicago.edu

Paper The Metropolitan Organization Debate: Urban Secession

This paper examines the intersections of local government actors, shifting racial/ethnic demographics, and institutional factors on secession movements in the United States.

Sara Marie Butler, University of California, Los Angeles Sbutler21@ucla.edu

Paper Metropolitan Sorting: Is Diversity of Communities Waxing or Waning, and Why?

We ask if household sorting has increased over time. We examine how much of the change may be due to racial and ethnic factors or Tiebout factors. The analysis is conducted in four metropolitan areas: Houston, Atlanta, Lexington, and Louisville.

 $\textbf{Kenneth N. Bickers}, \ \textit{University of Colorado}$

bickers@colorado.edu

Richard N. Engstrom, Georgia State University polrne@langate.gsu.edu

Paper Access, Capacity, and Metropolitan Political Development: An Evaluation of the Existing Theoretical Toolbox and an

Argument for the Necessity of a Historical Institutionalist's Research Agenda

Urban politics research typically segments access and capacity issues and employs a static concept of the municipality. However, the metropolitan context questions the usefulness this segmentation. I argue for a historical institutionalist approach.

Jeremy W. Main, *University of Missouri, St. Louis* jwm967@umsl.edu

Disc. Richard A. Wandling, Eastern Illinois University

rawandling@eiu.edu

47-8 Equity in K-12 Education

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Peter John Haas, San Jose State University

haas@sjsu.edu

Paper Who Matters? The Substantive Effects of African American Institutional Incorporation on Equity in Education Finance

This paper examines whether institutional incorporation (i.e. formal positions of authority) of African American state legislators influences a substantive relationship between education funding levels and the racial makeup of districts.

Renita L. Miller, Rice University

Renita.Miller@rice.edu

Paper Foundation Funding of School Districts: What is the Effect on Education Policy, Where Does the Money Go and What is the Correlation Between Foundation Characteristics and Giving Patterns?

This paper uses data on grant making, primarily from foundation tax forms and publications, to provide an understanding of how foundations fund school districts and whether the purpose of funding varies by the characteristics of the foundations.

Shayna Klopott, *Columbia University* smk2121@columbia.edu

Paper Representative Democracy and Its Effects on Ethnic Minority Students' Academic Performance in American Urban Schools

Previous research suggests minority students in schools with great minority teacher representation do better than those not. This study shows that representative democracy has limited effects, standing only for low-achieving Hispanic student schools.

Chang-Ho Ji, La Sierra University

cji@lasierra.edu

Disc. Peter John Haas, San Jose State University

haas@sjsu.edu

47-29 Nano, Genome, and GMOs: Regulating New Technologies

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Mark E. Tompkins, University of South Carolina tompkins.mark@sc.edu

Paper Participation and Regulation: How Everyday Citizens are Engaging in Science Policy

This paper examines the role of civic engagement in regulatory decision-making processes. By using Cambridge, Massachusetts as a case study, we focus our attention on a citizens' forum that specifically dealt with regulatory decision-making.

Shannon N. Conley, Arizona State University

snconley@asu.edu

Dana Bersch, Arizona State University

dana.bersch@asu.edu

Genomics Governance in the Periphery: Switching from Paper **Authority to Legitimacy Politics**

Governance around genomics and food production needs to be revisited in order to correct power imbalances in policy and its design. Rich and poor countries share similar democratic and legitimacy deficits around new technologies' adoption.

Dan Badulescu, University of British Columbia

badulesc@interchange.ubc.ca

Regulating Emerging Technologies: What Regulators of Paper Nanotechnology Today May Learn from The Regulation of **Nuclear Fission Since the 1950s**

Developing a regulation framework for emerging technologies like nanotechnology today - can draw from earlier experiences. The regulation of nuclear fission technology since the late 1940s offers some relevant lessons for the regulators of today.

William D. Kay, Northeastern University

w.kay@neu.edu

Johannes Eijmberts, Northeastern University

eijmbert.j@neu.edu

Disc. Mark E. Tompkins, University of South Carolina

tompkins.mark@sc.edu

Volker H. Schneider, University of Konstanz, Germanz

volker.schneider@uni-konstanz.de

49-3 **Perceptions of Emerging Environmental and Technological Risks**

Hancock on the 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room

Megan Mullin, Temple University Chair

mmullin@temple.edu

How Citizens Make Sense of Climate Change: The Effect of Paper Local Weather on Beliefs about Global Warming

We show that many Americans are using a very simple heuristic to evaluate the seriousness of the climate change problem: their local weather.

Patrick J. Egan, New York University

patrick.egan@nyu.edu

Megan Mullin, Temple University

mmullin@temple.edu

Parties Tell Us What is True: Partisan Differences in Knowledge 50-22 Paper

We utilize the theory of motivated reasoning to examine beliefs in three areas of partisan dispute over factual information – WMD's, the origins of global warming, and the origins of humans.

Mark R. Joslyn, University of Kansas

mjoz@ku.edu

Donald P. Haider-Markel, University of Kansas

dhmarkel@ku.edu

Framing, Motivated Reasoning, and Emergent Technologies

This study evaluates how the initial framing of a new product shapes opinion formation, and how framing at one time subsequently affects the interpretation of later information.

Toby Bolsen, Northwestern University

tobybolsen@gmail.com

James N. Druckman, Northwestern University

druckman@northwestern.edu

Disc. Adam Berinsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

berinsky@mit.edu

50-9 **Issues of Race and Gender in Personnel Policy and Management**

Room Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Samuel Harvey Clovis, Morningside College Chair

clovis@morningside.edu

Human Capital and Economic Opportunities in Government Paper and Nonprofits

This paper examines both public and nonprofit agencies regarding the salary of women and minorities in executive level positions and the impact human capital has upon earnings.

Bethany G. Sneed, Cleveland State University

b.g.sneed@csuohio.edu

Management Strategies and Performance: An Examination of **Minority Managers in Public Organizations**

This paper demonstrates how the characteristics of the manager impact the performance of the organization - that is, whether organizations fare differently based on the race of the manager.

Erin K. Melton, Texas A&M University melton@tamu.edu

Meredith Brooke Loudd Walker, Texas A&M University

mwalker@politics.tamu.edu

Sadé Akilah Walker, Texas A&M University

sawalker@politics.tamu.edu

Kenneth J. Meier, Texas A&M University

kmeier@politics.tamu.edu

Paper Female and Male Veterans and Nonveterans: What's the Latest on their Career Advancement in the Federal Civil Service?

Before September 11, 2001, public policies giving veterans preference in the federal government's hiring process was not a significant barrier to women's advancement in the federal civil service. Do post 9/11 data reveal changes in these trends?

Bonnie Gail Mani, East Carolina University

manib@ecu.edu

Disc. Adrian S. Petrescu, Kutztown University

aspetrescu@alumni.pitt.edu

Trenton J. Davis, Georgia Southern University

tjdavis@georgiasouthern.edu

Public Administration Globally Considered

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Dominik Hangartner, Washington University, St. Louis

hangartner@soz.unibe.ch

Local Government Budget Reforms in Poor Countries: Paper

Emerging Lessons from Kenya and Cameroon

This paper examines local government budget reforms in poor countries, especially the emerging lessons from Kenya and Cameroon. The study uses content analysis of budget documents from the past two fiscal years.

Obuya James Bagaka,

obuyyah@yahoo.com

Foyou Estelle Foyou, West Virginia University

estelgrat@yahoo.com

Paper Good Governance Measured: Do Post-Martial Law and Ex-**Soviet Societies Differ?**

The paper conceptualizes Good Governance by using Common Assessment Framework. Government agencies in Taiwan and Estonia differ from historic viewpoint but share the path of democratization, offering original research for comparative analysis. Leelo M. Umbsaar, National Sun Yat-sen University

leelo.umbsaar@quality.ee

Educational Quality in a Latin American Setting: Bureaucratic, Paper Managerial, or Political Leadership Quality?

This study explores the determinants of educational quality in a Latin American country. It suggests that the human capital of those participating directly—teachers and principals—and indirectly elected leaders-contribute to basic education quality.

Claudia N. Avellaneda, University of North Carolina, Charlotte cavellan@uncc.edu

Paper Local Governance in Brazilian Municipalities: The Effects of Resource Royalties

We use municipal level election and local budget data in Brazil to investigate the effects of electoral competitiveness and natural resource royalties on the behavior of political decision makers and the allocative efficiency of public resources.

Thomas Brambor, Stanford University

tbrambor@stanford.edu

Paper Leadership Change and Government Performance

Theories of executive succession have contrasting expectations for whether political and managerial succession will improve government performance. We use panel data on English local governments to investigate these reciprocal relationships.

Oliver James, University of Exeter

o.james@exeter.ac.uk

George A. Boyne, University of Cardiff

boyne@cardiff.ac.uk

Peter John, University of Manchester

peter.john@manchester.ac.uk

Nicolai Petrovsky, University of Cardiff

petrovskyn@cardiff.ac.uk

Disc. Helena Stensöta, University of Gothenburg

helena.stensota@pol.gu.se

51-11 Citizenship in Comparative Perspective

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Meg E. Rincker, Purdue University Calumet

mrincker@calumet.purdue.edu

Paper Secularism and State Formation in Turkey and the United States

This paper compares the meaning and function of secularism in two states, Turkey and the United States of America, during their formative periods.

April Wilson Susky, *University of Alaska*, *Anchorage* april.susky@gmail.com

Paper Rethinking Diversity and Social Democracy: Catholic Incorporation in Australia and the United States in the Early 20th Century

The paper shows that diversity is not necessarily inimical to social democratic outcomes i.e. high levels of voter participation and encompassing social welfare. Thinking about diversity needs to be more diverse: the kind of diversity matters.

Willie S. Gin, *University of Pennsylvania* wgin@sas.upenn.edu

Paper Indigenous People, Culture and Citizenship in Colonial Mexico and Peru

The paper explores the responses indigenous people from Colonial Mexico and Peru gave to the first modern citizen's institutions on the local level. These were established by liberal elites during the Imperial Crisis (1808-24).

Claudia Guarisco, *El Colegio Mexiquense A.C.* cguarisco@cmq.edu.mx

Disc. Shamira Gelbman, Illinois State University sgelbman@ilstu.edu

Ihsan Alkhatib, Law Office Of Ihsan Alkhatib ehsankhatib@hotmail.com

54-8 Evangelicalism in Comparative Perspective

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Duane Oldfield, Knox College

doldfiel@knox.edu

Paper Political and Social Behaviors of American and British Evangelicals

Comparison of varieties of evangelicalism suggests that Americans have been more political and British more social. If Americans begin to emulate British emphases on social norms rather than public policy, criticism of political behavior may diminish **Andrea Hatcher**, *Sewanee: University of the South* ahatcher@sewanee.edu

Paper The Politics of Religion: The Rise of Evangelical Movements in Uganda and Brazil

This paper investigates religious and political trends in Brazil and Uganda. By looking at the rise of Evangelical movements, we try to determine if such a rise has translated into political changes in these two countries.

Ryan Gibb, University of Kansas

gibb.ryan@gmail.com

Pedro G. dos Santos, University of Kansas

dos@ku.edu

Paper The Shifting Transnationalisms of the Christian Right

The international activism of the U.S. based Christian right is becoming increasingly complex. This paper analyzes the role of transnational alliances in shaping the identities and agendas that drive that activism.

Duane Oldfield, Knox College

doldfiel@knox.edu

Disc. Amy E. Black, Wheaton College

amy.e.black@wheaton.edu

56-200 Poster Session: The Creative Implications of the Classroom

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Post. 17 Subpoena of Social Science Research: Thirty-Five Years Since Professor Popkin's Imprisonment

Social science research data and the identities of research subjects are vulnerable to subponae. Nearly three dozen social science faculty and PhD students have been subpoenaed in conection with their research. A body of law has evolved.

Charles R. Knerr, *University of Texas, Arlington* knerr@uta.edu; crknerr@aol.com

57-203 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: International Political Economy: Investment</u>

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Post. 18 The Effect of Donor Motivation on the Appropriateness of Foreign Aid to the Post-Conflict Balkans

This project investigates foreign aid allocation to two postconflict Balkan states, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. I use donor incentives as a measure of how responsive donors are to the recipient's needs, and analyze these aid patterns over time. **Dina Tarek Abdel-Fattah**, *College of William and Mary* dtabde@wm.edu

Post. 19 Assessing the Effectiveness of Microfinance in Increasing Wealth in Impoverished Regions; An Agent-Based Modeling Approach

An agent-based modeling study designed to explore the effectiveness of microfinance, under variable strategic and demographic conditons, as an economic development strategy.

Brandon Alcorn, University of Pennsylvania

brandont@sas.upenn.edu

Post. 20 The Interaction Between the Public Sector and the Private Sector in Disputes Submitted to the Dispute Settlement Body of WTO

The paper examines the means by which private sector affects the State participation in trade disputes, analyzing the Brazilian legal and governmental promotion of public-private interaction to submit litigations before the WTO dispute settlement.

Natália da Rosa Siqueira, Centro Universitario Ritter dos Reis natsiqueira@hotmail.com

Post. 21 A Cross-Country Analysis of the Domestic Determinants of Foreign Aid Allocation to Combat HIV/AIDS, 1995-2006

A investigation into the domestic determinants of foreign aid commitments to fight the AIDS pandemic. The data suggest that framing health as a right diminishes the amount of aid given, as does a higher level of AIDS-related stigma.

James Anson Fuller, Brigham Young University jimbofuller@gmail.com

Post. 22 The U.S. Control in the World Bank Group

Many scholars have made the criticism that the World Bank Group has not achieved its original mission. It means the World Bank Group actually does not help developing countries, since it is controlled by the United States, which has the largest share.

Sookyung Koo, Ewha Womans University sookyung87@gmail.com

Post. 23 Three Gorges, One Million Lives: The Effect of NGOs on Large Public Works Projects in Authoritarian Systems

This paper presents a case study analysis of the impact of NGOs on authoritarian governments' policies regarding the environmental quality and resettlement conditions of large-scale public works projects, focusing on three dams in China.

Valerie M. Miller, University of Missouri, Columbia vmmrhb@mizzou.edu

57-213 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: Comparative:</u> Europe

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Post. 24 Reforming the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy: Policy Recommendations from the Irish Perspective

I consider the relationship between the Irish government and the European Union in formulating changes to the Common Agricultural Policy and propose policy recommendations as to what Ireland should do in future negotiations.

Brittany Marie Law, *Alma College* 09bmlaw@alma.edu

Post. 25 British Political Scandals

An ever increasing number of British political scandals have come to light recently. Scandalous behavior certainly has negative repercussions on political careers/parties. What is unclear is whether **Paper** the effect is equal for various types of scandals.

Jessica Leigh Page, *University at Buffalo, SUNY* jlpage@buffalo.edu

Post. 26 Room for Everyone? Examining Inclusivity and Ideology in the Scottish National Party

Racism and xenophobia are expected features of European nationalist parties, but the Scottish National Party breaks this mold. We argue that the existing nationalist typology does not adequately capture this unique and emergent party's ideology.

Evan McLaughlin Rowe, Carleton College

rowee@carleton.edu

Hannah Selma Weinstein, Carleton College weinsteh@carleton.edu

Post. 27 Roosevelt, Franco and Stalin; The True Champion of Poverty is Revealed: Which Government Structure Under Stalin, Franco, or Roosevelt Accomplished the Most Success in Dealing with their Nation's Own Poverty During Each Rulers Reign?

When looking at politics in the domestic and international realm poverty is an issue that has over the time always been an issue for citizens, rulers and government structures. In a time when globalization is a standard and scholars can attest to it.

Ashley Mae Smith, Indiana Wesleyan University ashley.smith@student.indwes.edu

Post. 28 <u>Hezbollah: Exploring The Transformation From Religious</u> <u>Militancy to Political Pragmatism</u>

This paper explores the history, evolution, and success of the militant movement turned political party Hezbollah. It examines the institutional, domestic, and regional factors which nurtured the organization thus making it a viable political party.

Andrew Mitchell Swanson, University of Illinois, Chicago aswans 1@gmail.com

Post. 29 <u>Cabinet Durability within Parliamentary Democracies: The Italian Model</u>

This study found the variables which are most significant to explaining the variation among the lengths of cabinet tenures in Italy's First and Second Republics alike.

Caitlin Elizabeth Teare, Creighton University caitlinteare@creighton.edu

Post. 30 Comparative Campaign Finance: Trends in European Democracies

The paper overviews political party funding and election campaign finance in over a dozen European democracies. It shows developments and recent trends in campaign finance in Eastern and Western Europe.

Slavko Vesenjak, University of Maribor slavko.vesenjak@uni-mb.si

59-1 Philosophy and the Intersections of Order: Soul, City, and Cosmos

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Jacqueline Pfeffer Merrill, Independent Scholar

jacqueline.merrill@comcast.net

Paper Neoplatonic Principles in Thomas Aquinas' Theory of Natural Law

Attention to the largely ignored Neoplatonic elements in Thomas' account of rationality and its relation to natural law can help us understand how to bring into harmony faith in divinely revealed law, and a rationalistic account of law.

Robert Antoine L'Arrivee, *University of Notre Dame* rlarrive@nd.edu

per Pierre Hadot and Michel Foucault on the Philosophic Way of Life

This paper aims to contribute to the current renewal of philosophy as a way of life by articulating, comparing and critically evaluating Hadot's and Foucault's respective accounts of what this way of life is and how it relates to political life.

Elizabeth Anne L'Arrivee, University of Notre Dame emcleod@nd.edu

Paper Plato's Protagoras and the Fall of Athens

The paper is an analysis of Plato's Protagoras, which argues that the dialogue can be read as a meditation on the sources of political degeneration or decline.

Graham Robert Howell, *Carleton University* grhowell@connect.carleton.ca

Disc. Anthony Kammas, University of Southern California

kammas@usc.edu

Gladden J. Pappin, Harvard University pappin@fas.harvard.edu

Friday, April 3-2:45 pm

An Authors Round Table for David Lewis's The Politics of Presidential Appointments (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 39-100)

Room Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

An Authors Round Table for David Lewis's "The Politics of Presidential Appointments"

This session will reflect upon the scholarly contributions of David Lewis's book, The Politics of Presidential Appointments. In addition, panelists will discuss the future agenda for empirical work on presidential appointments.

Panelist Dan Carpenter, Harvard University

dcarpenter@gov.harvard.edu

Sean Gailmard, University of California, Berkeley

gailmard@berkeley.edu

Tom Hammond, Michigan State University

thammond@msu.edu

William Howell, University of Chicago

whowell@uchicago.edu

David Lewis, Vanderbilt University david.lewis@Vanderbilt.Edu Terry Moe, Stanford University

moe@hoover.stanford.edu

2-200 **Poster Session: Comparative Welfare and Employment Policy**

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

From Rich to Poor: Conceptualizing and Measuring Post. 1 Redistribution

Because of reordering of individuals post taxes/transfers, common measures of redistribution do not accurately depict the movement of income from rich to poor. This paper introduces a new measure of redistribution which overcomes this issue.

Kent Freeze, Duke University

kef13@duke.edu

Post. 2 Political Parties and Higher Education Spending: Who Favors Redistribution?

Applying partisan theory strictly leads to the unorthodox hypothesis that conservative rather than left parties push higher education spending in stratified education systems. An novel TSCS analysis of the German states 1992-2003 supports this claim.

Christian Rauh, Social Science Research Center, Berlin rauh@wzb.eu

Roland Kappe, Stony Brook University roland.kappe@googlemail.com Antje Kirchner, University of Konstanz antje.kirchner@uni-konstanz.de

Siblings, Cousins or Acquaintances: The Shape of Family Policy in Twelve Industrialized Western Democracies

This paper examines cross country and over time variations in family policy to show how family policy differs from other welfare state programs and tests the competing explanations for those differences.

Nelson Wainwright, Loyola University, Chicago nwainwr@luc.edu

Disc. Scott R. Powell, Ohio State University powell.413@osu.edu

3-8 **Governance: Measurement and Consequences**

Hancock on the 6th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room Chair

Eunyoung Ha, Claremont Graduate University

eunyoung.ha@cgu.edu

The Sources and Consequences of Heterogeneity in Perceptions **Paper** of Political Corruption

This paper proposes an insider-outsider theory to explain how heterogeneity in voters' attitudes towards corruption influences voting behavior in African democracies.

Eric C.C. Chang, Michigan State University

echang@msu.edu

Nicholas Nathan Kerr, Michigan State University

kerrnich@msu.edu

Governance Indicators in the Social Sectors Paper

This paper collects and discusses micro-level governance indicators of relevance to health and education.

Jamus Jerome Lim, The World Bank jamus@internationaleconomics.net

Paper **Bureaucratic Structure, Corruption, and State Effectiveness**

The purpose of this paper is to scrutinize the bureaucratic structure hypothesis using a new dataset covering more than 50 countries. We test which effects the bureaucratic structure has on effectiveness and corruption in the public sector.

Carl Dahlstrom, Quality of Government Institute

carl.dahlstrom@pol.gu.se

Victor Lapuente, Gothenburg University

victor.lapuente@pol.gu.se

Jan Teorell, Quality of Government Institute

Jan.Teorell@svet.lu.se

Paper Nonmonotonic Growth and Governance Relationships: Robust **Nonparametric Inference**

We impose and test nonmontonic shape restrictions for the relationship between growth and governance via nonparametric methods. We extend the results from Huynh and Jacho-Chávez (2008) using the World Governance Indicators.

Kim P. Huynh, Indiana University, Bloomington

kphuynh@indiana.edu

Michael Alexeev, Indiana University

malexeev@indiana.edu

David T. Jacho-Chavez, Indiana University

diachoch@indiana.edu

Paper Political Competition and Accountability Institutions in Subsaharan Africa: The Case of Supreme Audit Institutions

The paper examines the effects of power alternation and political competition on the type and quality of audit work carried out by Supreme Audit Institutions in 18 subsaharan countries.

Marcus Andre Melo, Federal University of Pernambuco marcus.melo@uol.com.br

Carlos Mauricio Figueiredo, German Gesellschaft fur Tecnisch cmauricio39@hotmail.com

Disc. Eunyoung Ha, Claremont Graduate University

eunyoung.ha@cgu.edu

3-18 Foreign Direct Investment and Public Policy Choices

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Edmund J. Malesky, University of California, San Diego

emalesky@ucsd.edu

Paper Dividing the Spoils: Party Nationalization, Credibility, and Foreign Direct Investment

How does party system nationalization affect the amount of FDI a country receives? We propose two theories regarding this relationship and distinguish between them empirically using data on a sample of democracies between 1975-2000.

Joel W. Simmons, Stony Brook University

joel.simmons@stonybrook.edu

Allen Hicken, University of Michigan

ahicken@umich.edu

Ken Kollman, University of Michigan

kkollman@umich.edu

Paper Democratic Development and Public Goods Spending: A Comparative Politics Approach Using the American States During the Antebellum Period 1789-1860

I exploit variation in institutional structures across American states to measure the effects of political development on public infrastructure spending. I find a strong correlation between minimum winning coalition size and public goods spending. **Jeffrey L. Jensen**, *New York University* jlj237@nyu.edu

Paper Optimal Strategies in Response to Electoral Uncertainty: Theory and Evidence

This paper presents a model of electoral uncertainty, which leads to differences in policy choices between politicians expecting to win and lose. The model is applied to differences in government spending across the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh.

Sharad Tandon, Economic Research Service, USDA standon@ers.usda.gov

Disc. Edmund J. Malesky, University of California, San Diego emalesky@ucsd.edu

Carew Elizabeth Boulding, University of Colorado, Boulder boulding@colorado.edu

4-200 Poster Session: Transitions Toward Democracy

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Post. 4 <u>Democracy, Insurgency, Autocracy and Political Reforms: The Exclusion/Inclusion Dimension in Nepal</u>

I will show that substantial inclusion of marginalized groups did not occur during the democratic, insurgency and autocratic years in Nepal but the non-democratic forces played a catalytic role for regime change and subsequent inclusive reforms.

Mahendra Lawoti, Western Michigan University mahendra.lawoti@wmich.edu

Post. 5 Political Institutions and Transition to Democracy in Brazil and Peru

This essay aims to contribute to the understanding of the role that developed the legislative institution in the process of political transition in Peru and in the political transition in Brazil.

Carlos U. Santander, University of Brasilia csantander@hotmail.com

Post. 6 The Fourth Wave?

An examination of the status of what Samuel Huntington has called the "Third Wave," with particular attention to the possibilities of authoritarian relapses and most likely regions for the next, "fourth" wave.

Bradley R. Gitz, *Lyon College* bgitz@lyon.edu

Post. 7 Theocracy in the Middle East: The Downfall of Democratic Political Culture

This paper examines the influence of support for religious leadership on attitudes towards democracy using the fourth wave World Values Survey.

Holly M. Lindamood, Georgia State University

hlindamood1@gsu.edu

Post. 8 Democratization from Outside: Case of Pakistan 2008

The paper argues that donor input in democratization in Pakistan in 2008 is no substitute for internal mobilization towards that end. The answer lies in empowerment of political parties and democratic socialization of citizens.

Mohammad Waseem, Lahore University of Management Sciences Waseem@lums.edu.pk

5-11 <u>Public Goods Provision Under Authoritarianism</u>

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Ryan Kennedy, University of Houston

rkennedy@uh.edu

Paper Political Regimes and Poverty Reduction, 1950-2002

Using a new dataset with worldwide coverage on infant mortality,I find that democracies are better than autocracies at reducing poverty. Monarchies, however, perform better than democracy, whereas military and personalist regimes have a worse record.

Michael Albertus, Stanford University

albertus@stanford.edu

Paper Varieties of Governance: Rural-Urban Migration and Transformed Local Governance in Rural China

This paper offers a new theoretical framework to synthesize contrasting empirical findings on the varied institutional foundations of local governance and tests it with a national representative survey data from China.

Jie Lu, *Duke University* jl77@duke.edu

Disc. Ryan Kennedy, University of Houston

rkennedy@uh.edu

5-200 Poster Session: Comparative Politics: Political

Institutions Poster Session

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Post. 10 Institutional Approaches to Party System Size in East-Central Europe

This study shows that, at the legislative level, party size and variation over time for the East-Central European countries is well explained in terms of institutional variables, electoral laws and electoral systems

Magda Mihaela Giurcanu, Universtiy of Florida magiur@ufl.edu

Post. 11 Engaging the Study of Party and Campaign Finance Arrangements in Comparative Politics

We argue that, as with the study of electoral formulae, it is possible to reduce party and campaign-finance schemes to several common dimensions of variation, allowing us to move beyond case studies to broader, cross-national comparisons.

Harriet Baker, Duke University

harriet.baker@duke.edu

Matthew Falvey, Duke University matthew.falvey@duke.edu

Post. 12 Corporate Governance under Proportional Electoral Systems

Based on a multi-stage game-theoretic model of three-party competition under proportional electoral systems, this paper provides a political explanation of corporate governance.

Jaekwon Suh, *Truman State University* jsuh@truman.edu

Political Corruption in Mixed Electoral Systems: Do Types of Post. 9 Party List Proportional Representation Matter?

This paper attempts to analyze levels of corruption under different types of party list proportional representation (PR) in a crossnational setting, employing more robust statistical methods and Monte Carlo simulations.

Bon Sang Koo, University of California, Los Angeles bsk245@gmail.com

Marcus Kreuzer, Villanova University Disc.

> Markus.Kreuzer@villanova.edu Erika Moreno, Creighton University erikamoreno@creighton.edu

6-7 **The Political Economy of Public Opinion**

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair **Dustin Tingley**, Princeton University

dtingley@princeton.edu

Alternative Politics, Privatization and Democracy: Theoretical Paper Aspects and the Israeli Case

This paper explains the nature of privatization by displacement, which occurs when governmental production of services is gradually displaced by the private sector. It may reinforce shortterm unilateral strategies as a typical mode of behavior.

Shlomo Mizrahi, Ben-Gurion University

shlomom@bgu.ac.il

Regional Clustering in Policy Preferences on Free Trade: Paper **Distribution, Internal Structure, and Opinion-Policy**

This paper suggests that public attitudes toward free trade show regional clustering in their distribution, internal structure and opinion-policy congruence. It shows that public preferences on trade policy can be shaped by non-economic factors.

Hyeon-ho Hahm, University of Michigan hahm@umich.edu

Surviving Globalization: A Micro-Level Test of Social Policy Paper **Choice Using Public**

This study provides a micro-level foundation for the theory that uses production regimes as a framework to explain the social policy choice across nations.

Huisheng Shou, University of Illinois

hshou2@illinois.edu

Consumption as a Political Tool in New Democracies: An **Exploratory Look at Political Consumerism in Post-Communist Countries**

This paper examines political consumerism as a form of participation in several European nations, with a focus on post-Soviet new democracies, providing comparisons and potential explanations for the development of consumption as political behavior.

Catherine Griffiths, University of Illinois, Chicago cgriff3@uic.edu

John Stephen Ahlquist, University of California, Los Angeles Disc. jahlquist@irle.ucla.edu

7-9 Regionalism, Federalism, and the European Union

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Chair Martin Ejnar Hansen, University of Vienna

martin.hansen@univie.ac.at

So What's New? Mapping a Longitudinal Regional Office Paper **Footprint in Brussels**

For years, subnational representations have been sent to the European Union in Brussels from regional and local governments within EU member states. Based on two surveys, 2000 and 2008, this paper explores changes in subnational office behavior.

Heather A. D. Mbaye, University of West Georgia

hmbaye@westga.edu

Are Federal Countries Worse or Better Compliers? How Paper the Vertical Division of Power in EU Member States Affects **Compliance with EU Mandates**

How and why countries (do not) comply with international mandates has become an important topic of inquiry. This paper addresses whether (and how) the vertical division of power within a country matters to understand compliance with EU mandates.

Mariely Lopez-Santana, George Mason University mlopez1@gmu.edu

Paper Federalism Without Adjectives in Spain

Is Spain a federal system? The answer is controversial and many scholars misclassify Spain in their studies. I present Spain as a fully-fledged federation, analyze the process of decentralization (1981-2006) and confront the arguments of its critics.

Gemma Sala, Grinnell College

salag@grinnell.edu

A Decade of Devolution; Building Capacity **Paper**

A decade of devolution is about the first impact of devolution in the UK in general and Wales in particular. It explores the constitutional settlements for the Welsh and the process of building legitimacy for the Welsh National Assembly.

Felicia Owusu Fofie, Herriot Watt University, Scotland

f.owusu@hw.ac.uk

Hartmut Lenz, University of Oxford Disc.

hartmut.lenz@politics.ox.ac.uk

Martin Ejnar Hansen, University of Vienna

martin.hansen@univie.ac.at

8-17 **Latin American Legislatures**

Madison on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Raul Cipriano Gonzalez, Rice University

raul@rice.edu

Room

Paper Legislative Production in Brazil, 49th-51st Legislatures

This paper examines the ability of the Brazilian Congress to pass important legislation

Taeko Hiroi, University of Texas, El Paso

thiroi@utep.edu

Lucio Renno, University of Brasilia

lucio_renno@yahoo.com

Paper Where's the Party? Examining Legislative Behavior Through Roll-Call Analysis in the Buenos Aires City's Legislature

Institutions and practices made the Legislature of the City of Buenos Aires look undisciplined and inchoate. However, no piece has dealt with that perception. Using roll-call analysis, we test whether coalition membership predicts voting patterns.

Marina Lacalle, University of Houston marina_lacalle@hotmail.com

Juan Pablo Micozzi, Rice University

jmicozzi@rice.edu

Paper Committee Assignments in a No-Re-election System: The Case of Mexico

This paper explains a surprising finding for Mexico's congress: despite no-consecutive reelection and weak committees, legislators are placed on committees that one would expect given their districts' characteristics and their prior experience.

Joy K. Langston, CIDE joy.langston@cide.edu Javier F. Aparicio, CIDE javier.aparicio@cide.edu

Electoral Incentives vs Presidential Powers: The Effect of Paper the Constitutional Reform of 1991 on the Plenary Agenda in **Colombia**

Analyzing the 1991 Colombian reform, which substantially decreased presidential powers without changing its personalistic electoral system, I test if the reduction in the president's decree power transformed the assembly into a more pro-active one.

Monica Pachon, University of Los Andes, Colombia mpachon@ucsd.edu

From House to Home: Targeted Legislation and Subnational Paper **Electoral Success in Argentina**

Politicians in multilevel systems tend to occupy multiple offices and act strategically to pursue better positions. I analyze whether targeted congressional behavior in Argentina positively affects their pursuit of subnational executive positions.

Juan Pablo Micozzi, Rice University

jmicozzi@rice.edu

Ashley Dyan Ross, Texas A&M University Disc.

aross@politics.tamu.edu

Peter M. Siavelis, Wake Forest University

siavelpm@wfu.edu

9-12 Foreign Policy: Asia and the U.S.

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Chair Giacomo Chiozza, Vanderbilt University

g.chiozza@vanderbilt.edu

Paper U.S. Foreign Policy and its Impacts on Authoritarian Regimes in the East Asia: South Korea and the Philippines in the 1970s

This study examines the influence of the U.S. foreign policy on the authoritarian regimes in the East Asia, particularly South Korea and the Philippines in the 1970s and reveals that it played pivotal roles in both emergence and continuation of them.

Moo Hyung Cho, Seoul National University

joshonor@hotmail.com

Paper The United States in the Korean Mind: An Empirical Analysis

Anti-Americanism; U.S.-R.O.K. relations; public opinion; CART

Giacomo Chiozza, Vanderbilt University

g.chiozza@vanderbilt.edu Ajin Choi, Yonsei University choiajin@yonsei.ac.kr

Engaging a More Fragmented Authoritarianism in China

This paper discusses how the US can engage deeply fragmented authoritarianism in China.

Victor C. Shih, Northwestern University

vshih@northwestern.edu

David Steinberg, Northwestern University

d-steinberg@northwestern.edu

Transnational Interest Groups: Chinese Advocacy From Afar Paper

By examining Chinese transnational interest groups in the US, theories of group formation and the strategies and tactics of transnational interest groups are further developed.

Kim Dorazio, University of Michigan

kdorazio@umich.edu

Disc. Pei-Shan Kao, National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan

pkao@mail.nctu.edu.tw

Eun Young Cho, Seoul National University

elen5@snu.ac.kr

11-4 Rethinking Citizenship and Identity in the Middle East

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Chair Noora Lori, Johns Hopkins University

nooralori@jhu.edu

Paper **Stateless in Kuwait**

Stateless in Kuwait. Research about the attitudes of Kuwaities about stateless in Kuwaiti society.

Yousu Gh Ali, Kifan, Kuwait yousuf ali @hotmail.com

Paper The Failure of State Sovereignty: Middle Eastern Refugees and the International Legal Order

This paper argues that international law must be reformed to protect refugees and state security. I will discuss how international law can help solve regional coordination problems previously encountered in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Jill Iris Goldenziel, Harvard University

jgolden@fas.harvard.edu

The Persian Underground: Understanding Iranian Media, **Paper** Fashion and Music Under Khamenei's Regime

This paper will analyze and understand the Persian underground music, fashion, and film industry that has developed inside and outside of Iran with the growing discontent of Supreme Leader Khamenei and the conservative party.

Elizabeth Marie Zamarripa, St. Mary's University

ezamarripa@mail.stmarytx.edu

Paper Nationalist Sentiments and Military Occupation: U.S. Military

Personnel and their Experiences with Iraqis, 2003-2007

This paper examines, through in-depth interviews with U.S. military personnel deployed to Iraq, American servicemen's experiences with Iraqis and their interpretations of - and assumptions regarding - Iraqis' sense of country, loyalty, and duty.

Rochelle Davis, Georgetown University

rad39@georgetown.edu

Elizabeth M.F. Grasmeder, Georgetown University

emf29@georgetown.edu

Noora Lori, Johns Hopkins University Disc.

nooralori@jhu.edu

13-8 Causes and Effects of Economic Reform in the Post-

Communist Era

Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room

Dinissa S. Duvanova, University at Buffalo, SUNY Chair

duvanova@buffalo.edu

Paper Reform Regimes, Elite Defections, and Political Opposition in the Post-Soviet States: Evidence from Belarus, Kazakhstan, and

This paper compares the development of political opposition in three post-Soviet states: Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. The author argues that the economic reform regime influences the type of opposition to have emerged in each.

Barbara Junisbai, Indiana University

junisbai@indiana.edu

Paper Private Actors and Market-Oriented Reforms: Education and **Housing Policy in the Post-Communist Countries**

Why do private actors successfully influence some social policies but not others? An examination of the post-communist countries reveals that whether policymakers favor an interest group depends on issue-specific characteristics.

Sarah Wilson Sokhey, Ohio State University

sokhey.3@osu.edu

Paper **Economic Transitions and Political Participation in China and** Russia

This paper explores how varying trajectories of economic reforms across regions in Russia and China have impacted current levels of political participation.

Pierre F. Landry, Yale University

pierre.landry@yale.edu

Robert T. Person, Yale University

robert.person@yale.edu

Civilized Market, Ethic Discourse, and Russia's Economic Paper Transition

This paper examines the interpretations and usage of a series of concepts emerged in the Russian mass media since late 1990s that are related to "civilized market" in light of the classic debate of moral order of market society.

Xin Zhang, University of California, Los Angeles xinzhang@ucla.edu

Disc. Dinissa S. Duvanova, University at Buffalo, SUNY

duvanova@buffalo.edu

Lynn D. Nelson, Virginia Commonwealth University lnelson@vcu.edu

13-9 The Big Russia Question: Is Autocracy Here to Stay?

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Scott Radnitz, University of Washington

srad@u.washington.edu

Paper Authoritarianism and Redistribution: The Positive Impact of Weak Property Rights Regime, Immobile Assets and High Oil Prices on Authoritarianism in Russia

Can we blame increasing authoritarianism in Russia and its aggressive foreign policy on (the observation—my dependent variable) weak property rights regime, asset specificity and relative high oil and natural gas prices (the independent variables)?

Parviz Zabit Soltanov, Texas Tech University

parviz.soltanov@ttu.edu

Paper The Redux of Russian Autocracy: Path Dependency and the Late Modern State

This study applies the ideas and concepts of path dependency theory to deepen our understanding of the nature and direction of the political regime that has emerged in Russia since the first Putin administration.

James Walter Warhola, *University of Maine* james warhola@umit.maine.edu

Paper Rehabilitating the KGB and Historical Revisionism: Putin's Mission to Return Russia to Great Power Status

Using a transitional justice framework, this paper examines the role of former KGB officers in the Putin government, the rewriting of Soviet history that has occurred under his regime, and the implications for Russia's future democractic prospects.

Todd Halsey Nelson, *Kent State University* halseynelson@yahoo.com

Paper Why the Fascist's Won't Takeover in Russia

The paper analyses the similarities and dissimilarities of Weimar Germany and Post-Soviet Russia.

Steffen Kailitz, Hannah-Arendt Institute steffen.kailitz@phil.tu-chemnitz.de Andreas Umland, University of Eichstätt andreumland@yahoo.com

Paper Stability and Breakdown in Transitional States: An Analysis of Central Asia and the Caucasus

What accounts for political stability and instability in weak states? This paper--part of a book manuscript--focuses on elite cohesion, strategies of governance, and the fluidity of the state-society boundary in 5 post-Soviet states over 18 years.

Scott Radnitz, *University of Washington* srad@u.washington.edu

Disc. Sabrina Lyne Pinnell, San Jose State University SLPinnell@gmail.com

Ekaterina V. Svyatets, *University of Southern California* svyatets@yahoo.com

14-10 Economic Sources of Leadership Survival and Government Turnover

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Ana Carolina Garriga, University of Pittsburgh

carogarriga@gmail.com

Paper The Political Effect of Subsidies: Fuel Subsidies and Government Survival

Recent volatility in fuel prices has led to widespread riots and demonstrations around the globe. This research examines the influence of policies to subsidize fuel costs on government survival in 62 countries from 1980 to 2007.

Christina Schatzman, *Arizona State University* Schatzman@asu.edu

Andrew J. Enterline, University of North Texas ajenter@unt.edu

Paper A Dynamic Model of Economic Openness and Political Stability of Authoritarian Regimes

The paper constructs a dynamic model to analyze the interaction between economic liberalization and political stability of authoritarian regimes and explain why economic openness leads to stability in some regimes while causes demise of others.

Kai Zeng, Northwestern University kzeng@u.northwestern.edu

Paper The Political Costs of Exchange Rate Policy in the Post-

Communist Countries

We test the hypothesis that voters draw different inferences when they see reneging by different actors and find that Left governments in the post-communist countries were more likely to fall if they reneged on exchange rate commitments.

Tanya Georgieva Bagashka, University of Houston tbagashka@uh.edu

Paper Political Replacement and Property Rights

This paper measures the risk of political replacement for leaders of democratic and autocratic regimes and evaluates the impact on the security of development-promoting property rights.

Matthew D. Fails, *University of Missouri, Columbia* mdf257@mizzou.edu

Paper Monetary Institutions and the Survival of Political Leaders

How does the choice of monetary institutions affect the survival of political leaders? We find that leaders without control over monetary or fiscal policy are indeed subject to a higher risk of being removed from office.

William Roberts Clark, University of Michigan wrclark@umich.edu

Disc. Ana Carolina Garriga, University of Pittsburgh

carogarriga@gmail.com

14-25 Survey Research of Individual Attitudes in International Political Economy

Room Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm **Chair Thomas Plümper**, *University of Essex*

tpluem@essex.ac.uk

Paper When Hedge Funds Govern: Assessing the Constraint on Emerging Market Governments Imposed by Different Types of International Investors

To what extent are emerging market governments forced to follow the dictates of international investors when designing economic and social policies?

Heather R. Bergman, *University of California, Los Angeles* hbergman@ucla.edu

Paper Foreign Direct Investment and Social Policy Attitudes in Post-Communist Countries

Using cross-national survey data, this paper examines the relationship between exposure to foreign-owned firms and individuals' attitudes towards the legitimacy of different government social policies in post-communist countries.

Celeste Beesley, University of California, San Diego craymond@ucsd.edu

Paper Are Women Everywhere More Statist Than Men?

I present evidence that demonstrates that a gender gap in economic policy attitudes exists across most policies and in most countries. I explore the reasons for this in the relatively constant genetic and socialized differences between the sexes.

Andy Baker, *University of Colorado*, *Boulder* andy.baker@colorado.edu

Paper In Investors We Don't Trust: Public Opinion of Foreign Investors in Transition Economies

We investigate the individual and country level determinants of public trust in foreign investors in 28 post-communist countries. Relative economic status, ideology and demographic characteristics are the focus of attention

Dilyan Donchev Donchev, *Harvard University* donchev@fas.harvard.edu

Disc. Thomas Plümper, University of Essex

tpluem@essex.ac.uk

15-2 Varieties of Democracy and the Democratic Peace

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Michael Horowitz, University of Pennsylvania Chair

horom@sas.upenn.edu

Democratic Peace and Electoral Accountability Paper

We examine the impact of executive term limits on the likelihood of inter-state conflicts.

Paola Conconi, Universite' Libre de Bruxelles (ECARES) and

pconconi@ulb.ac.be

Nicolas Sahuguet, HEC Montreal, CEPR, and CIRPEE

nicolas.sahuguet@hec.ca

Maurizio Zanardi, Universite' Libre de Bruxelles (ECARES)

mzanardi@ulb.ac.be

Consenting to Peace: Lijphart's Consensus Democracy and the Paper

Democratic Peace Theory

Arend Lijphart (1999) suggests that consensus democracies are "kinder, gentler" than majoritarian democracies. Using Lijphart's data, this paper uses his concept of consensus democracy in a new test of the democratic peace proposition.

Jeremy Wells, Louisiana State University

jwell33@lsu.edu

Paper **Democratic Electoral Politics and International Cooperation**

> Elections are known to have impacts upon foreign policy decision making, but how does this play out when two or more democracies are in different places in their electoral cycles?

Niall Guy Michelsen, Western Carolina University

michelsen@email.wcu.edu

Are Democracies Equally Peaceful? Institutional Diffusion and Paper the Use of Force

> How do variations in domestic institutions affect foreign policy making? We investigate the impact of institutional separation on conflict-proneness of democracies. A statistical analysis of interstate Paper conflicts is conducted to test the argument.

Kentaro Sakuwa, Arizona State University

ksakuwa@asu.edu

Mily Ming-Tzu Kao, Arizona State University

mmkao@asu.edu

Disc. Michael Horowitz, University of Pennsylvania

horom@sas.upenn.edu

15-3 **Domestic Opinion and Foreign Intervention**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Sarah Croco, University of Maryland

sarahcroco@gmail.com

Paper **Media Effects and the Timing Interventions**

> This paper examines whether media coverage affects when third parties intervene in intra-state conflicts. That is, whether third parties intervene early in the conflict, during major battles, in the aftermath of major battles, and so on.

Paul Kinuthia Macharia, University at Binghamton, SUNY macharia@lycoming.edu

Domestic and International Fronts of Foreign Policy Decision Paper Making: Turkey's Iraq War Decision

> This paper discusses the power and futility of domestic and international pressures in foreign policy decision making. I offer a framework that helps explain this process in the context of Turkey and attempt to expand it to other countries.

Baris Kesgin, University of Kansas

bkesgin@ku.edu

The Clinton Administration and the Rwandan Genocide: **Paper Analyses of Calculated Inaction from Realist and Neo-liberal**

Perspectives

The Clinton Administration's lack of a response to the Rwandan genocide is well documented. However, the lack of a response was not from a lack of relevant information, but rather, from the administration's cognizance of the U.S. political climate.

Chase Michael Ritenauer, University of Akron

rchase@uakron.edu

Disc. Sarah Croco, University of Maryland

sarahcroco@gmail.com

15-12 **Economic Interdependence and War**

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Dani Reiter, Emory University Chair

dreiter@emory.edu

Paper Wars and Debts: Dyadic Sovereign Debt and Conflict Behavior

> Examines the hypothesis that dyadic holdings of sovereign debt deter conflicts between states. Relative equality of debt holdings within dyads should contribute most to peaceful relations.

Zane M. Kelly, University of Colorado, Boulder

zane.kelly@colorado.edu

Oil, Revolution, and War **Paper**

The relationship between oil and international conflict is explored by linking the politics of oil to the behavior of leaders of domestic revolutions.

Jeff D. Colgan, Princeton University

jcolgan@princeton.edu

Economic Liberalism and the Challenge of Intra-State War

This paper addresses the shortcoming of existing liberal theories in explaining the rise of intra-state conflict. It develops an explanation of such conflicts by testing the economic interdependence's interaction with domestic institutional factors.

Holger Meyer, University of Georgia

Holgermeyer3@uga.edu

Democratic Peace or Commercial Peace? Evaluating Rival

Hypotheses for East Asian Bilateral Relations

Do East Asian countries establish durable bilateral relations to solidify their commercial ties or to show ideological affinity for like-minded regimes? This paper tests 19 binational dyads and supports the former explanation.

Jason Ardanowski, Marquette University

ardanows@gmail.com

Disc. Cristina Elena Parau, Oxford University

cristina.parau@csls.ox.ac.uk

16-8 Causes of War

LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Travis Nelson, University of Vermont

Travis.Nelson@uvm.edu

Paper Underconfidence and War

> This paper challenges the notion that wars occur most frequently when one or both sides are overly optimistic about the likelihood of success. Incumbent leaders have incentives to avoid such wars due to a high likelihood of being removed afterwords.

Randall Blimes, Brigham Young University

rand blimes@byu.edu

Paper Bringing Interdependence (and Geography) Back In: Spatial **Interdependence in Military Expenditures**

> This paper explores the spatial interdependence of military expenditures for a cross-section of 180 countries. The evidence shows that any given country is likely to increase military spending if its neighbors increase their military expenditures.

Alejandro Quiroz Flores, New York University

aqf200@nyu.edu

How Does War Beget War? Exploring the Causes of Conflict Paper

This paper examines the phenomenon of geographic clustering in violent conflict from the perspective of the bargaining model of war; I argue and find that an approach based on commitment problems provides a good way to understand conflict clusters.

Alex Weisiger, University of Pennsylvania

weisiger@sas.upenn.edu

Why Won't They Go Quietly? Exploring the Puzzle of Weak-Paper **State Resistance in International Crises**

Multi-method analysis of Militarized Inter-state Disputes under conditions of substantial (5:1) power asymmetry. Causal mechanisms drawn from literature to be evaluated probabilistically using ICB data set and in-depth historical case studies.

Yu-Ming Liou, Georgetown University

yl254@georgetown.edu

Disc. Michael T. Koch, Texas A&M University

mtkoch@polisci.tamu.edu

17-10 The Ethnic Dimensions of Civil Conflict

Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Tavishi Bhasin, Kennesaw State University

tbhasin@kennesaw.edu

Paper Race, Race: The Role of Ethnicity in Civil Wars: A

Quantitative Analysis of Onset and Intensity

Paper talks about the race-race race and what the role of ethnicity is in civil wars. It is an empirical analysis of onsets and intensities of ethnic civil wars.

Sugumaran Narayanan, Midwestern State University

sugunara00@yahoo.com

Paper The Microfoundations of Ethnic Extremism: Testing the Effects of Male Youth and Prejudice on Participation in Ethnic Violence

The paper looks at the question of what causes individuals to participate in ethnic violence. In particular it asks if young men and racists are more likely to do so. It suggests why young men may be more vulnerable.

Omar McDoom, Oxford University omcdoom@gmail.com

Paper Ethnic Groups They Are A-Changin': The Effect of **Demographic Change on Civil Conflict**

This paper explores empirically the relationships among changes in population growth, the proportionality of groups within society, group-specific demographic stresses, and civil conflict.

Katharine M. Floros, University of Missouri, Columbia florosk@missouri.edu

Managing Ethnic Conflict in a Democratizing Africa: Lessons Paper from Kenya and Zimbabwe

Democratization in the post cold war Africa have generated two kinds of conflict; political and economic, over access to and distribution of national resources. This paper examines the process of democratization in the post cold war Africa.

Joshua M. Kivuva, University of Nairobi joshuakivuva@hotmail.com

Disc. Tavishi Bhasin, Kennesaw State University tbhasin@kennesaw.edu

17-25 **Conflict Prevention and Management**

Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Belinda Lesley Bragg, Texas A&M University

bbragg@polisci.tamu.edu

Fear of Commitment: Evaluating the Actions and Intentions of Paper **Conflict Managers**

Existing research focuses on a dichotomous conceptualization of conflict management, ignoring third party commitment. I attempt to flush out false commitments to conflict resolution.

Molly Mooring Melin, Loyola University, Chicago mmelin@luc.edu

Peace Tactics: UN Conflict Management Efforts and the **Paper Durability of Peace, 1946-2002**

Compares the relative effectiveness of different conflict management strategies in preventing conflict recurrence using newly compiled data on UN intervention efforts in international crises covering the time period 1946-2002.

Kyle Beardsley, Emory University kyle.beardsley@emory.edu

Holger Schmidt, George Washington University

hschmidt@gwu.edu

Paper

Disc.

Preventive Deployment a Decade Later: Political Learning and Assessments about Conflict Mitigation from UNPREDEP

If preventive deployment (UNPREDEP) was successful, why has it not been repeated? It is argued that it is likely inaccurate political learning/misassessment occurred, particularly regarding future PREDEP applications.

Mary Frances Lebamoff, Loyola University, Chicago mflebamoff@gmail.com

Environmental Change, Humanitarian Aid, and War **Paper**

We use simple formal models of inter-group bargaining to explain how climate change and natural disasters can lead to war. We also explore the potential for humanitarian aid and "insurance" to avert conflict, and offer a test of these predictions.

Muhammet Bas, Harvard University

mbas@gov.harvard.edu

Andrew Coe, Harvard University

acoe@fas.harvard.edu

Casas Andres, Universidad Javeriana, Columbia

andres_casas@yahoo.com

The Foreign Policy of the Middle East 18-5

Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Giray Sadik, Truman State University

girayuga@gmail.com

Turkey's "Opening to Africa": A Passing Fad or A Long-Term **Paper** Strategy?

This paper analyses Turkey's Opening to Africa initiative. It is argued that this initiative has grown from being a limited diplomatic move to a full-fledged strategy aimed to meet the needs of both Turkish business sector and Turkish foreign policy.

Serif Onur Bahcecik, Carleton University

sobahcec@connect.carleton.ca

U.S. Foreign Policy for a New Administration: Iran and the **Paper** Stability of the Middle East

The formulation of a new US foreign policy towards Iran, one that can help the US better achieve its goals in the region. These goals include ensuring a stable oil supply, defeating global terrorism and reducing the existential threat to Israel.

Ali Abootalebi, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire abootaar@uwec.edu

Stephen Mark Hill, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire hills@uwec.edu

Paper The United States and the Democracy Promotion in the Muslim World: Egyptian Case

The study will analyze the prevailing condition of the Muslim World and U.S. government attitudes toward Islamist movements and will investigate how U.S. democracy promotion policy should be applied in Egypt.

Osman Bahadir Dincer, Bilkent University

dincer@bilkent.edu.tr

Martin Slann, University of North Carolina, Pembroke Disc.

martin.slann@uncp.edu

Asma ul-Husna Faiz, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign afaiz2@illinois.edu

Ferit Murat Ozkaleli, Trakya University

muratozkaleli@yahoo.com

19-10 International Law and Compliance

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Andreas Michael Bock, Geschwister-Scholl-Institute of Political

Science

andreas.bock@lrz.uni-muenchen.de

Paper Non-Compliance for Sale? Analyzing Trade and Strategic

Infringements of Supranational Law

Drawing on a unique data set, the paper empirically test the theoretically derived argument that European governments sell non-compliance to domestic industries that demand protection from intra-EU competitors.

intra-EO competitors.

Tobias Hofmann, College of William & Mary

hofmannt@gmail.com

Paper State Power, Political Values and Treaty Ratification: A
Comprehensive Analysis of International 'Quasi-Constitutional'

Agreements

Research on commitment suffers from a lack of comprehensive analysis of cross-treaty ratification patterns. The paper provides a systemic ratification study of 32 international agreements, focusing on the effects of state power and political values

Karolina M. Milewicz, University of Bern

milewicz@ipw.unibe.ch

Andre Baechtiger, University of Bern

baechtiger@ipw.unibe.ch **Arne Nothdurft**, FVA Freiburg

arne.nothdurft@forst.bwl.de

Paper Power and Authority of the Committee on the Rights of the

The paper evaluates the existing theories on authority and autonomy of international organizations, with particular interest in the

Committee on the Rights of the Child.

Aleksandra Chauhan, University of South Carolina

alekschauhan@bellsouth.net

Disc. James Wallace Dull, University of New Haven

jdull@newhaven.edu

Andreas Michael Bock, Geschwister-Scholl-Institute of Political

Science

and reas. bock@lrz.uni-muenchen.de

21-11 Core Values and Public Opinion

Room Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Jeremy Craig Green, Yale University

jeremy.green@yale.edu

Paper Should Science Education be Fair? Values and the Debate Over

Intelligent Design

We conducted two experiments to study the impact of values on support for instruction in intelligent design (ID). We examined how scientific materialism and analogies limit the application of free speech and fairness values, used by ID advocates.

Thomas E. Nelson, Ohio State University

nelson.179@osu.edu

Dustin Carnahan, Ohio State University

carnahan.25@osu.edu

Dana E. Wittmer, Ohio State University

wittmer.8@osu.edu

Jennifer L. Mowls-Hutkowski, Ohio State University

mowls-hutkowski.1@osu.edu

Paper The Lisa Simpson and Pippi Longstocking Factors of

Individualism: An Examination of Individualistic Ideals Among

Swedes and Americans Today

By examining individual level data, I show that there are two very different kinds of individualistic ideals in public opinion and that, contrary to what previous research argues, neither of these ideals is related to freeriding or hedonism.

Gina Linda Gustavsson, Statsvetenskapliga institutionen, Uppsala,

Sweaen

gina.gustavsson@statsvet.uu.se

Paper Priming Effects and Individual Value Choices

This paper uses experimental survey data to examine priming effects, consistency, and transitivity in individuals' choices among a

set of important core values.

William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University

jacoby@msu.edu

Paper Individualism, Egalitarianism, and Social Capital

This paper investigates the possible effects of individualistic and egalitarian political behavior and disposition on the level of

individual and aggregate social capital.

Jonathan Curtis Young, West Virginia University

Jonathan.Young@mail.wvu.edu

Disc. Cheryl Boudreau, University of California, Davis

clboudreau@ucdavis.edu

21-19 Gender and Political Cognition

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Jennifer L. Merolla, Claremont Graduate University

jennifer.merolla@cgu.edu

Paper Why Do We Pay Attention to Candidate Race and Gender

When Policy Information is Available?

Research shows that people use nominal cues (e.g. race and gender) to infer policy information, but there is no good explanation of this fact. I use basic features of categorization psychology to explain why and in what cases people use such cues.

Nathan Collins, Santa Fe Institute

nac@santafe.edu

Paper Beyond Candidate Likeability: Why Descriptive Representation

Leads to Greater Political Engagement

Using experiments, we consider the reasons why descriptive representation empowers female voters to greater political engagement.

Jennifer Wolak, University of Colorado

wolaki@colorado.edu

Elaine Fischer, University of Colorado

Elaine.Fischer@Colorado.EDU

Paper <u>Tension Between Religious and Political Identities Among</u>

American Women

Average gender differences in religiosity and traditional values seem at odds with differences in partisanship and ideology. Using data from two national surveys, I examine how conflicting religious and political identities influences public opinion.

Erin Cassese, West Virginia University

erin.cassese@mail.wvu.edu

Paper Feminine Democrats, Masculine Republicans: Gender and

Party Stereotyping in Candidate Trait Attribution

I propose and test a model of "stereotype accessibility." I find that party stereotypes trump gender stereotypes in candidate evaluation, raising questions about the source of attitudes about female candidates' ideology and issue-handling abilities.

Danny Hayes, Syracuse University

dwhayes@maxwell.syr.edu

Disc. Jennifer L. Merolla, Claremont Graduate University

iennifer.merolla@cgu.edu

Daniel Raymond Cassino, Fairleigh Dickinson University

dcassino@fdu.edu

22-9 Turnout - Experiments and Mobilization

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Marc Meredith, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

mmeredit@mit.edu

Paper The Influence of Two Forms of Political Advertising on Voter Behavior: The 2008 Presidential Election

Using experimental methods we test the influence of source credibility of political advertising on voter turnout in the 2008 U.S. presidential election.

Joseph W. Boesch, University of Texas, Austin

jboesch@mail.utexas.edu

Shinya Wakao, University of Texas, Austin

swakao@mail.utexas.edu

Paper Field Experiment, Politics, and Culture: Testing Social Psychological Theories Regarding Social Norms Using a Field Experiment in Japan

We conducted a randomized field experiment in Japan prior to the 2007 upper house election to (1) evaluate the effect of nonpartisan mailings on voter turnout and (2) examine what kind of mobilization message is effective at raising turnout.

Kyohei Yamada, Yale University kyohei.yamada@yale.edu Alan Gerber, Yale University alan.gerber@yale.edu

Paper Testing the Interactive Effects of Political Mobilization and Vote Propensity: Evidence from Five Los Angeles Elections

We seek to measure the interactive effects of political mobilization and vote propensity levels (i.e., non-voters, occasional voters, and frequent voters) on turnout using a data set of 188,551 individuals in Los Angeles over five elections.

J. Ryan Lamare, *University of Limerick* ryan.lamare@ul.ie

Paper The Best Way to Register Voters: Results from Randomized Field Experiments

Using data from randomized field experiments on 27 campuses, this paper reports the relative effectiveness of classroom presentations, mail, email, and tables for registering and mobilizing student voters.

Elizabeth Anne Bennion, Indiana University, South Bend ebennion@iusb.edu

David W. Nickerson, *University of Notre Dame* dnickers@nd.edu

Disc. Marc Meredith, Massachusetts Institute of Technology mmeredit@mit.edu

22-10 Campaigns: Do They Matter?

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Chair Daron R. Shaw, University of Texas, Austin

dshaw@austin.utexas.edu

Paper Looking the Part: Television Leads Less Informed Citizens to Vote Based on Candidates' Appearance

Confirming long-held fears about the role of television in politics, we find that television exposure promotes voting based on candidate appearance in U.S. Senate and gubernatorial elections, especially among less politically informed citizens.

Gabriel Lenz, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Gabe. Lenz@gmail.com

Chappell Lawson, Massachusetts Institute of Technology clawson@mit.edu

Paper Context, Structure, and Campaign Dynamics: The 2008 Election

Did the long, exciting, and expensive 2008 presidential campaign affect the outcome of the election or were structural factors like the state of the economy, geography, and partisanship good predictors of the outcome all along?

Simon Jackman, Stanford University

jackman@stanford.edu

Lynn Vavreck, University of California, Los Angeles

lvavreck@ucla.edu

Paper Campaign Learning and Issue Publics: Evidence from the 2000, 2004, and 2008 Elections

Do all voters learn about the same issues and learn about them equally? In this paper I show how the interests of issue publics - rather than the level of sophistication - mediate campaign learning.

Michael Henderson, Harvard University

henders3@fas.harvard.edu

Daron R. Shaw, University of Texas, Austin

dshaw@austin.utexas.edu

Disc.

Erik Snowberg, California Institute of Technology

snowberg@hss.caltech.edu

23-3 The 2008 Presidential Campaign

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Richard Johnston, University of Pennsylvania

rgcj@sas.upenn.edu

Paper Change and Continuity: The Iowa Caucuses in the 2004 and 2008 Presidential Nomination Process

This paper examines the 2004 Iowa caucus process as a transition, sparked by the Dean campaign, from an older-style party-activist event to a new-style, more participatory event evident in the 2008 caucuses.

Dennis J. Goldford, Drake University

dennis.goldford@drake.edu

Paper Negativity as a Tool: Predicting Negative Responses and Their Effectiveness in the 2008 Campaign Season

Barack Obama's usage of negative stump speeches and advertising is analyzed as a function of his standing in the polls relative to John McCain.

Loren Collingwood, University of Washington

lorenc2@u.washington.edu

Marcela Garcia-Castanon, University of Washington

marcegc@u.washington.edu

Paper An Analysis of the 2008 Democratic Nomination Contests: How Obama Upended Clinton

This paper offers a scholarly and realistic explanation as to why the 2008 Democratic nomination contest for president did not follow the patterns of previous contemporary presidential nomination contests.

Shannon Nelson, University of Illinois, Chicago

shanon.nelson@gmail.com

Paper When Candidates Attack: Inter- and Intra-Party Criticisms in Campaign E-mails in the 2008 Presidential Nominating Contests

This paper explores the factors which help to predict when and how candidates in the presidential nominating contests will attack one another via e-mail using messages sent by 18 declared candidates in both parties from June 2007 to June 2008.

Joseph D. Giammo, University of Arkansas, Little Rock jdgiammo@ualr.edu

Paper Punish the Pollsters and Pundits! What Went Wrong and What Went Right with New Hampshire Primary Polls

Final polls before the 2008 New Hampshire primary showed Barack Obama with a sizable lead over Hillary Clinton, yet Clinton ended up winning. Analyses point to voter indecision and late campaign effects as the reasons for the surprise result.

Andrew E. Smith, *University of New Hampshire* andrew.smith@unh.edu

Disc. Roger H. Davidson, University of California, Santa Barbara publius 10@cox.net

Richard Johnston, University of Pennsylvania rgcj@sas.upenn.edu

23-16 The Role of Money in Elections: Campaign

Contributions and Expenditures

Room Spire on the 6th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm
Chair Jeffrey Fred Kraus, Wagner College

jkraus@wagner.edu

Paper Changes in Congressional Turnout, 1972-2006

This paper investigates the relationship between spending in House elections and change in district turnout rate from 1972 to 2006. Changes in campaign spending, competition, and other political campaigns are used to account for changes in turnout. Clayton Clouse, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

ceclouse@uwm.edu

Paper The Impact of Electoral Rules on the Effectiveness of Campaign Strategies

We examine how the effectiveness of spending strategies varied under different institutional environments, namely caucus versus primary states and winner-take-all versus proportional representation rules.

Emily McClintock Ekins, University of California, Los Angeles emilvekins@ucla.edu

Sylvia Yu Friedel, *University of California*, *Los Angeles* sylvia.yu@ucla.edu

Paper The Money Primary

Pairing FEC data on contributions with IEM data on probability of victory, we search for bidirectional feedback between fund-raising and voter-support in US Presidential primaries. Our data cover 36 candidates through 7 contests from 1996 – 2008.

Cameron A. Shelton, Claremont McKenna College

cshelton@cmc.edu

James J. Feigenbaum, NERA james.feigenbaum@gmail.com

Paper <u>Electability vs Attachment in Presidential Primary</u>

Contribution Choices

We analyze why contributors choose to shift their support to a given candidate as the presidential primary field narrows during the nomination campaign by evaluating the influence of party loyalists, local economic conditions, and candidate momentum.

Steven Haeberle, University of Alabama, Birmingham

hbrasher@uab.edu

Holly Brasher, University of Alabama, Birmingham

hbrasher@uab.edu

Disc. Jeffrey Fred Kraus, Wagner College

jkraus@wagner.edu

Clifford Waters Brown, Jr., Union College

brownc@union.edu

25-2 Moral Traditionalism and Public Opinion on Social

Issues

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Terri L. Towner, Oakland University

towner@oakland.edu

Paper Constrained Conservatism: The Impact of Group

Consciousness on Black Ideology

Why are blacks still voting Democratic in the face of growing conservatism? I hypothesize that black ideology is masked by group consciousness. I test this argument using survey data and a series of experiments.

Tasha S. Philpot, University of Texas, Austin

tphilpot@austin.utexas.edu

Paper African Americans, Moral Traditionalism, and Attitudes About

This paper explores how African Americans apply morally traditional values to form opinion about social issues, and ultimately, to vote.

Jason Gainous, University of Louisville

jason.gainous@louisville.edu

Laurie Rhodebeck, University of Louisville

larhod 01@gwise. louis ville. edu

Paper Rethinking Religion: Christianity and Class, Compassion or Conservatism

Religious commitments are multifaceted. Differentiating commitments to morality vs. social justice notions of Christian identity, I examine the effect of each on views about the appropriate role of religion in public life.

Gary Segura, Stanford University

segura@stanford.edu

Paper What Makes a Political Issue Moral: Moral Emotions, the Moral Domain, and Political Ideology

Domain Theory and Sentimentalism based theoretical and methodological definitions are developed to rigorously identify moral issues by ideology. Results show differential moral issues, but similar level of moralizing, for Conservatives and Liberals.

Pazit Ben-Nun-Bloom, Stony Brook University

pbennun@notes.cc.sunysb.edu

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

dave@polisci.tamu.edu

25-10 Deliberative Democracy and Public Opinion

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm **Chair David Ciuk**, *Michigan State University*

ciukdavi@msu.edu

Paper Public Opinion Data

Public Opinion Data and American Representative Democracy: Relationship, Practice, Possibilities, and Limitations

This paper explores the possibilities and limitations presented by public opinion polling data to representative democracy in both the theoretical and empirical arenas.

Emily C. Hilty, Indiana University

ehilty@indiana.edu

Paper Healthcare and Deliberative Democracy: Survey Procedures and Findings

A 3-stage study, measuring the impact deliberation has on public opinion. Stage one was a phone survey of adults in "Middletown", two was a focus group of some of stage one's respondents. Three involved a phone survey of the focus-group participants.

Daniel Joseph Reagan, Ball State University

dreagan@bsu.edu

Donald Davison, Rollins College

ddavison@rollins.edu

Josh Raines, Ball State University

jaraines@bsu.edu

Paper Populist Attitudes in the United States: An Application of Survey Techniques From Latin America

The author gauges populist attitudes at the mass level using the 2008 pre-electoral CCES and two Utah surveys. Measures are drawn from the 2008 AmericasBarometer and compared with the "stealth democracy" index.

Kirk Andrew Hawkins, Brigham Young University kirk.hawkins@byu.edu

Paper Using Deliberative Democracy to Inform Policy for Emerging Biotechnology: Turning Conversation on Biobanks into Policy Relevant Statements

Public deliberation events yield large amounts of data. This paper proposes a framework for conceptualizing the 'deliberative output' of such events.

Kieran Christian O'Doherty, *University of British Columbia* kcodoher@interchange.ubc.ca

Michael M. Burgess, University of British Columbia

mburgess@interchange.ubc.ca

Disc. Katherine Cramer Walsh, University of Wisconsin, Madison

kwalsh2@wisc.edu

26-12 Expressive and Alternative Participation

Room Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm
Chair Michael Kenneth Romano, Western Michigan University
michael.k.romano@wmich.edu

Paper Repressing Protest: Threat and Weakness in the European Context

This paper tests competing explanations of state repression of unconventional participation in the context of Western European protest events from 1975 to 1989.

Phillip M. Ayoub, *Cornell University* pma34@cornell.edu

Paper From Tea Party to Teetotalism: Property Destruction as an Alternative Form of Political Participation in the United States

Property destruction as a historical form of political participation in the United States has been ignored. A society with entrenched capitalist and liberal ideals provides a clear target for property violence as a tool to enter the political realm.

Lawrence J. Cushnie, *University of Washington* cushnie@u.washington.edu

Paper Trust and Confidence in Local Government: The Impact of Citizen Participation in Budgetary Processes

A case study of public participation in a local budgetary process is conducted. Results show that trust and confidence in city government increased among participants as a result of participation in the budget making process.

Elizabeth Neeley, *University of Nebraska* eneeley@nebraska.edu

Mitchel N. Herian, *University of Nebraska* mnherian@nebraska.edu

Alan Tomkins, *University of Nebraska* mnherian@nebraska.edu

Tarik Abdel-Monem, University of Nebraska

tabdelmonem@nebraska.edu

Paper Understanding Symbolic Political Participation: A Spatial Approach

We combine multiple original data sources, including two waves of geo-coded data on the posting of political symbols, and an individual-level follow-up survey of political attitudes, to study the motivations behind symbolic political participation.

Todd Makse, Ohio State University

makse.1@osu.edu

Anand E. Sokhey, Ohio State University sokhey.2@osu.edu

Disc. Blais Andre, University of Montreal andre.blais@umontreal.ca

27-11 Journalistic Roles and Media Professionalism

Room Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm
Chair Johanna Dunaway, Louisiana State University
idunaway@lsu.edu

Paper What is Good Journalism? Perceptions of Journalistic Roles by the Slovak Media Workers

This paper examines the role of journalism perceived by Slovak media professionals in the Spring of 1999, right at the time of vast political changes in Slovakia and during an intense period of NATO bombing in Yugoslavia.

Ramune Braziunaite, Bowling Green State University ramune@bgsu.edu

Nancy Brendlinger, Bowling Green State University nbrendl@bgnet.bgsu.edu

Paper Journalism and "Legality": News Coverage of the Schiavo Case

How the public understanding of the Schiavo Case came to be filled with so many conflicting claims both about the "facts" as well as about "the law," relying on studies of legal consciousness, legal narrative and political communications.

Stephen L. McDougal, *University of Wisconsin*, *La Crosse* mcdougal.step@uwlax.edu

Paper Agencies in the News: Journalistic Norms, Bureaucratic Politics, and the Policy Environment

The paper explores news coverage of government agencies through an examination of journalistic norms, bureaucratic politics, and the policy environment in Washington Post articles.

Cameron Thomas Morgan, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

ctmorgan@email.unc.edu

Paper The Historical Development of Conflict Between Politicians and Journalists in the U.S.

This paper examines conflict between political leaders and journalists in the U.S. It argues that the current highly contentious relationship between these groups is the historical norm, while the mid-twentieth century was historically anomalous.

Jonathan McDonald Ladd, *Georgetown University* jml89@georgetown.edu

Paper Looking for Media Bias in the Mirror: An Academic's Year as a Newspaper Reporter

An academic's finding of media bias may be accurate, but it is also incomplete. A fair, open, and honest product is the standard in the newsroom. It is, however, a standard often sacrificed in the effort to write something interesting.

David Niven, Wright State University niven.1@osu.edu

Disc. Adam J. Schiffer, Texas Christian University

a.schiffer@tcu.edu

28-200 Poster Session: Gender and American Politics

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Post. 13 The Role of Women Legislators in the Establishment of State Infertility Insurance Laws

This analysis considers the role of women legislators in the establishment of infertility insurance laws in the fourteen states where such laws have been implemented since the 1980s.

Bonnie Stabile, George Mason University

bonniestabile@cox.net

Post. 14 The Impact of Women Politics on Policies: The Case of TANF

This paper explains the impact of women politics on policies in the case of TANF. Specifically, this paper attempts to demonstrate the impact of women legislators on the generosity of welfare programs across states.

Eunju Kang, Claremont Graduate University eunjukang@gmail.com

Post. 15 Close But Not Close Enough-Female "Almost" Executives

This paper explores women who failed in their pursuits of executive office over time and as of late to more fully understand the circumstances and contexts that appear resistant to women.

Farida Jalalzai, University of Missouri, St. Louis

jalalzaif@umsl.edu

Post. 16 Was Hillary Right? Assessing Women's Roles in Contemporary Mississippi Politics

Hillary Clinton has singled out Mississippi as being unacceptably behind in electing women to national/statewide office. Taking this charge seriously, our paper uses survey and interview data to assess the state of women leaders in contemporary MS.

Ashleigh Smith Powers, Millsaps College

poweras@millsaps.edu

Lauren A. Guichard, Millsaps College guichla@millsaps.edu

29-10 **New Frontiers in Asian American Politics**

LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Jane Junn, Rutgers University

junn@rci.rutgers.edu

Paper **Electoral Behavior of the Hmong-American Community: An Initial Analysis**

This research will begin the exploration of mass electoral behavior in the Hmong-American community by examing the relevance of established models of voting behavior and exploring the limited sources of empirical evidence on this topic.

Steven Joseph Doherty, Dickinsons State University

steven.doherty@dickinsonstate.edu

Red, Brown, Blue: The Politics of Asian Indian Americans Paper

Exploration and analysis of Asian Indian American Political Behavior and partisanship as compared to Asians and other minority groups.

Shankar K. Prasad, Brown University

shanx02@gmail.com

The Rising Political Force: Asian Americans' Voting Behavior

I examine Asian Americans' voting behavior at the individual and the aggregate levels using survey data, district level data, and interviews with citizens and political elites to understand mobilization strategies and their results.

Taofang Huang, University of Texas, Austin

joyfultao@yahoo.com

Paper **Developing a New Theory of Asian American Panethnicity**

Using Asian-Americans as a case study, this paper uses findings from survey and focus group data to present a new theory of panethnicity that emphasizes the role of social context and interactions in the development of panethnic consciousness.

Kathy H. Rim, University of California, Irvine krim@uci.edu

Disc. Natalie Masuoka, Tufts University

natalie.masuoka@tufts.edu

29-11 **New Frontiers in Latino Politics**

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Victoria DeFrancesco Soto, Northwestern University

vmds@northwestern.edu

Racial Identity and Latinos in the United States Paper

This manuscript explores the construction of Latino racial identity. Using the 2006 Latino National Survey, we test a theorectical framework that can be used to predict Latino racial choices.

Atiya Kai Stokes-Brown, Bucknell University

a.stokes-brown@bucknell.edu

Randolph Burnside, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale burnside@siu.edu

Two Peas in a Pod? Latino Attitudes Toward African Paper Americans

Using the unique data provided by the 2006 Latino National Survey, this paper explores the factors that influence Latino perceptions of political and economic commonality with African Americans.

Kevin Wallsten, California State University, Long Beach kevin.wallsten@gmail.com

Tatishe Mavovosi Nteta, University of Massachusetts, Amherst nteta1@yahoo.com

Racialized Service: Latinos, Assimilation, and the Military

Discussion of Latino military service, assimilation, military conflict. Marco Antonio Durazo, University of California, Los Angeles mdurazo619@gmail.com

When Will the U.S.-Latino Community Achieve Political Paper

Maturation?: Some Preliminary Definitions and Considerations

The concept of political maturation is explored and applied to the absence of Latinos at the national political decision making level both in the policy making and governmental formation processes.

Henry Flores, St. Mary's University

hflores@stmarytx.edu

Disc. Jaime Dominguez, Northwestern University

j-dominguez@northwestern.edu

30-5 Ancient Perspectives on Patria, Law and Justice

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor. Fri at 2:45 pm

Carl E. Miller, Fort Hays State University Chair

cemiller@fhsu.edu

Paper Feud and Vengeance: The Enterprise of Justice in Classical

Greek Drama

We explore the relationships between the institutions of justice and governance in Classical Greek drama, focusing on the antinomy of autocratic justice based on feud and revenge and justice based on demotic power as a public and civic enterprise.

Erik W. Kuiler, George Mason University

kuiler@cox.net

Connie L. McNeely, George Mason University

cmcneely@gmu.edu

Socrates and Civil Disobedience: Would Socrates Oppose the Paper Civil Disobedience of Martin Luther King, Jr.?

Socrates is usually represented as opposing violations of the law, but his arguments can be interpreted as permitting some instances of civil disobedience, including peaceful violations of the law that occurred during the U.S. civil rights movement.

Carl E. Miller, Fort Hays State University

cemiller@fhsu.edu

Paper The Importance of Prudence in Thomistic Just War Thinking

The virtue of prudence is essential for determining right action in any particular circumstance and it is especially needed when considering grave moral questions pertaining to war and justice.

Ryan Robert Gorman, University of Dallas rgorman@udallas.edu

What Is this Thing Called Love (of the Patria)? **Paper**

This paper traces the story of the execution of Junius Brutus's sons through Roman and later sources in an investigation of what is meant by the love of the patria, or patriotism, and what sort of sacrifice it entails.

Nicholas Xenos, University of Massachusetts, Amherst xenos@polsci.umass.edu

Disc. Alexandra Elizabeth Hoerl, Rhodes College

hoerla@rhodes.edu

Carl E. Miller, Fort Hays State University cemiller@fhsu.edu

31-7 **Reconsidering the Modern Psyche**

Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room

Andrea Radasanu, Northern Illinois University Chair

aradasanu@niu.edu

On the Liabilities of Descartes for Democracy: Tocqueville's **Paper**

Critique of the Doctrines that Shape the Democratic Mind

In Democracy in America, Tocqueville offers a critical assessment of the new intellectual habits that democracy fosters. This paper explores Tocqueville's account of the democratic mind and his critique of doctrines that reinforce its flaws.

Natalie J. Elliot, University of North Texas

natalie.j.elliot@gmail.com

Modern Liberty and the Ordinary Passions: Montesquieu's **Paper** Constitutionalism and Its Basis

Montesquieu's understanding of the human passions forms the very basis of his constitutionalism. This paper seeks to draw out that understanding and show which institutional forms, according to Montesquieu, respond best to these passions and why.

Randal Hendrickson, Harvard University

rhendrickson@gov.harvard.edu

Judging Modernity's Cultural Icons: Nietzsche on Rousseau

An interpretation of Nietzsche's scattered judgments of Rousseau (who he calls the 'First Image of Modern Man'). Nietzsche's assessment helps us to refine our judgments of both men and of the changing modern world they each embody so ambiguously.

Laura K Field, University of Texas, Austin lkfield@gmail.com

Paper **Charles Taylor on Appraising Modernity**

This paper engages Charles Taylor's argument that "modernity" is more properly viewed as multiple modernities, which are the products of constructed self-understandings and practices.

Roberto De Luca, University of Texas, Austin rdeluca@mail.utexas.edu

Disc. Steven Forde, University of North Texas forde@unt.edu

32-11 **Left of Liberalism**

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Chair Jonathan E. McKenzie, Purdue University jemckenz@purdue.edu

Habermas and Lefort: Towards a Post-Marxist Defense of Paper Liberal Democracy

The comparison between Habermas and Lefort is used to point to the strengths and the weaknesses in their respective works, for the purposes of constructing a defense of the liberal-democratic project that can be attractive to the post-Marxist left.

Carlo Invernizzi Accetti, Columbia University cei2104@columbia.edu

The Return of the Schmittian: Radical Democratic Theory at Its **Limits**

This paper explores the contemporary implications of Carl Schmitt's Paper philosophy for democratic politics through an analysis of Chantal Mouffe's appropriation of Schmitt's notion of the "political" for articulating a "democratic paradox."

Onur Ulas Ince, Cornell University oui2@cornell.edu

Deliberation and Dialogue: Buber, Habermas, and the **Experience of Democratic Engagement**

This paper seeks to bring work from the dialogic tradition in philosophy, most notably the work of Martin Buber, into contemporary discourse on deliberative democracy.

Daniel Brian Andersen, University of Oregon

danderse@uoregon.edu

Paper Popper, Marx, and Democratic Theory

Popper, Marx, and Democratic Theory examines Karl Popper's critique of majoritarian elements in Marxism and evaluates Popper's Paper theory of democracy without sovereignty.

Philip Benesch, Lebanon Valley College benesch@lvc.edu

Lena Kay Zuckerwise, Mount Holyoke College Disc. lkzucker@mtholyoke.edu

33-11 **Contemporary Nietzsche**

Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room Chair Lisa Uhlir, Tarrant County College lisa.uhlir@tccd.edu

Nietzsche's Epic Spirituality Paper

I spell out Nietzsche's epic spirituality and examine the issue of how different strands of his thought merge in the philosophy of reconciliation that he anticipated in Human (1878) and later defended in The Anti-Christ and Ecce Homo (1888).

Roberto Alejandro, University of Massachusetts, Amherst ralejand@polsci.umass.edu

Nietzsche's Comic Hierarchy: Pessimism and Socratic Laughter **Paper**

This paper treats Nietzsche's connection between Laughter and command as attributes of genuine philosophy and brings to light the contrast between Schopenhauer's pessimism and the laughter Nietzsche attributes to Socrates.

Paul E. Kirkland, Carthage College

pkirkland@carthage.edu

Friedrich Nietzsche on the Role of a Bearer of Culture **Paper**

(Kulturträger) in Modern Democracies

Political struggles connect today to culture. My paper argues through an interpretation of Nietzsche's philosophy that culture's power to enhance the political capacities of collectivities resides in the way individuals use imagination and language.

Mihaela Czobor-Lupp, Georgetown University

mc362@georgetown.edu

Paper Nietzsche's Woman in a Post-Democratic World

A look at the changes anticipated by Nietzsche in a post-democratic world to the three traditional roles of woman (wife, mother and the eternal feminine).

Lisa Uhlir, Tarrant County College

lisa.uhlir@tccd.edu

Disc. Irwin Chris, Humber College

christopher.j.irwin@gmail.com

Jeffrey Metzger, Cameron University

jmetzger@cameron.edu

33-24 **Perspectives on Equality**

Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room

Ashley Biser, Ohio Wesleyan University

anbiser@owu.edu

The Strengths of Inequality: How Korean Americans'

Hierarchical Relationships Make for Stronger Communities

Korean Americans tend to view their relationships in terms of hierarchies and, while the West may be suspicious of hierarchical relationships, Korean Americans show how they can be the building blocks of a flourishing community.

Susan Lee, University of Maryland, College Park sslee@gvpt.umd.edu

Does Patriotism Promote Equality? Paper

This paper explores whether or not patriotism is conducive to

Christopher Parker, University of Washington

csparker@u.washingon.edu

Penny Sheets, University of Washington

sheetsph@u.washington.edu

Fairness and the Distribution of Primary Goods

I consider whether the schemes of distributive justice offered by Rawls, Nozick, and Cohen in some instances fail to correct for elements of unfairness and at other times introduce unfairness in the furtherance of other largely unacknowledged ends.

Nathan W. Dean, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill nathanwdean@gmail.com

Disc. Mara Gabriela Marin, University of Chicago

mara@uchicago.edu

Hans Christian Siller, Yale University

chris.siller@yale.edu

34-11 **Respect and Recognition**

Adams on the 6th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Mark Edwin Olssen, University of Surrey

M.Olssen@surrey.ac.uk

Paper Concern for Persons

In this paper I explain what a practical attitude is and I argue that political philosophy should shift from taking respect for persons to taking concern for persons as the morally most important practical

Daniel Brudney, University of Chicago

dbrudney@uchicago.edu

Paper Human Dignity as the Metaphysical Foundation for John Rawls' Principles

Human Dignity is the metaphysical foundation behind John Rawls' "justice as fairness." Despite our contemporary hesitancy to consider metaphysical issues, I am convinced these establish needed intelligibility for a politics of social justice.

Augusta Ora Gooch, University of Alabama, Huntsville aogooch@knology.net

Paper Recognition and Reification: Axel Honneth and Interpersonal Psychology

This paper critiques Axel Honneth's use of Winnicott's developmental psychology and argues that recognition as a normative ideal is not appropriate for democratic politics because it does not respect the distinction between public and private.

Emily Howden Hoechst, Georgetown University ehoechst@mac.com

Paper Human Nature and Human Rights

Accepting welfare and freedom responsibilities constitutes perceived duties owed to all others as human beings. These determine the value of a person, establishing a condition of life in which each is obliged to secure every other.

Donald Vaughn Poochigian, *University of North Dakota* donald.poochigian@und.nodak.edu

Disc. Larry Michael Preston, Union Institute & University larry.preston@tui.edu

34-12 Perspectives on Social Science

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm
Chair Jacob Schiff, University of Chicago

jschiff@uchicago.edu

Paper Political Ideology and the Philosophy of Science

An examination of the political origins of logical positivism in Europe, its emigration to the United States, and its impact on discourse of political science and political theory.

John G. Gunnell, *State University of New York* jgg@albany.edu

Paper Better than Bildung? The Enumeration of the Sciences in the 19th Century

The era of the separated sciences results in a skirmish between positivists and romantics for the leading role in a new humanism. Surveyed are Comte, JS Mill, Coleridge and Spencer on the educational roles of Church and State.

Christopher James Barker, California State University, San Bernardino

christopher.barker@cgu.edu

Paper Representation: Concepts and Measures

I outline a genealogy of the concept and measure of representation since Pitkin's The Concept of Representation (1967), offer a typology of social science concepts, and conclude with suggestions for evaluating measures of representation.

Kathleen Tipler, *University of Michigan* ktipler@umich.edu

Disc. Joseph Pappin III, University of South Carolina jpappin@mailbox.sc.edu

35-8 Law and Politics

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm **Chair Stuart V. Jordan**, *University of Rochester*

sjordan@mail.rochester.edu

Paper A Theory of Hung Juries and Informative Voting

We investigate a jury decision when hung juries and retrials are possible. When jurors in subsequent trials know that previous trials resulted in hung juries, informative voting is almost impossible to be an equilibrium regardless of voting rules.

Yuki Takagi, Harvard University

takagi@fas.harvard.edu

Fuhito Kojima, Yale University/Stanford University

fuhitokojima1979@gmail.com

Paper A Dynamic Model of Judicial Appointments

Building on the foundational work being done in dynamic models, we develop a model of judicial appointments that offers new insights into battles between the Senate and the President over the makeup of the federal bench.

David Primo, University of Rochester

david.primo@rochester.edu

Yoji Sekiya, University of Rochester

yoji.sekiya@rochester.edu

Paper Looking Back: An Ordered Network Model of Legal Precedent

We define an "ordered network" and develop a network game of Supreme Court citations, then show it is an equilibrium for opinion authors who value being cited to cite existing cases that have been cited by important cases.

Stephen R. Haptonstahl, Washington University, St. Louis srhapton@wustl.edu

Disc. Matthew Stephenson, Harvard Law School

mstephen@law.harvard.edu

36-10 New Directions in Political Methodology

Room Honore on the Lobby Level, Fri at 2:45 pm Chair Kevin A. Clarke, *University of Rochester*

kevin.clarke@rochester.edu

Paper Identification, Inference, and Sensitivity Analysis for Causal Mediation Effects

Causal mediation analysis is frequently conducted in many disciplines. We establish the nonparametric identification of mediation effects. We also show how to conduct parametric and nonparametric inference and propose a new sensitivity analysis.

Kosuke Imai, Princeton University

kimai@Princeton.Edu

Luke Keele, Ohio State University

keele.4@polisci.osu.edu

Teppei Yamamoto, Princeton University

tyamamot@princeton.edu

Paper Bayesian Sensitivity Analysis for Causal Effects With

Continuous Outcomes and Treatments

What can one infer about causal effects from non-experimental (and possibly continuous) data in the presence of unmeasured confounding? This paper shows how to perform sensitivity analyses for many different causal estimands.

Adam N. Glynn, Harvard University

aglynn@fas.harvard.edu

Kevin M. Quinn, Harvard University

kquinn@fas.harvard.edu

Paper A Careful Look at Modern Case Selection Methods

Many case selection techniques have been suggested by qualitative methods scholars. Little is known about the assumptions and merits of competing techniques, and we use a Bayesian framework to explore modern case selections methods in detail.

Michael Herron, Dartmouth College michael.herron@dartmouth.edu Kevin M. Quinn, Harvard University

kquinn@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Spike and Slab Priors for Bayesian Generalized Linear Models

We develop a prior distribution for nonlinear Bayesian models that combines uniformed with informed features. This specification leads to improved Bayesian model averaging.

Jeff Gill, *Washington University*, *St. Louis* jgill@wustl.edu

Xun Pang, Washington University, St. Louis xpang@artsci.wustl.edu

Paper Robust is Not So Robust

This paper reconsiders the conventional wisdom in the application of robust covariance matrices to the general class of maximum likelihood estimators.

Robert W. Walker, Washington University, St. Louis

rww@wustl.edu

Disc. Adam N. Glynn, Harvard University

aglynn@fas.harvard.edu

Kevin A. Clarke, University of Rochester

kevin.clarke@rochester.edu

37-5 Information Effects of the Internet (Co-sponsored with Mass Media and Political Communication, see 27-30)

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Christine B. Williams, Bentley University

cwilliams@bentley.edu

Paper The Impact of the Internet on Expert-Citizen Interactions in Policymaking

Based on a meta-analysis, this research finds that the Internet has both positive and negative impact on citizen-expert interactions. The barriers in using the internet can only be overcome through a new expert-citizen institutional arrangement.

Lihua Yang, Arizona State University

lihua.yang@asu.edu

Zhiyong Lan, Arizona State University

Lan@asu.edu

Paper Young Adults' News Consumption in a Digital Age

Based on unique quantitative and qualitative data about a diverse group of young adults, we look at the role of political blogs and online news aggregators in people's news consumption.

Eszter Hargittai, Northwestern University

mpsa@hargittai.com

Nicole Joseph, Northwestern University

nicolejoseph@u.northwestern.edu

Paper Taking the Pulse of Blogs in Health Care Policy

In-depth analysis of blogs in particular policy areas remains unexamined. This study using a sample of more than 1,000 to investigate the role of blogging in health care. Findings suggest that blogs are important vehicles in the policy process.

Edward Alan Miller, Brown University

edward_a_miller@brown.edu

Antoinette J. Pole, Montclair University

tonipole@gmail.com

Paper The 2008 Presidential Campaign Online: Information Effects and Political Knowledge

This paper tests for an independent effect of Web 2.0 technologies on respondents' levels of political information as compared to traditional media outlets while controlling for standard predictors with a particular focus on young voters.

Hannes Ralph Richter, Free University Berlin

hrichter@uno.edu

Paper The Drama Bias: Comparing Election Projections From News and Non-News Sources

This study seeks to explore the notion of news bias in favor of drama or competitiveness. We use data collected from nine electoral projection web sites during the last month of the campaign to compare projections from news sites to non-news sites.

Room

Aaron S. Veenstra, University of Wisconsin, Madison asveenstra@wisc.edu

Ben Sayre, *University of Wisconsin*, *Madison* bgsayre@wisc.edu

Disc. Douglas R. Oxley, University of Nebraska, Lincoln oxley@inebraska.com

Christine B. Williams, Bentley University

cwilliams@bentley.edu

38-1 Social Network Analysis of Interest Groups and Parties

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Suzanne M. Robbins, George Mason University

srobbin1@gmu.edu

Paper It's Not Personal, It's Strictly Business: A Social Networks Analysis of Internal Party Cleavages, 1972-2008

Presidential nomination politics can reveal internal party schisms, be they personal, ideological or strategic. This paper applies social network analysis techniques to nomination endorsements to identify and explain those schisms.

Hans Noel, University of Michigan

hansnoel@umich.edu

Paper A Network Analysis of State Party Committee Strength, 1980-2008.

We place state committees and PACs in a network and draw directed, weighted links between them using FEC donation data. We then examine the position of the party committees in the network using several network centrality measures.

Andrew Scott Waugh, University of California, San Diego aswaugh@ucsd.edu

Paper 527 Committees as Central Actors in the Political Party Network

We continue the study of political party networks by examining the ties that officers and key staff of 527 committees have to each other and other pieces of the network using social network analysis. The most active 527s from 2004/2006 are analyzed.

David A. Dulio, Oakland University

ddulio@oakland.edu

Richard M. Skinner, Bowdoin College

rskinner@bowdoin.edu

Seth E. Masket, University of Denver

smasket@du.edu

Paper The Structure and Stability of Policy Networks in Washington

We use data from 517,784 semi-annual lobbying disclosure reports to investigate the degree to which policy networks are linked with each other or operate independently as cliques and to measure the stability of network characteristics over time.

Timothy M. LaPira, College of Charleston

lapirat@cofc.edu

Herschel F. Thomas, Pennsylvania State University

treythomas@gmail.com

Frank R. Baumgartner, Pennsylvania State University

frankb@psu.edu

Disc. Suzanne M. Robbins, George Mason University

srobbin1@gmu.edu

Matt Grossmann, Michigan State University

matt@mattg.org

89-6 Presidential Influence in Congress (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 40-36)

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Brian Robert King, Muskingum College

bking@muskingum.edu

Paper Estimating Presidential Influence on Legislation

The paper develops an estimation procedure of presidential influence on legislation. The procedure is employed to the 84th-106th Houses, yielding estimates of presidential influence on policymaking, including a breakdown by different policy areas.

Ruth Kricheli, Stanford University

ruthk@stanford.edu

Paper Moving Targets: Members of Congress and Presidential Persuasion

This paper examines the power of presidential persuasion among members of Congress. I test to see which members the president targets for persuasion and which respond to his pressure.

Patrick T. Hickey, *University of Texas*, *Austin* patrick.hickey@gmail.com

Paper The President's Success in Congress: An Investigation of Dynamics

Given contradictory findings in the literature, we employ time series multivariate ARFIMA modeling techniques to investigate whether and to what extent public approval has impacted the legislative success of the president over time.

Andrew O'Geen, Stony Brook University

aogeen@ic.sunysb.edu

Matthew Lebo, Stony Brook University

mlebo@notes.cc.sunysb.edu

Paper Bush's Veto Threats: What Happens When You Cry "Wolf" 140 Disc. Times?

George W. Bush has vetoed very few bills despite many threats to do so (over 140 before he vetoed his first bill). This paper explores why he did this and what the consequences have been for relations with Congress

Matthew G. Jarvis, *California State University*, *Fullerton* mjarvis@fullerton.edu

Disc. Jacob R. Straus, Congressional Research Service jakest@gmail.com

40-100 Author Meets Critics: Steve Smith's Party Influence in

Congress

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm **Chair Jeffery A. Jenkins**, *University of Virginia*

jajenkins@virginia.edu
Author Meets Critics
Author meets Critics

Panelist Steven S. Smith, Washington University

smith@wustl.edu

Mathew D. McCubbins, University of California, San Diego

mmccubbins@ucsd.edu

John Aldrich, Duke University

aldrich@duke.edu

Bruce Oppenheimer, *Vanderbilt University* bruce.i.oppenheimer@vanderbilt.edu

41-7 Constituent Views of Congressional Members

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm **Chair John Griffin**, *University of Notre Dame*

John.Griffin@nd.edu

Paper Minding Payoffs and Cues: Measuring Voter Accuracy in Evaluating Elected Officials

We use data on real members of Congress and implement rational choice methods of experimentation to test political psychology theories of how voters use cues such as gender, race, and other demographic characteristics to assess candidate ideology.

Kristin Kanthak, University of Pittsburgh kanthak@pitt.edu

Rebecca B. Morton, New York University

rbm5@nyu.edu

Paper What the District Thinks: Public Opinion and Policy Conflict in Congressional Elections

Given that both economic and social policy issues structure the national agenda, I examine how this two-dimensional set of policy preferences affects political conflict in congressional elections.

Amber Wichowsky, University of Wisconsin, Madison wichowsky@wisc.edu

Paper Disapproval of Congress and the 2008 House Elections

Did Democratic House candidates in 2008 suffer electoral consequences for the record disapproval of Congress, or was the Republican Party in control of the executive held solely responsible for the perceived negative direction of the country?

David R. Jones, Baruch College, CUNY

david.jones@baruch.cuny.edu

Monika L. McDermott, Fordham University

mmcdermott@fordham.edu

Paper Does Factual Knowledge Affect How Americans Vote? A View from the Perspective of Members of Congress

We ask if citizens' factual knowledge affects their vote choice by looking at how much effort elected officials expend in focusing constituents' attention on facts. We perform a content analysis of newsletters of members of the 2006 Congress.

Jennifer L. Hochschild, Harvard University

hochschild@gov.harvard.edu

Katherine Levine, Harvard University

klevine@fas.harvard.edu

Scott James Basinger, University of Houston

sjbasinger@uh.edu

42-7 <u>Courts and Congressional Control Mechanisms</u>

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm **Chair Anna Harvey**, *New York University*

anna.harvey@nyu.edu

Paper The Power of the Purse: Judicial Pay Raises and Congressional

Control over the Judiciary

In this paper, we examine congressional influence over the Supreme Court through its control over judicial salaries. We will look at both political and nonpolitical factors that explain the variation in judicial salaries.

Maeve P. Carey, George Washington University

mcarey@gwu.edu

Paul J. Wahlbeck, George Washington University

wahlbeck@gwu.edu

Paper The Dynamics of Court Packing: Political Control and Neglect of the Federal Courts

I analyze the variation in the effective size of the federal appellate judiciary to identify the institutional and political forces that govern the influence of the political branches on the courts using Bayesian time-series models.

Scott E. Graves, Georgia State University

polseg@langate.gsu.edu

Paper The Paradox of Reform Legislation: Congress, Courts and Campaign Finance Policy

This paper asks why Congress suddenly increased judicial review in the landmark Federal Election Campaign Act. It argues that the post-Watergate Act intentionally delegated policymaking power to courts, in part, to control enforcement of the law.

Rebecca S. Curry, Hofstra University

Rebecca.Curry@hofstra.edu

Paper Exclusive Jurisdiction: How Congress Stacks the Deck for Courts and Agencies

Congress manipulates federal court jurisdiction to discourage suits against the government. A 63-year study of exclusive jurisdictional grants to the federal D.C. courts concludes Congress is responding to litigation costs and not court ideology.

Dawn M. Chutkow, Cornell University

dmc66@cornell.edu

Disc. Lisa M. Holmes, University of Vermont

Lisa.M. Holmes@uvm.edu

Anna Harvey, New York University

anna.harvey@nyu.edu

42-25 Influences on Opinion Writing

Room Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Elliot E. Slotnick, Ohio State University

slotnick.1@osu.edu

Paper Evaluating the Evidence for Majority Opinion Author Influence on Supreme Court Policy

This paper examines recent evidence that has been put forth for systematic non-median influence on U.S. Supreme Court policy, and argues that it has been misinterpreted.

Daniel Lempert, Ohio State University

lempert.4@polisci.osu.edu

Where Do Legal Opinions Come From? Strategic Opinion Writing on the Supreme Court

A new model of Supreme Court decision-making and opinionwriting that explains the relationship between the judicial bargaining process and the content of the Court's opinions.

Yonatan Lupu, University of California, San Diego ylupu@ucsd.edu

James H. Fowler, University of California, San Diego jhfowler@ucsd.edu

Paper The United States Supreme Court, the Death Penalty and **International Law**

In four recent death penalty cases the justices divided over the role of international laws and norms This paper describes and analyzes these arguments with attention to the major schools of international relations.

Paul E. Parker, Truman State University

parker@truman.edu

David M. Mohl, Truman State University

DMM350@truman.edu

Paper Foreign Citations and the McLachlin Court

I will examine the use of foreign (that is to say, non-Canadian) citations by the Supreme Court of Canada in the 21st century, a period coinciding with the Chief Justiceship of Beverley McLachlin. Peter James McCormick, University of Lethbridge mccormick@uleth.ca

The Positions Justices Take Paper

By comparing justices' pre-oral argument positions with their conference votes on the merits, I show that justices exhibit position fluidity prior to the opinion writing stage.

Eve M. Ringsmuth, University of Minnesota ringsmuth@umn.edu

Disc. Elliot E. Slotnick, Ohio State University

slotnick.1@osu.edu

Amanda DiPaolo, Middle Tennessee State University dipaolo@mtsu.edu

46-15 Social Policy and Local Government Across Political **Systems**

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Ferris Dale Parent, Southeastern Louisiana University Chair dparent@selu.edu

Paper Local Government, Social Programs, and Political **Participation: A Test of State-Centered Theory**

The proposed paper will test state-centered theory's twin hypotheses about the participation dampening or enhancing effects of social programs with respect to county governments' social spending.

Elaine B. Sharp, University of Kansas esharp@ku.edu

Paper **Combating Social Exclusion? Conceptualizing Poverty in** Ireland and the United Kingdom

Despite economic growth across Ireland and the UK in the 1990's, social exclusion remains a pervasive problem. This paper identifies alternative methods for evaluating poverty arguing present understandings limit discovery of policy alternatives.

Keeley Wynne Stokes, University of Colorado, Boulder wynne@colorado.edu

Paper **Alternatives to Incarceration for Non-Violent Offenders: Economic and Social Policy Implications of Transitional Programs: A Case Analysis**

This paper aims to examine and compare the factors influencing the effectiveness of transitional programs as an alternative to incarceration and lengthy sentences for non-violent offenders through in-depth case studies.

Erica Jonelle Woods-Warrior, Hampton University ejwarrior@hotmail.com

Tyrell Anthony Connor, Hampton University

tyrell.connor@hotmail.com

Disc. Nicholas Bauroth, North Dakota State University nicholas.bauroth@ndsu

47-9 **Choosing School Choice: Parents and States**

Room Chicago on the 5th Floor. Fri at 2:45 pm Chair Nina Marie Moore, Colgate University

nmoore@mail.colgate.edu

Interdistrict Open Enrollment Decisions: A Theoretical and **Paper Empirical Account**

This paper analyzes interdistrict open enrollment patterns in two states. Factors theorized to affect interdistrict transfer choices include distance, socioeconomic characteristics, and the academic performance of school districts.

John F. Witte, University of Wisconsin, Madison witte@lafollette.wisc.edu

Deven Carlson, University of Wisconsin, Madison

decarlson@wisc.edu

Lesley Lavery, University of Wisconsin, Madison

lavery@wisc.edu

Parental Mobility and School Vouchers Paper

One promise of school voucher reform is increased mobility. This paper investigates the effects of neighborhood and parental characteristics on parents' decision to become mobile in a universal school choice system with vouchers.

Elif Erisen, California Polytechnic Institute eerisen@calpoly.edu

School Choice Agenda Setting: A National Analysis of **Paper Individual State Legislators**

Utilizing a new, national database with every state legislator, state legislative district demographics, and every charter school bill proposed in the 2007 sessions, we explore the factors that make some legislators school choice advocates.

Francis Xavier Shen. Harvard University

fxshen@fas.harvard.edu

Kenneth K. Wong, Brown University Kenneth_Wong@Brown.edu

Disc. Chang-Ho Ji, La Sierra University

cji@lasierra.edu

47-26 **The Police-Community Relationship**

Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Room Renita L. Miller, Rice University Chair

Renita.Miller@rice.edu

Paper **Constructing Distrust: The Aftermath of African-American Encounters with Police**

Our research explores African-American confidence in police and political institutions and how these attitudes are shaped by the direct and indirect experiences of individual African-American experiences with police.

Donald P. Haider-Markel, University of Kansas

dhmarkel@ku.edu

Charles Epp, University of Kansas

chuckepp@ku.edu

Steven Maynard-Moody, University of Kansas

smm@ku.edu

Paper Beyond Drug Abuse Prevention: DARE and Adolescents' Image of Police Officers

This paper examines the ancillary effects of the DARE program on adolescents' image of police officers. The analyses revealed that the DARE program significantly affected the students' image of the police. Policy implications are discussed

Augustine Hammond, Augusta State University ahammon3@aug.edu

Paper Combating Methamphetamine in the Community: The Western Paper Colorado Approach

Paper provides an implementation study of how communities in Western Colorado have used evidence-based decision-making to combat a significant methamphetamine problem.

Michael C. Gizzi, Illinois State University

mgizzi@ilstu.edu

Disc. Renita L. Miller, Rice University

Renita.Miller@rice.edu

48-7 Sub-National Governance and Economic Policy

Room Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm
Chair Marvin Hoffman, Appalachian State University

hoffmanmk@appstate.edu

Paper How the Variation in City Fiscal Health Affects its Degree of

Innovation?

This research examines how the variation in fiscal health of the US cities affects the degree of their innovation implementation. **Kseniya M. Khovanova**, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

kkhova2@uic.edu

Paper Should Voters be Afraid of Hard-Budget Constraint

Legislation? Fiscal Responsibility Law in Brazilian

Municipalities

This article demonstrates that voters have nothing to be afraid of new hard-budget constraint. The supply of public goods increases on average after the FRL.

Carlos Pereira, Michigan State University

pereir12@msu.edu

Paulo Arvate, Michigan State University

Paulo.Arvate@fgv.br

Paper The Provision of Local Public Goods: Analyzing Municipal Bond Elections

This paper uses municipal bond elections as a measure of the degree to which communities invest in public goods. We find that political factors, demographic makeup, and economic factors all contribute to investment.

Jessica Trounstine, Princeton University

jtrounst@princeton.edu

Jacob Rugh, Princeton University

jrugh@princeton.edu

Disc. Kseniya M. Khovanova, University of Illinois, Chicago

kkhova2@uic.edu

Jessica Trounstine, Princeton University

jtrounst@princeton.edu

50-10 Analyzing the Federal Workforce

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm Chair Lloyd Burton, University of Colorado

lloyd.burton@ucdenver.edu

Paper Who Implements Federal Public Policy? A Study of the Qualifications and Education Expected of Federal Civil Servants and the Curriculum of Graduate Level Public Administration Programs

Using data from the Survey on the Future of Government Service, this study analyzes the qualifications and education bureaucrats desire in civil servants and whether graduate level public administration programs provide these types of civil servants.

Jennifer M. Connolly, University of Georgia jcon@uga.edu

Paper Assessing the Performance of Pay for Performance in the U.S. Federal Government

I examine the effectiveness of pay for performance in U.S. federal agencies. Using a survey of federal workers, I expect that pay for performance will enhance productivity only for certain workers and only when output is easy to measure.

Laura Langbein, American University

langbei@american.edu

aper Burrowing Into the Civil Service

I empirically examine reports of burrowing in 40 federal agencies, drawn from a new survey of 7,500 senior federal executives. I show that burrowing frequency is related to internal dissension and disaffection among civil servants.

David C Nixon, University of Hawaii

dnixon@hawaii.edu

Paper Trust in Government: Service Satisfaction, Competence and

Caring

How do public attitudes about the competency and caring of government administrators and satisfaction with public services influence public trust in government? 2006 Maxwell Poll data are examined.

David J. Houston, University of Tennessee

dhouston@utk.edu

Lauren K. Harding, University of Tennessee

lauren.harding@hotmail.com

Paper A Topography of Federal Employees and Agencies: Examining and Evaluating Organizational Effectiveness and Performance

This paper examines the results of three different efforts to assess U.S. federal agencies' organizational attributes. This paper attempts to answer three interrelated research questions from the results of the federal performance assessment systems.

Sung Min Park, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

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M. Ernita Joaquin, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

ernita.joaquin@unlv.edu

Disc. Lloyd Burton, University of Colorado

lloyd.burton@ucdenver.edu

50-20 <u>Issues Directly Affecting Citizens</u>

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm
Chair Morgen Johansen, Texas A&M University

msjohansen@polisci.tamu.edu

Paper Salience, Representation and Political Responsiveness

This paper examines how salience and political representation (descriptive representation) condition whether elected institutions respond to bureaucratic failure in public education.

Daniel P. Hawes, Kent State University

dhawes2@kent.edu

Paper Threats to Competition and Performance Improvement in Municipal Solid Waste Services

This paper analyzes whether the existence of considerable threat to competition leads to cost savings in municipal solid waste services, using North Carolina municipality data.

Suho Bae, San Francisco State University

bae@sfsu.edu

Moon-Gi Jeong, SungKyunKwan University

mgjeong@skku.edu

Paper Illegal Immigration and Community Resilience: Influences and Impacts on Large Cities, Small Towns and Rural Settings

By assessing jurisdictional characteristics with a model, the author will provide a measure of stresses imposed on cities, small towns and rural settings by illegal immigration. If stresses can be predicted, mitigation strategies can be formed.

Samuel Harvey Clovis, Morningside College

clovis@morningside.edu

Disc. Claudia N. Avellaneda, University of North Carolina, Charlotte cavellan@uncc.edu

53-3 Measuring Group, Mind and Culture

Room Medinah on the 6th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Andrea Elizabeth Jones-Rooy, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor ajonrooy@umich.edu

Paper Political Dimensions of Religion in America: A Generational Cohort Analysis of New Dealers, Boomers, and Generation

X'ers

By parsing party identification data by generational cohort and socio-religious groupings, this paper identifies statistically significant party identification sub-group trends along religious lines within and between generational cohorts.

Elizabeth Bissell Miller, University of Missouri ebmhy8@mizzou.edu

Paper Time for Culture and Cultures of Time: Hidden Dimensions in the Public Perception of Political Change

The paper investigates which cultural dimensions of change exist and if they have an influence on the cognition and evaluation of the European integration process.

Malang Thomas, *University of Konstanz* thomas.malang@uni-konstanz.de

Paper Divided States: Defining and Measuring Intra-State Political Culture

We develop a new scale to measure intra-state cultural identity using survey questions. Testing the scale in Ohio, we find evidence for five distinct political cultures. The scale can be replicated to gauge cultural differences in other states.

Daniel J. Coffey, University of Akron

dcoffey@uakron.edu

Paper Muslims in Dixie: Southern Distinctiveness or Religious Uniformity?

This research will focus on Muslims living in the defined region of the Southern United States and whether their specific values, attitudes, and behaviors differ from their counterparts in other regions.

Cameron Costner Wimpy, Arkansas State University

cwimpy@astate.edu

William P. McLean, Arkansas State University

wmclean@astate.edu

Disc. Nancy Felicitas Hite, Yale University

nancy.hite@yale.edu

54-9 Public Policy and Religion

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Mary Segers, Rutgers University

msegers88@hotmail.com

Paper Plurality Policy and the Politics of Polygamous People

This paper examines the government's response to religiously motivated plural marriages within its midst by providing an overview of the history of Mormon polygamy and demonstrating how three factors influences public policy responses.

Trent A. Engbers, Indiana University

tengbers@indiana.edu

Paper The End of the Affair? Religion and the Western Welfare State in Hard Times

What is the nature of religious involvement with the Western welfare state in recent years? Paradoxically, due to the welfare state crisis, religious involvement has expanded, at least on some dimensions, despite widespread secularization.

Amos Zehavi, Tel Aviv University amos.zehavi@gmail.com

Paper Dispensationalists Effects on U.S. Policy in the Middle East

The politicization of the Christian Right movement in the U.S. has caused the group to become a credible force that is able and willing to exert broad influence on U.S. policy towards Israelis and Palestinians.

Husam A. Mohamad, *University of Central Oklahoma* hmohamad@ucok.edu

Paper When Religion and Science Collide: Competing Ideas and the Recurring Evolution Policy Conflict

The longevity of the evolution policy dispute can only be explained with reference to an underlying, ideational conflict between science and religion. Until one side wins over a substantial majority of the

American public, policy strife will persist. **Angelo Gonzales**, *University of California, Berkeley*

angelo@berkeley.edu

Mary Segers, Rutgers University

msegers88@hotmail.com

Disc.

Paper

54-19 Modernist Approaches to Religion and Politics

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Gordon Albert Babst, Chapman University

gbabst@chapman.edu

Paper Believe What I Believe Or Thou Shalt Perish: Voltairian

Complications in Religious Toleration

An exploration of Voltaire's political thought as a lens by which to examine the subject of religious toleration.

Jennie Choi Ikuta, Brown University

jennie_ikuta@brown.edu

Calvin and Locke on the Individual

Locke's theory of the self owes substantive debts to the ontological developments of the Calvinist Reformation.

Benjamin Lynerd, University of Chicago

btlynerd@uchicago.edu

Paper Philosopher King: The Wisdom of the Biblical Solomon in

Spinoza's Theological Political Treatise

An examination of Spinoza's treatment of the writings and character of the Biblical Solomon in the Theological Political Treatise.

Neil Rogachevsky, *Georgetown University* nsr5@georgetown.edu

Paper Thomas Hobbes and Religion: Strange Bedfellows

Cotemporary political science is not concerned with revelation, theology, religion, or Biblical interpretation. It is therefore striking that the entire second half of "Leviathan" is given over to a

discussion of these matters. Why?

Halima Khan, Northern Illinois University

halimakhan3@yahoo.com

Disc. Gordon Albert Babst, Chapman University

gbabst@chapman.edu

Erik S. Root, West Liberty State College

eroot@westliberty.edu

56-4 Confronting the Future: Developing Skills in Undergraduate Education

M d G E E E A

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Chair Jilda Aliotta, University of Hartford

aliotta@hartford.edu

Paper Reducing the Gap Between Skills Sought by Employers and Provided by Higher Education

The paper examines the role of active learning, PowerPoint presentations, and communication skills in reducing the gap between skills sought by employers and generated by education.

The barriers to implementation are also addressed. **Robert Andrew Peters**, *Western Michigan University*

robert.peters@wmich.edu

Melisa Beeson, Western Michigan University

melisa.beeson@wmich.edu

Paper Identifying the Source of Benefit from Student Self- and Peer-Assessment

Experimental evaluation of source of student learning gains from peer review using variation across number of peer reviews done and received

Leanne C. Powner, College of Wooster

lpowner@wooster.edu

From Class to Campus to Community: Linking Political Paper **Engagement to Institutional Mission**

This paper examines the scholarship and value of engaged pedagogies especially as they relate to an institution's mission, as well as the importance of opportunities for political (as opposed to civic) engagement.

Karen E. Dean, Illinois College

dean@ic.edu

Disc. Jilda Aliotta, University of Hartford

aliotta@hartford.edu

57-214 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: Comparative:</u> **Ethnic and Religious Integration**

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Post. 17 Shari'a as a State Institution in the Muslim World: Uncovering Causes of Individual Support for National Islamic Law

Global politics are increasingly influenced by the developments of the Islamic world. With numerous major Muslim states emerging as prominent actors in the international system, the United States and others in the West are eager to understand.

Derrick Orion Calloway, Creighton University derrickcalloway@creighton.edu

Post. 18 From Neo-Enlightenment to Nihonjinron: The Politics of Anti-Multiculturalism in Japan and the Netherlands

This essay seeks to critically analyze discourses of populist xenophobia and clarify their relationship to perceptions of multiculturalism in the comparative context of Japan and the Netherlands. These two advanced industrialized countries have. Jack Meck Eisenberg, Macalester College

jeisenberg@macalester.edu

Post. 19 Facing Reality: An Experimental Approach to Ethnic Identity

I carried out a randomized experiment in South Africa to understand if people can correctly identify other people's ethnicity. The results show that identification rates are low, but respondents with strong identities correctly identify more often.

Adam S. Harris, Brigham Young University asharris4@gmail.com

Post. 20 The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous **Peoples and Policy Legitimacy**

Discusses the feasibility of DRIPS as potential international law and explores challenges to effective implementation.

Kimberly Danielle Joki, Alma College kimberly.d.joki@gmail.com

Post. 21 Systematic Racism and Race-Conscious Quotas: Affirmative **Action in Public Universities in Brazil**

This paper is an examination of the political and social paths that led race-based quotas to be at the center of the affirmative action agenda in Brazil since the turn of the century.

Allison E. Pichert, Northwestern University apichert@u.northwestern.edu

Post. 22 'Unravelling' the Turkish Headscarf: New Islamic Individualism in Turkey, The Clash of Democracy and Secularism

The purpose of this study is to present a detailed analysis of the ways in which secularism and democracy have been at odds with one another in Turkey, as well as how and why Turkish women have been placed at the crux of this debate.

Leanne Roderick, University of British Columbia leanneroderick@gmail.com

Post. 23 Contextual Differences in Populist Discourse

This paper addresses the question whether populist discourse varies in different contexts. Multilevel methods using MCMC estimation will be applied on data of two Swiss referenda in 2006 on immigrant issues.

Mirjam Ryser, University of Bern mirjam.ryser@ipw.unibe.ch

57-215 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: Comparative:</u> **Latin America and Africa**

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 2:45 pm

Post. 24 Mutually Assured Destruction: Anti-Americanism in Latin America and the U.S. Response

This paper looks for trends in analyzing the Chavez and Allende regimes in South America, their anti-American rhetoric, and the American reaction.

Mark Japinga, Grinnell College japingam@grinnell.edu

Post. 25 Understanding Authoritarian Control Strategies: The Internet **Under Raúl Castro**

This paper is a quantitative analysis of authoritarian institutions and their effects on Internet use.

Christopher Laurence Maury, Washington University, St. Louis Cmaury@wustl.edu

Post. 26 When Empowerment Fails: Unequal Relationships, Unwanted Pregnancies and Unconsidered Policy Options in Rural **Tanzania**

Drawing on field work conducted in rural Tanzania this paper draws upon a power-based conceptual framework to examine the social problem of unplanned pregnancy and offer policy proposals that could redistribute power to those who are most vulnerable.

Kate Ellyn Mooney, Saint Michael's College kmooney3@smcvt.edu

Post. 27 The Reintegration of Hong Kong into Mainland China and It's **Effects Upon Democratization**

In the year 1997, the United Kingdom officially ceded control of Hong Kong over to the People's Republic of China (PRC), establishing Hong Kong as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC, a distinction which allows Hong Kong a fifty year. James Robert Nebl, North Central College

jrnebl@noctrl.edu

Post. 28 State Ownership of the Energy Industry in Latin America

A quantitative study of the variation in government control over the energy industries of Latin America over the period 1990-2007 using pooled time-series analysis with panel-corrected standard errors. Eric Michael Ruchensky, Creighton University emr23298@creighton.edu

Post. 29 The Problem with Eating Money: Remittances and **Development Within Senegal's Muridiyya**

Using the Muridiyya, a Sufi brotherhood in Senegal, as a case study, this paper examines how remittances from Senegalese migrants become tools for community-level development when channeled through religious associations.

Rebecca Fae Sherman Sheff, Macalester College rebecca.sheff@gmail.com

65-10 Justice and Tyranny in William Shakespeare

Room Empire on the Lobby Level, Fri at 2:45 pm

Dustin Gish, College of the Holy Cross Chair

dgish@holycross.edu

Shakespeare's The Rape of Lucrece and the Birth of Paper Republicanism

Shakespeare's The Rape of Lucrece emphasizes the nature and foundation of republican virtue. Lucretia's suicide must occur to overcome tyranny in the soul and the city. Consequently she creates a new moral order

Robert M. Schaefer, University of West Georgia rschaefe@westga.edu

Shakespeare's Macbeth: The Soul of the Tyrant

A study of Shakespeare's Macbeth, paying special attention to the desires and aims of its chief character with a view to elaborating the play's teaching on the origins and nature of tyranny.

Carson Lynn Holloway, University of Nebraska, Omaha cholloway@unomha.edu

Paper Machiavellian Prince or Christian King? Henry of Monmouth's Political Education

This paper examines the political education of Shakespeare's Henry V and argues that his approach to the restoration of a lawful order in England reflects neither the cynicism of Machiavelli's Prince nor the pieties of a Christian King.

Bernard Joseph Dobski, Assumption College

bdobski@asssumption.edu

Paper Shakespeare on Scripture: Much Ado About Nothing

Analyzes Shakespeare's play and identifies the extent to which the relation between "belief" and scripture underlies the traditional subplots of the drama.

Rafael Major, Jack Miller Center

rmajor@gojmc.org

Disc. Tim J. Spiekerman, Kenyon College

spiekermant@kenyon.edu

Anthony D. Bartl, Baylor University

tony_bartl@baylor.edu

Friday, April 3-4:45 pm

1-5 <u>Immigration and National Attachment (Co-sponsored</u> with Political Psychology, see 21-25)

Room Adams on the 6th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Tatishe Mavovosi Nteta, University of Massachusetts, Amherst nteta@polsci.umass.edu

Paper The Patriotism Divide: Why Attachment to Country Has Two

This research adds theoretical weight and insight into distinctions in conceptions of patriotism. It suggests that one's idea of patriotism is heavily wrapped in political ideology, and thus debate over this issue will not disappear any time soon.

Nate Ramsey, University of Cincinnati

ramseynn@uc.edu

Paper Early and Later Political Socialization in Latin American Immigrants: Assessing the Impact of Immigration

We "genetically matched" data from Latinobarometro, 1996–2005, and the Latino National Survey, 2006, in order to trace the political re-socialization of Latin American immigrants through their first 10 years of residence in the United States.

Javier Mauricio Rodriguez, University of California, Los Angeles javier.rodriguez@ucla.edu

Mark Q. Sawyer, *University of California, Los Angeles* msawyer@polisci.ucla.edu

David O. Sears, *University of California*, *Los Angeles* sears@psych.ucla.edu

Paper The Angry Edges: Out-Group Hostility Toward Immigrants as a Function of Marginal In-Group Membership

We conducted an experiment to test Brewer's (1991) optimal distinctiveness theory with politically salient groups. More specifically, we examine how American citizens respond to threats from non-citizen, Hispanic immigrants.

Todd K. Hartman, Appalachian State University

hartmantk@appstate.edu

Joshua Harris, *Appalachian State University* joshharris83@gmail.com

Paper A Question of Loyalty: Are Immigrants Really Less Patriotic Than Those Born in the USA?

This paper explores Huntington's proposition that immigrants are less patriotic than non-immigrants. In the end, we find that immigrants aren't less patriotic than those born in America. Rather, they have come to understand it differently.

Christopher Parker, University of Washington

csparker@u.washington.edu

Marcela Garcia-Castanon, University of Washington

marcegc@u.washington.edu

Disc. Thomas E. Nelson, Ohio State University

nelson.179@osu.edu

3-9 Migration, Remittances, and Politics

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Lauren M Duquette, University of Chicago

duquette@uchicago.edu

Paper Remittances, Public Goods Provision and Political Inequality

As migration is costly, the wealthy tend to receive more remittances. Remittances could entrench inequalities or could mitigate them, if the rich opt-out of the political system and the poor fill the vacuum. We study which of these is the case.

Rikhil Bhavnani, Stanford University

rbhavnani@stanford.edu

Margaret Peters, Stanford University

mepeters@stanford.edu

Paper Clientelism and Migrants' Remittances: The 3x1 Program in Mexico

We study the political economy of the 3x1 program for migrants in Mexican municipalities. We explore the role of migrants as crucial political actors and clientelistic practices in an attempt to court them

 ${\bf Meseguer\ Covadonga},\ {\it CIDE}$

covadonga.meseguer@cide.edu Francisco J Aparicio, CIDE javier.aparicio@cide.edu

Paper <u>Migrant Development Synergy: Hometown Associations and</u> the Co-Production of Public Goods and Services across Mexican

Municipalities

Paper shows how migrants, as collective non-state actors, have partnered with levels of the Mexican government to provide public works with collective remittances. Co-production has political implications for the performance of municipal governance.

Lauren M Duquette, University of Chicago

duquette@uchicago.edu

Paper A Theory of Internal Migration Restrictions

Authoritarianism and the perceived need to restrict international emigration are the key determinants of internal migration restrictions. The results of original econometric testing using modern data are consistent with those claims.

Nikola Mirilovic, University of Chicago

nikola@uchicago.edu

Disc. Mohammad Waseem, Lahore University of Management Sciences

Waseem@lums.edu.pk

3-26 The Socio-Economic Consequences of Democracy

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Mary E. Breeding, Georgetown University

meb235@georgetown.edu

Paper <u>Does Economic Development Explain Democratic</u>

Development?

We test the implication of modernization theory that socioeconomic development is positively associated with changes in the level of democracy over time within a democratic polity.

Noam Lupu, Princeton University

nlupu@princeton.edu

Kanta Murali, Princeton University

kmurali@princeton.edu

Paper Socioeconomic Resources and Civilized State: A Study of Education, Political Attitude and Political Trust in Urban China

This study is interested in the impact of improved socioeconomic resources on political attitudes in non-democracies. It examines the change of education level in urban China and how it affects the change of citizens' political attitude and trust.

Diqing Lou, Rider University

dilou@rider.edu

Paper Redistributive Politics and Public Expenditures on Education in Latin America

This paper explains what is the political mechanism in place that explains the elite bias in the public provision of education in developing democratic regimes. Empirical evidence is provided for 12 democratic countries in Latin America.

Christian Ponce de Leon, University of Chicago

chponce@uchicago.edu

Disc. Roy Elis, Stanford University

elis@stanford.edu

4-11 Electoral Rules and Democratic Transition

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm
Chair Katja Michalak, American University in Bulgaria

Kmichalak@aubg.bg

Paper Reform or Revolution? A Theory of Suffrage and the Rise of the Middle Class

I show how variation in the suffrage may be shaped by the difference in powers of social groups. Two factors, the repressive power of the elites and the political capacity of the middle class, play key roles in the dynamic game of enfranchisement.

Tianyang Xi, New York University

tx211@nyu.edu

Paper Democratic Transition and Electoral Choice: The Legacy of One-Party Rule in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic

Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia each adopted a different electoral system during its transition to democratic rule. In this paper, I present a formal model that explains these different institutional outcomes.

Ethan Jon Hollander, Wabash College

hollande@wabash.edu

Paper A Strong Competition Over Votes: Electoral Systems and the Success of Muslim Democrats

This paper examines the impact of different electoral systems on the success or failure of Muslim Democrat parties as defined by Vali

Scott Thomas LaDeur, *Northern Illinois University* sladeur@niu.edu

Paper Opposition Coordination vs Recruitment Problems and the Persistence of Dominant Party Regimes

Electoral systems affect both opposition party coordination and recruitment, but in opposite ways--liberal dominant party regimes last longer when coordination problems are greater, while illiberal regimes do so when recruitment problems are greater.

Kharis Ali Templeman, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

kharist@umich.edu

Disc. Eduardo Aleman, University of Houston ealeman2@uh.edu

5-13 Political Regimes Under Pressure

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Chair Irina Khmelko, Georgia Southern University

ikhmelko@georgiasouthern.edu

Paper Are Democracies Disadvantaged in the Fight Against Terrorism?

A refined theory about how democracies fight terrorism shows that alternative institutional features affect different types of repressive response and that the availability of resources negates the use of hard but not soft repression.

Dominick' Wright, *University of Michigan* dewright@umich.edu

Paper Presidential Regimes and Human Rights

We argue that presidential regimes are inferior for human rights practices. Moreover, the difference between regime types in their protection of human rights increases as the quality of democracy improves and institutions play a more important role.

David Cingranelli, *Binghamton University* davidc@binghamton.edu

 ${\bf Mikhail\ Filippov},\ {\it Binghamton\ University}$

filippov@binghamton.edu

Paper Presidents or Parliaments: Who is Faster in Responding to Major Natural Disasters?

We have used a hazard function model with a newly built dataset to show that presidential systems are more likely to respond to natural disasters faster than any other forms of government.

Zahid Arefin Choudhury, University of Iowa

mdzahidul-choudhury@uiowa.edu Youngwan Kim, *University of Iowa*

youngwan-kim@uiowa.edu

Paper Liberal Regionalism vs The Resource Curse

The three main democracy-distorting effects of the "resource curse" (the rentier-, repression-, and modernization-effects) can all be thwarted by the diffusion of liberal institutions and norms by a liberal regional actor.

Andrew Wright, Georgetown University

arw33@georgetown.edu

Disc. Irina Khmelko, Georgia Southern University

ikhmelko@georgiasouthern.edu

5-23 Institutions and Culture

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Jennifer C. Brick, University of Wisconsin, Madison

brick@polisci.wisc.edu

Paper Political Function of the "Diwaniyyah" in Kuwait Society

Political anthropology and political institution, Diwaniyyah

Yagoub Y. Al-Kandari, Kifan, Kuwait

alkandari66@hotmail.com

Paper The Institutionalization of Peace in Japan: Origins, Maintenance and Effects of Article Nine

An investigation into the origins of Article Nine, the 'peace plank' of Japan's postwar constitution, and its role in fostering a political culture in which citizens came to associate democracy with antimilitarism.

Benjamin Alexander Peters, Rutgers University

balexp@eden.rutgers.edu

Paper Political Institutions, Social Trust, and the Inequality Trap

This study examines how political institutions shape social trust level through the interaction with the income inequality levels.

Changkuk Jung, Michigan State University

jungcha1@msu.edu

Paper <u>Historical Underpinnings of Institutions: Evidence From the</u> Neolithic Revolution

The origin of institutions may go all the way back to the prehistoric event of the initial agricultural adoption during the Neolithic period; results show a strong inverse relationship between the institutional performance and the Neolithic variable.

Christopher K. Paik, Stanford University

cpaik@stanford.edu

Disc. Jennifer C. Brick, University of Wisconsin, Madison

brick@polisci.wisc.edu

7-10 Parties, Coalitions, and Cabinet Ministers

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm **Chair Thomas König**, *University of Mannheim*

koenig@uni-mannheim.de

Paper

Using Content Analysis to Estimate the Ideal Points of UK Cabinet Ministers, 1979-2007

Recent developments in computer assisted content analysis have allowed for the estimation of the ideal points for cabinet ministers in the UK. Such data has uses in explaining the role of individuals and factions in UK cabinet decision making.

William Craig Meddaugh, Rice University

meddaugh@rice.edu

Paper Party Policy Positions in Italy After Coalition Splits

Using the Wordscores methodology, we explore the dynamics of recent fusions and fissions in Italian politics by investigating how parties position themselves within the party system after a split.

Hilde Roza Coffé, Utrecht University

h.r.coffe@uu.nl

Barbara da Roit, Utrecht University

B.daRoit@uu.nl

Paper Deliberate Discretion in Coalition Agreements

In this paper, we systematically explain the degree to which coalition agreements grant discretion to cabinet ministers in parliamentary democracies.

Jason Eichorst, Rice University

jaeichorst@rice.edu

Lanny W. Martin, Rice University

lmartin@rice.edu

Randolph T. Stevenson, Rice University

stevenso@rice.edu

Paper Where Does Attention Come From and Where Does It Go?: A New Approach to the Study of Agenda Setting Dynamics

This paper offers a new methodological approach to study agenda dynamics. Using Danish parliamentary activities, we show how to systematically investigate and explicitly model how different policy issues are connected to political attention.

Christian Breunig, University of Toronto

c.breunig@utoronto.ca

Christoffer Green-Pedersen, University of Aarhus

cgp@ps.au.dk

Peter Bjerre Mortensen, University of Aarhus

peter@ps.au.dk

Disc. Thomas König, University of Mannheim

koenig@uni-mannheim.de

7-11 Parties and Elections

Room Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair James Adams, University of California, Davis

jfadams@ucdavis.edu

Paper Stability or Chaos? An Examination of Political Party Systems in Eastern European Democracies

This paper examines political party system stability during 1990-2008 in twelve Eastern European democracies measured by the effective number of elective and parliamentary political parties and electoral volatility indicated by replacement scores.

Christopher Brian Kroh, University of Kansas

chrisuk4ver@hotmail.com

Paper <u>Voter Turnout and Europe-Related Policies in Post-Communist Europe</u>

The paper discusses consequences of lowering voter turnout in CEE countries. The main finding is that this process was functional to democracy, because it facilitated the enlargement and accession of 10 new post-communist members states.

Czesnik Mikolaj, Polish Academy of Sciences mczesnik@isppan.waw.pl

Paper Euroscepticism as Domestic Protest: Voting Preferences and Political Corruption in Central and East Europe

What accounts for the electoral successes of Eurosceptic and populist parties in Central and East Europe? This paper explores some of the sources of Eurosceptic attitudes among citizens in the region.

Galina Zapryanova, University of Pittsburgh gmz5@pitt.edu

Paper The Informal EU Social Model

This paper will analyze the effects of certain directives, best practices and spill-over effect in the EU in areas that are not heavily regulated, such as the domestic welfare state systems of the member states.

Katja E. Vermehren, University of Colorado, Boulder

katja.vermehren@colorado.edu

Andreas Bogenholm, Gothenburg University

andreas.bagenholm@pol.gu.se

Disc. James Adams, University of California, Davis

jfadams@ucdavis.edu

8-6 What are the Results of Latin America's Move to the Left?

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Ed Lynch, Hollins University

elynch@hollins.edu

Paper Weak Parties, Natural Resources and the Political Economy of Latin America's Radical Left

Examining competing explanations for the performance of radical left parties in Latin America, I find that weak institutionalized parties and non-tax rents from mineral resources interacted to increase electoral support for radical left candidates.

Don Leonard, Cornell University

DRL43@Cornell.edu

Paper Conceptions of Globalization and Regressive Taxation Policies in Contemporary Latin America

This paper explores if popular conceptions of globalization have a causal role in shaping current regressive tax policy in Latin America. The disconnect between calls for redistribution from the new Left and its maintenance of VATs are highlighted.

Mark Hibben, Syracuse University

mrhibben@syr.edu

Paper Partisanship, Privatisation and Political Institutions in Latin America

Latin America is turning left, but the impact of partisanship on policy in the current globalised era remains unclear. This paper examines the impact of partisanship on privatization in 15 Latin American states between 1975 and 2003.

David Thomas Doyle, *Dublin City University* david.doyle@dcu.ie

Paper Left Politics and Capitalist Development: The Twentieth-Century Transformation of the Chilean Countryside

Under the Pinochet regime, the previously backwards Chilean agricultural sector experienced rapid modernization. This paper examines the contribution of peasant mobilization during the 1960s and early 1970s to agriculture's turnaround.

Larkin Terrie, Northwestern University

p-terrie@northwestern.edu

Disc. Patricio D. Navia, New York University

pdn200@nyu.edu

8-12 <u>Latin American Perspectives on Migration and</u> Immigration

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Kimberly Anne Nolan Garcia, University of New Mexico knolan@unm.edu

Paper Does Migration Policy Work? A Comparative Study of the Effects of Home State Migration Policy on Remittance Flows to Latin America

Time series cross-sectional data from Latin America are used to test prominent arguments about the effects of migration policy on remittance flows. These findings are then compared to predictions generated by economic models of remittance behavior.

Douglas Hamilton Spence, *University of Tennessee* dspence?@utk.edu

A New Theory of Migrant-Led International Diffusion Paper

Migrants from Mexico to the U.S. contribute to changes in the political attitudes and behavior of Mexicans who stay rooted in place through an international diffusion process that is mediated by social structures.

Clarisa Perez-Armendariz, University of Texas, Austin clarisa_pa@mail.utexas.edu

First and Third World Borders: Competing Factors and Paper **Similarities**

Mexico's borders with the US and Guatemala simultaneously reflect two opposing images. These include extreme vulnerablity in the North and Gatekeeper status in the South. This has contributed to contradicting philosophies of immigration policy.

Marcelle Beaulieu, Tulane University mbeaulie@tulane.edu

Paper Do Remittances Complement or Substitute Government-Provided Public Goods? A Study of the 3x1 Program in Mexico

The 3x1 Program promises to match investments in Mexico by migrant associations abroad. We ask whether remittance investments increase total government investment or merely lead to a reallocation of fungible funds.

Alberto Simpser, University of Chicago asimpser@uchicago.edu

Sergio C. Wals, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Disc. swalsap2@illinois.edu

9-13 Foreign Policy Within Asia

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Yufan Hao, University of Macau

yhao@umac.mo

Paper Why Japanese Security Policies Change: The Gulf War and Iraq War

Japan's foreign policies have changed. It traditionally relied on monetary contributions but now deployments of its military dominate its foreign policies. Using Japan's response to the 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 Iraq War, I explain this change. Jeffrey Wayne Hornung, George Washington University jhornung@gwmail.gwu.edu

Paper Change and Challenges of Chinese Foreign Policy in the Post-**Beijing Olympic Era**

The rise of China has led many to wonder what kind of international behavior an increasingly powerful China may have in the foreseeable future. Will growing power eventually lead Chinese leadership to challenge the existing international norms? Yufan Hao, University of Macau

yhao@umac.mo

Paper **Cross-Strait Relations Between Taiwan and China: Interdependence and Competition**

As KMT took over executive leadership of Taiwan in 2008, the cross-strait relations have entered into a new phase. This paper aims to investigate whether the new leadership will change the original interdependent and competitive relationship.

Pei-Shan Kao, National Chiao-Tung University, Taiwan pkao@mail.nctu.edu.tw

Sunshine to Kim Jung-II, Clouds to North Koreans: An Analysis Paper of Food Aid Distribution to North Korean People

Under the Sunshine Policy, from 1998 to 2002, the South Korean government provided enormous humanitarian aid to North Korea. This research explores how that aid has affected the rights to food of North Korean people.

Hye-Lim Yoo, Seoul National University mjaal96@msn.com

Disc. Giacomo Chiozza, Vanderbilt University g.chiozza@vanderbilt.edu

10-7 Fight Against HIV/AIDS in Africa

Medinah on the 6th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Room Patrick Flanagan, St. John's University Chair

flanagap@stjohns.edu

Seeing Like a Village: The Constraints of Village Headmen Paper Implementing the Global HIV/AIDS Intervention

Original data collected in 2008 in rural Malawi describe the role of village headmen as local agents implementing the global AIDS intervention. Discussion of the constraints headmen face and implications of global policy preference misalignment. Kim Yi Dionne, University of California Los Angeles

kimg@ucla.edu

Paper From ABC to AB(C): Uganda's Shifting Approach to the HIV/ **AIDS Epidemic**

This paper analyzes the shift in the messaging used in Uganda's HIV/AIDS response (the ABC program). Through content and tonal analysis, it seeks to quantify the degree and direction of change and correlate it with changes in HIV incidence in Uganda.

Mark Taylor Daku, McGill University

mark.daku@mail.mcgill.ca

Paper NGOs, Success and the Role of Community in Kenya's Fight Against HIV/AIDS

This paper draws on field research conducted in Kenya from 2007-08 to explore the role of local, community participation in the effectiveness of HIV/AIDS NGO efforts. It also considers challenges posed by donors and governments to NGO success.

Megan Hershey, Indiana University

mjhershe@indiana.edu

Paper Transnational Aid Networks in Tanzanian National: District Policy Negotiation

This study examines four primary determinants of foreign institutions' influence in developing host states' policy negotiations between the national and district political levels. The study draws its cases from the Tanzanian AIDS health sub-sector.

Catherine Anne Long, Boston University catlong@bu.edu

Disc. Carolyn E. Holmes, Indiana University

ceholmes@indiana.edu

11-10 The Politics of Economic Growth and Development in the MENA

Sandburg Boardroom 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Room

A.Kadir Yildirim, Ohio State University Chair vildirim.10@osu.edu

Paper Transparency and Economic Growth: Internet Censorship and Foreign Direct Investment in Tunisia and Egypt

Economic growth, particularly foreign direct investment, is linked to governmental transparency. This paper will examine the economic impacts of the changing landscape of censorship in the age of the internet in Egypt and Tunisia.

Rachel Sternfeld, University of Texas, Austin sternfeld@mail.utexas.edu

The Significance of Islamic Economics in Contemporary **Paper Pakistan**

Pakistan is the only nation in the Muslim world to formally commit to the prohibition of interest. This project investigates the disputes Pakistan confronts implementing their High Court's decision and underscores implications for the Muslim world.

Karen Ellis, University of Chicago

ellisk@uchicago.edu

Paper Primary Education for the Development in Middle East with East Asia Experience

This paper is trying to examine the relationship between development and education enrollment in Middle East countries with East Asian experience.

 ${\bf Szu\text{-}Ning\ Ping},\ Claremont\ Graduate\ University$

pingsn@gmail.com

Wen-Yang Chang, Claremont Graduate University

wenyangc@msn.com

Disc. A.Kadir Yildirim, Ohio State University

yildirim.10@osu.edu

13-10 Thinking About the Big Picture: Public Opinion Towards Democracy and Authoritarianism in PostCommunist Countries

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Carol Skalnik Leff, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

leffc@uiuc.edu

Paper Popular Support for Authoritarianism: Exploring Mass Beliefs About Democracy and Dictatorship in Contemporary Ukraine

This paper utilizes data from an original nationwide survey of Ukraine as well as extensive qualitative field interviews with ordinary citizens to examine the contemporary and historical factors that give rise to preferences for authoritarian rule.

Robert T. Person, Yale University

robert.person@yale.edu

Paper Support for Democracy and Autocracy in Post-Communist Eurone

Comparative study of support for democracy and autocracy in the period 1992 until 2006. The paper compares Slovenia, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Moldova, Ukraine and Russia Christian William Haerpfer, University of Aberdeen

c.w.haerpfer@abdn.ac.uk

Paper Attitudes Toward Democracy Among Russian Publics and Elites

The study analyzes opinions towards political and economic development of both Russian elites and mass publics.

Natalia S. Matukhno, *University of Arizona* matukhno@email.arizona.edu

matukhno@email.arizona.edu

Paper The Unintended Consequences of Populism in Post-Communist Poland: Inciting Social Confidence in Democracy

Rather than viewing populism as a threat to democracy this paper explains the unexpected positive linkage between the political phenomenon and democratic transition in Poland.

Melanie G. Mierzejewski, University of Illinois, Chicago mmierz2@uic.edu

Disc. Pierre F. Landry, Yale University

pierre.landry@yale.edu

Sener Akturk, University of California, Berkeley

sakturk@berkeley.edu

 $\textbf{Lena M. Surzhko-Harned}, \ \textit{University of Pittsburgh}$

lms34@pitt.edu

14-8 Politics of High Finance: Banking Regulation and Financial Crisis

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm
Chair Thomas Plümper, University of Essex

tpluem@essex.ac.uk

Paper It's (Not) All Doom and Gloom: Self-Regulation of Banking

Stronger self-regulation of the banking sector is needed in order to offset and cope with financial crises. Direct government regulation is not necessary, as trade associations are shown to provide such robust self-regulatory environment.

Anna Hanchar, Trinity College, Dublin

hancharh@tcd.ie

Slava Mikhaylov, Trinity College, Dublin

mikhailv@tcd.ie

Paper Banker Diplomacy: Private Authority and the Establishment of the Bank for International Settlements

This paper examines the BIS's creation during a period of international financial instability in 1929 and considers the insights of such institutional innovation into patterns of state-market relations in the current global financial crisis.

Kevin V. Ozgercin, College at Old Westbury, SUNY

kevin ozgercin@yahoo.com

Paper Hegemonic Stability Theory and Its Implications Regarding the Liquidity Crisis

Hegemonic stability theory (HST) states that the international monetary and financial system requires a hegemon. Yet the United States is currently suffering a liquidity crisis. I speculate on the how the current crisis will affect the global system.

Vikrum Sequeira, University of Texas, Austin

vikrum@mail.utexas.edu

Paper Banking System Performance, Financial Fragility, and Variation in Regulatory and Supervisory Institutions

We consider whether tightened financial regulation is associated with reduced propensities to observe banking crises. We base our analysis on an original dataset of financial regulatory institutions covering 60+ countries from 1920 to 2007.

Guillermo Rosas, Washington University, St. Louis

grosas@wustl.edu

Jacint Jordana, IBEI/UPF jacint.jordana@upf.edu

Disc. Stefanie Walter, Harvard University

swalter@wcfia.harvard.edu

14-19 Foreign Direct Investment: Firms, Industries, and Aggregate Flows

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Glen Biglaiser, Texas Tech University

gbiglais@yahoo.com

Paper Size, Location and Agglomeration of Inward FDI-Stock in the United States

This study examines if the same set determinants of FDI-location have the same effect on different sized investments in the United States. Agglomeration economics and critical home-country and host-state characteristics are given special attention.

Thomas Halvorsen, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

thomas.halvorsen@svt.ntnu.no

Paper The Politics of Foreign Direct Investment and Conflict: Industries, Threat Perceptions, and Risk-Management Tools

This paper explores the tools foreign investors use to attenuate risks from political violence. I use data from a new survey to uncover systematic links between investment characteristics and investors' choice of risk management tools.

Andreea S. Mihalache, Pennsylvania State University andreea@psu.edu

Paper Diverse Investments: The Link Between Ethnic Diversity and FDI

This paper examines the relationship between ethnic diversity and foreign direct investment (FDI). States with higher degrees of diversity have a higher level of uncertainty associated with them, and as a result, receive less FDI.

Shyam Sudhir Kulkarni, University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign

Champaign

kulkarn4@illinois.edu

Paper Corruption and Foreign Direct Investment: A Dyadic Analysis of Source and Host Country Effects

This project studies the effects of corruption on foreign direct investment. We find that investors from relatively corrupt countries are more responsive to corruption in host countries than their competitors from countries with little corruption.

Carl Jan Willem Schudel, University of Essex

cjwsch@essex.ac.uk

Paper The Impact of U.S. Bilateral Trade Agreements on Foreign Direct Investment

Do preferential trade agreements attract foreign direct investment towards developing countries? Our argument is that the impact of PTAs on FDI depends directly on the inclusion of investment and investment-related provisions in the treaty.

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B. Peter Rosendorff, New York University peter.rosendorff@nyu.edu

Disc. Glen Biglaiser, Texas Tech University

gbiglais@yahoo.com

Sinziana Dorobantu-Popa, Duke University

Sinziana.Popa@duke.edu

15-13 Domestic Politics and International Trade

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair James Je Heon Kim, California State Polytechnic University,

Pomona

jjkim@csupomona.edu

Paper The Research for Negotiation Through Putnam's Logic of Two-Level Games: Case of South Korea-Chile, and South Korea-Singapore FTAs

The negotiation process and its result can be explained by the logic of two-level games. This paper draws attention to the interesting point of the South Korea-Chile, and the South Korea-Singapore FTAs, which was a great distinction between them.

Soomin Lee, Ewha Womans University

bookenjoy@hanmail.net

Paper The Deepening of a Regional Trade Agreement: A Domestic View of the Politics of Brazilian State Institutions and Firms in Mercosul

My research explores how Brazilian state institutions and large individual firms interact within Mercosul in order to explain the sectoral persistence of protectionist policies introduced as deviations from a harmonized Common External Tariff.

Galia J. Benitez, Indiana University

gjbenite@indiana.edu

Paper The Interaction Between the Public Sector and the Private Sector in Disputes Submitted to the Dispute Settlement Body of WTO

The paper examines the means by which private sector affects the State participation in trade disputes, analyzing the Brazilian legal and governmental promotion of public-private interaction to submit litigations before the WTO dispute settlement.

Maria Cristina d'Ornellas, Centro Universitario Ritter dos Reis cristinadornellas@hotmail.com

Natália Siqueira, Ritter University

natsiqueira@hotmail.com

Paper Successful Two Level Games in FTA talks? : An Analysis of Korea's FTA Talks with the U.S.

Focusing on Korea's FTA negotiations with the U.S., this study will show domestic factors play a crucial role in reaching trade agreements, as the two-level game model argues.

Hakyoung Lee, Seoul National University

blue53@empal.com

Disc. Byungwon Woo, Ohio State University

woo.54@polisci.osu.edu

15-30 Turkey's Foreign Policy

Room LaSalle 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Baris Kesgin, University of Kansas

bkesgin@ku.edu

Paper The Kurdish Question in the Context of Turkish-American Relations

The paper examines the Kurdish Question in Turkey and its effects on Turkish- American relations. It seeks to explain how this problem shapes the policy decisions and the consequences of these policies in domestic and foreign affairs.

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Serhan Yalciner, University of Suleyman Demirel

ser_yalciner@yahoo.com

Disc. Baris Kesgin, University of Kansas

bkesgin@ku.edu

16-9 <u>USFP: Assessing National Security, Grand Strategy and</u> Efficiency

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Wallace J. Thies, Catholic University of America

thies@cua.edu

Paper Ready for the World: A National Security Primer for the New President

A review of solid, data based journals of recent years, identifying perhaps a dozen set of findings that we think have fairly immediate policy relevance, written as a memo to the new administration

Robert B. Packer, Pennsylvania State University

rpacker@umich.edu

J. David Singer, University of Michigan

jdsinger@umich.edu

Paper The Scope of Grand Strategy: Proposing a Research Agenda

This paper proposes developing a research agenda exploring geopolitical "scope" as an integral element of grand strategy.

Jacob Shively, Indiana University

jwshivel@indiana.edu

Paper The Unilateral Country? The U.S. and its Allies in the Post-Bush Era

This paper will examine US security relationships with three close allies -- the UK, France, and Canada -- in an attempt to determine how each is faring as the US prepares to enter the post-Bush era.

Andrew Clark Richter, University of Windsor arichter@uwindsor.ca

Paper The Trade Offs of Foreign Policy: An Incentives Based Approach to Gauging Foreign Policy Efficiency

We employ a stochastic frontier model and examine the link between foreign policy performance and tenure incentives.

Michael T. Koch, Texas A&M University

mtkoch@polisci.tamu.edu

Samuel Snideman, Texas A&M University

s3@politics.tamu.edu

Disc. Wallace J. Thies, Catholic University of America

thies@cua.edu

16-14 Democracy, War and Peace

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Alejandro Quiroz Flores, New York University

aqf200@nyu.edu

Paper An Occupation with Democratization: The American Occupations of Germany, Japan and Iraq

This paper finds that the disparity in success among coercive democratization projects undertaken in Japan, Germany and Iraq is correlated with disparities in wartime strategy, historical-cultural factors, and occupation policy.

Jesse-Douglas Robert Mathewson, University of Maryland,

College Park

jmathewson@gvpt.umd.edu

Democratic Peace Beyond the Cold War: Democracy, Security Paper **Interests, and Time-Varying Effects**

This paper looks at the pacifying effect of democracy beyond/after the Cold War period. Using more direct measures of the bipolarity and security interests, I test whether the separate peace was really due to the common security interests.

Johann Park, Michigan State University parkjoha@msu.edu

Paper **Terrorism and Regime Type: Re-Examining the Links**

This paper reexamines hypotheses regarding the links between regime-type and terrorism. Using a domestic terror dataset, it concludes that levels of civil liberties are better predictors of terrorism than participation or executive constraint.

Yonatan Lev Morse, Georgetown University yonimorse@hotmail.com

Disc. Michael P. Jasinski, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh jasinskm@uwosh.edu

17-11 **Terrorism and Domestic Politics**

LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Room Jeff Carter, Pennsylvania State University Chair

jtc475@psu.edu

Terrorism and Votes: The Consequences of Terrorist Strategies Paper in the Electoral Support for Parties Linked to Terrorist Groups

This paper analyzes the dynamics of the relations between the activities of terrorist groups and the electoral support of parties connected with terrorist organizations.

Henar Criado, University Complutense

henar@ceacs.march.es

Francisco Herreros, Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) herreros@ceacs.march.es

The Timing of Transnational Terrorism and Elections: Is There Paper a Link?

This paper studies the linkages between the timing of transnational terrorist events and elections. Country-year levels of incidents from the mid-1970s to the late 1990s are examined to elucidate whether election years display differential rates.

Valentina Andrea Bali, Michigan State University baliv@msu.edu

Sore Winners or Sore Losers? Evaluating the Conditions Under Which Armed Political Groups Turn to Politics and Possibly

This paper assesses structural and organizational factors that affect the decision of armed political groups, including terrorist organizations, to participate in elections.

Aila Michela Matanock, Stanford University matanock@stanford.edu

Engaging Nationalist Terrorist Organizations: A Path to Paper Disarmament?

Can a policy of engagement help transform nationalist terrorist organizations into legitimate political parties or will it encourage further violence? This paper attempts to determine when engagement will succeed by examining Sinn Fein and the PLO.

Stacie Pettyjohn, University of Virginia sp3h@virginia.edu

Charity Butcher, Grinnell College Disc.

butcherc@grinnell.edu

Terrorism and Extremist Violence 17-26

Madison on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Room Joseph K. Young, Southern Illinois University Chair

jkoyung@siu.edu

From the Politics of Disengagement (the Gaza Pullout) to **Paper** Disengagement Politics (the Dismantling of Amona): A **Relational Approach to Political Radicalization**

A relational framework to the study radicalization is promoted by contrasting the nonviolent Jewish settlers' struggle against the Gaza pullout and later the violent struggle against the dismantling of the Amona illegal settlement.

Eitan Y. Alimi, Hebrew University

Alimien@012.net.il

The Taliban's Military Choices: An Empirical Test of **Paper**

Insurgency Tactics in Afghanistan

We examine the Afghanistan insurgency's tactical decisions using daily, province-level data of allied deaths. Employing competing risk models, we find insurgents choose tactics based on weather conditions, terrain, and proximity to external support.

Timothy Carter, Wayne State University

timothyallen.carter@gmail.com

Susumu Suzuki, Wayne State University

susumu@wayne.edu

Paper **Terrorist Group Networks: Assessing the Impact**

This paper addresses the mass of interlinkages between terrorism groups. Using MIPT and new data, we show the flaws in considering groups independently and explain how the links between groups play a critical role shaping terrorist behavior.

Michael Horowitz, University of Pennsylvania

horom@sas.upenn.edu

Philip Potter, University of California, Los Angeles ppotter@ucla.edu

Paper Organizational Dynamics, Elite Competition and Suicide **Terrorism: The Tamil Tigers**

Using data from 1981 to 2007, and unlike existing explanations, I show how the intra-group leadership conflicts increased the propensity of the Tamil Tigers to use suicide terrorism as their preferred form of attack.

Nikolaos Biziouras, United States Naval Academy BIZIOURA@USNA.EDU

Disc. Joseph K. Young, Southern Illinois University

jkoyung@siu.edu

18-4 **U.S. Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy**

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Patricio Valdivieso, Institut of Political Science PUC Chile pvaldivf@puc.cl

The Next Genocide? Ignorance and Miscalculation in American **Paper** Foreign Policy Toward Rwanda

Paper compares the responses of the Clinton and Bush administrations to events in Rwanda. The purpose is to demonstrate that both administrations have consistently underestimated the chances of conflict erupting in Rwanda.

Stacey M. Mitchell, University of Georgia gs12smg@uga.edu

Paper A Clash of Titans? Congress, the Presidency and Legislating **Foreign Aid Policy**

This study analyzes political and constituency factors that influence the foreign policy voting record of members of the House of Representatives and the Senate during the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administrations.

Ron D. Gelleny, University of Akron

gelleny@uakron.edu

DeWayne Lucas, Hobart and William Smith Colleges lucas@hws.edu

The Role of Media and Information in Democratic Foreign Paper

A crisis bargaining framework is adapted to include lessons from behavioralists on the interaction between democratic executives and their electorate. The temptation of information market censorship can encourage aggressive democratic foreign policy.

Neill A. Mohammad, University of Michigan neilla@umich.edu

Arab Americans After the 2008 Elections: Lobbying American Paper Policy on the Two-State Solution

Paper looks at advocacy for Palestinian state.

Khalil M. Marrar, DePaul University

kmarrar@depaul.edu

Continuity in U.S. Foreign Policy Since 1994

Essay explores continuity in U.S. Foreign Policy from President Clinton in 1994 through President George W. Bush and the first two months of the current Presidency. Apparent and genuine discontinuities are also characterized.

William Douglas Anderson, Western Illinois University wd-anderson@wiu.edu

R. Michael Smith, Glenville State College Disc.

mike.smith@glenville.edu

Andrew Z. Katz, Denison University

katz@denison.edu

Ryan Isaacson, University of Colorado, Boulder ryan.isaacson@colorado.edu

19-11 **Norms and International Cooperation**

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Julia Gray, University of Pittsburgh Chair

jcgray@gmail.com

Paper The Effect of Power Politics Within the Framework of the NPT Regime on the Nuclear Proliferation of "Rogue" States: Comparative Case Study of Iran and North Korea

This research seeks to investigate why and under what conditions rules and norms of the NPT regime are violated by some states of concern, notably North Korea and Iran.

Jihyun Kim, University of South Carolina kim64@mailbox.sc.edu

Monitoring Matters: International Election Monitoring and Regional IGO Enforcement of Democratic Norms

This paper explores how the verdicts of international election monitors influence whether regional intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) respond to flawed elections in their member states.

Daniela Donno-Panayides, University of Pittsburgh donno@pitt.edu

Power of Norms in AIDS Politics: Case Study of Japan Paper

This article explains why the DAC countries in the OECD converge in global AIDS funding and what causes variations in behavioral patterns of them. International norms and domestic streuture matter in explaining both the convergence and variations.

Youngsoo Kim, Purdue University kim343@purdue.edu

Unintended International Norms, Strategic Interaction, and Paper **International Election Observation**

Motivated by the trajectory of international election observation, I present an instrumental theory international norm development to explain international norms that are unintended yet consequential.

Susan D. Hyde, Yale University susan.hyde@yale.edu

cherif@ucr.edu

The Evolution of Women's Nationality Rights, Then and Now Paper

Despite considerable progress, gender discrimination in the nationality laws is still widespread. Using crossnational data from 1962 and 2000, this research analyses how well conventional wisdoms explain the evolution of women's nationality rights. Feryal Marie Cherif, University of California, Riverside

Disc. Julia Gray, University of Pittsburgh

jcgray@gmail.com

Patrick Cottrell, Linfield College

cottrell@linfield.edu

21-20 **Individual Differences in Political Cognition**

Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Room

Chair William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University

jacoby@msu.edu

The Myth of Political Extremism **Paper**

I argue that instead of sorting extremists by the content of their beliefs they ought to be sorted by the stability of their beliefs. Accordingly, an extremist is someone whose beliefs remain stable over a wide range of disconfirming situations.

Eric Mandelbaum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill ericman@email.unc.edu

Paper **Understanding the Left-Right Political Divide in Explanations** for Social Problems: Stable Individual Difference or Motivated Reasoning?

When explaining social problems, conservatives typically prefer dispositional explanations and liberals typically prefer situational explanations. The current research examined contexts in which value conflicts lead to deviations from this pattern.

Gregory Scott Morgan, University of Illinois, Chicago

gmorga2@uic.edu

Elizabeth Mullen, Stanford University Mullen_Elizabeth@gsb.stanford.edu

Linda J. Skitka, University of Illinois, Chicago lskitka@uic.edu

The Different Ways We Think about Politics: A Multi-Method **Paper Study of Individual Differences in Political Cognition**

Examines individual differences in cognitive processing and its implications for social identification and outgroup tolerance.

Shawn Rosenberg, University of California, Irvine

swr@uci.edu

Ted Wrigley, University of California, Irvine twrigley@uci.edu

Paper How is Political Knowledge Relevant to Correct Voting? Stored Knowledge Versus the Skill to Access Relevant Information Online

This paper questions whether political knowledge – commonly understood to be information stored in long-memory - plays the same role in correct decision-making for younger generations accustomed to retrieving information from the Internet.

Richard R. Lau, Rutgers University

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Mona S. Kleinberg, Rutgers University

mkleinb@eden.rutgers.edu

William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University

jacoby@msu.edu

Turnout - Competition and Choices 22-1

Room Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Jeff Milyo, University of Missouri

milyoj@missouri.edu

Paper Perceptions vs Actual Exposure to Electoral Competition: Testing Effects on Engagement and Participation

Studies find electoral competition is related to participation, yet perception of competition is unrelated. Using multilevel modeling we explore how the linkage between exposure and perception shapes political knowledge, interest and participation.

Michael Patrick McDonald, George Mason University mmcdon@gmu.edu

Caroline J. Tolbert, University of Iowa caroline-tolbert@uiowa.edu

Paper Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives under Majoritarian Electoral Rules

We introduce a design that simultaneously estimates the equilibrium location of parties, as the weight voters attach to the expected distribution of seats and votes changes.

Ernesto F. Calvo, University of Houston

ecalvo@uh.edu

Timothy Hellwig, University of Houston

thellwig@uh.edu

Paper Exit, Voice, and Cyclicality: European Parliament Elections in a Hirschman-Model

Typical midterm phenomena in voting behavior such as antigovernment swings, de- and realignment, declining turnout and protest voting are united in Hirschman's "EVL" framework. The model is tested with survey data for EP elections.

Till Weber, European University Institute

till.weber@eui.eu

Disc. Jeff Milyo, University of Missouri

milyoj@missouri.edu

22-11 Partisanship: Does it Matter?

Room LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Mark Franklin, European University Institute

mark.franklin@eui.eu

Paper Do Party and Leader Cues Influence Voter Choice in

Referenda? A Survey Experiment

A survey experiment with a representative national sample of the British electorate involving a hypothetical referendum to deny public services to illegal immigrants indicates partisanship and leader image are key heuristics in referendum voting.

Walt Borges, *Grinnell College* borgeswa@grinnell.edu

Harold D. Clarke, University of Texas, Dallas

clarke475@msn.com

Paper The Causal Effect of Partisanship: A Field Experiment

We use an experimental intervention to generate a change in the intensity of partisanship and then trace subsequent changes in attitudes and behavior

Alan Gerber, Yale University alan.gerber@yale.edu Greg Huber, Yale University gregory.huber@yale.edu

Ebonya Washington, Yale University

ebonya.washington@yale.edu

Paper Affective Polarization of the Mass Public

We use feeling thermometer evaluations of major party presidential candidates to show increasing levels of affective polarization from 1968-2004, with distinctions between voters and non-voters.

Marisa Abrajano, University of California, San Diego

mabrajano@ucsd.edu

Keith T. Poole, University of California, San Diego

kpoole@ucsd.edu

Disc. Betsy Sinclair, University of Chicago

betsy@uchicago.edu

23-17 Institutional Rules and Electoral Campaigns

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Nicol C. Rae, Florida International University

raen@fiu.edu

Chair

Paper Caucuses and Primaries Under Proportional Representation

We study a multi-district competition between two candidates when the winner is determined by the majority of total delegates obtained in the various states.

David Epstein, Columbia University

de11@columbia.edu

Massimo Morelli, Columbia University

mm3331@columbia.edu

Sharyn O'Halloran, Columbia University

so33@columbia.edu

Paper Campaign Finance Reform in New York City After Two

Decades: An Appraisal

The paper looks at the impact of New York City's public finance system on municipal elections after 20 years.

Jeffrey Fred Kraus, Wagner College

ikraus@wagner.edu

Paper Campaign Finance in Judicial Elections: Are Restrictions

Producing their Intended Effects?

In light of increasingly expensive and politicized races for state high courts, we ask whether campaign finance restrictions on PACs and political parties have had their intended effects.

Meghan Leonard, University of Arizona

leonardm@email.arizona.edu

Joseph V. Ross, University of Arizona

jvross@email.arizona.edu

Paper The Determinants of Campaign Spending in State Legislative

Elections

This study explores why legislative campaigns are more expensive in some states than others. Unlike previous studies that examine differences in spending across individual races, this work explains variance across legislative chambers.

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Disc. Cameron A. Shelton, Claremont McKenna College

cshelton@cmc.edu

Nicol C. Rae, Florida International University

raen@fiu.edu

24-8 Consequences of Electoral/Institutional Reform

Room Chicago on the 5th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Erika Moreno, Creighton University

erikamoreno@creighton.edu

Paper Strategic Effects of Electoral Rules: Testing the Impact of the 2008 Electoral Reform in Romania

Using aggregate electoral returns, we test the impact of Romania's move from PR to a single ballot mixed electoral system. We expect the qualities of individual candidates to play an important role,

largely replacing ideological voting.

Florin Nicolae Fesnic, "Babes-Bolyai" University Cluj

fesnic@illinois.edu

Oana Ileana Armeanu, University of Southern Indiana

oiarmeanu@usi.edu

Paper The Good, the Bad and the Different: Can Gender Quotas Raise the Quality of Politicians?

We model the relation between quotas and the quality of the elected officials in a world where the underrepresented group suffer from discrimination both in the labor and in the political markets. Gender quotas can raise the quality of the elected.

Tavares José, Universidade Nova de Lisboa

jtavares@fe.unl.pt

Removing Boundaries to Lose Connections: Electoral Paper Consequences of Local Government Reform in Japan

This paper examines the electoral consequences of municipal mergers in Japan and shows that the swift reduction in the number of municipalities had a negative effect on both turnout and the governing parties' vote shares in the Upper House elections.

Jun Saito, Yale University jun.saito@yale.edu

Yusaku Horiuchi, Australian National University yusaku.horiuchi@anu.edu.au

Disc. Erika Moreno, Creighton University erikamoreno@creighton.edu

25-12 **Political Ideology and Candidate Evaluation**

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Chair Stacey Pelika, College of William & Mary spelika@wm.edu

The Effect of Context on Support for Third Party Candidates Paper

This paper provides evidence that past third party voting in a particular area has an effect on how respondents view current third party candidates. However, this contextual effect is dependent on ideology and a number of other electoral factors.

Adam Chamberlain, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill aschambe@email.unc.edu

Ideological (Mis)Perception: Views of the Ideology of **Candidates and Parties**

This paper examines the accuracy of perceptions that citizens hold about the ideology of others. It examines the perceived ideological placement of candidates and parties relative to self-identified

Ellen Gutman, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill gutman@email.unc.edu

Paper Seeing Clearly: Citizens' Perceptions of Their Elected Representatives

We examine NES surveys for systematic variations in the accuracy of respondents' perceptions of the electoral officials related to these officials' ideological extremism.

Jonathan Krasno, University at Binghamton, SUNY jkrasno@binghamton.edu

Jennifer Kelkres, Binghamton University

jkelkre1@binghamton.edu

Stacey Pelika, College of William & Mary Disc. spelika@wm.edu

25-100 Roundtable: National and State Surveys on Civic Health

Spire on the 6th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

The National Conference on Citizenship (NCoC) is one of the nation's leading advocate of civic participation. The roundtable focuses on the NCoC's 2008 national and state (California, Florida, and Ohio) surveys of civil health and civic engagement.

Panelist Clyde Brown, Miami University

cbrown@muohio.edu

Kathleen Knight Abowitz, Miami University

knightk2@muohio.edu

David B. Smith, National Conference on Citizenship dsmith@ncoc.net

26-13 The Impact of Institutions on Political Participation (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 40-32)

Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Room

J. Celeste Lay, Tulane University Chair

ilay@tulane.edu

Paper Political Attitudes and Behavior of Incarcerated Felons

Does the nature of incarceration transform the political behavior and attitudes of felons? This study seeks to examine the political preferences, attitudes towards government, and potential turnout rates of this large and growing group of Americans.

Amir Fairdosi, University of Chicago

amirfairdosi@uchicago.edu

Claire McKinney, University of Chicago

cmckinney@uchicago.edu

The Population Ecology of Grassroots Democracy: Christian **Paper** Right Interest Populations and Citizen Contacting in the States

We examine how the population ecology of organized interests in a state impacts the level of grassroots political action, specifically how the density of Christian Right lobbying groups affects the degree of contacting by Christian Right supporters.

Paul A. Djupe, Denison University

djupe@denison.edu

Kimberly Conger, Iowa State University

conger@iastate.edu

Political Participation and New Public Management: Aims **Paper** Achieved?

Aiming at greater inclusion of the public, New Public Management (NPM) has spread, to differing degrees, in different countries. This paper assesses if NPM has had an effect on the different forms of political participation and what kind of effect.

Yvette Peters, European University Institute yvette.peters@eui.eu

Disengaged Voters: Corruption and Voter Turnout in Eastern Paper Europe

This paper argues that corruption is an influential determinant of voter turnout in post-Communist Eastern Europe. The hypothesis, that continued abuse of public office alienates voters, is tested with survey data from eight countries.

Tatiana Kostadinova, Florida International University tkostadinova@fiu.edu

Paper Political Participation, Dependence, and Community Policing

This study hypothesizes that there is a negative relationship between political participation and dependence on police. The more people get involved, less dependent they will be on the police to promote safety in a neighborhood level.

Ellen Belchior Rodrigues, West Virginia University erodrig3@mix.wvu.edu

Disc. Todd C. Shaw, University of South Carolina

SHAWTC@mailbox.sc.edu

27-14 **Media Coverage of Policy Issues**

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Amber Boydstun, University of California, Davis

aboydstun@ucdavis.edu

Paper A Decade of Discourse on Ethanol: Changes in Media Coverage and Content

This paper uses quantitative content analysis to examine media coverage of ethanol in the New York Times from 1998 to 2008, paying attention to changes in the quantity, tone, and framing of ethanol in relation to key political and economic events.

Ashlie Brooke Delshad, Purdue University

abelmore@purdue.edu

Iraq, Immigration, and Indexing Paper

This paper explores media coverage of the Iraq and immigration debates. The results suggest the operation of the indexing norm reflects expectations about political power, not the distribution of preferences among elites of varying political stripes.

Danny Hayes, Syracuse University dwhayes@maxwell.syr.edu

How Citizens Interpret and Respond to Issue Frames from Paper **Political Parties**

Do people interpret and evaluate issue frames differently depending on which political party promotes it? These questions are examined with closed and open-ended questions in two framing experiments with a nationally representative sample (N = 1600).

Rune Slothuus, University of Aarhus slothuus@ps.au.dk

Paper Who Owns the Debate: The President, the Congress, the Media?

Through a content analysis of the Congressional Record and Major News Media this paper investigates how media allocate power among their sources, explains the debate over the intervention into Bosnia, and the opinions in media.

Daniel Robert Birdsong, University of Cincinnati birdsodr@email.uc.edu

Disc. Joseph E. Uscinski, University of Miami uscinski@miami.edu

28-12 The Influence of Gender on Roll-Call Voting and Policy

Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Room Tracy Osborn, University of Iowa Chair

tracy-osborn@uiowa.edu

Paper **Gender in Congress: When Does It Matter?**

Discusses the history of gender's impact on role call votes and finds that it is now mostly irrelevant. Also finds that some issues will have roll cal votes that break, on occasion, on gender lines. Adam Kyle Olson, University of Minnesota, Morris olso4075@morris.umn.edu

Paula O'Laughlin, University of Minnesota, Morris oloughpl@morris.umn.edu

Gender Turnover and Roll Call Voting in the U.S. Senate

To unearth the influence of gender in predicting the voting behavior of U.S. Senators this study employs a longitudinal design based on turnover in the Senate, which holds constituency constant while allowing for gender and party to vary.

Brian Paul Frederick, Bridgewater State College brian.frederick@bridgew.edu

Is Substantive Representation Enough? A Quantitative Analysis of Policy Preferences by Gender

Past research has examined roll-call votes, priority bills, and attitudinal responses of women elected in legislatures and Congress. This study takes a new quantitative experimental approach in building on the findings of past research.

Wendy Hind, University of Nebraska w_hind@hotmail.com

Female Legislative Success: Does Gender Disadvantage Female **Legislators in the Policy Arena?**

This paper examines whether male and female legislators are equally successful at guiding bills through the legislative process. Erica M. Socker, Texas A&M University sock 11@politics.tamu.edu

Paper Cosponsorship in State Legislatures: The Intersection of Race and Gender

Using an original database from five state legislatures in 2001 and 2005, we examine how the intersection of race, gender, and ethnicity influences cosponsorship, and how the role of race, gender, and ethnicity then influences bill passage.

Kathleen Bratton, Louisiana State University

nbingh1@lsu.edu

Natasha Bingham, Louisiana State University nbingh1@lsu.edu

Tracy Osborn, University of Iowa Disc.

tracy-osborn@uiowa.edu

Rosalyn Cooperman, University of Mary Washington rcooperm@umw.edu

28-15 The Gender Gap in Political Knowledge

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Jill Greenlee, Brandeis University Chair

greenlee@brandeis.edu

A Never-Ending Gap? Political Knowledge and Gender **Paper Differences in Mexico**

This study analyzes the existence and persistence of gender differences in political knowledge in Mexico from 1997-2006 as part of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems project. I find evidence of a gender gap in political knowledge in Mexico. Yazmin Argentina Garcia-Trejo, University of Connecticut

yazmin.garcia_trejo@uconn.edu

Paper A Bridge to Nowhere: An Examination of Adolescent "Don't Know" Responses to Political Knowledge Questions

Using a sample of single-sex and coeducational schools in Michigan the frequency of DK responses to political knowledge questions is examined for gender gap evidence among adolescents, as exists in adults, and to further solve the gender gap puzzle.

Elizabeth Ann Prough, Eastern Michigan University

Eprough@emich.edu

Mary Herring, Wayne State University

mary.herring@wayne.edu

Paper Exploring the Gender Gap in Political Knowledge During the 2000 and 2004 Presidential Campaigns

This paper explores how the gender gap in political knowledge varies over the course of presidential campaigns and argues that the gender gap should decrease as the information environment becomes saturated.

Heather L. Ondercin, Louisiana State University ondercin@lsu.edu

James C. Garand, Louisiana State University pogara@lsu.edu

Disc. Mary R. Anderson, University of Tampa

mranderson@ut.edu

Leanne Doherty, Simmons College leanne.doherty@simmons.edu

29-12 **Black-Latino Relations**

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Marvin King, University of Mississippi Chair

marvin@olemiss.edu

Paper Allies or Aliens? Black-Latino Relations and Perceptions of Political Membership in the U.S.

This paper addresses the plight of African Americans and Latinos for inclusion in the United States and analyzes how the contentious discourse around citizenship has polarized what otherwise might be

Claudia Sandoval, University of Chicago csandoval@uchicago.edu

Paper African-American and Hispanic Political Coalitions: Waves of the Future or Fool's Paradise?

African-American political scientists have been contending for some time that political coalitions between African-Americans and Hispanics can transform American politics. For a number of reasons, these coalitions may not be likely.

Christopher Barry Mobley, Chattanooga State Technical Community College

christopher.mobley@chattanoogastate.edu

Paper Black - Latino Electoral Coalitions: Co-Ethnic Leader Cues and Paper Candidate Preferences in Local Elections

Under what conditions will Blacks and Latinos form electoral coalitions at the local level? Data from and experiment will be presented.

Andrea Benjamin, *University of Michigan* andreabz@umich.edu

Paper Elite Messages and Black-Latino Electoral Alliances

The project utilizes an experiment to determine the influence that campaign messages that focus either on group-specific interests or broader superordinate minority interests have on the likelihood for black-Latino electoral alliances to occur.

Tony Eugene Carey Jr., Stony Brook University tecarey@notes.cc.sunysb.edu

Disc. Niambi M. Carter, Purdue University ncarter@purdue.edu

29-20 Contextual Effects

Room Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Candis S. Watts, Duke University csw5@duke.edu

Paper State Racial Diversity and Graduation

This paper reveals that statewide racial diversity does not predict differences in African-American grade promotion probabilities in patterns predicted by Racial Diversity Theory. Local variation in class and context best explain graduation outcomes.

David Carl Kershaw, *University of North Carolina*, *Chapel Hill* dckersh@email.unc.edu

Paper Racial Diversity and Electoral Reform in U.S. Cities

In this paper we argue that changes to electoral structures are partially explained by racial/ethnic politics. Specifically, we hypothesize that electoral reform is more likely to occur in racially diverse cities.

 $\textbf{Rene R. Rocha}, \ \textit{University of Iowa}$

rene-rocha@uiowa.edu

Robert D. Wrinkle, *University of Texas, Pan American* rdwe116@utpa.edu

Paper The Spatial Determinants of African American Participatory Behavior

This project will asses how different spatial arrangements, including but not limited to the racial makeup of one's neighborhood, affect the participatory choices of voters.

Ernest Boyd McGowen, *University of Texas*, *Austin* ebmcgowen3@hotmail.com

Disc. Wassim Tarraf, Wayne State University ai2483@wayne.edu

30-6 Ancient Perspectives on Modernity, Modern Returns to the Ancients

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm
Chair Kenneth C. Blanchard, Northern State University

blanchak@northern.edu

Paper Kierkegaard's Return to Socratic Political Philosophy in Fear and Trembling

This paper examines Kierkegaard's critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right in Fear and Trembling, suggesting that it culminates in a call to a return to Socratic political philosophizing.

Matthew David Dinan, Baylor University

matt_dinan@baylor.edu

Paper Strauss's Thrasymachus: The Ultimate Victory of Negative Legal Positivism

When commenting on The Republic, Strauss defends Thrasymachus's positivism. While Strauss does not endorse wholesale positivism, he declares Thrasymachus's legal positivism ultimately victorious, implying that Strauss embraces qualified positivism.

Felix Valenzuela, University of Notre Dame

fvalenz1@nd.edu

Art, Political Order, and the Search for Meaning

In this essay, I apply Eric Voegelin's semiotics to illumine the extent to which the central concepts of political science, having originated in Hellas, are in fact a product of the reinterpretation of Greek symbols within a Roman context.

Thomas R. Laehn, Louisiana State University

tlaehn1@lsu.edu

Disc. Kenneth C. Blanchard, Northern State University

blanchak@northern.edu

31-13 Rousseau

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm
Chair Mark Kremer, Kennesaw State University
mrkremer@kennesaw.edu

Paper No One is Free When Others are Oppressed: Freedom and

Solidarity in Rousseau's Social Contract

This paper inquires into the intricate relations between freedom and solidarity in Rousseau's Social Contract and other political works.

Efrat Waksman, New School for Social Research

wakse447@newschool.edu

Paper Some Preliminary Thoughts on Imitation in Rousseau's Emile and Second Discourse

I address the role of imitation in Rousseau's Emile and Second Discourse. I make the case that imitation is not only important for understanding his notion of perfectibility but plays a deliberate, yet implicit and limited, role in his pedagogy.

Nathan Michael Dinneen, Northern Illinois University nathandinneen@mac.com

Paper Self-Knowledge in Rousseau's Reveries

A concern for posterity gives the Confessions a political cast. In the Reveries he claims to transcend this concern. Yet the esoteric rhetoric of the Reveries points to a continuity between the two and the central concern in both with self-knowledge.

J. Harvey Lomax, University of Memphis

herrhd@yahoo.com

Disc. Mark Kremer, Kennesaw State University

mrkremer@kennesaw.edu

32-20 Liberalism, Democracy, Foreign Policy, and War

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm
Chair Mark E. Warren, University of British Columbia

warren@politics.ubc.ca

Paper Jus ad bellum and the Liberal Divide: Rationalism, Pluralism and the Case for Rule-Consequentialism

After exploring state sovereignty and legalist just war theory, I separate legalists into rationalist and pluralist camps and suggest that abandoning a rights-based model of sovereignty in favor of rule-consequentialism can help to bridge the divide.

J. Joseph Miller, University of Pennsylvania

joe.miller@factcheck.org

Paper Democracy and War Making: Democratic Theory, Constitutionalism, and War Powers

Democratic control of the military requires more than legal and institutional reform. A regime perspective calls for the development of a mobilized citizenry to constrain and direct military policy by serving as a check on elites.

Jeremy A. Janow, University of Maryland

jjanow@gvpt.umd.edu

Paper Democratic Peace? The Proposals of the Union of Democratic Control During the First World War

This paper analyzes the proposals of the UDC, a British organization created in 1914, which urged the democratic control of foreign policy and the creation of an international organization to supplant balance of power politics.

Joseph Stanley Kochanek, Harvard University

kochanek@fas.harvard.edu

Paper The Rawlsian State Meets the Realities of International Politics: Paper Would It Survive?

I have withdrawn this proposal due to an absence of departmental funding for attending this conference.

James Thomas Fetter, *University of Notre Dame* jfetter@nd.edu

Disc. Edward Barrett, United States Naval Academy ebarrett@usna.edu

33-12 The Recognition of Others

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm
Chair Colin Bird, University of Virginia
cpb6f@virginia.edu

Paper A Critical Idea of Peoplehood Concerning Transnational Injustices

The paper argues for a communicative body politics upholding the negotiations between the recognized and unrecognized, the domestic and transnational, and the threatening emotions of the moral claims of injustices.

Chia-Ming Chen, *University of Chicago* charming@uchicago.edu

Paper Recognition, Tolerance and Humility

This paper examines the problems with toleration from the perspective of a politics of recognition and examines whether the two can be better reconciled when the virtues of tolerance and humility are understood in light of an Aristotelian ethic.

Vicki Ann Spencer, University of Otago

vicki.spencer@otago.ac.nz

Paper Hannah Arendt and the Cautionary Tale of the Abstract, Naked Human Being

In response to Agamben's reading of Arendt, I will argue that her analysis of refugees suggests that state-based institutions are required in order to protect persons from the peril of being reduced to what she calls abstract, naked humanity.

Irwin Chris, Humber College christopher.j.irwin@gmail.com

Disc. Molly Patterson, Aquinas College pattemol@aquinas.edu

34-13 Political Judgment

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm
Chair Wynne Walker Moskop, Saint Louis University
moskopww@slu.edu

Paper The Existential Dimension of Arendt's Conception of Political Judgment

This paper argues for a revision of Zerilli's reconstruction of Arendt's conception of political judgment in order to more fully include existential elements of Arendt's thought into our understanding of the place and importance of political judgment

Amy L. Shuster, *University of Minnesota*, *Duluth* ashuster@d.umn.edu

Paper Negative Capability and Political Ethics

John Keats's notion of negative capability may help to overcome the impasse in political ethics between the radical uncertainty of nihilism and the impositions often associated with reliance on ethical principles.

Larry Michael Preston, Union Institute & University larry.preston@tui.edu

Paper Edmund Burke and Leo Strauss and the Charge of 'Historicism'

In Natural Right and History Leo Strauss considers Burke to be a precursor of Hegel and historicism. I challenge the charge of historicism based on a classical Natural Law reading of Burke conjoined with his emphasis on prudence.

Joseph Pappin III, University of South Carolina jpappin@mailbox.sc.edu

Throwing Away the Scabbard: Crime, Commitment, and Focal Points in Hume's "History"

Hume proclaims "prudent and political" the maxim: "whoever draws the sword against his sovereign, should throw away the scabbard." I'll explore the use of collective commitment strategies, especially collective crimes, in Hume with modern applications

Andrew Sabl, *University of California, Los Angeles* sabl@ucla.edu

Disc. David Leitch, University of California, San Diego

dleitch@ucsd.edu

Wynne Walker Moskop, Saint Louis University moskopww@slu.edu

35-9 Party Politics

Room Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm **Chair John W. Patty**, *Harvard University*

jwpatty@gmail.com

Paper Duopolistic Parties in the United States: Theory and Implications

We challenge the applicability of median voter theory to the American party system, and develop a model of duopoly, in which voters are divided into two mutually exclusive captive segments with parties acting as monopolists within these segments.

Andrew Scott Waugh, University of California, San Diego aswaugh@ucsd.edu

Christopher T. Dawes, *University of California, San Diego* cdawes@ucsd.edu

Paper Party Labels and Information: The Implications of Contagion in Coelection Environments

We develop a model that accounts for hitherto undiscovered patterns in senatorial elections: senators first elected in presidential elections are relatively more ideologically extreme than those first elected in midterm elections.

Pablo Montagnes, Northwestern University p-montagnes@kellogg.northwestern.edu Yosh Halberstam, Northwestern University y-halberstam@northwestern.edu

Disc. John W. Patty, Harvard University

jwpatty@gmail.com

Erik Snowberg, *California Institute of Technology* snowberg@caltech.edu

36-12 Discrete Choice Models

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Garrett Glasgow, University of California, Santa Barbara

glasgow@polsci.ucsb.edu

Paper A Structural Model of the 2000 Presidential Elections:

Instrumenting for Endogenous Ideology

This paper estimates a structural spatial model of the 2000 Presidential elections with an emphasis on the endogenous choice in the candidates preferred policy that is correlated with their own "public image".

Guido Cataife, *University of Louisville* guido.cataife@louisville.edu

Jose M. Fernandez, University of Louisville jmfern02@louisville.edu

Paper Endogeneity in Food Pantry Data

Biased estimates can result where the interrelation of food stamp receipt, welfare receipt, and employment is difficult to assess with limited data. We use choice modeling to help resolve the endogeneity issues often identified in such studies.

Maureen Berner, *University of North Carolina*, *Chapel Hill* mberner@sog.unc.edu

Sharon R. Paynter, Brown University

Sharon_Paynter@brown.edu

Paper Modeling Vote Choice: A Choice Set Model with Screening Rules and Heterogeneity

We extend the basic choice set model in 2 ways. First, we allow for different screening rules (compensatory and non-compensatory). Second, we allow for voter heterogeneity in the thresholds of acceptability of parties, using Dirichlet process priors.

Dominik Hangartner, Washington University, St. Louis hangartner@ipw.unibe.ch

Marco R Steenbergen, University of Bern

steenbergen@ipw.unibe.ch

Paper Modeling Voter Heterogeneity via Latent Class Regression

We use latent class regressions to explicitly model the heterogeneity in models of vote-choice.

Jonathan N. Katz, California Institute of Technology jkatz@caltech.edu

Gabriel Katz, California Institute of Technology gabriel@hss.caltech.edu

Paper A Test to Distinguish Between Moderation and Attitude Instability Due to Ambivalence

A new test for attitude instability due to ambivalence based on a heteroskedastic ordered probit finds evidence that ambivalence leads to greater variance in preferences rather than moderation. Previous tests could not make this distinction.

Garrett Glasgow, University of California, Santa Barbara glasgow@polsci.ucsb.edu

Disc. Jonathan Wand, Stanford University

wand@stanford.edu

Garrett Glasgow, University of California, Santa Barbara glasgow@polsci.ucsb.edu

Martin Elff, *Universität Mannheim* elff@sowi.uni-mannheim.de

37-200 Poster Session: Information Technology and Politics

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Post. 1 Pay it Forward?: Digital Divide in Asia and the Changing Role of South Korea

South Korea's IT developing experience could be a good lesson for other nations. Korean government and companies are helping to build a digital network; NGOs and experts educate government officers in developing states develop localized content.

Wonkyung Rhee, *Waseda University* circlek2@gmail.com

Post. 2 The Impact of ICT on Social Justice Advocacy Networks: Good, Bad or Both?

Information and Communication Technology [ICT] changes the reach, scale, durability and impact of transnational advocacy networks. But how, if at all, does ICT change political bargain in their favor?

Rumela Sen, Villanova University rumela.sen@villanova.edu

Post. 3 The Modernization of Political Information: The Internet and the Changing Landscape of American Politics

This paper demonstrates that young internet users have uniquely strong negative opinions of President Bush. These results do not hold true for those individuals using conventional forms of media such as television, radio, and print news.

Michael Robert Artime, *University of Missouri, St. Louis* mra8r3@umsl.edu

39-7 Presidents and Foreign Policy Making

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Peter Schultz, Assumption College

pschultz@assumption.edu

Paper The Lame Duck President: Shifting Policy Perspectives Abroad

Are presidents more likely to focus on foreign policy as they get closer to leaving office? Priorities shift during an administration and institutional features make foreign policy more appealing to presidents.

Carol Walker, Georgia State University

cwalker14@gsu.edu

Daniel P. Franklin, Georgia State University

dfrankli@gsu.edu

Paper A Resolution Without Resolve: How the War Powers Resolution Has Failed to Limit the Powers of the Presidency

How the War Powers Resolution has failed to accomplish the intentions of Congress to reassert themselves concerning control of the military and has in actuality resulted in a dangerous increase of executive power.

Jim Ronan, *Villanova University* jimronan@comcast.net

Disc. Lilly J. Goren, Carroll University

lgoren@cc.edu

40-22 Parties in Congress

Room Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Gregory Koger, University of Miami

gregory.koger@gmail.com

Paper The Power and Influence of the Minority Party in the U.S. House of Representatives

This paper analyzes the influence of the minority party in shaping politics and policy outcomes in the U.S. House of Representatives since the 1940's, using a combination of case studies and statistical analyses.

Matthew N. Green, Catholic University of America greenm@cua.edu

Paper Discharge Petitions and the Changing Power of Parties in the U.S. House of Representatives

Using original data, we examine the behavior of discharge petition signers over time. We find that the majority party's ability to control discharge efforts varies with the degree to which the conditions of conditional party government are satisfied.

L. Marvin Overby, University of Missouri

overby@missouri.edu

Susan M. Miller, University of Missouri

smmiller@mizzou.edu

Paper Get 'Em While They're Young: Party Influence and Preference Formation in Congress

Legislators arrive in Congress without firm preferences on many issues. Thus, parties influence roll call votes, not by inducing insincere votes, but by influencing what Members actually prefer in the first place.

Justin Buchler, Case Western Reserve University justin.buchler@case.edu

Paper Who Benefits? Party Interest vs Self-Interest

I provide a new theory contrasting the self-interested and partymotivated incentives that encourage members to fund-raise for the party and their congressional colleagues, and evaluate the partisan efficiency of fund-raising behavior.

Eleanor Neff Powell, Harvard University

enpowell@fas.harvard.edu

Disc. Gregory Koger, University of Miami

gregory.koger@gmail.com

Laurel Harbridge, Stanford University

harbridg@stanford.edu

42-8 Separation of Powers: Courts and Congress

Room Hancock on the 6th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm
Chair Mark C. Miller, Clark University

mmiller@clarku.edu

Paper Transparency, Anticipation, and Judicial Review

Does the Supreme Court anticipate the Congress's response when it reviews national legislation? We examine that question, using as our dependent variable the Court's decision to strike down legislation from 1953 to 1995.

Eric Waltenburg, Purdue University

ewaltenb@purdue.edu

Jimmy Gleason, Purdue University

jagleaso@purdue.edu

Paper The Supreme Court and Congress: Legislative Consequences of

Changing Judicial Doctrine

I examine how the interaction between the policy agendas of Congressional actors and existing judicial doctrine affects policies that abrogate state immunity amid the Court's changing 11th Amendment jurisprudence from the 101st – 109th Congresses.

Naser L. Javaid, Stony Brook University

naser.javaid@gmail.com

Paper The Irrationality of Reinventing the Wheel: Targeted Learning, Following, and Policy Borrowing in Legal Response

I present a model of policy making under uncertainty when multiple actors are facing the same challenge at the same time. I analyze the conditions under which one will learn from another's policy, and how they will learn from it.

David Glick, Princeton University

dglick@princeton.edu

Paper A Modern Look at Judicial Recess Appointments

We explore under what political and institutional circumstances a modern president is likely to make a judicial recess appointment. We examine all incidences of judicial recess appointments from

Harry Truman through George W. Bush **Robert M. Howard**, *Georgia State University*

polrmh@langate.gsu.edu

Scott E. Graves, Georgia State University

polseg@langate.gsu.edu

Disc. Rebecca S. Curry, Hofstra University

Rebecca.Curry@hofstra.edu

Mark C. Miller, Clark University

mmiller@clarku.edu

42-21 Public Perception and Confidence in Courts

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Liane Kosaki, University of Wisconsin, Madison

lkosaki@wisc.edu

Paper The Effect of the Public on State Supreme Court Policy Making

This paper examines the effects of public knowledge and awareness of state legislative activity on the propensity of state supreme courts to engage in judicial review.

Andrea Polk, *University of Arizona* apolk3@email.arizona.edu

Paper Public Perceptions of the Lower Federal Courts

This paper reports results of a national survey of citizen support for U.S. lower federal courts (e.g., district and circuit courts). The paper examines the level and determinants of said support and compares it with support for the Supreme Court.

Sara C. Benesh, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

sbenesh@uwm.edu

Nancy S. Scherer, Wellesley College

nscherer@wellesley.edu

Amy L. Steigerwalt, Georgia State University

polals@langate.gsu.edu

Paper <u>Judicial Institutionalization and Business Elite Confidence in</u> the Legal System

This study examines the effects of judicial institutional development on the business elite's perceptions of the legal system in the post-communist region

Kirill Mikhaylovich Bumin, Georgia Southern University

kbumin@georgiasouthern.edu

Paper Do Supreme Court Justices Use Threats of Legitimacy Loss

Strategically?

Explores the possibility that Supreme Court justices employ the threat of "illegitimacy" to steer the Court toward desired policy outcomes.

Dion Farganis, Bowling Green State University

fargard@bgsu.edu

Disc. Liane Kosaki, University of Wisconsin, Madison

lkosaki@wisc.edu

Tom S. Clark, Emory University

tom.clark@emory.edu

42-26 Diversity on State and Federal Courts (Co-sponsored with Law and Jurisprudence, see 43-14)

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Barry W. Pyle, Eastern Michigan University

barry.pyle@emich.edu

Paper Explaining Judicial Diversity on State Courts

In this paper we examine institutional, contextual, and political explanations for the level of racial diversity on state courts.

Malia Reddick, American Judicature Society

mreddick@ajs.org

Rachel Paine Caufield, Drake University/American Judicature

Society

Chair

Paper

rachel.caufield@drake.edu

Michael Nelson, Drake University

michael.nelson@drake.edu

Paper Racial Diversity on State Courts: The Effects of Selection

Methods Upon Representation of Black and Hispanics Judges

The focus of this research is to discern any varying effects of; appointment, merit selection and elections on racial diversity on state benches. In particular the number of Black and Hispanic judges on state courts will be addressed.

Ronald William Sullivan, II, University of Texas, Dallas ronny sullivan@hotmail.com

Paper The Political Dynamics of Representation on State Courts

This paper investigates the influence of political variables such as federalism, political parties, judicial selection methods and flawed notions of the judicial role in understanding the impact of race, ethnicity and gender on state court diversity.

Barbara L. Graham, University of Missouri, St. Louis

barbara.graham@umsl.edu

Race and Voting Behavior of State Supreme Court Judges

This paper seeks to explain the voting behavior of state supreme court judges. The dataset includes 35 states between the period of 2000 and 2007. Death penalty cases and obscenity cases are analyzed using logit analysis.

Sarah-Seong Wu, University of Tennessee

swu1@utk.edu

Diversity and Judicial Efficiency: An Examination of Federal Appellate Court Decisions

We model the time it takes a three-judge U.S. courts of appeals panel to dispose of a case as a function of the panel's gender and racial diversity, while controlling for a variety of factors (e.g., caseload, circuit size).

John Szmer, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte* jjszmer@uncc.edu

Robert K. Christensen, University of North Carolina, Charlotte rkchris@uncc.edu

Elizabeth Wemlinger, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte* ewemling@uncc.edu

Disc. Mark Hurwitz, Western Michigan University

mark.hurwitz@wmich.edu

Barry W. Pyle, Eastern Michigan University

barry.pyle@emich.edu

45-8 **State Environmental Policies and Politics**

Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Room Chair

Mark Carl Rom, Georgetown University

mark.carl.rom@gmail.com

Paper **Promoting Wind Energy: Evaluating the Effects of State**

Renewable Energy Incentives

Renewable energy is currently an important issue on the national agenda. Since the national government often adopts successful state policies, it is essential to evaluate the impact of state renewable energy policies on renewable energy development.

James W. Stoutenborough, University of Kansas

istout@ku.edu

Legislative Rule Review, Partisan Control, and the Costs of Paper Regulation: The Case of Pollution Control in the American

This paper explores the relationship between the stringency of environmental regulation in the US states between 1983 and 1994 and partisan control, state interests, and rule review powers of the legislature.

James Craig Clinger, Murray State University

james.clinger@murraystate.edu Tom Glover, Murray State University thomas.glover@murraystate.edu Martin Battle, Murray State University martin.battle@murraystate.edu

The Politics of Vertical Diffusion: The States and Global Paper Warming

States have substantial incentives to initiate policy change but also to seek the nationalization of those changes. Ironically, the state innovations of today can become the burdensome federal mandates of tomorrow.

Paul Posner, George Mason University

pposner@gmu.edu

Dennis Grady, Radford University Disc.

dgrady4@radford.edu

46-6 New Approaches to Neighborhood Analysis in Urban

Room Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Brady Baybeck, University of Missouri, St. Louis Chair

baybeck@umsl.edu

Paper Entrusting Cities With Redistributive Policy: A Neighborhood-**Level Analysis of Community Development Block Grant**

Expenditures We analyze the extent to which local elected officials direct block

grant funds to individuals and communities in need and whether the decisions of these officials are shaped by political considerations.

Justin H. Phillips, Columbia University

jhp2121@columbia.edu

Leah Brooks, University of Toronto

leah.brooks@utoronto.ca

Community Representation in Chicago and Los Angeles Paper

The paper considers how institutional arrangements for local representation shape the politics of community regeneration in two large cities. It contrasts electoral districts and neighborhood councils in Los Angeles to Chicago's ward system.

Juliet Ann Musso, University of Southern California

musso@usc edu

Jefferey Sellers, University of Southern California

sellers@usc.edu

Ellen Shiau, University of Southern California

eshiau@usc.edu

Karen Mossberger, University of Illinois, Chicago

mossberg@uic.edu

Paper The Deep Structures of Neighborhood Politics and Urban **Development: Scenes**

Cities vary by neighborhood and offer a unique opportunity to analyze these general processes: local cultural and socio-economic characteristics are linked to urban politics and development.

Terry Nichols Clark, University of Chicago

tnclark@uchicago.edu

Clemente Navarro, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Spain

cnavyan@dts.upo.es

Differential Citizenship in Policy-Led Urban Redevelopment Paper

This paper examines how city government has appropriated redevelopment policy to squeeze values out of relatively underdeveloped areas in Seoul, and what are the implications of the policy-led redevelopments for citizenship of low-income residents.

Jieun Kim, University of Illinois, Chicago jkim221@uic.edu

Disc. Tony E. Wohlers, Cameron University

awohlers@cameron.edu

47-10 Legal Access, Legal Interests, and Policy Outcomes

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Jolly Ann Emrey, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater

emreyj@uww.edu

Access to Bankruptcy, Access to Justice: Attorney Access as a **Paper**

Factor in Bankruptcy Filing

In this paper, I explore the relationship between legal access and social rights in consumer bankruptcy filing. I construct a legal access measure and compare it to bankruptcy filing rates and social rights at the state level.

Serena Laws, University of Minnesota

laws0087@umn.edu

Paper Physician Supply and Migration During a Medical Liability "Crisis"

Do characteristics of a state's medical liability climate explain doctors' willingness to practice medicine in that state? This study examines whether "tort reforms" attract doctors.

Jackson Williams, George Washington University

jwilli28@gwu.edu

Paper The Invisible Man: Race, Crime and Federalism

Federalism and the structure of interest group representation have been important obstacles to racial equality in the United States. This paper illustrates the impact of federalism on the politics of crime, punishment and racial inequality.

Lisa L. Miller, Rutgers University miller@polisci.rutgers.edu

Jolly Ann Emrey, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater Disc.

emreyj@uww.edu

47-30 **Government Intervention in Markets and the Nonprofit**

Sector

Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Room Chair Kevin Corder, Western Michigan University

j.kevin.corder@wmich.edu

Targeting and Capturing Returns from Sustainability-Oriented Paper Research

This paper models the effects of public funding in R&D through an empirical analysis of patents and publications produced by firms and universities which are focused on alternative energy and carbon sequestration.

Matthew A. Shapiro, Illinois Institute of Technology mshapir2@iit.edu

A Critical Examiniation of the U.S. Nursing Shortage: Paper **Contributing Factors and Public Policy Implications**

This paper examines the influence of social factors and government policy on the current U.S. nursing shortage. We examine arguments supporting and opposing policy intervention and its impact on the overall provision of nursing care.

Rebekah L. Fox, Department of Veterans Affairs

rlfox2@gmail.com

Kathleen A. Abrahamson, Department of Veterans Affairs kaabraha@iupui.edu

Paper The Impact of Government on Nonprofit Sector: An Agent **Based Model**

The paper develops an agent based model of formation of nonprofit organizations. The model further tests the crowd out effect of the government on the formation of nonprofits.

Sherzod Abdukadirov, George Mason University

sabdukad@gmu.edu

Emilia Istrate, George Mason University

eistrate@gmu.edu

The Give and Take of Public Funding on Private Giving: An Paper **Empirical Study of Five Midwestern Cities**

A longitudinal empirical study of nonprofit organizations is conducted to further explore the impact of government funding on private giving to nonprofit organizations in five midwestern cities.

Leigh Nanney Hersey, Arizona State University

leigh.hersey@asu.edu

Shlomo Mizrahi, Ben-Gurion University Disc.

shlomom@bgu.ac.il

Kevin Corder, Western Michigan University

j.kevin.corder@wmich.edu

49-4 **Environmental Policy Change in Comparative Context**

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Michael E. Kraft, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay Chair

kraftm@uwgb.edu

Paper **Aftershocks: The Post-Disturbance Institutionalization of** Hydropower Policy Changes in China and the U.S.

This paper examines policy changes in hydropower generation in China and the U.S. following shocks to the policy systems in each

William Lowry, Washington University

lowry@wustl.edu

Andrew C. Mertha, Cornell University

amertha@gmail.com

International Management of Walleye in Lake Erie: Conflict, Paper Cooperation, and a Case Study of the Dispute of 2004

This paper discusses cross-border management of fisheries on Lake Erie focusing on often-contentious management of walleye, the institution formed to facilitate cooperation, and how the states and Ontario handled a major dispute in 2004.

Marc Gaden, University of Michigan

marc@glfc.org

The Absence of Climate Governance in Canada and the United Paper

This paper examines the divergent paths of these neighboring federal systems in climate policy development over the past decade. In particular, it examines why Canadian provinces have lagged

behind American states in this area. Barry G. Rabe, University of Michigan

brabe@umich.edu

Michael E. Kraft, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay Disc.

kraftm@uwgb.edu

50-200 Poster Session: Advances in Public Administration and **Bureaucratic Politics**

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Post. 10 Intergovernmental Grants and Bureaucratic Power

This paper investigates which type of personnel local governments employ when given intergovernmental grants, with a focus on the role played by local bureaucrats.

Eva Mork, Uppsala University and IFAU

eva.mork@ifau.uu.se

Matz Dahlberg, Uppsala University

matz.dahlberg@nek.uu.se

Heléne Lundqvists, Uppsala University

helene.lundqvist@nek.uu.se

Post. 11 Toward the Role of Balance Wheel: Public Administrator as Educator

This study examines how the writings of the Anti-Federalists can influence public administration in accepting the role of educator as a means of facilitating a dialogue with citizens on the subjects of civic virtue, public good and individual rights.

Roy H. Kirby III, Virginia Tech University

rhkirby@vt.edu

Daniel P. Boden, Virginia Tech University

danboden@vt.edu

Post. 12 The Impact of Performance Ratings on Personnel Decisions: **Empirical Evidence from the Federal Civil Service**

Using a one percent sample of the federal personnel records for 1989 through 2003, this study examines how the distribution of performance ratings has changed over time, and then analyzes the impact of performance ratings on promotion chances.

Seong Soo Oh, Georgia State University

soh4@gsu.edu

Gregory B. Lewis, Georgia State University

glewis@gsu.edu

Post. 13 How Much Do Entrepreneurs Care About Government Regulation? Evaluating the Linkage Between Regulatory

Factors and Municipal Business Climate

The current study reports on a survey of owners of recently-started businesses, examining the factors, including regulatory, that were most burdensome and those most important to location choice.

Jason L. Jensen, University of North Dakota jason.jensen@mail.business.und.edu

Matthew Leiphon, University of North Dakota matthew.leiphon@und.nodak.edu

Post. 14 2010 Census: Census Bureau's Decision to Continue with

Handheld Computers for Address Canvassing Makes Planning and Testing Critical

Census Bureau attempts to use handheld computers in the 2010 Census highlight the need for appropriate planning and testing procedures, as well as performance measures.

Timothy Wexler, Government Accountability Office (GAO) wexlert@gao.gov

Katherine Wulff, Government Accountability Office wulffk@gao.gov

Post. 15 Employment Trends for Women and Minorities in Federal Government: 1995- 2007

This study proposes to examine the employment trends of women and minorities by age, level of employment, grade, length of service, and salary from 1995 to 2000 using the Office of Personnel Management data.

Mark Musell, City College of New York

rmusell@ccny.cuny.edu

Meghna Sabharwal, City College of New York msabharwal@ccny.cuny.edu

Post. 16 The Bureaucratic Response to the Environmental Policy: The An-Shun Plant Case in Taiwan

This paper is about how government bureaucrats reacted to the environmental pollution case in the An-Nan District of Tainan City, Taiwan. The An-Shun Plant case illustrated serious chemical pollution in three communities.

Yungnane Yang, National Cheng Kung University yungnane@mail.ncku.edu.tw

Post. 4 The Corps and its Customers: The Idea of Customer Satisfaction in a Regulatory Agency

We investigate customer satisfaction surveys returned to the Army Corps of Engineers, using these data to inquire into the utility of such instruments, the role of those dealing with the Corps, and the implications for their efforts in the future.

Mark E. Tompkins, University of South Carolina tompkins.mark@sc.edu

Kim Diana Connolly, *University of South Carolina* connolly@sc.edu

Post. 5 What Can Dependent Origination Teach Public Administrators About Networks and Management? A Buddhist Doctrine in Administrative Practice

How can we explain the normative purchase of the concept "networking" in public management literature? How much of the good of networking is explained by the good of the related concept "interdependence"?

Sara R. Jordan, *University of Hong Kong* sjordan@hku.hk

Post. 6 Outsourcing Contract Specialist Support for the Federal Government: New Trends and Practices for the Use of Contracted Personnel to Support Government Contracts Management

New trends and practices for the use of contracted personnel to support internal government contracts management. Theory is "organizational field." Comparison of functional areas of employment and agencies that engage in this practice.

Mary Margaret Johnson, Villanova University conchcontracts@aol.com

Post. 7 Market Orientation and its Impact on Organizational Performance of NGOs in a Transitional Economy: An Empirical Study of China's Blood Organizations

This research will take a close look at the market orientation of China's blood organizations in the transitional process and examine empirically its impact on organizational performance by conducting a survey in six provinces of China

Wenen Luo, University of Hong Kong lwe2008@hku.hk

Yanfeng Zhou, Sun Yat-sen University mnszyf@mail.sysu.edu.cn

Post. 8 <u>Citizen Participation- Moving up the Ladder</u>

Sherry Arnstein published "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" in 1971, the ladder has 8 rungs and public hearing is rung 3/4. This paper provides three tools to move up the ladder of citizen participation.

Deepik Andavarapu, Florida State University da08@fsu.edu

Post. 9 The Impact of Political Oversight on Public Attitudes Towards the Police

This paper uses experimental data to examine the causal process by which the political oversight of bureaucrats affects public expectations of government services. It focuses on the policing of multicultural societies.

Clare Joanna McGovern, University of British Columbia cmcgover@interchange.ubc.ca

51-5 Politics of Reform in Progressive Era

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Chris West, Rutgers University, New Brunswick

cwest@eden.rutgers.edu

Paper Conservative Counter-Revolution: Reconsidering the Nature and Development of Presidential Popular Leadership in the Progressive Era

Presidential popular leadership in the Progressive era follows a conservative logic of employing popular rhetoric against radical political trends that threaten the "reason of state." It is not then fundamentally inconsistent with founding design.

Chris West, *Rutgers University*, *New Brunswick* cwest@eden.rutgers.edu

Paper The Lost Liberalism of the Prairie Populists: The Legacy of William Jennings Bryan and Robert M. La Follette

In their day, William Jennings Bryan and Robert M. La Follette spoke for a significant portion of the American people. What happened to the liberalism they championed? Where does this ideology fit on the political spectrum today?

Jeff L. Taylor, *Jacksonville State University* JLTaylor@jsu.edu

Paper Social Reformers in the National Liberal League, 1876-1883

A National Liberal League and its offshoot, the National Liberal Party, arose quickly in the 1870s. I explain this rise and also its swift demise in terms of tensions in the alliance of reformers who joined this cause in the post-Civil War USA.

Russell L Hanson, Indiana University, Bloomington hansonr@indiana.edu

Disc. Chris West, Rutgers University, New Brunswick cwest@eden.rutgers.edu

52-2 The Geography of Public Policy

Room Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm
Chair Amy Widestrom, California State University, Long Beach
amy.widestrom@gmail.com

Paper How Do We Die?: Governmental Policy and Geographical Variance of Death Rates by Prefecture, Cause of Death, and Year in Japan

At least some causes of death are influenced by favorable or unfavorable local policy. This presentation seeks to explain the relationships between local policy and death rates by cause and location (prefecture) in Japan.

Kenichi Tamura, *Waseda University* ktamura@moegi.waseda.jp

Paper Understanding Variations in State HPV Vaccine Policy With Elazar's Paradigm

This paper seeks to understand state HPV vaccine (Gardasil) policy adoption through Elazar's paradigm of American political culture, and test the paradigm for consistency with the trend of states' implementation of HPV legislation.

Mariana A. Cotromanes, Northern Illinois University mcotroma@niu.edu

Paper Who Benefits from Transnational Advocacy Networks?: An Analysis of the Transnational Politics of Biotechnology in the Global South

This paper analyzes North-South advocacy networks involved in the politics of biotechnology. The hypothesis defended is that these networks systematically favor a 'romantic' over a 'populist' framing of the issues.

Richard Bownas, Cornell University

rab56@cornell.edu

Paper The Geography of Interests, Institutions, and Trade Policy

Electoral districts often increase in scale over time even as economic interests become more spatially concentrated. This expedites policy targeting, implying legislative-executive policy convergence in trade and other distributive policies.

Robert Urbatsch, Iowa State University

rurbat@iastate.edu

Disc. Amy Widestrom, California State University, Long Beach amy.widestrom@gmail.com

54-10 (De)Secularization and Institutional Politics

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Heather Mary Deegan, Middlesex University

h.deegan@mdx.ac.uk

Paper Identity Crisis? Europeanization and the Challenge to

Kemalism in Turkey

This study explores the impact of the European Union accession process in Turkish discourse over the role of secularism in state and national identities.

Meri Ellen Lynott, Appalachian State University

lynottm8@yahoo.com

Paper Desecularisation and Rise of Islamic Militancy in Bangladesh

The paper is an attempt to examine the process of desecularisation and consequent rise of Islamic militancy in Bangladesh along with the threat it poses and its future potential as a destabilising power in the country and the region.

Harun Rashid, University of Dhaka

dean ss01@yahoo.com

Paper Security and Secularization

The paper explores why some states develop secular institutions whereas others do not, and why states with secular institutions cluster in specific regions of the world.

H. Zeynep Bulutgil, University of Chicago

bulutgil@uchicago.edu

Paper The Changeless Nature of Secularist Nationalism in Turkey: A Comparative Study

The article inquires into the reasons that made it possible for the ideology of secularist nationalism to remain unchanged for about 80 years in Turkey; and it tests for the conditions that make it difficult to introduce changes to laicist policies.

Serdar Kaya, Simon Fraser University

ska99@sfu.ca

Disc. Nancy B. Burgoyne, Seattle University

nburgoyne@aol.com

56-12 Engaging the Student: Innovative Pedagogy and Active Learning

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Chair Eric M. Jepsen, University of South Dakota

eric.jepsen@usd.edu

Paper Civic Engagement in the Community: Undergraduate Clinical Legal Education

We discuss how the Community Legal Information Center of CSU, Chico, serves as a framework from which other universities can model their own civic engagement programs such that they integrate traditional academic exercises with community service.

Mahalley D. Allen, California State University, Chico

mdallen@csuchico.edu

Sally A. Parker, California State University, Chico

saparker@csuchico.edu

Paper Teaching Political Science Using Elementary Logic

I present examples of analysis of a first presidential. debate (fallacies) and of Romney speech (symbolic logic), and we work through another speech/essay at the conference.

Maurice Stanley, *University of North Carolina*, *Wilmington* stanleym@uncw.edu

Paper The Shape of Polities to Come: Effective Classroom Use of Science Fiction Film to Illustrate Political Theory

Relying on short excerpts of films and television programs overcome the practical barriers to using science fiction to graphically illustrate implications of liberalism, conservatism, and socialism and to encourage student discussion.

Michael Jon Stoil, University of Guam

mstoil@uguam.uog.edu

Disc. Eric M. Jepsen, University of South Dakota

eric.jepsen@usd.edu

57-207 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: American:</u>

Media and Rhetoric

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Post. 17 An Experiment in Deliberative Democracy: Hoosiers Debate Healthcare

With guidance from faculty, we implemented a survey which covered healthcare and hosted a deliberative event. The event fostered discussion between participants and experts. Data from a post-event survey was compared to the original polling results.

Alexander Maurice Beeman, Ball State University ambeeman2@bsu.edu

Eric Christopher Butler, Ball State University

ecbutler@bsu.edu

Post. 18 <u>Congressional Sex, Lies, Scandalous Behavior and Negative</u> <u>Media Coverage</u>

The media rarely hesitates to capitalize on political wrongdoings. My contribution to this topic focuses on a Congressional member's active role in the media process versus being a passive victim when involved in a scandal.

Jessica Ann Edwards, University at Buffalo, SUNY je46@buffalo.edu

Post. 19 <u>Debating the Debate Coverage</u>

Comparing 2008 Presidential Debate analysis on Fox News Channel, CNN, and MSNBC to detect significant differences in political coverage across the networks.

Stephanie Nicole Grebe, Purdue University

sgrebe@purdue.edu

Christine Marie Witnik, Purdue University

cwitnik@purdue.edu

Hari Vasu, Purdue University

hvasu@purdue.edu

Post. 20 Are Losers Funny or is it the Funny Who Lose?

What is the role of humor in the face of very real political consequences? The research conducted in this paper will provide useful information for the future analysis of political satire and its influence on how viewers perceive candidates.

Shea Timothy Hack, Purdue University

shack@purdue.edu

Meredith Rees, Purdue University

mlrees@purdue.edu

Post. 21 Television and Youtube.com in Election 2008: A Substantive Comparison of Presidential Campaign Advertisements in **Electronic Media**

Ads aired on TV and posted on YouTube.com by the two major candidates and parties were compared on a multitude of aspects, including type of appeal and deception. Consideration was given to the usefulness of web ads and citizen response to these ads.

Lauren Elizabeth Hume, Wellesley College lhume@wellesley.edu

Post. 22 <u>Union Perspectives on Immigration: Pro-Immigration Scale</u> **Proposed to Assess Union Attitudes**

> This study analyzes the perspectives of unions toward immigration, over the period 2006 to 2008, using public data such as websites and newspaper articles. A pro-immigration scale is proposed to determine the union attitudes.

Michael Wesley Snow, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill shmichae@email.unc.edu

57-209 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: American:</u> **Judicial**

Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Room

Post. 23 Sticking Points: Colleague Accommodation and Issue consistency in the United State's Supreme Court

How Supreme Court opinion authors use the opinion-writing process to ascertain the policy preferences of their colleagues.

Amanda Clare Bryan, University of Minnesota bryan202@umn.edu

Post. 24 What Constitutes Good Judgment? Breyer's Liberty in Action vs Scalia's Interpretive Matters

This paper examines the differing methodologies of judicial interpretation advocated by Justices Stephen Breyer and Antonin Scalia. These approaches are examined in the Indiana v. Edwards, Giles v. California and District of Columbia v. Heller ruling.

Brenda Cheeks - Lucas, Purdue University

bcheeks@calumet.purdue.edu

58-103 Roundtable: Get a Life!: Strategies for Balancing Work and Life in Academia

Watertower on the 6th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

This roundtable will offer strategies for balancing professional and family life from a wide variety of perspectives and experiences.

Panelist Christina Wolbrecht, University of Notre Dame

Wolbrecht.1@nd.edu

Georgia Duerst-Lahti, Beloit College

duerstgj@beloit.edu

Frances Henderson, Maryville College

frances.henderson@maryvillecollege.edu

Elizabeth Bennion, Indiana University, South Bend

ebennion@iusb.edu

62-200 Poster Session: Political Novel

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm

Post. 25 Ideology and Fiction: Spartacus Novels

This paper will analyze four novels which utilize the story of the ancient rebel Spartacus for contemporary ideological purposes.

John Bokina, University of Texas, Pan American

castus8@aol.com

62-201 Poster Session: Policy Failure

Grand on the 4th Floor, Fri at 4:45 pm Room

Post. 26 Policy Failing a Population: The Runaway and Homeless Youth

Federal policy moved from viewing homeless youth in the 1930s as victims of economic failure to a) a linkage with delinquency and b) that they were from middle class homes, resulting in an inabilty to address the needs of a diverse population.

Donna Karno, Ohio State University

karno.1@osu.edu

Saturday, April 4-8:00 am

1-102 Roundtable: Post-2008: The Future of Women in the **Democratic and Republican Parties (Co-sponsored with** Political Parties and Interest Groups, see 38-100)

Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room

> Panelists will comment on the implications of the recent elections for women in the Democratic and Republican parties, including the future of party women, women voters, women in elective office, subgroups of women, and individual women.

Panelist Dana E. Wittmer, Ohio State University

wittmer.8@polisci.ohio-state.edu

Denise L. Baer, American University

src dlbaer@hotmail.com

Barbara Burrell, Northern Illinois University

bburrell@niu.edu

Natalie Masuoka, Tufts University Natalie.Masuoka@tufts.edu

Kathryn Pearson, University of Minnesota

kpearson@umn.edu

Tasha S. Philpot, University of Texas, Austin

tphilpot@austin.utexas.edu

Michele Swers, Georgetown University

mls47@georgetown.edu

2-8 **Interest Groups and Economic Policy in Western Democracies**

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Vincent A. Mahler, Loyola University, Chicago

vmahler@luc.edu

Privatization in Europe: Left-Wing Power Resources and Paper **Productive Efficiency**

In marked contrast to predictions derived from a traditional interest group approach, I claim that stronger left-leaning interest groups make it more likely that left-wing parties engage in privatization programs.

Tim Hicks, Nuffield College, Oxford timothy.hicks@nuffield.ox.ac.uk

Paper **The Political Origins of Centralized Wage Bargaining**

We argue that political parties (not unions) are the relevant encompassing organizations that foster centralized wage bargaining. We test this hypothesis through both historical process tracing and a quantitative analysis of 15 OECD countries.

Emmanuel J. Teitelbaum, George Washington University ejt@gwu.edu

Jennifer Hadden, Cornell University jlh242@cornell.edu

Lobbying and Political Influence: An Analysis of Government Paper Policy Proposals, 2001-2007

This paper presents results from preliminary analysis of a new dataset of 200 UK government policy proposals compiled to test informational accounts of lobbying.

Patrick Bernhagen, University of Aberdeen

P.Bernhagen@abdn.ac.uk

Brett Trani, University of Aberdeen

b.trani@abdn.ac.uk

Restructuring the Welfare State: Unions, Employers, and the Paper Politics of Risk

This paper examines how governments reform the structure of the welfare state. I argue that the changing nature of political coalitions within domestic economies are consequential when states weigh which policy reforms pose the least political risk.

Scott R. Powell, Ohio State University

powell.413@osu.edu

Disc. Alan Draper, St. Lawrence University

adraper@stlawu.edu

Konstantin Vossing, Ohio State University

vossing.1@osu.edu

3-10 Property Rights, Natural Resources, and Development

Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room Chair Matthew S. Winters, Princeton University

mswinter@princeton.edu

The Myth of "Secure Property Rights" Paper

This paper argues both conceptually and empirically that unconditional advocacy for "secure property rights" may hinder the development of capitalism.

Xin Zhang, University of California, Los Angeles

xinzhang@ucla.edu

Paper Contracting for Property Rights in Afghanistan

Property rights in Afghanistan are often enforced through informal mechanisms. Relying on insights from game theory and fieldwork in Afghanistan, we show the precise mechanisms why informal systems succeed and why they fail.

Ilia Murtazashvili, University of Wisconsin

imurtazashvi@wisc.edu

Jennifer C. Brick, University of Wisconsin, Madison

brick@polisci.wisc.edu

The Politics of Discriminating Governance Paper

A growing consensus states that better protecting private property is essential to improving economic performance. Here, I show empirically that failures to do so are often the result of the discrimination of property rights protection.

Thomas Edward Flores, New York University

thomas.flores@nyu.edu

Privatizing the Curse: The Effects of Natural Resource Wealth **Paper** on Capitalist Development

This paper explores the effects of natural resource dependence on the ease of market entry for entrepreneurs in the industrial and commercial private sectors.

Nimah Mazaheri, University of Washington

nimah@u.washington.edu

Disc. Nimah Mazaheri, University of Washington

nimah@u.washington.edu

4-12 **Democratization and Corruption**

Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room

Chair Jong-sung You, University of California, San Diego

jsyou@ucsd.edu

Corruption and Its Negative Impact on the Process of **Paper Consolidation of Democracy**

The level of corruption in one country has a negative impact on the economic efficiency, income inequality and people's trust. By creating and perpetuating these dysfunctions corruption negatively affects the process of consolidation of democracy.

Cristina Nicolescu - Waggonner, University of California,

Riverside

cnico001@student.ucr.edu

Paper Is South Korea Succeeding in Controlling Corruption?

This paper documents the trend of decreasing corruption in South Korea during the last decade. This study illustrates the unreliability of perceived measures of corruption such as CPI and the usefulness of surveys of experience of corruption.

Jong-sung You, University of California, San Diego jsyou@ucsd.edu

Paper **Democratic Consolidation in Cambodia: A Study of Internal** Challenges

This paper examines the nature of democratic politics and the continuous efforts of democratic consolidation in Cambodia since

Renu Bhagat, Queens College RENUBHAGAT@AOL.COM

Disc. Jiangnan Zhu, University of Nevada, Reno jzhu@unr.edu

5-14 **Party Cohesion**

Room Price on the 5th Floor. Sat at 8:00 am Shane Martin, Dublin City University Chair

Shane.martin@dcu.ie

Party Switching in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies: Paper **Discriminating Between Cabinet and Opposition Members**

Scholars have identified several factors that influence legislators' decision to switch parties. This paper answers the question if their impact is conditioned or not on whether the legislators' party is in the cabinet or in opposition.

Marius Radean, Florida State University mradean@fsu.edu

Paper Party Cohesion in Roll Call Votes among District and List Legislators in Taiwan, 1993-2008

District legislators are modeled as agents of their parties and their constituents, while list legislators are primarily agents of only their parties. I find that list legislators support the party line more often than district legislators.

Nathan Frank Batto, University of the Pacific nbatto@pacific.edu

Paper Mixed Incentives for Legislative Behaviors: Party Label, Office Benefits, and Party Discipline in Korea

Using an original database on how members of the Korean National Assembly voted on more than 600 bills, this paper seeks to explain the micro-incentives of party discipline.

Kuniaki Nemoto, University of California, San Diego knemoto@ucsd.edu

Paper Electoral Rules, Nominations Procedures, and Politicians' **Incentives for Party Loyalty in 10 Mixed-Member Systems**

I argue that who controls the nominations process is ultimately more important in determining politicians' incentives to be loyal to a party than the formal structure of the electoral system.

Jessica Robinson Preece, University of California, Los Angeles jrp68@ucla.edu

Shane Martin, Dublin City University Disc. Shane.martin@dcu.ie

6-10 Informal and Formal Groups in Mass Political Behavior

Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room Chair Basak Yavcan Ural, University of Pittsburgh

bay4@pitt.edu

Paper Family Dynamics of Party Support in Western Europe

This paper examines the role of family dynamics in support for Swiss political parties over time. It focuses specifically on the factors that predict to changes in party choice across seven waves of the Swiss Household Panel survey.

Jennifer Fitzgerald, University of Colorado, Boulder jennifer.fitzgerald@colorado.edu

Mechanisms and Strategies of Civic Engagement: A **Comparative Study Between a Nondemocratic and Democratic Political System**

Through a comparative study in urban renewal between Hong Kong and Taiwan, this paper aims to demonstrate that civil societies in nondemocratic and democratic political systems use different mechanisms and strategies to influence the policy process.

Feon Long-Yee Chau, University of Hong Kong feonchau@hotmail.com

Institutions and Engagement: The Impact of Compulsory Paper **Voting on Political Discussion in Switzerland**

Taking advantage of institutional variation within Switzerland, I demonstrate that compulsory voting laws boost civic engagement by increasing the likelihood that citizens will discuss politics frequently.

Caitlin Milazzo, University of California, Davis ccmilazzo@ucdavis.edu

Perceived Partisan Heterogeneity in Communication Networks **Paper** and Partisan Defection in a National Election: Evidence from **Taiwan**

This study employs a nation-wide survey data conducted in Taiwan in 2004 and examines the extent to which the theory of partisan defection could be applied to such an Asian context with an emerging, polarized two-party system.

Frank C. S. Liu, National Sun Yat-Sen University, Taiwan frankcsliu@gmail.com

Paper Public Protest and the Nature of Civic Engagement in Indian Cities: The Case of Occupational Associations in Varanasi

Examination of the means by which associations representing six occupational groups at various class levels challenge and engage with the state. Findings reveal that middle-to upper-class associations make greatest use of protest and strike.

Jolie M. F. Wood, University of Texas, Austin

joliewood@gmail.com

Disc. Basak Yavcan Ural, University of Pittsburgh

bay4@pitt.edu

7-12 External Relations of the EU

Madison on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room

Chair Heather A. D. Mbaye, University of West Georgia

hmbaye@westga.edu

Paper The EU-Russia Relations as the Nested Games and the Limits of the Northern Dimension Cooperation: An Explanation of the **Russian Strategies**

In this paper we place the discussion of the significance and the limits of the Northern Dimension into a broader theoretical context looking at the EU-Russian relations as strategically connected interactions at different institutional levels.

Irina Busygina, MGIMO, Moscow, Russia

irabus@mgimo.ru

Mikhail Filippov, Binghamton University

filippov@binghamton.edu

Paper European Union Electoral Support to Transitional and Non-**Established Democracies**

This paper aims at explaining why the European Union decides to intervene outside of its borders to support electoral processes in transitional and non-established democracies.

Marie Veronique Milward, University of Georgia mmilward@uga.edu

Paper Democrats Without Democracy? Linkages to Europe and the Attitude Towards Democratic Governance of State Officials in Arab Autocracies

The paper examines whether and under what conditions linkages to Europe transfer democratic rules into Arab autocracies by impacting the attitude of state officials towards democratic norms and practices of governance.

Tina Margarete Freyburg, ETH Zurich

freyburg@eup.gess.ethz.ch

Secession's Dominoes: From Kosovo to Georgia and Beyond? **Paper**

The situation in Kosovo has started a process that will challenge the European Union and the UN for the next few decades as other nascent nations begin to demand, if not outright independence, more and more autonomy.

Steven Majstorovic, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire majstos@uwec.edu

Disc. Heather A. D. Mbaye, University of West Georgia

hmbaye@westga.edu

The Politics of Latin American Free Trade and 8-15

Economic Development

Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room Chair Andrew P. Miller, Wilkes University

andrew.miller1@wilkes.edu

Politics Before and After CAFTA: The Origins and Influence of Paper

Resistance to CAFTA in Nicaragua and Costa Rica

This paper identifies and analyzes resistance to the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR) in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and the political legacies of that opposition in those

countries and throughout Central America today. Carolyn J. Craig, Rutgers University

cjcraig@eden.rutgers.edu

Policy Reorientation and the Rise of Transregional Regimes: Paper The Case of CARICOM

In comparing the national policies of 13 member states of CARICOM from 1990 to 2007 to examine the influence of actors, apparatus and audiences the paper finds what the researcher calls, isomorphic congruencies in a tripartite taxonomic periodization

Tavis Deryck Jules, Columbia University

tavisjules@yahoo.com

The Political Economy of Re-Privatization in South America Paper

The paper examines the factors that have contributed to a new wave of re-nationalizations in Venezuela, Argentina and Bolivia and whether this trend may be a transitory phase limited to a few cases or can spill over to other countries in the region.

Luigi Manzetti, Southern Methodist University

lmanzett@smu.edu

The Puerto Rican Economy, DC-CAFTA, and NAFTA: Ethical Paper Considerationsy of an Island Facing Economic Turmoil

Puerto Rico has been plagued by poor planning, changes in U.S. tax laws, and now, integration efforts in areas of Latin America which have a direct negative impact on its already faltering economy. Paper examines the future of its political economy.

Frank P. Le Veness, St. John's University

levenesf@stjohns.edu

Patrick S. Flanagan, St. John's University

flanagap@stjohns.edu

Paper **Economic Development in Chile: Post-Pinochet Model of** Success

The Pinochet regime initiated reforms under recommendation of the "Chicago boys." Paper reviews those reforms and their aftermath to the present, with particular emphasis on the post-Pionochet period.

Frank P. Le Veness, St. John's University

levenesf@stjohns.edu

Juan M. Fernandez, St. John's University

juan.fernandez1@verizon.net

David Hale Richards, Lynchburg College Disc.

richards D@lynchburg.edu

Alba Hesselroth, Lewis University

hesselal@lewisu.edu

9-14 Politics in Southeast Asia

Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room Thomas William Haase, University of Pittsburgh Chair

twhaase@gmail.com

Paper **Informal Administrative Networks and Disaster Management:**

Evaluating the Resilience of Indonesia's Response to the 2004 Boxing-Day Tsunami

This paper investigates the evolution of the informal response network that emerged in Indonesia following the 2004 Boxing-Day Tsunami and explains why the interactions in this administrative network deviated from Indonesia's formal response plan.

Thomas William Haase, University of Pittsburgh

twhaase@gmail.com

Paper The Dynamics of Malaysia-Indonesia Relations Post-Mahathir

This paper examines the dynamics of Malaysia-Indonesia relations during the peremiership of Abdullah Badawi.

Khadijah Nil Khalid, University of Malaya

dijut@email.com

Shakila Yacob, University of Malaya

shakila@um.edu.my

Paper Macroeconomic Populism in Thailand

Thaksinomics was claimed to be an alternative economic development policy which pursues economic goals in a manner that gradually shifts the Thai economy from export dependence to greater reliance on domestic market.

Pasakorn Thammachote, Claremont Graduate University

pasakorn.thammachote@cgu.edu

Paper Identifying and Locating Political Culture in Thailand

Unlike a conventional classification that based its claim on the electoral choices of people living in the countryside and cities. Using richer tools, a fuller depiction of types of political culture exist in the country will be demonstrated.

Attasit Pankaew, Georgia State University

apankaew@gsu.edu

Richard N. Engstrom, Georgia State University

engstrom@gsu.edu

Disc. Maria Consuelo Casimiro Ortuoste, California Sstate University,

East Bay

maria.ortuoste@csueastbay.edu

10-8 **Elections in Africa**

Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room

Chair Michelle Therese Kuenzi, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

michele.kuenzi@unlv.edu

Paper Partisan Competition and Citizen Attitudes in African

Democracies

African democracies offer us a perfect "laboratory" to test how partisan competition, and more specifically partisan dominance, affects how individuals relate to governing regimes, opposition parties, and democratic institutions.

Stephanie Marie Burchard, Rice University

smburchard@rice.edu

Paper Who Votes?: Turnout in Nine African Democracies

Using multi-level modeling on Afrobarometer survey and aggregate data we examine explanations of turnout and choice in Africa's democracies. Clientelism and ethnicity do not explain voting behavior; party ID, fairness and attitudes do a better job.

Josephine Andrews, University of California, Davis

jtandrews@ucdavis.edu

Kris Inman, University of California, Davis

klinman@ucdavis.edu

The 'Peace Vote' or the Ethnic Census? A Comparative Survey Paper of the 2002 and 2005 Post-Conflict Elections in Sierra Leone

This paper reports comparative survey findings on the voting decisions of the electorates during the critical 2002 and 2005 Post-Conflict elections in Sierra Leone and Liberia.

Fodei Batty, Western Michigan University

fodei.batty@wmich.edu

John Bing, Heidelberg College Disc.

jbing@heidelberg.edu

11-6 <u>Islamist Oppositions, Relations with States and Societies</u>

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Dragos Stoica, Concordia University

dragos stoic@yahoo.com

Paper White Turks, Black Turks: Islam, Class, and Race in Turkey

The Islamic identity in Turkey is a proxy for the "black Turks" and defines not only actors' Muslimhood but also their racial, regional, and class backgrounds.

 ${\bf Seda\ Demiralp}, American\ University$

sdemira@american.edu

Paper The Causes of Islamic Fundamentalism: A Quantitative Analysis

The main objective of this paper is to determine, through the application of quantitative analysis, the causes of Islamic fundamentalism in Islamic-majority nation-states. **D. Dustin Berna**, *Northern Illinois University*

Paper Cohort or Culture? Political Activism in the Middle East

There has been little research on political activism in the Middle East. This paper endeavors to determine if cohort, culture, or other socio-demographic features are responsible for political activism in selected Middle Eastern Countries.

Cameron Costner Wimpy, Arkansas State University cwimpy@astate.edu

Disc. D. Dustin Berna, Northern Illinois University

dberna@aol.com

dberna@aol.com

13-11 What the People Think about What The State Does: Public Opinion on Public Policy in Post-Communist Countries

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Christian William Haerpfer, University of Aberdeen

c.w.haerpfer@abdn.ac.uk

Paper The Causes and Consequences of Corruption Perceptions in Post-Communist Societies

In this paper, I utilize survey data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems to examine both the causes and consequences of perceived corruption in Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Russia and Slovenia.

Natalie Kistner, James Madison University kistnena@jmu.edu

Paper Talking About Inequality: Political Discourse and Public Perceptions of Inequality in Bulgaria

The paper will focus on the effect of political discourse on public perceptions of inequality in Bulgaria in the period from 1990 to

 $\textbf{Boriana Nikolova}, \ \textit{University of Chicago}$

boriana@uchicago.edu

Paper The Effects of Socio-Demographic and Experience Characteristics on Perceptions of Health Care Sector

Performance in Croatia

This paper analyzes the effects of age, gender, employment type, party affiliation, and previous experience with the health care sector on the perceptions of health care sector performance in Croatia.

Dagmar Radin, Mississippi State University

dradin@ps.msstate.edu

Aleksandar Dzakula, Andrija Stampar School of Public Health adzakula@snz.hr

Paper Dissatisfied with Decentralization: Explaining Citizens' Evaluations of Poland's 1998 Health Care Reform

Does decentralization lead to greater public satisfaction with policy outcomes? This study draws on original survey and interview data to examine health care consumer and provider attitudes toward 1998 health decentralization in Poland.

Meg E. Rincker, Purdue University Calumet

mrincker@calumet.purdue.edu

Martin F. Battle, Murray State University martin.battle@murraystate.edu

Disc. Christian William Haerpfer, University of Aberdeen

c.w.haerpfer@abdn.ac.uk

Sarah M. Brooks, Ohio State University

brooks.317@polisci.osu.edu

14-11 Politics of Sovereign Creditworthiness and Sovereign Debt

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Michael Tomz, Stanford University

tomz@stanford.edu

Paper Income Inequality, Political Stability, and Country

Creditworthiness: How Income Distribution Affects Political Stability and Country Creditworthiness in International Financial Markets

I study how income inequality affects investor perceptions of the creditworthiness of a country. I specifically test whether higher income inequality generates greater political risk and thus lowers country credit ratings.

Hye Jee Cho, University of Rochester

chyejee@mail.rochester.edu

aper The Impact of Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative on Reducing Debt Rescheduling

After launching the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative in 1996, the situation of debt rescheduling of both the HIPC countries and non-HIPC countries got worse, but the gap of rescheduling probabilities of the two groups was improved.

Samphors Khieu, Georgia State University

ksamphors@gmail.com

Paper Costly Alliances: Interstate Politics and Sovereign Bond Ratings

Existing studies of sovereign bond ratings only consider the impact of domestic politics in the debtor country. This paper shows that political relations among states also inform creditor perceptions of risk in the developing world.

Rebecca Nelson, Harvard University

rmnelson@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Gunboats and Vultures: Market Reaction to the "Enforcement" of Sovereign Debt

This paper contrasts the effectivness (credibility) of sovereign debt enforcement involving U.S. gunboat diplomacy (in the early 1900s) with a milder, modern day form of enforcement involving legal vulture funds and international litigation.

Faisal Ahmed, University of Chicago

faisal@uchicago.edu

Paper Electoral and Competitive Rivalry in Developing Country Sovereign Risk Assessment

We develop theory and document evidence that major credit rating agencies decrease sovereign creditworthiness in developing countries when left-wing incumbents seek re-election, but that such decrease is less likely as agency rivalry increases.

Paul Martin Vaaler, University of Minnesota vaal0001@umn.edu

Gerry McNamara, *Michigan State University* mcnamara@bus.msu.edu

Paper Regime Type and Heavy Indebtedness

The paper shows that overborrowing democracies accumulate significantly less debt than overborrowing autocracies, suggesting that regime type matters most with regard to the difference in heavy, rather than average, indebtedness.

Yong Kyun Kim, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill ykkim@email.unc.edu

Disc. Michael Tomz, Stanford University

tomz@stanford.edu

Rebecca Nelson, Harvard University

rmnelson@fas.harvard.edu

14-24 **Emerging Topics in IPE: Antitrust, Lobbying, Outsourcing and Corporate Responsibility**

Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room Chair Ryan David Brutger, University of Chicago

rbrutger@gmail.com

Foreign Agents, PR Agencies, and their U.S. Foreign Policy Paper Agendas

This paper examines the scope and the correlates of the use of US PR firms by foreign countries to influence US foreign policy through an analysis of cross-country time-series data and records from the Foreign Agent Registration Act database.

Atnre Alleyne, University of Delaware

atnreakn@udel.edu

Paper The Political Economy of Corporate Responsibility Across Europe and Beyond, 1977-2007

What explains the variation of Corporate Responsibility across the OECD? Drawing on quantitative, social network and archival data, I argue that the rise of CR is correlated with the dismantling of the post-war compromise and 'embedded liberalism.'

Daniel Phillip Kinderman, Cornell University dpk24@cornell.edu

Competition Politics: A Political Economy of Anti-Trust Paper Adoption and Design in Developing Countries

This paper identifies the political factors contributing to the recent emergence of competition policy (anti-trust) agencies in developing countries using a comprehensive new dataset of these institutions over the period 1975-2005.

Stephen Weymouth, University of California, San Diego sweymouth@ucsd.edu

Lawyers Who Maximize Rent-Seeking Economic Bias and Paper **Income Inequality**

Legal Sector Special Interest Groups And Rent Seeking Economic Development Pathologies Among The American States Russell S. Harrison, Rutgers University, Camden ruharris@camden.rutgers.edu

Ryan David Brutger, University of Chicago Disc. rbrutger@gmail.com

15-14 The Korean Peninsula and International Relations

Room Medinah on the 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Jungkun Seo, University of North Carolina, Wilmington Chair seoj@uncw.edu

Effectiveness of Korean Reunification in Korea-U.S. Political Paper Traits: International Environment and Its Intrinsic Factors

> This paper investigates why Korean Reunification is so fundamental to U.S. foreign policy in Asia and how it impacts the Korea-U.S. relationship to reorganize regional powers in Asia.

Sunny Lee, Institute for Korea-U.S. Political Development ikupd@yahoo.com

Paper Social Identity and Foreign Policy: "History Carriers," Ideology, and South Korea's Foreign Policy Changes, 2003-2007

I analyze and explain South Korea's foreign policy changes towards North Korea and USA. I argue that the social identity of the ruling party is the key to understanding the timing and contents of Korea's foreign policy change from 2003 to 2007.

Yongwook Ryu, Harvard University yryu@fas.harvard.edu

Paper The Wizard of Negotiations?!: The Negotiating Patterns of North Korea at the Six-Party Talks

This study purposes to show that there is a gap between North Korea and other states implementing negotiation.

Hun You, Seoul National University vhsua38@hotmail.com

The Invisible Hand in the Korean Peninsula: The United States **Paper** Congressional Influence on the Agreed Framework Between **United States and North Korea and its Fulfillment**

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the U.S. Congressional influence on the Agreed Framework between the U.S. and North Korea and its fulfillment in the Clinton administration, specially, focusing on the Republican influence on the nuclear issue.

Sang Wan Lee, Seoul National University

josephsw@snu.ac.kr

Disc. Jihyeon Jeong, University of California, San Diego

jeong8@ucsd.edu

Jungkun Seo, University of North Carolina, Wilmington seoj@uncw.edu

15-24 **Democracy, Autocracy, and War**

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Niall Guy Michelsen, Western Carolina University michelsen@email.wcu.edu

Why the International System is Closer to a Liberal Domestic Paper Process Than We Think; or the Flawed Premises of Democratic Peace Theory and of its Realist Critics

Democratic Peace theorists have developed a normative understanding of the democratic process, giving realist critiques an easy target. Instead, I articulate a more 'realist' understanding of the domestic process.

Deborah Boucoyannis, Harvard University boucoyan@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Autocracies and Elite Support for War Mobilization: What is the Autocratic Equivalent of a Democracy's Casualty Aversion?

Elites in autocracies enjoy private goods and face potential punishment if a regime should fall. As executive war policies increase the likelihood of defeat or revolution attempts to coerce changes in war policies or remove the executive are made.

Kristopher Grady, Michigan State University gradykri@msu.edu

Paper Protecting the Protectors: Domestic Regime and Casualty Aversion

This paper examines how political regimes affect the way countries settle the tension between casualty aversion and combat effort. The argument of this paper is that democracies invest more than nondemocracies in protection of soldiers.

Anna Getmansky, New York University

ag1796@nyu.edu

Niall Guy Michelsen, Western Carolina University Disc. michelsen@email.wcu.edu

16-10 Regional Security: Russia and Its Neighbors

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Darius Furmonavicius, University of Bradford

D.Furmonavicius@bradford.ac.uk

Paper Lessons Learned and Unlearned: Comparing Soviet and **Russian Regional Energy Strategies**

Are the lessons that Russia can learn from the Soviet management of the boom/bust cycles in regional energy trade in the 1970s and 1980s? This paper answers in the affirmative, and offers some possibilities for a fruitful comparison.

Igor Logvinenko, Cornell University iol3@cornell.edu

The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact? Russian Neo-Expansionist Paper **Energy Policies in the Baltic Sea Region and Related Security** Threats to Europe as a Whole

This paper aims to assess security threats to the Nordic-Baltic region caused by Russian neo-expansionist energy policies.

Darius Furmonavicius, University of Bradford

D.Furmonavicius@bradford.ac.uk

Paper Wielding the "Oil Weapon?" The International Politics of Energy Coercion

When do states use oil to coerce? Why does oil coercion succeed or fail? Producer states cannot credibly threaten to cut supply, as their economies depend on oil revenue. States controlling transit routes can coerce by blocking the flow of oil.

Rosemary Kelanic, University of Chicago

rkelanic@uchicago.edu

Paper Will New President Dmitri Medvedev Change Russia's Policy Towards Chechnya?

Russian policy towards Chechnya appears to be going to be the same in the short period, since the current policy, as I will demonstrate, seems to be contenting both Russia and an increasing majority of Chechens.

Fabio Franch, West Virginia University

ffranch@mix.wvu.edu

Disc. Darius Furmonavicius, University of Bradford

D.Furmonavicius@bradford.ac.uk

Roger Philip Hamburg, Indiana University, South Bend hamburgr@iusb.edu

17-12 The Quantitative Study of Terrorism

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Aaron M. Hoffman, Purdue University

ahoffman@purdue.edu

Paper Problems, Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research

We identify several common problems with terrorism research and offer suggestions for the new wave of researchers attempting to explain why and under what conditions terrorism is likely to occur.

Joseph K. Young, Southern Illinois University

jkoyung@siu.edu

Michael G. Findley, Brigham Young University mike findley@byu.edu

Paper Terrorism and Party Systems in the States of India

This article demonstrates that important state-level differences in party systems helps to explain the different levels of terrorist activity within the Indian states, using data on terrorism in the 27 Indian states from 1998 to 2006.

James Anthony Piazza, University of North Carolina, Charlotte jpiazza@uncc.edu

Paper Territorial Terrorists: Violent Responses to Foreign Soldiers on Home Territories

This paper examines the validity and robustness of a simple claim: that the deployment of military capabilities overseas provokes increased levels of non-state actor violence against the deploying state.

Alex Braithwaite, University College London alex.braithwaite@ucl.ac.uk

Paper Dying to Vote?: Uncovering the Relationship Between Elections and Terrorism

In this study, we posit that there exists large incentives during election years for both a terrorist group to commit an attack and for the government to prevent one. We employ a heteroskedastic regression to test these assumptions.

Stephen Nemeth, University of Iowa

stephen-nemeth@uiowa.edu

Howard Sanborn, *Virginia Military Institute* SanbornHB@vmi.edu

Disc. Aaron M. Hoffman, Purdue University ahoffman@purdue.edu

17-27 Understanding International Rivalry

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Julie Loggins, Western Carolina University

jaloggins@wcu.edu

Paper Would You Like to Join Us?: Rivalries and Diffusion of Militarised Disputes

Investigates the conditions under which rivalry relationships affect the diffusion of militarised interstate disputes.

Shweta Moorthy, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

smoorth2@illinois.edu

Paper Domestic Politics and Rivalry Dynamics

Examines how different combinations of domestic structures and processes impacts rivalry duration and severity.

Thorin Wright, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign twright4@illinois.edu

Rivals as Precipitants of Civil War

The paper recasts the study of civil war through the rivalry

framework to reveal, because of the hostile environment in which states with contentious histories exist and interact, some states have

a higher risk for the onset of intrastate conflict. **Kris G. Pence**, *Indiana Wesleyan University*

kris.pence@indwes.edu

Disc. Julie Loggins, Western Carolina University

jaloggins@wcu.edu

18-8 Comparative Foreign Policy: New Approaches

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Baris Kesgin, University of Kansas

bkesgin@ku.edu

Paper Canada in Afghanistan: An Evolution of Canadian Foreign Policy

Canadian foreign policy is experiencing a period of reflection as a result of Canada's involvement in Afghanistan. However, despite this re-evaluation, Canada's foreign policy remains to be a continuation of its traditional liberal internationalism.

Karen Parks, Brock University

kp03hd@brocku.ca

Paper Implications of New Cultural Theory for Comparative Foreign Policy

This paper addresses the influence of culture on foreign policy decision making and the nature of cultural change.

Greg Ryan, *Middle Tennessee State University* gfryan@mtsu.edu

Paper Constructing the National Interest: The Energy Charter Treaty and Transformations in Russian Foreign Energy Policy

This paper examines the politics driving Russia's policy toward the Energy Charter Treaty, an agreement that governs the international exchange of energy. It also tracks the evolution of Russian foreign energy policy thought in the post-Soviet era.

Boris Barkanov, *University of California, Berkeley* barkanov@berkeley.edu

Paper Ethical Relativism: Portuguese Foreign Policy Towards East
Timor Western Sahara and Kosovo

Timor, Western Sahara and Kosovo This article aims to appraise the role of ethical concerns in

contemporary Portuguese foreign policy shaping and making, concluding that recent conflicting situations point to an ethical relativism based on contingent factors and ad hoc assessments.

Rui Alexandre Novais University of Porto (University of Livernova)

Rui Alexandre Novais, *University of Porto /University of Liverpool* rnovais@letras.up.pt

Laura Cristina Ferreira-Pereira, University of Minho, Portugal lpereira@eeg.uminho.pt

A Historical Sociology of North Korean Foreign Relations: Paper **World-System Perspectives**

This paper aims to advance a new approach to interpret and analyze North Korea's foreign policies through the historical prizm of World-System theories. It is designed to enhance the intersection of international relations with historical sociology.

Taekyoon Kim, Waseda University

tkkim@aoni.waseda.jp

Greg Ryan, Middle Tennessee State University Disc.

gfryan@mtsu.edu

Baris Kesgin, University of Kansas

bkesgin@ku.edu

19-12 **Global Network and Non-State Actors**

Room LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Chair Erica Owen, University of Minnesota

eowen@umn.edu

Global Network of Laws Governing Money Laundering and Paper

Terrorist Financing

This paper examines Keohane's concept of "governance dilemma" and Slaughter's concept of "government networks" to study the international regime of rules regulating money laundering and terrorist financing.

Leena Thacker-Kumar, University of Houston

Kumarl@uhd.edu

Paper Not Just a Game? Sport, Protest, and International Politics

This paper explores the protests and boycotts that frequently accompany major world sporting events. Questions regarding the frequency and impact of these international protests are examined through the use of a dataset covering the past 30 years.

Travis Nelson, University of Vermont

Travis.Nelson@uvm.edu

Patrick Cottrell, Linfield College

pcottre@linfield.edu

Shifting Back to Old Loyalties: The Effect of Globalization on the Health Epistemic Community and the WHO

Resistance to systemic health regulation was overcome with the creation of an epistemic community and international events after WWII. With the advancement of globalization, loyalty to this community is threatened as economic gain takes priority.

David M. Dolence, Dominican University

ddolence@dom.edu

Networks of Intergovernmental Organizations in the Anti-Paper

Corruption Realm: The Role of Supranational Bureaucracies

This study focuses on the interaction between intergovernmental organizations (IOs) engaged in the anti-corruption realm. It asks what types of IOs are more likely to engage in cooperative behavior.

Alexandru Grigorescu, Loyola University, Chicago

agrigor@luc.edu

Nathaniel Gest, Loyola University, Chicago

ngest@luc.edu

Nicole Simonelli, Purdue University Disc.

nsimonel@purdue.edu

21-13 **Origins and Consequences of Groupthink**

Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room Chair Wesley Brian Renfro, University of Connecticut

wesley.renfro@uconn.edu

The Emergence and Radicalization of Terrorist Groups: A Paper Social Psychological Perspective

This paper seeks to explain the emergence and radicalization of terrorist groups - specifically, the American terrorist group The Weather Underground - using the social psychological concepts of groupthink and group polarization.

Eteri Tsintsadze, University of Notre Dame

etsintsa@nd.edu

Paper Groupthink and the Invasion of Iraq

Groupthink theory applied to the presidential decision to invade Iraq

Jim Hutter, Iowa State University

jhutter@iastate.edu

Paper Electoral Institutions, Diversity, Dissent, and Groupthink

I argue that because electoral institutions influence the diversity of political discourse they also influence a society's susceptibility to groupthink, especially on policies linked to personal security. Salomon Elbin Orellana, Universidad Autonoma de Barcelona osalomon@gmail.com

Conformity in Groups: The Nefarious Influence of Discussing **Paper Politics**

An experimental study asked naive participants to state their opinions of various public opinion issues both privately and publicly. Publicly stated opinions demonstrated strong conformity effects in both liberal and conservative directions.

Brad Verhulst, Stony Brook University

brad.verhulst@gmail.com

Lindsey Clark Levitan, Stony Brook University

llevitan@notes.cc.sunysb.edu

Disc. Wesley Brian Renfro, University of Connecticut

wesley.renfro@uconn.edu

23-6 Who Contributes to Political Campaigns and Why?

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Chair Arthur Sanders, Drake University arthur.sanders@drake.edu

Paper The Homogeneous Opinion Environments of Political

Contributors

This study will merge information on the origins of major contributions to public opinion data on those same locations to evaluate the dominant political viewpoints in areas that do and do not foster political contributing.

James Gimpel, University of Maryland

jgimpel@gvpt.umd.edu

Frances E. Lee, University of Maryland

flee@gvpt.umd.edu

Brittany Houtz Bramlett, University of Maryland, College Park brittanydyan@gmail.com

The Primary Constituency: Looking Beyond Votes **Paper**

From a data set of fundraising solicitations sent by the two major parties' presidential campaigns in 2008, I show there are key differences between appeals made to prospective donors during the primary and appeals made during the general election.

Hans John Gordon Hassell, University of California, San Diego hhassell@ucsd.edu

Campaigning for Money During the 2008 Invisible Primary **Paper**

Using daily automated analysis of FEC and newspaper websites, we examine how successful each 2008 primary candidate was in generating revenue from early primary news media coverage, poll standings, and local visits.

Corwin Donald Smidt, Michigan State University

smidtc@msu.edu

Dino P. Christenson, Ohio State University

christenson.24@polisci.osu.edu

Paper **Rookie Contributors in the 2004 Presidential Elections**

The 2004 election cycle saw a surge in individual contributors to presidential campaigns, many of which had never contributed before. I test whether these newcomers tend to have ideological, social, or material motives driving their contributions.

Dave Wiltse, Hacettepe University

dave@davewiltse.com

Disc. Arthur Sanders, Drake University

arthur.sanders@drake.edu

John F. Settich, Benedictine College

JSettich@benedictine.edu

Various Methods of Communicating with the Electorate 23-9

Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room Stephen C. Brooks, University of Akron Chair

sbrooks@uakron.edu

Both Sides Now: A Field Experiment With Competing Messages Paper

A field experiment with 6000 treated households and 4 million in control with randomized messages from two campaigns was conducted in an Ontario election in 2007. Manipulating both sides, we measure the conditionality of the effects of direct mail.

Daniel Rubenson, Ryerson University

rubenson@ryerson.ca

Peter John Loewen, University of British Columbia pjlwn@mta.ca

Election Posters Campaigns as Signals of Candidate Credibility: Paper **A Game Theoretical Model**

Why do candidates spend money on election posters in so many democracies? I argue that posters are a way for signaling campaign credibility at the local level. A formal model is developed and tested using spending data from the 1997 French elections.

Delia Dumitrescu, Ohio State University

delia.dumitrescu@gmail.com

Your Song: How U.S. Presidential Candidates Select and Change their Campaign Music to Appeal to the Most Voters

Downs' (1957) theory of candidate behavior holds true when U.S. presidential candidates choose their campaign theme music. Candidates will select songs that appeal to as many voters as possible and will change their music from place to place.

Eric T. Kasper, University of Wisconsin, Barron County eric.kasper@uwc.edu

Benjamin S. Schoening, University of Wisconsin, Barron County benjamin.schoening@uwc.edu

Disc. Elizabeth Bergman, California State University, East Bay

elizabeth.bergman@csueastbay.edu Stephen C. Brooks, University of Akron

sbrooks@uakron.edu

25-3 **Immigration and Public Opinion**

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Nathan P. Kalmoe, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor kalmoe@umich.edu

Paper Concern Over Immigration and Support for the Public Sector

Survey results from California between 1998 and 2008 are used to examine the link between public concern over immigration and support for the public sector. The analysis also demonstrates the possibly limited use of immigration as a wedge issue.

Max Neiman, Public Policy Institute of California neiman@ppic.org

Eric McGhee, Public Policy Institute of California mcghee@ppic.org

Paper Do Educated Citizens Living in Areas with Large Illegal **Immigrant Populations Hold Negative Views Towards Immigration?**

This paper explores how education levels and proximity affect the views of citizens towards the issue of immigration.

Barret Runyon, Indiana State University

barretrunyon@indstate.edu

Local Context as a Factor in Attitudes Toward Immigration Paper

Examines the impact of local contextual variables, including timing and pace of immigration and composition of immigrant stream (refugees, documented and undocumented immigrants) on attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policy.

Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University

andersen@syr.edu

Hannah Allerdice, Syracuse University

hlallerd@syr.edu

Framing Attitudes Towards Immigrants in Europe: When **Paper Competition Does Not Matter**

I analyze the heterogeneous framing effect of left-right ideology on attitudes towards migrants in Europe. I test the hypothesis that framing effects are stronger when the direct experience of competition for scarce resources with migrants is lower.

Sergi Pardos, European University Institute

sergi.pardos@eui.eu

Paper

Immigration Attitudes: Using Labor Market Competition to Predict Preferences for Immigration Restrictions

It is argued that immigration attitudes are driven both by individual circumstances as well as geographic conditions. Therefore, working class individuals living in areas with high immigration should support immigration restrictions.

Marie Courtemanche, Stony Brook University

mcourtemanch@notes.cc.sunysb.edu

Disc. Max Neiman, Public Policy Institute of California

neiman@ppic.org

25-13 Social Networks and Political Talk

Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room

Chair Donald Michael Gooch, Arkansas Tech University

dgooch1@atu.edu

Emotions, Social Networks, and the Conditional Effects of the **Paper Quantity and Quality of Political Talk**

Do social networks influence affective judgments? This paper utilizes NES data to explore how the frequency of political talk, level of discussant expertise, and exposure to disagreement in social networks impact emotional response.

Bryan M. Parsons, University of South Carolina

parsons@sc.edu

Paper Political Experts, Communication Dominance, and Patterns of **Political Bias**

We use a small group experiment combined with an agent-based model to consider the consequences of informant expertise for the formation of communication networks, as well as for aggregate patterns of dominance and bias in political communication.

Robert Huckfeldt, University of California, Davis

rhuckfeldt@ucdavis.edu

TK Ahn, Korea University

tahn3118@gmail.com

John Barry Ryan, University of California, Davis

jbrryan@ucdavis.edu

Alexander K. Mayer, University of California

akmayer@ucdavis.edu

Stimulating and Monitoring Discussion in Social Networks **Paper**

We inject information into networks within two social contexts and track its diffusion, tracking initial opinions (and ambivalence), orientations toward discussants, likely communication, actual communication, and any opinion change.

Paul A. Djupe, Denison University

diupe@denison.edu

Anand E. Sokhey, Ohio State University

sokhey.2@polisci.osu.edu

Franklyn C. Niles, John Brown University

fniles@jbu.edu

The Effect of Social Networks on the Quality of Thinking About **Paper Policies**

We investigate the effect of network coherence, extent, and sophistication on the likelihood of citizens to engage in coherent thinking about policies and their depth of reasoning in environments where affect laden stimuli are present.

Elif Erisen, California Polytechnic Institute

eerisen@calpoly.edu

Cengiz Erisen, Stony Brook University

cerisen@ic.sunysb.edu

Disc. Emily Clough, University of North Texas eclough@unt.edu

26-17 Voters vs Nonvoters (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-27)

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair John E. McNulty, Binghamton University

jmcnulty@binghamton.edu

Paper Why Bother Lying When You Know So Few Care? Party
Contact, Education, and Over-Reporting Voter Turnout in
Different Types of Elections

Drawing on the notions of political awareness and electoral salience, I study the patterns of turnout over-reporting in different types of elections. I also explore the practical consequences of the observed differing patterns of over-reporting.

Maciej Antoni Gorecki, Trinity College, Dublin goreckim@tcd.ie

Paper Confirming Conservatism and Validating Votes

We make use of validated vote and policy questions from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Survey to compare the conservatism of voters to non-voters. We test predictions of voting theories regarding income, education, and partisanship.

William Leblanc, Dartmouth College william.leblanc@dartmouth.edu
Michael Herron, Dartmouth College michael.herron@dartmouth.edu

Paper The Participatory Preference Bias: Are the Social Policy Preferences of Voters and Non-Voters Different?

This paper reexamines the social policy preference bias among voters and non-voters. The analysis reveals that a bias exists but suggests that its magnitude may be substantively insignificant.

Miya Woolfalk, Harvard University woolfalk@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Dynamic Influences of First-Time Voters

This study evaluates the diaries of 45 first-time voters kept during the 2004 presidential campaign. Using grounded theory as a frame, themes were identified in an attempt to explain the influences of first-time voters.

Jerry Lee Miller, Ohio University Jerry.Miller.1@ohio.edu

Paper The New Era of Partisan Voting

The the American political system continues in a period of increasing partisan voting behavior at both the presidential and congressional level. The proportion of nonvoters with a strong party identity continues to decline.

Adam J. Fowler, University of California, Los Angeles adamjfowler@gmail.com

Disc. Christopher Weare, University of Southern California weare@usc.edu

26-22 Young Voters: Age and Political Participation (Cosponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-30)

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Tiffany C. Davenport, Yale University

tiffany.davenport@yale.edu

Paper Why Should I? Messaging Strategies and the Youth Vote

I seek to determine what messaging strategies have been successful at turning out young voters and which have failed. I model support for six voting appeals to determine if segments of the youth population respond positively to each appeal.

Allison Dawn Rank, University of Washington arank@u.washington.edu

Paper American Youth as a Distinct Voting Bloc: The Potential/
Realized Influence of Young America in Presidential Elections

National Election Studies data is used to examine American youth as a unique voting bloc. Are young voters systematically different than other voting blocs or do they follow the same regional and socioeconomic patterns of the general public?

Courtney Cullison, University of Texas, Tyler

ccullison@uttyler.edu

Maggie Haas, *University of Texas*, *Tyler* maggiebuehaas@gmail.com

Paper The Age Factor in American Presidential Elections

In this paper, I propose to examine the role of age in the presidential elections in the United States. I have observed that Voter's age is related to candidate's age, with voters more likely to choose candidates in their age cohorts.

Shabbir Ahmad Khan, West Virginia University, Morgantown sakhan7@gmail.com

Paper Youth Turnout in the 2008 Presidential Election: Delving Deeper with Data from the We the People Civic Education Alumni Network

We will explore voter turnout in 2008 by younger political cohorts using ANES data. Using a smaller sample of graduates from a high school civics program, we will probe reasons they cite for voting, following public affairs, or expressing optimism.

Suzanne Soule, Center for Civic Education

soule@civiced.org

Jennifer Nairne, Center for Civic Education nairne@civiced.org

Disc. Tina Ebenger, Calumet College of St. Joseph tebenger@ccsj.edu

27-12 Media Coverage of Conflict and Elections Outside the

Room Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am **Chair Michael Dorsher**, *McGill University*

mdorsher@uwec.edu

Paper Poking the Bear: The Russian-Georgian Conflict in the U.S. Media and Public Opinion

We analyze whether or not there has been a biased and unfair coverage of the recent Russian-Georgian conflict in the U.S. media and whether or not American public opinion has been influenced negatively against the Russians as a result.

Oksan Bayulgen, University of Connecticut

oksan.bayulgen@uconn.edu

Ekim Kucukbumin, University of Connecticut

ekim.kucukbumin@uconn.edu

Paper The Politics of Genocide: Comparing International Media Coverage of the Sudanese Conflict in Security Council

Permanent Member States

How has media coverage of the Sudanese conflict varied crossnationally in the permanent member states of the U.N. Security Council? Content analysis of media coverage and elite interviews of journalists are used to explore dynamics in the coverage.

Helma G. E. de Vries, *Eastern Connecticut State University* helmadevries@gmail.com

Veronica Hooker, Eastern Connecticut State University veronicahooker@gmail.com

Paper A Promise of Information and Misinformation: The Role of the New Media in African Elections

The impact of the new media, especially cell phones and the internet, in ensuring freer elections is lucid. The most recent national election in Kenya is taken as a case.

Jalele E. Defa, *University of Nebraska*, *Lincoln* ejalele@yahoo.com

Disc. Philip Habel, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale habel@siu.edu

28-14 Voting for Women: The Role of Gender in Vote Choice

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Corrine McConnaughy, Ohio State Unviersity
mcconnaughy, 3@polisci.osu.edu

Paper Do Women Vote for Women? Candidate Sex and Vote Choice in

This paper examines whether there is any evidence that women voters are more likely to vote for women candidates in the British context. It tests whether the findings of a number of US studies are applicable to the British case.

Rosie Ellen Campbell, Birkbeck College, University of London r.campbell@bbk.ac.uk

David Cutts, *Manchester University* david.cutts@manchester.ac.uk

Paper Because She's a Woman: The Impact of Gender on Democratic Vote Preference in the 2008 Presidential Primaries

I investigate the impact of gender on Democratic vote preference in the 2008 presidential primaries and the underlying reasons driving the gender gap in support for a woman candidate.

Susanna Dilliplane, *University of Pennsylvania* sdilliplane@asc.upenn.edu

Paper Interesting Women: An Analysis of Why Republican Women Vote Across Party Lines

I evaluate variations in the ways Republican women vote. Voting behavior can be attributed to the relationship between women's interest groups and political parties.

Danielle Marie Thomsen, Cornell University dt324@cornell.edu

Paper Party On: The Conditional Effect of Partisanship on Female Voting Behavior

Utilizing a survey experiment placed on the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Elections Survey (CCES), we attempt to identify how the party identification of the voter as well as the candidate condition voters' evaluations of female candidates.

Melissa Olivia Neal, Florida State University

melis saneal@gmail.com

Atiya Kai Stokes-Brown, Bucknell University

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Disc. Corrine McConnaughy, Ohio State Unviersity

mcconnaughy. 3 @polisci.osu. edu

Mary-Kate Lizotte, Stony Brook University

mklizotte@yahoo.com

29-3 <u>Immigration Policy</u>

Room Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Henry Flores, St. Mary's University

hflores@stmarytx.edu

Paper Degrees of Belonging and Graduated Rights: Immigrants and Immigration Policy in the American States

This study looks at American immigration policy from a federalism perspective. The goal is to determine the role and involvement of states in immigration policy-making.

Alexandra Filindra, Rutgers University afilindra@yahoo.com

Paper Issue Framing, Public Impression, and U.S. Immigration Policy: the Use of Threat and Strength on U.S. Senate Government Websites

This paper summarizes the results of a content analysis of immigration website issue statements by US Senators and through multivariate analysis, explores how party, percentage of immigrant population, and border proximity affect the frames utilized.

Sara Angevine, *Rutgers University* sara.angevine@gmail.com

Paper The Social Costs of Illegal Immigration in the United States

We view legislation to determine if policymakers are socially constructing the costs and benefits of illegal immigrants. We study relationships between legislation, the number of illegal immigrants in a state and representation in state legislatures.

Gregory C. Hill, Boise State University

greghill@boisestate.edu

Paper Immigration Restriction as the Poor Man's Tarff: Lessons from the U.S., 1890-1925

Restriction of the labor supply, like that resulting from immigration restriction, works like a tariff, raising domestic wage rates and affecting terms of trade in impacted sectors. Coalitions that supported restriction reflected this pattern.

Amanda Rowe Tillotson, University of Michigan tillotam@yahoo.com

Paper Fear and Loathing in the Legislature: Policy Responses to Immigration

This paper explores policy responses to the increase in the Latino population within the U.S. A model is developed that tests the effect of Latino immigration on the level of legislative efforts between 1993 and 2007.

Nicole Kalaf-Hughes, University of California, Davis ngkalaf@ucdavis.edu

Bradford S. Jones, *University of California, Davis* bsjjones@ucdavis.edu

Disc. Margaret Peters, Stanford University

mepeters@stanford.edu

29-19 Public Policy and Race

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Natalie Priya Kapur, University at Albany, SUNY

nk318523@albany.edu

Paper Quien Apoya Que Differences in Policy Support Among Latinos

There is a great deal of variation among Latinos depending on nativity, acculturation, nationality and religiosity. In this study, we seek to identify the determinants of Latino attitudes in the areas of education, social and ethnic-specific policy.

Regina Branton, Rice University

branton@rice.edu

Ana B. Franco, University of Texas, Pan American

abhuerta@broncs.utpa.edu

Robert D. Wrinkle, University of Texas, Pan American

rdwe116@panam.edu

Paper The Inequality of Disaster Victim Compensation: 9/11 vs Hurricane Katrina

This paper will examine why victims of 9/11 received compensation from the federal government and victims of Hurricane Katrina did not. Factors of institutional responsibility, race, class, media, and fundamental American values will be discussed.

Kevin George McQueeney, Rutgers University

kmcqueeney@polisci.rutgers.edu

Paper American Indian Policy in the American States

This paper examines the influences on proposed and passed legislation addressing American Indian issues in the American States

Richard C. Witmer, Creighton University

witmer@creighton.edu

Frederick J. Boehmke, University of Iowa

frederick-boehmke@uiowa.edu

Joshua Johnson, *Creighton University* JoshuaJohnson@creighton.edu

Presidential Preferences, Political Control, and Bureaucratic Paper Performance: Fair Housing Enforcement at the Justice

Department

This paper explores the relationship between presidential policy preferences and bureaucratic performance by focusing on fair housing enforcement by the Department of Justice during the Bush I and Clinton administrations.

Charles M. Lamb, University at Buffalo, SUNY

clamb@buffalo.edu

Eric M. Wilk, University at Buffalo, SUNY

emwilk@earthlink.net

Disc. Holona LeAnne Ochs, Howard University

hlochs@gmail.com

31-8 Rousseau's Critique

Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room Chair Matthew Simpson, Luther College

msimpson@luther.edu

An Anatomy of Modern Morals: Rousseau's Thoughts on Paper

Cosmopolitanism

A critical examination of the Enlightenment through an examination of the morals of cosmopolitan Paris and the thought informing it.

Mark Kremer, Kennesaw State University

mkremer@kennesaw.edu

Rousseau's Republic of Desire

In this paper I develop an account of the taxonomy of desires that Rousseau employs to evaluate different forms and degrees of social life, including tribalism, the division of labor, and the directed sociality of his hypothetical Emile.

Jeffrey Smith, St. John's College, Annapolis

jeffrey.smith@sjca.edu

Gentle Savages and Fierce Citizens Against Civilization: Paper

Unraveling Rousseau's Paradoxes

Among Rousseau's paradoxes, he claims that moderns are too soft in comparison with primitive ferocity and too cruel in comparison with primitive gentleness. A typology of his categories of social organization may illuminate his thought as a whole.

Matthew D. Mendham, University of Notre Dame

mmendham@nd.edu

Connecting the Individual to Citizenship and Sovereignty: Paper

Rousseau's Non-ideal Theory in the Social Contract

This paper addresses how Rousseau's Social Contract contains both an ideal and a non-ideal theory and it will show how his nonideal theory informs his dealings with the constitutional projects for Corsica and Poland.

Sara L. Price, University of California, Davis sllprice@ucdavis.edu

Laura K Field, University of Texas, Austin Disc.

lkfield@gmail.com

32-16 **Economy and Democracy**

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair B. Jeffrey Reno, College of the Holy Cross

ireno@holycross.edu

Paper **Economic Federalism: Democratic Spaces and Local Food**

Civic virtue requires a political economy; this paper connects democratic theory, subsidiarity, and urban studies to an investigation of local food movements and local control of the economy as potentially reinvigorating democratic practice.

Alison Kathryn Staudinger, University of Maryland, College Park astaudinger@gvpt.umd.edu

Paper **Equal Rights for Equal Work: An Expansion of Robert Dahl's** Social Citizenship Rights

A case for expanding the definition of 'work' to include the labor done in the home, not just by mothers, but by the increasing number of individuals in the service sector.

Christine Marie Klunk, University at Albany, SUNY

klunkaction@hotmail.com

Towards Socio-Economic Citizenship: The Case of South Africa **Paper**

Building off the recognition versus redistribution debate aligned with Charles Taylor, Axel Honneth, and Nancy Fraser, this essay argues that the struggle of South Africans is one for socio-economic citizenship and increased political participation.

Jeffrey W. Paller, University of Wisconsin, Madison paller@wisc.edu

Paper A Conceptual Analysis of the Right to Strike

This paper makes the case that, although a broad array of traditions proclaim the right to strike, fundamental features of this right are difficult to square with the liberal theory of rights.

Josiah Bartlett Lambert, St. Bonaventure University jlambert@sbu.edu

Resource Inequalities Revisited Paper

Egalitarian liberals have frequently used stark inequalities in resource abundance between nations to justify international transfers of wealth or resources. This view is based on an inadequate understanding of how resources come into the world.

John LaForest Phillips, Brown University

John Phillips@brown.edu

Disc. S. M. Amadae, Ohio State University

amadae.1@osu.edu

Learning from Anthropology 33-14

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor. Sat at 8:00 am

Mika LaVaque-Manty, University of Michigan Chair

mmanty@umich.edu

The Sense of Existing and its Political Implications: Francis **Paper** Flahault's "General Anthropology"

As an antidote to political theories which rest on a metaphysics of autonomy, and to the view that bleak images of human nature are a mark of conservatism, I introduce Flahault's 'de-idealized' image of man and his associated social-solidarist ethic.

Jeffrey Paul Minson, University of California, San Diego/Griffith University, Australia jminson@dss.ucsd.edu

The Critique of the Philosophical Anthropology in Foucault's **Paper** Work

My paper focuses on the function of anthropology in the project of the constitution of the human sciences. It takes into account the foucauldian critique of the speculative anthroplogy, including the forms of theoretical humanism.

Roberto Nigro, Michigan State University rnigro@msu.edu

Alternatives to Neoliberalism: Rethinking the Imaginary **Paper** Geography of the "Social" and the "Economy"

This paper turns to studies on the anthropology of gift societies and to the idea of the gift in order to understand what is at stake in theoretical suggestions about the necessity of resocializing the economy as mode of resisting neoliberalism.

F. Gizem Zencirci, University of Massachusetts fzencirc@polsci.umass.edu

Mapping the Empire of Climate: Research Programs for a **Paper Biopolitical Science**

This paper examines the extent to which the evolutionary and cognitive sciences can be expected to improve normative political theory by providing a more accurate picture of innateness and plasticity in the human constitution.

Kyle S. Erickson, Georgetown University

kse7@georgetown.edu

Disc. Susan Lee, University of Maryland, College Park

sslee@gvpt.umd.edu

Mika LaVaque-Manty, University of Michigan

mmanty@umich.edu

34-100 Roundtable: Robert Faulkner's "The Case for Greatness"

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Faulkner's The Case for Greatness is a study of political ambition and its critics both ancient and modern. He examines classical examples (Cyrus, Alcibiades) as well as modern (Washington) and offers a nuanced defense of admirable ambition.

Panelist Donald J. Maletz, University of Oklahoma

djmaletz@ou.edu

Arlene W. Saxonhouse, *University of Michigan* awsaxon@umich.edu

Mary M. Keys, University of Notre Dame

mkeys1@nd.edu

Andrew Sabl, University of California, Los Angeles sabl@ucla.edu

Wayne Ambler, University of Colorado, Boulder

wayne.ambler@colorado.edu

Robert K. Faulkner, Boston College

faulkner@bc.edu

35-10 Evolution in Politics

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am **Robi Ragan**, *University of Georgia*

robi@uga.edu

Paper And the Horse You Rode In On: An Evolutionary Model of Functional Unpleasantness and Retribution

Unpleasant players - who cheat & punish cheaters - create conditions for cooperation to exist, although they do not value cooperation themselves. This analysis uses an evolutionary model to explore the effect of retaliation on that equilibrium.

Katri K. Sieberg, University of Tampere

katri.sieberg@uta.fi

William B. Heller, Binghamton University

wbheller@gmail.com

Paper High Cost of Survival Promotes the Evolution of Cooperation

It is shown that a simple "always cooperate" strategy evolves in the iterated PD if players pay a high cost and the exploited cooperators have a low probability of survival. This cost increases welfare by selection on cooperative types of organisms.

Oleg Smirnov, Stony Brook University oleg.smirnov@stonybrook.edu

Paper An Infinitely Repeated Game of Competition with Stochastically Retrieved Resources

The paper evaluates patterns of co-evolving strategies between two competitors amid stochastic resource pools, different absorption rates, alternative collateral costs, and information constraints.

Dominick Wright, *University of Michigan* dewright@umich.edu

Paper An Ecological Model of Parties with Candidates, Activists, and Voters

Adopting an ecological systems framework, I construct an agentbased model of two-party competition in multi-dimensional space. It implies stable divergent equilibria, emergent adaptive parties, and self-sustaining regimes of party discipline.

Jacob Michael Montgomery, *Duke University* jmm61@duke.edu

Disc. Stephen R. Haptonstahl, Washington University, St. Louis srhapton@wustl.edu

36-3 Texts and Data

Paper

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Burt L. Monroe, Pennsylvania State University

burtmonroe@psu.edu

Modeling the Strategic Ratification of Native American Treaties: A Kernel Methods Approach

Using recently developed 'kernel methods' and formal models of strategy in international relations, this paper systematically examines the changing nature of over 500 treaties signed between the United States government and Native American tribes.

Arthur Spirling, Harvard University

aspirling@gov.harvard.edu

Paper A Bayesian Hierarchical Topic Model for Political Texts: Measuring Expressed Agendas in Senate Press Releases

I develop a statistical method to measure the priorities authors express in texts, by utilizing a natural hierarchy in political writing: texts organized by author. I apply the method to a new collection of over 24,000 Senate press releases.

Justin Grimmer, Harvard University

jgrimmer@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Artificial Intelligence in the Political Field

A great problem of international politics in the context of globalization regards communication and the asymmetrical information flow because of the linguistic barriers. An automatic translator focused on political lexicon would solve this issue.

Viviana Movileanu, University of Bucharest

movileanuvivi@yahoo.com

Alina Racu, Wiener Neustadt Fachhochschule

alina.racu@yahoo.com

Razvan Cosmin Radulescu, University of Bucharest

razvanc87@gmail.com

Paper What are They Talking About? Clustering Words into Topics

The proposed strategy uses a fully automatized algorithm to extract meaning from text files. By employing clustering techniques, I obtain information that classifies the topics under discussion in the text

Inaki Sagarzazu, University of Houston

isagarzazu@uh.edu

Disc. Burt L. Monroe, Pennsylvania State University

burtmonroe@psu.edu

Kenneth Benoit, Trinity College, Dublin

kbenoit@tcd.ie

37-6 The Political Uses of New Technology

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Hannes Ralph Richter, Free University Berlin

hrichter@uno.edu

Paper Innovation or Normalization in E-Campaigning? A

Longitudinal Analysis of German Party Websites in the 2002 and 2005 National Elections

This paper explores the evolution of e-campaigning in a party-centered democracy. The results cast doubt on the validity and scope of the innovation and normalization paradigm as it has been used in the past. Two theoretical revisions are proposed.

Eva Johanna Schweitzer, *University of Mainz, Germany* eva.schweitzer@web.de

Paper Presidential Politics and the Internet

An examination of Internet usage in presidential campaigns from the early days of Governor Howard Dean's primary campaign in the 2004 presidential election, to the sophsiticated usages of the Internet in the 2008 presidential election.

Jacqueline Lipton, Case Western Reserve University

j_lipton@hotmail.com

Diffusion of Web Innovations Among Members of Congress Paper

> We conduct a statistical analysis of the diffusion of web technology innovations among the official websites of Members of Congress.

Kevin M. Esterling, University of California, Riverside

kevin.esterling@ucr.edu

David MJ Lazer, Harvard University

David_Lazer@harvard.edu

Michael A. Neblo, Ohio State University

neblo.1@osu.edu

Obama and McCain in 2008 Election: Blogging for Red and Paper

Blue States

Antoinette J. Pole, Montclair State University tonipole@gmail.com

Hannes Ralph Richter, Free University Berlin Disc.

hrichter@uno.edu

Maria Laura Sudulich, Trinity College, Dublin

sudulicm@tcd.ie

38-10 **Party In Government?**

Empire on the Lobby Level, Sat at 8:00 am Room

Bert A. Rockman, Purdue University Chair

barockma@purdue.edu

The Rise of the Shadow Welfare State: Institutional and Paper

Partisan Influences on Tax Expenditures for Social Welfare

Policy, 1967-2007

This article examines the redistributive policy effects of polarization and divided government using a unique data set of tax expenditures from 1967 - 2007. The progressivity of tax expenditures is a

function of polarization and party coalitions. Christopher Faricy, University of North Carolina

faricy@email.unc.edu

Party Government, Labor, and the Left Paper

> This paper evaluates claims that party government in the US now results in "off-center" policymaking that is detrimental to liberalism. It is argued that such claims are premature, and that party Paper government can benefit the left as much as the right.

Taylor E. Dark, California State University, Los Angeles

td@taylordark.com

Paper The Role of Party in Voting for Supreme Court Nominees

> We place nominees and Senators in a common ideological space and estimate the effect of conditional party government on the Supreme Court confirmation process from 1954 to 2006. We find that party, ideology and the Court median shape voting.

John Aldrich, Duke University

aldrich@duke.edu

Brad Bishop, Duke University

bhb11@duke.edu

Jeffrey Segal, University at Stony Brook, SUNY

jeffrey.segal@stonybrook.edu

American Federalism, City Partisanship, and Local Public Paper **Policy Outputs**

> This paper uses new data on mass and elite partisanship in U.S. cities to test the hypothesis that local partisanship most strongly influences local policy areas with clear analogs in national politics.

Elisabeth R. Gerber, University of Michigan

ergerber@umich.edu

Daniel J. Hopkins, Harvard University

dhopkins@iq.harvard.edu

Christina Wolbrecht, University of Notre Dame Disc.

Wolbrecht.1@nd.edu

Robert Lowry, University of Texas, Dallas

robert.lowry@utdallas.edu

39-11 Leadership

Paper

Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Room

Michael E. Bailey, Berry College Chair

mbailey@berry.edu

Presidential Leadership in the Early United States **Paper**

An examination of the leadership styles of American presidents in

the nation's earliest years,.

Fred I. Greenstein, Princeton University

fig@princeton.edu

Does Experience Matter? Political Experience and the

American Presidency

This paper seeks to empirically demonstrate political experience's importance (or lack thereof) to a successful presidency. We employ fuzzy set methodology on the American presidencies comparing

experience against presidential success.

Dane Gorman Wendell, Loyola University, Chicago dwendell@luc.edu

J. Patrick Rhamey, University of Arizona

prhamey@email.arizona.edu

Regime of Governors: The Executive Connection to the Rise of **Paper**

the Modern Presidency, 1876-1932

This paper ties the modern presidency to the first cluster of governor-presidents. Former state executives associated with the rise of presidential power were critical figures in extending the

growth of executive power in the United States. Saladin Malik Ambar, Lafayette College

ambars@lafayette.edu

Disc. Carlos E. Diaz-Rosillo, Harvard University

cdiaz@fas.harvard.edu

40-1 **Theories of Congressional Organization** Room

Chicago on the 5th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

C. Lawrrence Evans, College of William and Mary Chair

clevan@wm.edu

An Essay on Theories of Congressional Organization

The proposed paper offers a critique of a recent effort to build a theory of congressional organization. An alternative formulation is offered in this paper that better accounts for the events they describe and seek to explain.

Steven S. Smith, Washington University

smith@wustl.edu

Paper Parties, Committees, and Pivots: A Reassessment of the

Literature on Congressional Organization

Existing theories of congressional organization fail to account for more than one era of organization. We develop and test a theory that explains the three major eras of postwar congressional organization as well as the transition between these eras.

David W. Rohde, Duke University

rohde@duke.edu

Edward H. Stiglitz, Stanford University

jeds@stanford.edu

Barry R. Weingast, Stanford University

weingast@stanford.edu

Paper The Stability of Legislative Organization

> This paper presents a game-theoretic model of endogenous legislative organization that resolves the puzzle of the existence and persistence of non-median procedural rights in majoritarian selforganizing legislatures.

Razvan Vlaicu, University of Maryland

vlaicu@econ.umd.edu

Daniel Diermeier, Northwestern University d-diermeier@kellogg.northwestern.edu

Paper Legislative Effectiveness, Institutional Advantage, and Committee Chairs

Compares existing theories of legislative organization and individual effectiveness through the success and failures of committee chairs in the U.S. Congress.

Chris Kypriotis, Ohio State University

kypriotis.1@osu.edu

Disc. C. Lawrrence Evans, College of William and Mary

clevan@wm.edu

Nathan W. Monroe, University of California, Merced

nmonroe2@ucmerced.edu

40-11 <u>Ideal Point Estimation in Congress</u>

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am **Chair Michael S. Lynch**, *University of Kansas*

mlynch@ku.edu

Paper Is the Majority Party Just an Interest Group?: Reconciling Legislator Ideal Points and the Roll Call Record

I develop a statistical estimator to determine the weights legislators place on their preferences, party, and constituency in roll call voting. The results help to explain the gap between estimated ideal points and true preferences.

Adam Joseph Ramey, University of Rochester adam.ramey@gmail.com

Paper All Together Now: Putting Congress, State Legislatures, and Individuals on a Common Ideological Space

Studying representation requires positioning voters relative to politicians. Using a new survey replicating Project Votesmart's NPAT, I estimate voters' ideal points in common ideological space with state legislators and Congressional delegations.

Boris Shor, University of Chicago

bshor@uchicago.edu

Paper Problems in Comparing Preferences Across Institutions

Compare ideal points across House and Senate and over time. **Shawn Treier**, *University of Minnesota*

satreier@umn.edu

Paper Estimating Legislator Ideal Points with a Paucity of Roll

Calls: A Cosponsorship-Roll Call Hybrid Ideal Point Model of Support for Gay Civil Rights in the U.S. House

I use a Bayesian model of cosponsorship and roll calls to construct scores for MCs on gay rights issues. A sharp anti-gay consolidation of the GOP occurred after 1994 suggesting agenda setting was used to increase party appeal to religious activists.

Jeremiah J. Garretson, *Vanderbilt University* jeremiah.j.garretson@vanderbilt.edu

Disc. Michael S. Lynch, University of Kansas

mlynch@ku.edu

Adam Joseph Ramey, University of Rochester adam.ramey@gmail.com

42-9 Amici in State and Federal Courts

Room Spire on the 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Eric Waltenburg, Purdue University
ewaltenb@purdue.edu

Paper Agenda Setting: The Strategic Decisions of Organized Interests to File Amicus Briefs

This paper addresses the circumstances under which organized interests will act strategically in their decision to file an amicus brief at the cert stage. Briefs filed by the ACLU between 1994 and 2005 will be considered in order to test our model.

Katie Zuber, University at Albany, SUNY

kz6846@albany.edu

Jonathan Parent, *University at Albany*, *SUNY* jp857435@albany.edu

Paper Explaining Interest Group Participation in State Courts of Last

Using data from all fifty states in three issue areas, I examine the political and institutional features that encourage interest group participation as amici in state courts of last resort.

Joseph V. Ross, University of Arizona

jvross@email.arizona.edu

Paper Congressional Polarization and Amici Participation

Increases in congressional amici briefs are a function of increases in ideological polarization in Congress.

Eric Heberlig, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

esheberl@uncc.edu

Rorie Solberg, *Oregon State University* rorie.spillsolberg@oregonstate.ed

John Szmer, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

jjszmer@uncc.edu

Disc. Mitch Pickerill, Washington State University

mitchp@wsu.edu

Eric Waltenburg, Purdue University

ewaltenb@purdue.edu

42-27 Compliance with Courts

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair James C. Brent, San Jose State University
jcbrent@email.sjsu.edu

Paper Constraining Courts: The Effect of Supreme Court Precedent on District Court Decision-Making

Despite conventional wisdom to the contrary, as the Supreme Court relaxes the standard of review from strict scrutiny to an intermediate standard, we should see an increase in the probability the District Courts will strike down a statute.

McKinzie Craig, Texas A&M University

mcc0039@polisci.tamu.edu

Paper Citations in Opinions by State High Courts: Examining the Role of External Constraints and Internal Audiences

State high courts are concerned with the role of external actors because of implementation and compliance. I argue the court will seek to add legitimacy to their decision by increasing the number of citations when compliance is in question.

Meghan Leonard, University of Arizona

leonardm@email.arizona.edu

Paper Lower Court Compliance with Leading Supreme Court Fair Housing Decisions

Using a principal-agent framework, this paper analyzes the judicial implementation of leading Supreme Court fair housing decisions and tests for factors that influence lower court compliance.

Adam W. Nye, *University at Buffalo*, *SUNY* adamnye@buffalo.edu

Paper Education Finance Reform and Public Opinion: Have State Courts Trumped the Will of the People?

Using a balanced panel of about 9,000 school districts over an 11 year period, a 50-state cross sectional time series analysis examines the effects of public opinion and school finance reform court decisions on school district spending inequality.

Jonah Liebert, Columbia University

jal2121@columbia.edu

Disc. James C. Brent, San Jose State University

jcbrent@email.sjsu.edu

John M. Aughenbaugh, Virginia Commonwealth University jmaughenbaug@vcu.edu

45-14 Explaining State Policy Outcomes

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am **Chair** Edward Alan Miller, *Brown University*

edward a miller@brown.edu

Paper Second-Order Devolution and the Implementation of TANF Work Sanctions: Multilevel Analyses of TANF Work Sanctions

We test the conventional wisdom that success and punitiveness in policy implementation is enhanced in second-order devolution states, compared to centralized states, due to increased discretion granted to local governments in SOD states.

Byungkyu Kim, Daegu University

k7333uk5@gmail.com

Richard C. Fording, University of Kentucky

rford@uky.edu

Deokho Cho, Daegu University

chodh@daegu.ac.kr

Paper State Regulation of Trucking: Safety vs Economics

Federal deregulation of the motor freight industry offers states the opportunity to modify relevant policies. A cross-sectional time series design explores political-economic factors leading to policy adoption.

Grant W. Neeley, *University of Dayton* grant.neeley@notes.udayton.edu

Lilliard E. Richardson, Jr., University of Missouri

richardsonle@missouri.edu

Paper Using Survey Data to Evaluate the Effectiveness of Anti-Abortion Legislation

This paper makes use of survey data to analyze the impact of various types of anti-abortion laws including parental involvement laws, public funding restrictions, and informed consent laws.

Michael Jason New, University of Alabama

Michael.J.New@gmail.com

Paper Legislator Diversity, Citizen Diversity, and Policy Outputs in the American States

This paper examines the impact of intraparty ideological diversity on the policy outputs of state legislatures. I show that diversity in electoral constituencies limit the extent to which a governing party can move policy away from the status quo.

David J. Hendry, University of Illinois

hendry2@illinois.edu

Disc. Michael Richter Fine, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire

finemr@uwec.edu

Andrea McAtee, University of South Carolina

mcateea@mailbox.sc.edu

46-7 Institutions, Networks and Strategies in Local Economic Development

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Annette Steinacker, Loyola University, Chicago

asteinacker@luc.edu

Paper Determinants of Local Economic Incentive Adoption: A Probablistic Approach

This article utilizes a probabilistic model to determine which municipal characteristics have an impact on the number of incentives a municipality adopts.

Eric James Stokan, Wayne State University

Eric.Stokan@wayne.edu

Lyke Thompson, Wayne State University

ad5122@wayne.edu

Sarah Tarraf, Wayne State University

as8977@wayne.edu

Paper Quietly, A New Institution Arises: The Proliferation of Non-Profit Economic Development Corporations Across Six Midwestern States

A central task of local governments is to encourage economic development. This effort has led to the proliferation of a form of quasi-government known as economic development corporations. I examine this proliferation using boundary change theory.

Nicholas Bauroth, North Dakota State University

nicholas.bauroth@ndsu.edu

Paper Local Governments as Network Broker in Collaborative Development Policy Networks

We argue that governmental organizations play a broker role in selforganizing networks in areas such as economic development and present evidence based on a network survey in Tampa Bay, Florida.

Youngme Lee, Florida State University

vl06e@fsu.edu

Richard Feiock, Florida State University

rfeiock@fsu.edu

Paper Special Visa to Promote Cross-Border Tourism in Detroit

A new type of tourist visa should be created that would make it easier for international travelers to visit Canada, from Detroit. It would provide an option that does not exist and attract more visitors to Detroit, thus stimulating the local economy.

WenWen Shi, Wayne State University

ba5087@wayne.edu

Paper Urban Redevelopment in Chicago and Milwaukee: A Path-Dependence Perspective

This paper combines literature on path dependence with urban regime theory to examine urban redevelopment in postwar Chicago and Milwaukee. Differences in development trajectories are traced to different regime dynamics during the 1940s in each city.

Joel Rast, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

jrast@uwm.edu

Disc. Benoy Jacob, Claremont Graduate University

benoy.jacob@cgu.edu

47-4 Social Capital as a Policy Resource

Room Hancock on the 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Jane Frances Uebelhoer, Marymount University

jane.uebelhoer@marymount.edu

Paper Social Capital: Giving Help and Seeking Help in Hong Kong and Shanghai, China

The paper explores the culture of giving help and seeking help and discusses its implications for social policy.

Bong-ho Mok, Chinese University of Hong Kong

abmok@cuhk.edu.hk

April Chao Ma, Chinese University of Hong Kong

showshow1986@gmail.com

Paper <u>Do Communities' Self-Organizing Networks Drive Project</u> Success?

This paper explains that, besides the technical or bureaucratic criteria, the communities' social networks with external organizations are critical in determining the success of the community initiatives.

Manoj K. Shrestha, University of Idaho

mks@uidaho.edu

John T. Scholz, Florida State University

jscholz@fsu.edu

Paper Social Capital and Crime in the United States: A State-Level Analysis

We investigate the argument that there is a causal link between absence of social capital and crime with a rigorous empirical analysis. We use state-level panel data from the United States with relevant crime, social capital and control variables.

Jongmook Choe, University of Texas, Austin

cjm@mail.utexas.edu

Luke Peterson, University of Texas, Austin

manofpayson@gmail.com

Paper Social Learning and the Evolution of Policy Networks: A Computational Model

This paper models the dynamics of policy network formation as two-stage games with bounded-rational learning and increasing returns. It uses simulations to examine how social reinforcement contributes to the maintenance of effective policy networks.

Cheng-Lung Wang, *National University of Singapore* polwcl@nus.edu.sg

Disc. Jane Frances Uebelhoer, Marymount University

jane.uebelhoer@marymount.edu

William Michael Donovan, Cedar Crest College

mdonovan@cedarcrest.edu

47-27 <u>It's Not Just Cash: Multidimensional Analyses of</u> Welfare Reform in the U.S. and Canada

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Mark Carl Rom, Georgetown University

mark.carl.rom@gmail.com

Paper The Impact of Welfare Restructuring Under the Government of Gordon Campbell in British Columbia, 2001-2007

In 2002, the government of British Columbia started to restructure welfare assistance. They now claim the number of people on welfare assistance has been reduced. Are they actually less numerous or have they simply been left out of the system? **Florence Cartigny**, *University of Bordeaux*, *France*

florencecartigny@gmail.com

Paper Analyzing Administrative Privatization and Client Outcomes in and Era of Welfare Reform: A Hierarchical Approach

This paper utilizes multi-level modeling to examine the effect of privatized contracting on the program outcomes experienced by individual TANF clients in the State of Florida.

Adam Michael Butz, *University of Kentucky* abutz@uky.edu

Paper Consequences of Devolution: An Analysis of the Increasing Role of Nonprofit Emergency Food Programs

While many studies assessed the impacts of welfare reform on individuals, few analyzed the devolutionary aspects on nonprofits coping with higher demands. We examine how increased burdens on nonprofits result in inconsistent hunger policy.

Stephen Borders, Grand Valley State University

borderss@gvsu.edu

Katie Lindt, Grand Valley State University

katie.lindt@gmail.com

Paper Marriage Dependence, Market Dependence, and Equality in North America

The paper incorporates Canadian and American abortion and domestic violence policies into welfare state analyses to measure relief from both marriage and market dependence.

Julia E. Thomson-Philbrook, *University of Connecticut* julia.thomson.philbrook@gmail.com

Disc. Mark Carl Rom, Georgetown University mark.carl.rom@gmail.com

49-5 Cooperation and Environmental Policy

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am Chair David Konisky, *University of Missouri*

koniskyd@missouri.edu

Paper Who are the Winners and Losers in Environmental Collaboration?

This study uses the social construction framework to identify the winners and losers after the emergence of collaborative institutions in the Lake Tahoe Basin.

Christopher M. Weible, University of Colorado, Denver chris.weible@ucdenver.edu

Saba Siddiki, University of Colorado, Denver

snsiddiki@gmail.com

Pierce Jonathan, University of Colorado, Denver

jonpierce33@mac.com

Paper Thinking Harder about Outcomes for Collaborative Governance Arrangements

Many scholars argue that collaborative governance "outcome" research focuses almost solely on process and social outcomes at the expense of policy outcomes. We agree, yet find that unique and important governance outcomes have also been neglected.

Edward Paul Weber, Washington State University

weber@wsu.edu

Ellen Rogers, Washington State University

ellenrogers@gmail.com

Paper Brownfield Policies: An Inter-Governmental Attempt to Correct a Government Failure

This paper examines the goals of and conflicts among national, state, and local brownfield policies. Brownfield policies were to correct the problem of abandoned industrial properties, a problem created partially by the 1980 Superfund legislation.

Ken Godwin, University of North Carolina, Charlotte godwink@gmail.com

Junfeng Wang, University of North Carolina, Pembroke

juwang@uncc.edu

Paper

The Institutionalization of Local and Regional Environmental Organizations in the United States

This paper examines the institutionalization of voluntary local and regional environmental organizations in the United States.

Philip Mundo, Drew University

pmundo@drew.edu

Disc. Christopher Michael Reenock, Florida State University

creenock@fsu.edu

50-14 What Constitutes Good Public Management?

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Lucas Leemann, Washington University

lleemann@gmail.com

Paper What Ever Happened to the 9/11 Commission? Addressing America's Dependence on Independent Commissions

This paper compares the policy failures of the 9/11 Commission to other American, blue-ribbon commissions. It argues that similar

to other American, blue-ribbon commissions. It argues that similar outcomes should be expected with future independent commissions as they effectively act as mechanisms of evasion.

Lindsey Lupo, Point Loma Nazarene University

lind sey lupo @point loma. edu

Paper Public Service Contracting and Weak Competition: Assessing the Costs and Impacts of Strategies Used to "Manage" Provider Markets

Public managers expend scarce administrative resources to stimulate competition and manage vendor markets. This paper analyzes these management strategies, their impact on contract effectiveness, and their consistency with democratic accountability.

Jocelyn M. Johnston, American University

jocelyn@american.edu

Amanda M. Girth, American University

amanda.girth@american.edu

Paper How Multi-Level Management Matters: The Effect of Upper and Middle Level Managers on Turnover

To understand if management matters we need to consider managers at multiple levels and how they affect an organization as well as their impact on performance. This paper looks at the effect of top and middle managers on street level bureaucrats.

Morgen Johansen, Texas A&M University

msjohansen@polisci.tamu.edu

Paper Administrative Procedures and Distributive Policy

We assess whether there are differences in distributive spending from politically insulated and non-insulated agencies, combining data from the Federal Assistance Awards Data System (FAADS) with data on agency characteristics.

Sarah Anderson, *University of California, Santa Barbara* sanderson@bren.ucsb.edu

Matthew Potoski, Iowa State University

potoski@iastate.edu

Disc. Mitzi Ramos, University of Illinois, Chicago

mramos8@uic.edu

52-3 Sorting Through Segregation and Migration

Room Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Lena Maria Schaffer, ETH Zürich lena.schaffer@ir.gess.ethz.ch

Paper Separate and Not Equal: Economic Segregation and the Organizational Capacity of Voluntary Associations

Economic segregation is on the rise. I find that as economic segregation of neighborhoods increases, the organizational and mobilizing capacities of voluntary associations are strengthened or diminished by segregated wealth or poverty, respectively.

Amy Widestrom, California State University, Long Beach amy.widestrom@gmail.com

Paper Migration, Polarization and Geographic Sorting in U.S. Congressional Elections: Evidence from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study

Do domestic migrants in the U.S. tend to choose destinations with matching political preferences? This paper analyzes migration between U.S. Congressional Districts using the Cooperative

Congressional Election Study of 2006. Ian McDonald, Duke University ian.mcdonald@duke.edu

Paper Rural-Urban Gaps in Voting: Analyzing Presidential Voting Patterns, 1888-2004

Utilizing election results since 1888, I map rural and urban electoral support for presidential candidates. Over time, urban and rural residents have been more alike then dissimilar- however, they are regional differences to take into account

Kimberly A. Karnes, University of Maryland, College Park kkarnes@gvpt.umd.edu

Disc. Lena Maria Schaffer, ETH Zürich lena.schaffer@ir.gess.ethz.ch

54-11 Religion, Theory, and International Relations

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Ozgur Emrah Gurel, University of Toronto

ozgur.gurel@utoronto.ca

Paper Escape from Machiavellianism? Thomist Themes in Political

This paper investigates the attempt of political realist Martin Wight to overcome the "Machiavellian temptation" in political realism by using Thomist themes in his writings, including his famous essay "Western Values in International Relations."

Daniel Edward Young, Northwestern College young@nwciowa.edu

Paper Politics 666: Armageddon Theology and Foreign Policy Attitudes

I show that adherence to apocalyptic theology helps predict political attitudes in the United States. Believers in the prophecies of the Book of Revelation are more likely to support a wide range of issues related to interventionist foreign policy.

Jason Andrew Husser, Vanderbilt University jason.husser@vanderbilt.edu

Paper Defying Boundaries: The Challenge of Transnational Religion to International Relations

This paper evaluates the predominant international relations paradigms as to their abilities to understand, interpret, and evaluate political religion, especially in its transnational manifestations.

Jennifer Murray Kent, Baylor University

jennifer_murray@baylor.edu

Paper Religion and Realism in Iran

Social scientists refer to the Iranian Revolution as the ultimate example of the increasing role of religion in world politics. But the consequences of the "return" of religion unintentionally have helped shape and popularize new and secular ideas.

Mohammad Ayatollahi Tabaar, Georgetown University

mbt22@georgetown.edu

Disc. Jennifer Murray Kent, Baylor University

 $jennifer_murray@baylor.edu$

Ozgur Emrah Gurel, University of Toronto

ozgur.gurel@utoronto.ca

54-21 Islam, Human Rights, and the State

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Simon Wood, University of Nebraska, Lincoln swood2@unl.edu

Paper Islam and State-Building: Iran's Theocratic Nationalism Strategy

This paper seeks to understand the Islamic Revolution from the standpoint of state-building theory. Can Iran be considered a theocratic state? What state capacities were deployed to reorder Iranian society? How successful was the Islamic Revolution?

Robert Ken Arakaki, Hawaii Tokai International College

robertar@hawaii.edu

Paper You Don't Speak for Me: Conversations with Turkish Women About the Headscarf Ban

This paper examines the headscarf ban in Turkish universities, presenting an impediment to women's entry to higher education, and, based on interviews with students, looks for possibilities toward resolution through existing intermediate voices.

Elisabeth L. Johnson, American University elisabeth.l.johnson@gmail.com

Paper Islam's Negative Effect on Gender Equality: Spurious or Substantive?

Against multiple controls at both the country and the individual level, Muslim identification leaves a patriarchic imprint on people's mentality. We explain the gender equality attitudes of 120,000 respondents from 72 countries.

Amy C. Alexander, University of California, Irvine alexanda@uci.edu

Christian Welzel, Jacobs University, Bremen cwelzel@google.com

Paper Islam and Human Rights: Friend or Foe?

Why do Islamic leaders violate their citizens human rights? Is it the religion or the institutions? I argue that since not all Islamic countries violate their citizen's human rights, it is not the religion, but the regime causing the violations.

Erum Shaikh, *University of North Texas* erum_s2002@yahoo.com

Disc. Rosemarie van den Breemer, New School for Social Research

vandr280@newschool.edu

Simon Wood, *University of Nebraska*, *Lincoln* swood2@unl.edu

56-5 Addressing Barriers to Student Engagement

Room Adams on the 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Gary M. Klass, *Illinois State University*

gmklass@ilstu.edu

Paper Will American Government Textbooks Ever Go to Class?

We have much evidence of the importance of social class to American politics. Yet American Government texts underemphasize class while emphasizing race, gender, etc. I summarize class content in American Government texts and suggest improvements.

Michael Comiskey, Pennsylvania State University, Fayette cmc2@psu.edu

Paper Does College Type Matter?: Measuring Student Learning and Perceptions in the Introductory American Government Course

This study evaluates the changes in student knowledge and attitudes upon completion of an Introductory American Government course at a community college and a state university.

Jane Bryant, John A. Logan College

janebryant@jalc.edu

Perry Knop, John A. Logan College

perryknop@jalc.edu

Paper Does Civic Education Benefit the Many or Just the Few?

Does civic education at the college level promote or restrict mass participation? Increased levels of knowledge are said to increase participation, but the education of the few only benefit the few, at the expense of others. Is this in fact true?

Kevin Edward Jefferies, Alvin Community College kjefferies@alvincollege.edu

Disc. Evan C. McKenzie, University of Illinois, Chicago

ecmlaw@gmail.com

Gary M. Klass, Illinois State University

gmklass@ilstu.edu

61-2 <u>Current Issues and Controversies</u>

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am **Chair Helen Drake**, *Loughborough University*

h.p.drake@lboro.ac.uk

Paper Leadership in Politics? A Qualitative Examination of Young Politicians in Hessen

This paper examines exemplarily whether leadership theories for business contexts prove robust in political contexts.

Andreas Jungherr, University of Mainz andreas.jungherr@gmail.com

Paper Leadership in Crises: An Empirical Test of Crisis Exploitation
Theory

This paper examines how frame contests impact the credibility of political actors during and after crises. Data are collected through content analysis of news media stories, inquiry reports, and Crismart, Syracuse, EM-DAT, and DDP crisis cases.

Ping Xu, Louisiana State University

pxu5@lsu.edu

Warren S. Eller, Louisiana State University weller@lsu.edu

Paper The Tightrope of Accountability in Crises: Balancing Competing Logics of Leadership

The paper presents a theoretical framework for understanding the role of accountability mechanisms in crises, in shaping public trust in and public perceptions of governing institutions.

Lina Maria Svedin, *University of Utah* lina.svedin@poli-sci.utah.edu

Paper Is Servant Leadership Gender Bound in the Political Arena?

Servant leadership does not only sound as an oxymoron but it also implies gender boundaries. This study will present results on the perception of servant leadership in the Turkish business context and discuss the implications on gender and politics.

Hale Z. Oner, Purdue University

zkeifer@purdue.edu

Disc. Helen Drake, Loughborough University

h.p.drake@lboro.ac.uk

63-1 Latino/a Representation and Political Activism

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Mark Setzler, High Point University

msetzler@highpoint.edu

Paper A "Latino Style" of Representative Outreach? Latino Issues and

Interests in Congressional Press Releases

This analysis assesses whether Latino representatives differ from non-Latino representatives in their outreach to Latino constituencies by examining how members of Congress address Latino interests in congressional press releases.

Walter Clark Wilson, University of Texas, San Antonio

walter.wilson@utsa.edu

Abdulkader Mokhtari, University of Texas, San Antonio

abdul_mokhtari@yahoo.com

Paper <u>Latino Representatives Legislating Latino Interests: Latino</u>

Interest Bill Sponsorship in the 109th Congress

Who Sponsors Latino interest legislation? This study explores whether Latino representatives play a leading role in the sponsorship of Latino interest legislation at the national level.

Walter Clark Wilson, University of Texas, San Antonio

walter.wilson@utsa.edu

Paper The Civic Engagement of Latino Youth

Studies have explored the civic and political behaviors of adult Latinos yet we know almost nothing about the civic engagement of young Latinos and their major sub-populations. This study fills that gap using data from a national survey of adolescents.

Mark Setzler, High Point University

msetzler@highpoint.edu

Nick McRee, University of Portland

mcree@up.edu

Paper Examining the Influence of Intersectional Discrimination on

Latino Political Participation

Using data from the 2006 Latino National Survey, we take a more nuanced look at the role of intersectional discrimination on Latino/ as political participation.

Christina Bejarano, University of Kansas

cbejaran@ku.edu

Alesha Doan, University of Kansas

adoan@ku.edu

Disc. Jose D. Villalobos, Texas A&M University

jvillalobos@polisci.tamu.edu

65-7 Good Europeans

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Nicholas Dungey, California State University, Northridge

nicholas.dungey@csun.edu

Paper Recalling Stefan Zweig's Warning: An Essay on "Beware of Pity"

Zweig's novel, "Beware of Pity," poignantly reminds us of the distinction between noble and base forms of pity. Failing to recall this difference makes one more prone to the self-interested and unreflective form, which often has terrible results.

Trevor Michael Shelley, *Louisiana State University* tshell1@lsu.edu

Paper Faith, Family, and Work: The Conservative Liberalism of Jeremias Gotthelf

A (re)introduction to Jeremias Gotthelf, whose fictional portrayals of the 19th century Swiss peasantry reveal a thoughtful encounter with the emerging world of liberal, capitalist modernity, in ways still relevant to contemporary political debates.

Peter C. Meilaender, Houghton College

peter.meilaender@houghton.edu

Saturday, April 4, 10:00 am-11:40 am

Paper The Political Psychology of the Émigré: Milan Kundera's

Ignorance
How a novel by an emigre examines the political challenges of

countries facing immigration.

Martin J. Plax, Cleveland State University

m.plax@csuohio.edu

Mihaela Czobor-Lupp, Georgetown University MihaelaCLupp@aol.com Disc.

Saturday, April 4-10:00 am

Civil Conflict (Co-sponsored with Formal Modeling, see

Room Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Chair Peter Lorentzen, University of California, Berkeley lorentzen@berkeley.edu

Paper **Uncertainty and Incentives in Mediation**

We study the conflict mediation problem when the mediator must gather information from the disputants. We show that the incentive to lie to the mediator undoes any advantage that might be gained by adding private communication with a third party.

Mark Fey, University of Rochester markfey@mail.rochester.edu

Kristopher Ramsay, Princeton University

kramsay@princeton.edu

A Model of Identity Change in Political Conflict Paper

This paper presents a formal model of identity change in conflicts between social groups. The model reflects common intuitions in the literature that social groups are ultimately constructed but that social identities are "sticky" in the short run.

Eric S. Dickson, New York University eric.dickson@nyu.edu

Regime Change and Revolutionary Entrepreneurs

I explore how a revolutionary vanguard can facilitate revolutionary coordination and mobilization. I develop a "global games" model of regime change with a prior stage in which a revolutionary entrepreneur engages in publicly observable violence.

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, University of Chicago bdm@uchicago.edu

Paper **A Theory of Ethnic Groups**

Stylized facts of ethnicity include: most ethnic groups live at peace; violence can erupt suddenly; group identity is easily created even by outsiders; ethnic diversity is bad for growth, yet continues to exist. I develop a theory to explain these.

David Hugh-Jones, Max Planck Institute of Economics hugh-jones@econ.mpg.de

Paper When Do People Protest?: Using a Game Theoretic Framework to Shed Light on the Relationship Between Repression and

This paper uses a game theoretic model to explain protest behavior. It is show that the protest-repression nexus depends on the payoff structure of the different actors.

Daniel Stockemer, University of Connecticut d.stockemer@web.de

Catherine Hafer. New York University Disc. catherine.hafer@nyu.edu

2-7 **Spatial Competition and Party Dispersion**

Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Zeynep Somer-Topcu, University of California, Davis zsomer@ucdavis.edu

The Salience of Unusual Issue Preferences: The Effect of Paper Relative Policy Positions on Issue Importance for Parties in 23 **Countries**

If a party's policy position on one issue is more extreme or centrist than its mean position on other issues, it should also stress this issue more than others. This is tested for parties in 23 countries with expert survey and manifesto data.

Markus Wagner, London School of Economics and Political Science

m.wagner@lse.ac.uk

How Can Parties Modify Their Reputation? The Impact of **Paper Electoral Manifestos on Citizen Perception of Party Ideological Preferences**

This paper tackles the role of signals from parties, like electoral manifestos, in citizen belief change, understood as a Bayesian updating process.

Pablo Fernandez-Vazquez, Juan March Institute/New York University

pfv211@nyu.edu

Reconsidering Causes and Effects of Party Dispersion in **Nations's Policy Space**

We reconsider how the conflation of electoral dispersion with party system dispersion adversely affects conclusion about the causes and effects of the distribution of parties in a policy space.

Michael D. McDonald, Binghamton University

mdmcd@binghamton.edu

Myunghee Kim, University of Central Florida myukim@mail.ucf.edu

James Adams, University of California, Davis Disc.

ifadams@ucdavis.edu

Indridi H. Indridason, University of California, Riverside

ihi@hi.is

3-11 **Politics and Social Policy**

Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Matthew Carnes, Notre Dame University Chair

carnes.matthew@gmail.com

Paper Predicting Redistributive Effects of Social Spending and **Taxation Policies in Former ISI States**

Merging theoretical components of Rogowski and dependency theory, this paper highlights how different degrees of trade openness and IFI indebtedness impact redistributive effects in state spending and taxation choices in former ISI states.

Mark Hibben, Syracuse University

mrhibben@syr.edu

Paper Institutional Legacies in Post-Communist Pension Reform

How well do institutional legacies explain social welfare privatization? Analysis of global data and post-communist cases finds that political and financial legacies explain the nature and likelihood of old age pension privatization.

Sarah M. Brooks, Ohio State University

brooks.317@polisci.osu.edu

Sarah Wilson Sokhey, Ohio State University

sokhey.3@polisci.osu.edu

The Rebirth of a Welfare Regime in Korea after **Paper**

Democratization and the Economic Crisis: The Challenge of **Systemic Vulnerability**

Based on the idea of path dependency, this paper holds that the major difficulty of the Korean social policy development after democratiztion and globalization stems from the political decisions of ruling elites who faced "systemic vulnerability."

Eungsoo Kim, University of Chicago

ekim@uchicago.edu

The Public Sector and Asian Democracies: The Political **Paper Economy of Globalization**

Are Asian democracies, facing global market competition, working as other Western European democracies in the area of social welfare policies? This paper starts from skepticism about Asian democracies.

Dae Jin Yi, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill dyi@email.unc.edu

Disc. Erik Wibbels, Duke University

ewibbels@gmail.com

3-24 Political Institutions and Public Policy in Developing **Countries**

Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Chair Jaekwon Suh, Truman State University

isuh@truman.edu

Democracy, Labor Power and Social Spending in Latin Paper America, 1972-1997

This paper evaluates the conditional effects of democracy and labor power on social spending in Latin America. The author finds that democracy is associated with greater welfare expenditure when labor pressure is high.

Amanda Louise Beal, University of Missouri, Columbia albgd4@mizzou.edu

Paper The Role of Collective Action and Partisanship in the **Distribution of Education Spending in Mexico**

In this paper, I study the role of unions and their interaction with political parties in determining the allocation of public resources among the different education levels in Mexico (primary vs. secondary vs. tertiary)

Marco Antonio Fernandez, Duke University

marco.a.fernandez@duke.edu

Divergent Trajectories: Healthcare Reforms in South Korea and Paper

This article explores the trajectory of healthcare insurance reforms legislated in the 1990s in South Korea and Chile, focusing on the

Illan Nam, Princeton University inam@princeton.edu

Disc. Manuel Balán, University of Texas, Austin

manuelbalan@mail.utexas.edu

4-13 **Islam and Democratic Consolidation**

Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room Chair Ramazan Kilinc, Michigan State University

kilinc@msu.edu

Paper Civics and Religion: Understanding the Intersectionality of

Islam and Democracy in Palestine, Morocco, and Lebanon

Examined are challenges emanting from the use of soft diplomacy strategies, such as sustained civic education programs, to bolster democratic practices in strife-torn places.

Mary Delorse Coleman, Jackson State University

mary.delorse.coleman@jsums.edu

Paper Islam and Democracy: The Case of the Justice and **Development Party in Turkey**

This paper examines the transformation and transformative capacity of Islamic movements under the proper democratic rules.

Hasan Basri Yalcin, University of Cincinnati hbyalcin@gmail.com

Paper Islam, Secularism and Democratization in the Middle East: The **Relevance of Consensus-Building**

Turkey being a model of political reform in the Middle East provoked two arguments: Turkish secularism and Turkish Islam. Neither of them explains Turkish democracy; the key is the new consensus among domestic actors on the rules of politics.

Ramazan Kilinc, Michigan State University

kilinc@msu.edu

Simanti Lahiri, University of Alabama Disc.

simanti@gmail.com

5-17 **Institutional Reform**

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Javier Vazquez-D'Elia, University of Pittsburgh Chair

javiervazquezdelia@gmail.com

Does Privatization Increase Mortality? Paper

We exploit variation in privatization outcomes and mortality across Russian regions to reexamine the question of whether privatization increases mortality.

Scott Gehlbach, University of Wisconsin, Madison

gehlbach@polisci.wisc.edu

John S. Earle, Upjohn Institute for Employment Research

earle@upjohninstitute.org

Institutions, Actors and Choice: Public Aid and Private School **Paper Expansion in Comparative Perspective**

The political dynamics associated with the extension of public aid to private schools offers comparativists an example of how radical reform can be achieved even in what appears to be a restrictive institutional environment.

Amos Zehavi, Tel Aviv University amos.zehavi@gmail.com

Behind the Veil of Vagueness: Success or Failure in the Politics **Paper** of Institutional Reforms

How can political entrepreneurs increase their chances for success in the politics of institutional reforms? We find that using a veil of vagueness during reform processes increase the likelihood of translating reform proposals into legislation.

Michael Baggesen Klitgaard, University of Southern Denmark mbk@sam.sdu.dk

Peter Munk Christiansen, University of Aarhus pmc@ps.au.dk

Paper **Retrenchment Reconsidered: Continuity and Change in the Post Authoritarian Institutions of Chilean Social Policy**

This paper analyzes the evolution of social and economic policies in Chile to show that the very institutional features originally intended to promote stability and persistence have actually promoted

considerable endogenous and exogenous change. Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, Economic Policy Institute

ahertel@epi.org

Disc. Javier Vazquez-D'Elia, University of Pittsburgh

javiervazquezdelia@gmail.com

6-8 **Political Behavior in Africa**

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Chair Gizem Arikan, Stony Brook University

garikan@ic.sunysb.edu

Paper What are the Origins of Corruption in Africa? Culture or Institution

Why do people pay a bribe to government officials in Africa? To answer this question, this study uses Afrobarometer survey data collected from 18-sub Saharan African countries.

Wonbin Cho, University of Kentucky

wonbin.cho@uky.edu

Jean-Philippe N. Peltier, United States Air Force

jean-philippe.peltier@afsoc.af.smil.mil

Foreign Investment and State-Led Anarchy: A Case Study of China and Sudan

China's economic and political involvement in Sudan are examined within an elite strategy framework. The paper outlines how the costs of state-led anarchy can be met through foreign inputs, increasing the attractiveness of a normally risky strategy.

Danielle Lynn Pearl, Georgetown University

dlp35@georgetown.edu

Paper Democracy Without Opposition: Avenues of Participation Among Ex-Combatants in Liberia

This paper deals with the forms of political participation excombatants see as open to them in the nascent democratic state of Liberia.

Johanna Julia Söderström, Department of Government johanna.soderstrom@statsvet.uu.se

Paper Is Clientelism at Work in African Elections? A Study of Voting Behavior in Kenya and Zambia

This study challenges the idea that personalistic forms of clientelism characterize African elections. I show that voters expect public, not private, goods. This adds to an burgeoning agenda on voting behavior in Africa.

Daniel J. Young. *University of California, Los Angeles* djyoung@ucla.edu

Paper Explaining Party Attachments Across African Democracies

Levels of party attachment vary both within and across African democracies. This paper examines how national-level social and institutional contexts affect party attachments in Africa, conditional upon individual levels of cognitive resources.

Robin Harding, New York University rfh227@nyu.edu

Paper Social Capital and Political Trust in West Africa

Based on Afrobarometer survey data for Ghana and Nigeria, this paper explores the variables that influence social capital and political trust in the West African context.

Michelle Therese Kuenzi, University of Nevada, Las Vegas michele.kuenzi@unlv.edu

Disc. Robert J. Griffiths, University of North Carolina, Greensboro rjgriffi@uncg.edu

Jennifer C. Seely, *Earlham College* seelyje@earlham.edu

7-13 EU Enlargement and Central Europe

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Steven Majstorovic, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire majstos@uwec.edu

Paper Good Cop, Bad Cop: An Assessment of EU Strategies in the Western Balkans

This paper reviews the instruments of EU integration policies in the Western Balkans since 2000, highlighting the oscillations of these policies between strict conditionality and political concessions and the challenge of finding a coherent approach.

Olivier Ruchet, Sciences Po Paris olivier.ruchet@sciences-po.org Natasha Wunsch, Sciences Po Paris natasha.wunsch@sciences-po.org

Paper <u>Differentiating Eurosceptics in Central and Eastern Europe</u>

Our paper looks at euroscepticism in Central and Eastern Europe and asks which demographic, political and attitudinal factors drive views toward European integration. We also inquire into the conceptual distinctness of 'hard and soft' euroscepticism.

David Rossbach, University of Mississippi

dorossba@olemiss.edu

Tyler Johnson, *Texas A&M University* tjohnson@politics.tamu.edu

Paper An Analysis of EU Enlargement in Western Balkans and EU Common Foreign and Security Policy: Where Does Turkey Stand?

The central question of my research is 'what kind of impact enlargement conditionality have on Western Balkan triple transformations to market economy, democracy and modern statehood?

Deniz Bingol McDonald, *IRES- CEU* iphmcd01@phd.ceu.hu

Disc. Steven Majstorovic, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire

majstos@uwec.edu

Theresa Squatrito, University of Washington

tsquatri@u.washington.edu

9-15 Civil Society in East and Southeast Asia

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Lichao He, Baylor University

lichao_he@baylor.edu

Paper Study on Social Participation in China

This paper studies the pattern of citizens' social participation in China and analyzes the main factors contributing to the unique pattern from a comparative perspective.

Lichao He, Baylor University lichao_he@baylor.edu

Paper The Evolution of Civil Society in Korea: Democratization, Government Funding and Information Technology

The idea of critical juncture is useful in understanding the transformative evolution of Korean civil society. There were different dynamics that triggered different critical junctures: democratization, government funding and information technology.

Chang Bum Ju, Korean Institute of Public Administration/ University of Southern California

cju@usc.edu

Paper Chinese Lawyers: A Rising Political Actor?

As the power of technocrats decrease, new actors will appear in Chinese politics. With increasing demand, emphasis on rule of law, and deepening globalization, lawyers become more and more significant actors in Chinese politics.

Hyungjin Cho, Seoul National University

hjcho76@naver.com

Paper Institutionalization in Human Rights: South Korean and Mongolian Experiences

After the Cold War, new democracies have adopted the national human rights institutions. Some institutions are doing well their functions, others not. We are investigating South Korean and Mongolian experiences.

Sejin Moon, Western Michigan University sejin.moon@wmich.edu

Disc. Radhika Govinda, University of Cambridge

radhika.govinda@gmail.com

Moeed Wasim Yusuf, *Boston University* moeed@bu.edu

9-16 Political Economy of Development

Room Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Xiaobo Lu, Yale University xiaobo.lu@yale.edu

Paper Does Social Mobility Reduce Resentment Toward Inequality in

This paper links social mobility experience with attitude toward inequality in China. I find that the effect of social mobility is statistical significant and substantively important.

Xiaobo Lu, *Yale University* xiaobo.lu@yale.edu

Paper The First Chinese Home Planning Policy, Population Growth, and China's Economic Take-off in 1979

This paper tries to use the case of China's first home planning policy in the 1950s to examine the relationship between population growth and economic development.

Qiang Yan, Clemson University atyanqiang@yahoo.com

Ying Xin, *Clemson University* dasidaniya@hotmail.com

Xin Chen, Clemson University

cxedison5@163.com

Jing Zhang, Clemson University zhang3@clemson.edu

Paper Is China the Newest Iteration of the Developmental State?

In this paper, I will critically assess the role of the state in China's economic development. In particular, I will compare the Chinese experience to the established conceptions of the developmental state.

Jennifer Suzanne Tison, *University of South Carolina* mimi6920@hotmail.com

Paper Corporative Experiment in South Korea: From State to Societal Corporatism

This paper examines the logic of introduction of social corporatism in South Korea right after the Asian financial crisis. It seeks to demonstrate utility of the Katzenstein's thesis of social corporatism. **Phill Jo**, *University of Oklahoma*

Phill.jo@ou.edu

Disc. Dongryul Kim, Rochester Institute of Technology rdokim@gmail.com

11-13 Elections in the Middle East

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Ellen Lust-Okar, Yale University

ellen.lust-okar@yale.edu

Paper A Non-Elite Explanation of Authoritarian Persistence: Tribes in

the Jordanian National Elections

Authoritarian regimes in the Middle East are sustained, in part, by non-elite actors who exploit formal institutions, such as national elections, to maintain the status quo as part of their own survival strategies.

Laura Weir, Case Western Reserve University

laura.weir@case.edu

Paper Why Do Individuals Vote in Authoritarian and Hybrid Regimes? Explaining Voting Behavior in Turkey, Morocco, and Egypt

Who votes and why do individuals choose to do so in authoritarian and hybrid regimes? This paper answers these questions by examining the electoral participation in Turkey, Morocco and Egypt. World Values Survey is used for empirical testing.

Sabri Ciftci, Kansas State University

ciftci@ksu.edu

Paper What Accounts for Electoral Participation and Vote Choice in Jordan?

In authoritarian societies, electoral participation is particularly puzzling. Using survey data, I first seek to understand why certain individuals choose to vote in Jordan. Second, I examine what factors account for vote choice in this society.

 ${\bf Michael\ Robbins},\ {\it University\ of\ Michigan}$

robbinmd@umich.edu

Paper What is "Democratic Elections"?

This paper examines the following question: Which criteria best differentiate between democratic elections and non-democratic elections (or elections that incumbents claim to be democratic)?

Mady Muhammad Abdelfattah, Alexandria University

abdelfattah.mady@gmail.com

Disc. Ellen Lust-Okar, Yale University

ellen.lust-okar@yale.edu

13-15 Opposition, Lustration, and Democratization

Room Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Egle Verseckaite, Johns Hopkins University

egle@jhu.edu

Paper Guilt or Guilty? The Problems of Decommunisation in Central and Eastern Europe

Debates over decommunisation have lingered in the public arena, with different intensity, ever since 1989. Comparative analysis shows that while individual verdicts of "guilty" are resisted, impersonal distribution of "guilt" are acceptable.

Cosmina Tanasoiu, American University, Bulgaria

ctanasoiu@aubg.bg

Paper Shedding Light on Communism: Lustration in East-Central Europe

Using Boolean algebra, we explain the implementation of lustration laws in sixteen postcommunist states. We add to the literature by better understanding why some states transitioning from communism choose dealt with the past through lustration laws.

Peter Rožic, Georgetown University

pr93@georgetown.edu

Peter J. Verovšek, Yale University

peter.verovsek@yale.edu

Paper Constraints of Structure and Culture on Activism: Comparing Student Opposition in Georgia, Ukraine, and Russia

Original interviews with youth activists in Georgia, Ukraine, and Russia to show that the structure of opportunity faced by activists includes dominant cultural values and popular expectations that constrain the story activists can tell.

Ellen Carnaghan, Saint Louis University

carnagep@slu.edu

Paper Transition Toward Democracy: Test of Democratization Theory in the Cases of Ukraine and Poland

This paper focuses on the process of transition from communism to democracy in the post-communist countries Ukraine and Poland; it tests the success of democratic theory in these states and different outcomes that they have achieved to date

Tamila Karpyk, Dalhousie University

tm938483@dal.ca

Disc. Egle Verseckaite, Johns Hopkins University

egle@jhu.edu

Irina Khmelko, Georgia Southern University

ikhmelko@georgiasouthern.edu

14-12 Bilateral Trade: Flows, Balance, and Agreements

Room Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair SooYeon Kim, University of Maryland

skim@gvpt.umd.edu

Paper Aid for Trade? Foreign Aid and Trade Relationship Between U.S. and Recipient

This paper explores how US foreign aid affects bilateral trade relationship with recipient.

Lingyu Lu, University of Missouri, Columbia

llb47@mizzou.edu

Paper The Effect of Exchange Rate Variability and Different Types of Monetary Cooperation on Trade Flows

We use a large dyadic dataset to examine the effect of monetary cooperation on trade and the effect of exchange rate variability on trade. We compare the two results to determine whether changes are due to economic or political factors.

Ryan Decker, Brigham Young University

ryan.decker84@gmail.com

Timothy Layton, Brigham Young University

timothyjlayton@gmail.com

Paper Bilateral Free Trade Agreement Network: Centrality

This study examines bilateral FTA network, centrality, and its determinants by examining 71 countries' 156 FTA to answer questions: Who plays a leading role in the bilateral FTA network? Under what conditions a country is active in making FTA?

Taedong Lee, University of Washington, Seattle

taedong2@u.washington.edu

Byoung-Inn Bai, Seoul National University

byounginn@gmail.com

Alliances, Trade Agreements and Militarized Interstate Dispute Paper Paper Initiation Reconceptualizing Alliances as Conflict Management

Reconceptualizing Alliances: When and why do states form alliances? More specifically, if two former rivals form alliances, are they preparing for war, or are they consolidating their newly formed (friendly) relations?

Aakriti Anilkumar Tandon, University of Arizona atandon@email.arizona.edu

Disc. SooYeon Kim, University of Maryland

skim@gvpt.umd.edu

Daniel J. Blake, Ohio State University blake.165@polisci.osu.edu

15-15 **International Human Rights Agreements**

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Linda Camp Keith, University of Texas, Dallas

linda.keith@utdallas.edu

Domestic Politics, International Human Rights Adjudication, Paper and the Problem of Political Will: Cases from the Inter-

American Human Rights System

This paper challenges existing theories of compliance with international institutions by examining the role that domestic politics play in shaping patterns of state compliance with international human rights tribunals.

Courtney Hillebrecht, University of Wisconsin, Madison hillebrecht@polisci.wisc.edu

Explaining Differences in Effort by Governments to Respect Economic Human Rights

This paper uses several macroeconomic, political, and socio-cultural factors to test a model explaining variance in government effort to respect economic human rights in 195 countries from 1981 to 2006.

David L. Richards, University of Memphis

drich1@memphis.edu

K. Chad Clay, Binghamton University

kclay1@binghamton.edu

Domestic Politics and the Accession of Authoritarian Regimes to Paper **Human Rights Treaties**

We present a model wherein authoritarian regimes sign the CAT as a signal to their domestic opponents. It accounts for the finding that accession is more likely as torture levels rise and predicts that signatories survive longer than non-signatories.

James Richard Hollyer, New York University james.hollyer@nyu.edu

B. Peter Rosendorff, New York University peter.rosendorff@nyu.edu

Linda Camp Keith, University of Texas, Dallas Disc. linda.keith@utdallas.edu

15-31 **International Actors and Civil Wars**

Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Joan Davison, Rollins College Chair jdavidson@rollins.edu

Paper **The Bolivarian Connection: The Fuerzas Armadas** Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) and Hugo Chavez

An organizational framework examines how an organization rises and develops to influence domestic and international politics. It examines the FARC and its ties to Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez to explain FARC's political impact.

Patricia Helena Micolta, Florida International University patricia.micolta@fiu.edu

Aiding and Abetting? An Events Data Study of the Impact of **International NGOs on Domestic Anti-Government Protest**

This paper studies the effects of INGOs on domestic antigovernment protest. We use new events data and find empirical support for our argument that INGO involvement aids both nonviolent and violent protest, and can lead to increased civil conflict.

Amanda Marie Murdie, Emory University

amurdie@emory.edu

Tavishi Bhasin, Kennesaw State University tbhasin@kennesaw.edu

Natural Resources and Insurgency in Colombia Paper

This study examines the competing Collier and Hoeffler (2004) and Fearon and Laitin (2003) models of civil conflict against the Colombia case, finding that natural resources are used to fund and escalate ongoing conflicts through a predation effect.

Jeffrey J. Paris, University of California, Los Angeles jjparis@ucla.edu

J. David Singer, University of Michigan Disc.

jdsinger@umich.edu

16-11 **Natural Disasters, Technology and Security**

Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Sharon Jones, Columbia College Chair

jones@columbiasc.edu

Paper The Effects of Natural Disaster on Interstate Conflict

This paper looks at the relationship between natural disaster and interstate conflict through a qualitative examination of all significant natural disasters since 1950 and a case study of four particular Chinese disasters.

Travis Nelson, University of Vermont

Travis.Nelson@uvm.edu

Paper Natural and Technological Disasters: Triggers of Political **Instability?**

The project tests whether different types of natural and technological disasters can trigger civil wars or adverse regime changes. It employs random case-control comparison and brief case analyses of the selected "problem" countries.

Mariya Y. Omelicheva, University of Kansas omeliche@ku.edu

Paper Of Gunpowder and Nukes: From Revolutions in Military **Affairs to Revolutions in Chivalric Ethics**

While the ethics of war are often assumed to be stagnant traditional categories, this paper argues that they evolve in response to changes in military technologies, often becoming more permissive in

Valerie Ona Morkevicius, DePaul University morkevicius@uchicago.edu

The Impact of New Technologies on the Horizontal Proliferation **Paper** of Nuclear Weapons

The paper investigates how new and upcoming nuclear or associated technologies can aid or hamper the spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear weapon states.

Roman Lajciak, University of Cincinnati

lajciarn@email.uc.edu

Disc. Andreas Michael Bock, Geschwister-Scholl-Institute of Political

Science

andreas.bock@lrz.uni-muenchen.de

17-13 The Duration and Recurrence of Conflict

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am
Chair Patricia Lynne Sullivan, University of Georgia

tsulli@uga.edu

Paper Theoretical Perspectives for Ending Civil Wars

This paper aims to clarify which school of thought offers the best explanation for the conditions associated with the termination of intrastate conflicts and the creation of a durable peace, particularly the role of international organization.

Duk Kim, St. Ambrose University

KimDuk@sau.edu

Paper The Duration of the State and Dissident Relationship: How Political Opportunity Impacts the Timing of Moves and Move

This paper tests the duration between state and domestic dissident actions as conditioned by regime type. I examine the length of time between state's accommodating behavior until protest. Then I examine duration between state conflict and protest.

Kris Inman, University of California, Davis

klinman@ucdavis.edu

Paper Information, Commitment and Civil War Duration: The Effect of Governmental Constraints on Intra-War Bargaining

This paper examines how variations in executive power affect the duration of civil conflicts. I argue that strong executives are well-equipped to solve both information and commitment problems that prolong civil conflicts.

Clayton Lynn Thyne, University of Kentucky

clayton.thyne@uky.edu

Paper The Duration of Civil War: Organizing Resistance

An organization-based model is put forward, in which civil war duration is explained by two features of the organizations that fight them: the cohesion of the warring parties and their belligerency.

Paul David Kenny, Yale University

paul.kenny@yale.edu

Disc. Patricia Lynne Sullivan, University of Georgia

tsulli@uga.edu

17-28 Effects of Intervention

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Frank D. Vaughan, West Virginia State University

fvaughan@wvstateu.edu

Paper The Effect of Overt Military Interventions on Mass Killing Duration

This paper examines the effect of overt military interventions on mass killing duration.

Karen Sullivan, Pennsylvania State University

ksullivan@psu.edu

Paper Military Intervention and the Local Populace: Gambling on Hearts and Minds

This paper examines inteventionary outcomes in a variety of time periods to examine the role played by local perceptions and assess whether winning hearts and minds is as crucial to success as is often suggested.

Andrea Kathryn Talentino, Drew University

atalenti@drew.edu

Paper Application of the Just War Doctrine to Public Perceptions of Foreign Policy Actions

We examine the impact of the just war doctrine's in bello constraint of collateral damage and the ad bellum "justness" of military interventions on public support for military interventions and their morality.

Belinda Lesley Bragg, Texas A&M University

bbragg@polisci.tamu.edu

Phillip Grey, Hong Kong Baptist University

phillip.w.gray@gmail.com

Nehemia Geva, Texas A&M University

e339ng@polisci.tamu.edu

Disc. Frank D. Vaughan, West Virginia State University

fvaughan@wvstateu.edu

18-9 <u>Contemporary Asian Foreign Policy: Challenges and</u> Prospects

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Yukiko Amakawa, Teikyo University

yukiko.amakawa@gmail.com

Paper Japan's Foeign Policies Since Koizumi Administration

I have served as personal foreign policy adviser to the past five Prime Ministers of Japan since 2000. There were five Prime Ministers in eight years and Japan's foreign policies based on the U.S.-Japan alliance have shifted by each Prime Minister.

Yukiko Amakawa, Teikyo University

yukiko.amakawa@gmail.com

Paper Asia-Pacific in the Twenty-first Century: Pearl Harbor or Peace?

During the 21st century, the Asia-Pacific region will become the focal point of global affairs, especially for issues concerning economics and geopolitics. Thus, how will the major powers in the region react to this new global dynamic and paradigm?

Randall Jordan Doyle, Central Michigan University

doyle58@yahoo.com

The Problem of Korean Reunification: The Scenario Methodology and its Implications for the Northeast Asian

Security

Paper

The problem of Korean reunification is crucial in anticipating the future course of events in the Northeast Asain security environment. This paper analyzes the reconciliation process of the two Koreas based on the methodology of scenario building.

Dong Ho Han, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

gud109@hotmail.com

Bakeel Alzandani, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

bakeel@yahoo.com

Paper A Study of China's National Identity and Diplomatic Strategiesfrom Deng Xiao Ping to Hu Jin Tao

This paper shows that China's national identity has significantly affected to develop its foreign policies, with organic examination of the three successive leaderships after the era of China's 'reform and opening up'.

Jeeyoon Kong. *University of California, Los Angeles* socoolur@ucla.edu

Disc. Andrew Yeo, Catholic University

yeo@cua.edu

19-13 Theories of Institutions and Globalization

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Leanne C. Powner, College of Wooster

lpowner@wooster.edu

Paper The Myth of Globalization

An examination of the concept of globalization in four primary tracks of power and its applicability to changes in the world community.

James Wallace Dull, University of New Haven

jdull@newhaven.edu

per Leadership, Hegemony, and International Organizations: Is Hegemony Necessary or Replaceable for International Cooperation?

This paper shows hegemony can contribute to increasing global public goods but is not a necessary condition. Even a hegemon may not be willing to form a multilateral cooperation. Rather, an appropriate institution may efficiently replace hegemony.

Fredrick Suh, University of Chicago

suh@uchicago.edu

Paper Explaining and Measuring Interaction Between International Organizations and Global Institutional Environment: 1945-2000

In this paper I will argue that the multilateralism initiated and supported by hegemony stimulates the organizational spread globally after the war and structures a new and prevailing institutional environment dominated by cooperative culture.

Zhiyuan Wang, George Washington University jrywanw@gwmail.gwu.edu

Disc. Leanne C. Powner, College of Wooster

lpowner@wooster.edu

21-14 The Psychology of Political Mobilization

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am
Chair Tiffany C. Davenport, Yale University
tiffany.davenport@yale.edu

Paper Why Solicitations for Campaign Donations Can Have the

Opposite of Their Intended Effect

Conventional wisdom on candidate strategy argues that candidates should mention salient issues in requests for money. I challenge this argument and show conditions under which this strategy decreases people's willingness to donate.

Adam Levine, University of Michigan adamseth@umich.edu

Paper Priming Voting Scripts: Does Imagining the Process of Voting Make It So?

This paper examines the effect of imagination scenarios on voting. An experiment tests whether imagining the concrete actions in voting or imagining the abstract motivations increases turnout in the 2008 election more.

Matthew Cravens, University of Minnesota crave043@umn.edu

Paper Frames and the Mobilization of Collective Identity: An Experimental Study of Credible Sources, Stakes and Participation

Using a public goods game experiment, I explore the conditions under which a frame given to individuals by a same-group source can successfully mobilize them to participate in group behavior and whether the stakes of the decision matter.

Christy Aroopala, Rice University

aroopala@rice.edu

Paper Mean Well to Do Good? Volunteer Motivation Re-Examined

This paper reports the results of a lab experiment testing volunteer motivation and the appeal of persuasive messages according to attitude functions.

 $Ursula \ H\"{a}fliger, \ University \ of \ Zurich$

haefliger@ipz.uzh.ch

Simon Hug, Université de Genève

simon.hug@unige.ch

Disc. Christopher Karpowitz, Brigham Young University

ckarpowitz@byu.edu

22-15 Development of Party ID

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair David O. Sears, University of California, Los Angeles

sears@issr.ucla.edu

Paper The Geography of Political Independence

This paper explores party ID with a focus on the impact of local context on the incidence of partisan or independent identification. Using data from the National Election Studies, this paper shows how vote choice and context affect party ID.

Brian Brox, Tulane University

bbrox@tulane.edu

Paper Partisanship and Party Speech: A Political Model of Party Identification

This paper examines the relationship between an individual's party identification, the issues that are politically important to her, and the issues that the political parties are publicly discussing.

Melanie Goodrich, New York University

melaniegoodrich@nyu.edu

The Evolution of Party Identification: Examining the Impact of Family, Political Issues and the Act of Voting Along the Life

Cycle

Paper

We test the impact of family, vote and political issues on the formation and fortification of party identification by testing all these factors through a panel study which covers a period of more than thirty years in the life of respondents.

Mark Franklin, European University Institute

Mark.Franklin@eui.eu

Elias Dinas, European University Institute

ilias.ntinas@eui.eu

Disc. David O. Sears, University of California, Los Angeles

sears@issr.ucla.edu

23-10 2008 Presidential Primary Elections

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am
Chair Barbara Norrander, University of Arizona
norrande@u.arizona.edu

Paper A Fair Fight?: The Impact of Party Rules on the 2008

Democratic Presidential Nominating Campaign

This paper examines several procedural and delegate selection policies employed by the Democratic Party during the 2008 presidential nominating campaign. Analyses are presented which estimate their impact on the progression and outcome of the race.

Elliott Fullmer, Georgetown University

elliott.fullmer@gmail.com

Paper Effects of Momentum and Delegate Allocation Systems on Presidential Primary Outcomes

We examine how early victories in presidential primaries affect the outcomes in later primaries and how systems delegate allocation affect the distribution of delegates to candidates.

Arjun Wilkins, Stanford University

arjunw@stanford.edu

Kyle Dropp, Stanford University

dropp@stanford.edu

Paper <u>How do Super Delegates Decide?</u>

Using data from the 2008 Democratic primary campaign, this paper tests several competing hypotheses regarding process of superdelegates endorsing presidential candidates.

Christopher Anderson, Texas A&M University

canderson@polisci.tamu.edu

Paper From Caucus Votes to Delegates: How Presidential Candidates Gain or Lose Delegates Between Caucus Night and the Convention

I examine efforts by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton to increase their post-caucus delegate shares. I find that candidates tended to improve on their share of delegates in counties where those candidates had active campaign offices.

Seth E. Masket, University of Denver

smasket@du.edu

Disc. Wayne Steger, DePaul University

wsteger@depaul.edu

Barbara Norrander, University of Arizona

norrande@u.arizona.edu

23-18 Political Information, Campaign Appearances, and **Voting Behavior in 2008 Presidential Election**

Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room Chair James A. McCann, Purdue University

mccannj@purdue.edu

Senator Scranton and Governor Hockey Mom: The Importance Paper of Vice Presidential Candidates in Presidential Vote Choice

Today and Yesterday

What impact did Biden and Palin have on voters? How does this impact compare to VP candidates historically?

Stacy G. Ulbig, Sam Houston State University ulbig@shsu.edu

Trailin' Sarah Palin: Do Campaign Rallies Have an Impact on Paper **General Voting Behavior**

The database used compares voting behaviors in counties (and nearby regions) visted by Palin, McCain, Obama, and Biden with similar counties not visited by the candidates to measure the effectiveness of campaign rallies.

Tim H. Blessing, Alvernia University

Tim.Blessing@alvernia.edu

I Support Whatever My Candidate Says: Experimental Paper **Demonstration That Information Sources Is More Important** Than Information Itself for My Voting Choice

Voters do not absorb campaign information as it is intended. They interpret it to reconfirm their voting choice especially when voters support one candidate overwhelmingly. Thus campaign information itself does not much affect voter's voting choice

Hyung Lae Park, Jackson State University

hyung.l.park@jsums.edu

The Context for Partisanship Stability Paper

Individual partisan stability is affected by individual level and campaign level factors. Using national panel data from 2008 and 2004 we find high voter attention in an aggressive campaign environment leads to less stable partisanship responses.

Quin Monson, Brigham Young University

Quin.Monson@byu.edu

Kelly Patterson, Brigham Young University

Kelly Patterson@byu.edu

Jeremy Pope, Brigham Young University

jpope@byu.edu

James A. McCann, Purdue University Disc.

mccannj@purdue.edu

25-14 **Political Sophistication and Public Opinion**

Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor. Sat at 10:00 am Room John Sides, George Washington University Chair

jsides@gwu.edu

Paper Does What You Think You Know Affect What You Think? **Explaining Public Spending Preferences**

In a set of original survey experiments on a national sample, we randomize the information provided to respondents in order to obtain clean estimates of the effects of knowledge on opinions.

Eric D. Lawrence, George Washington University edl@gwu.edu

Paper Political Knowledge in Comparative Perspective: The Problem of Cross-National Equivalence of Measurement

Political Knowledge in Comparative Perspective: The Problem of Cross-National Equivalence of Measurement

Martin Elff, Universität Mannheim

elff@sowi.uni-mannheim.de

Sophisticated Independents and Economic Perceptions: Has Paper **Technology Crashed the Party?**

This paper explores differences between how partisans, sophisticated independents, and unsophisticated independents process economic information and use that information when making political decisions and evaluating political institutions. Scott O'Brien, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

scobri@email.unc.edu

Informed and Uninformed Voters: Explaining the Difference **Paper** Between Politicians' and Voters' Preferences

This paper investigates how informed and uninformed voters affect policy. Consistent with theory we find that informed voters and politicians have similar preferences whereas the preferences of uninformed voters and politicians differ substantially.

Mattias Nordin, Uppsala University

mattias.nordin@nek.uu.se

Disc. John Sides, George Washington University

jsides@gwu.edu

26-14 From Around The World: Evaluating Voter Turnout

Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Chair Ihsan A. Ihsan, Alkhatib

ehsankhatib@hotmail.com

Paper Explaining Turnout in Villagers' Committee Elections in Transitional China

Why are there huge regional variations in terms of voter turnout rate in China's village elections? We develop a number of hypotheses in this paper. Data from a large survey conducted in 2005 have confirmed some (but not all) of them.

Fubing Su, Vassar College

fusu@vassar.edu

Paper Bridging New Democracies: The Dynamics of Trust and Political Participation in African Countries

This paper examines how dynamics of social cohesion and mesolevel processes contribute to democratic participation in two African

Ann Pawlik Kryzanek, University of Georgia

kryzanek@uga.edu

Paper Political Effects of Remittances: Political Participation in the **Recipient Countries**

This paper analyzes effects of remittances on political participation in the recipient countries. It fills the gap in literature, which has been focused on the economic effects of remittances and has thus far ignored potential political effects.

Nino Krilova, Creighton University ninokrilova@creighton.edu

Paper Political Resistance to Free Trade and Social Compensation in South Korea

This paper examines the political mechanism between resistance to free trade and its social compensation in South Korea.

Mi Jeong Shin, Korea University

mjshin99@empal.com

William Leblanc, Dartmouth College Disc.

william.leblanc@dartmouth.edu

27-16 **Approaches to Studying Framing**

Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room Chair

Michael W. Wagner, University of Nebraska

mwagner3@unl.edu

Paper **Toward a Theory of Frame Building: Political Framing Strategies and Their Impact on Media Framing**

My contribution analyses political framing strategies and their impact on media framing. Keywords: Campaigns, News Media, Frame Building, Bias, Strategy, Agenda Building, Frames.

Regula Hänggli, Northwestern University

r-hanggli@northwestern.edu

Hanspeter Kriesi, University of Zurich

kriesi@ipz.uzh.ch

Paper Framing and Ideology: A Theoretical Reconsideration

The paper offers a critique of frame theory, applied to political news reporting. It argues for a reconceptualization, especially regarding the role of ideology, and a shift of methodological emphasis from quantitative to qualitative analysis.

Christopher Graham Flood, University of Surrey

c.flood@surrey.ac.uk

Thinking and Feeling about Frames: A Cognitive-Affective **Model of Framing Effects**

This study draws on cognitive response theories of persuasion and cognitive appraisal theories of emotion to develop a model of the psychological processes that govern the effects of media frames on public opinion about policy issues.

Kimberly Gross, George Washington University

kimgross@gwu.edu

Paul R Brewer, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee prbrewer@uwm.edu

Disc. Chris Weber, Louisiana State University

crweber@lsu.edu

27-17 **Agenda-Setting Effects on Issues and Governance**

Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room Chair Daniel Stevens, University of Exeter

D.P.Stevens@exeter.ac.uk

Paper Motivation, Choice, and Agenda Setting: Media Effects in the 21st Century

The study explores the joint role of individual motivations and the complexity of the information environment in shaping decisions about what information is consumed and the impact of that information on issue importance

Justin W. Holmes, University of Northern Iowa justin.holmes@uni.edu

Paper The Short-Term Effect of the Media Agenda on Presidential **Approval**

I examine the degree to which short-term movements in the media agenda - measured with PEJ's News Coverage Index data set from 2007 - drive President Bush's approval rating, as well as his handling of specific issues such as the economy and Iraq.

Adam J. Schiffer, Texas Christian University a.schiffer@tcu.edu

Signals in the Fog: Media Agenda Setting and Government Paper **Problem Prioritization**

This paper examines the influence of the media and public agenda on government problem prioritization, focusing on issue salience and priority and information competition in an environment of uncertainty.

Michelle Wolfe, University of Texas, Austin wolfemi@mail.utexas.edu

Frank R. Baumgartner, Pennsylvania State University Disc. Frankb@psu.edu

28-17 **Gendered Identities and Politics**

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Chair Ruth Ann Watry, Northern Michigan University

rwatry@nmu.edu

Paper Gender, Conservatism, and Identity: An Assessment of the Public Image of Republican Congresswomen

Conservative Congresswomen have an ideological stake in rejecting the feminist policy preferences and identity. This study will attempt to see if there are noteworthy differences in the public images put forward in their websites.

Adam L. Kress, University at Albany, SUNY alk58@cornell.edu

Missed Moments: Sarah Palin's Candidacy and the Fate of **Work-Family Policy in the United States**

This paper examines the Vice-Presidential candidacy of Sarah Palin as a mechanism to explore support for a coherent work-family policy in the United States. Evidence includes candidate speeches and interviews as well as major media and blogs.

Lynne E. Ford, College of Charleston

FordL@cofc.edu

Transgendering the Executive: The Politics of Gender and **Paper Executive Spouses**

This paper analyzes media coverage of candidates' spouses in the 2008 Democratic primary, evaluating whether or not the presence of a female candidate altered the imagery of the masculine presidency.

Kelly Dittmar, Rutgers University

kdittmar@eden.rutgers.edu

The Political Possibilities of Fandom: Transformational Paper **Discourses on Gender and Power in The X-Files Fandom**

This paper argues that fan discourse has the ability to transform the political meanings already encoded within the pop cultural text, and analyzes fan resignifications of the relationship between femininity and power in X-Files fandom.

Emily Regan Wills, New School for Social Research

wille480@newschool.edu

Paper The Politics of Blame and the Success of the Welfare Queen **Public Identity**

This paper examines the relationship between blame attribution and the welfare queen public identity in an attempt to extend beyond traditional explanations of its success rooted solely in individualism and stereotypes.

Janay Cody, University of Notre Dame

jcody1@nd.edu

Disc. Farida Jalalzai, University of Missouri, St. Louis

jalalzaif@umsl.edu

Margaret Carne, Rhodes College

carnem@rhodes.edu

29-5 Framing and Media Effects

Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Chair Ismail White, Ohio State University

white.697@osu.edu

Issue Framing, Conceptions of "Victimhood," and the Jena Six **Paper**

We use a survey-based experiment to analyze the impact of issue framing on opinions about the Jena Six case.

Ray Block, Florida State University

rblock@fsu.edu

Effects of Racial and Racist Appeals on Black Voters **Paper**

We offer the results of two experiments conducted with national random samples of African Americans wherein participants were exposed to implicit racial or racist campaign advertisements by a candidate in a fictitious congressional election.

Stephen Maynard Caliendo, North Central College

smcaliendo@noctrl.edu

Charlton D. McIlwain, New York University

cdm1@nyu.edu

National Rhetoric, Local Response: Using Survey Experiments **Paper** to Explore the Roots of Americans' Attitudes Towards **Immigration**

This paper presents the results of two new, nationally representative survey experiments showing that immigration attitudes stem from a combination of personal experiences and available frames. Day-today experiences enhance framing effects.

Daniel Hopkins, Harvard University

dhopkins@ig.harvard.edu

Van Tran, Harvard University

vantran@fas.harvard.edu

Abigail Williamson, Harvard University

Abby_Williamson@ksgphd.harvard.edu

Paper The Impact of Black and Mainstream Media Sources on Black **Public Opinion**

The research comparing Black and mainstream media sources finds significant differences in coverage of political issues. In this paper, I explore the impact of exposure to that differential coverage on Black public opinion.

Rosalee A. Clawson, Purdue University

clawsonr@purdue.edu

Disc. Lakeyta M. Bonnette, Ohio State University

bonnette.15@osu.edu

Racial Attitudes 29-14

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Jessica Denyse Johnson Carew, Duke University Chair

jessica.carew@duke.edu

Altered Perceptions? A Quantitative Test of Whether the Paper

American Beauty Standard is Changing to Reflect Increased

National Diversity

There exists a debate over whether American beauty standards are changing and whiteness is no longer privileged. We test this and find that white traits remain privileged. However, some minority groups are now seen as more attractive than whites.

Wilfred Reilly, Southern Illinois University

wreilly2003@yahoo.com

Erica Battle, Southern Illinois University

elb 1982@yahoo.com

Race, Social Desirability, and the N-Word: Are Racial Attitudes Paper

Examination of the stability of racial attitudes. Calls into question whether items traditionally used to measure racism are not

themselves prone to a social desirability bias.

David Moskowitz, Roger Williams University

dmoskowitz@rwu.edu

June Sager Speakman, Roger Williams University

jspeakman@rwu.edu

The Emotions Underlying Racial Threat Paper

This paper examines the emotions driving racial threat among Whites. More specifically, I test whether fear or anger is linked to

group conflict. Antoine Banks, University of Maryland

abanks@gvpt.umd.edu

Framing Racial Inequality: White Advantage vs Black Paper

Disadvantage and Latino Disadvantage

Does framing racial inequality in terms of unearned advantages for whites versus unearned disadvantages for blacks and Latinos make a difference for how white Americans opine on racial policies?

Tehama Lopez, University of Chicago

tehama@uchicago.edu

Brian Lowery, Stanford University

blowery@exch-gsb.stanford.edu

Disc. Taofang Huang, University of Texas, Austin

joyfultao@yahoo.com

30-7 Discussing the Disgusting: On Tyranny Ancient and

Modern

Spire on the 6th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Christina Helen Tarnopolsky, McGill University

christina.tarnopolsky@mcgill.ca

Paper Mortality and the Tyrant City: Thucydidean Political

Rationalism and Pericles' Last Speech

Pericles' amazing concessions that Athens is a tyranny, and doomed to fall, form key elements in a critique of piety that nevertheless reveal Pericles' own irrational assumptions, fundamental to politics, about justice and the cosmos.

Borden Flanagan, American University

flanagan@american.edu

Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* and the Rejection of the Paper

Athenian Democracy

This paper offers a reading of Sophocles' last play that emphasizes

the strongly anti-democratic elements in the work.

Joseph Wilson, University of Scranton

wilsonj1@scranton.edu

Parrhesia and the Demos Tyrannos: Rhetoric, Accountability, **Paper**

and Authority in Democratic Athens

While parrhesia is frequently understood as a distinctively democratic norm and a component of Athenian popular ideology, this paper challenges this view through an analysis of parrhesia and

its relationship to the problem of popular tyranny. Matthew W. Landauer, Harvard University

landauer@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Hubris Breeds the Tyrant: The Creon Complex and the Anti-

Politics of Hubris

This essay specifies the unique dangers that hubris poses for democratic societies, ancient or modern, in order to consider the political alternatives that citizens have for confronting the hubris of

their leaders or of their polity. Mark Edward Button, University of Utah

mark.button@poli-sci.utah.edu

Disc. Kevin Ethridge Stuart, University of Texas, Austin

kevinstuart@mail.utexas.edu

Joseph Anthonty Harder, Macomb Community College

jah5y98 98@yahoo.com

31-14 **Aspects of Medieval Political Theory**

Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Thomas Renna, Saginaw Valley State University Chair

renna@svsu.edu

Paper Marsilius of Padua: Response to His Theories of Church and

The immediate impact of Marsilius of Padua's Defender of the Peace on mendicant theories of the church and church-state relations

Thomas Renna, Saginaw Valley State University

renna@svsu.edu

The Multiple Targets and the Elusive Object of Papal **Paper**

Embargoes in the Middle Ages

In this paper I show that the Medieval Papacy deployed strategic embargoes against a plethora of non-Catholic polities and I contend that it used these embargoes primarily as a tool of maximizing its control over its Christian flock.

Stefan K. Stantchev, University of Michigan

stancevs@umich.edu

Paper Dante's De Monarchia as Political Satire

> This paper offers a new reading of Dante's De Monarchia as a work of political satire that critiques the papacy's claims to absolute power. We explain why this work lacks a serious theory of justice or treatment of Aristotelian political virtue.

Christie L. Maloyed, Texas A&M University

clmaloyed@polisci.tamu.edu

Mary Elizabeth Sullivan, Texas A&M University

mesullivan@polisci.tamu.edu

Disentangling the Social from the Political: Full Human **Paper**

Flourishing in Thomistic Political Thought

This research considers the distinction between the political and simply social aspects of human nature, seeking to determine its character and validity.

Matthew Davidson Wright, University of Texas, Austin

mdwright@mail.utexas.edu

Disc. Gladden J. Pappin, Harvard University

pappin@fas.harvard.edu

32-17 **Thinking about Tocqueville**

LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room Charles J. Helm, Western Illinois University Chair

c-helm@wiu.edu

The Modern Bourgeois in the Writings of Rousseau and de Paper **Tocqueville**

By drawing upon several of Alexis de Tocqueville's works, I show the ways in which his conception of bourgeois man leans on Rousseau's account of the same. I show how Tocqueville ultimately answers many of Rousseau's concerns regarding modernity. Conor Paulus Williams, Georgetown University

cpw6@georgetown.edu

Tocqueville and the Time of Democracy Paper

A study of Tocqueville and internal time consciousness. Richard Avramenko, University of Wisconsin, Madison avramenko@wisc.edu

Assessing the Relevance of Tocqueville's Commentary: Paper **Democracy in America**

Tocqueville's commentary on early America is often used as a supplement in American Government courses. To what extent is this usage justified? This paper evaluates whether or not Tocqueville is relevant to our contemporary political discourse.

Jonathan Donald Conrad, Indiana Wesleyan University jon.conrad@indwes.edu

Tocqueville, Classical Political Science and Statesmanship Paper

This paper explores Tocqueville's use of classical political theory to inform modern democratic statecraft--with a view to supporting a liberal conception of human dignity and liberty.

Brian Anthony Bearry, University of Texas, Dallas brian.bearry@utdallas.edu

Disc. Aaron Keck, Duke University aaron.keck@duke.edu

33-1 **Religious and Secular Politics**

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am James Wiley, Western Michigan University Chair james.wiley@wmich.edu

Paper Reconciling Religion and the State: Sayyid Qutb's Religious-**Political Program**

Modernity renders the state an artificial construct mitigating the impossibility of man's perfection-a pragmatic denial of salvation. Sayyid Qutb, arguably the progenitor of Islamic religio-political movements, counters, promising temporal salvation.

Summer Dawn Newton, University of Maryland agan.sd@gmail.com

Governing Bodies: A Foucaultian Analysis of Christian Science as Alternative Politics

This paper utilizes a Foucaultian approach to the study of bio- and pastoral power as they function in Christian Science, considering the religion as an alternative political entity with a particular power to govern the bodies of US citizens.

Lynita K. Newswander, Virginia Tech University nitanews@vt.edu

Paper Religious and Associational Liberties Under Threat: Catholic **Charities and State Mandates**

This paper argues that both religious and associational liberties are being unjustifiably narrowed and uses recent cases involving Catholic Charities to show how such narrowing has pernicious democratic consequences.

Bryan McGraw, Wheaton College bryan.mcgraw@wheaton.edu

A New Secular Imagination: Three Rival Accounts of **Paper** Secularism in Jurgen Habermas, Charles Taylor and Gianni Vattimo

This work aims to analyze a new imagination of secularism and its hermeneutical relationship with religious traditions in the postmetaphysical age by focusing on three rival accounts in Jürgen Habermas, Charles Taylor and Gianni Vattimo.

Ozgur Emrah Gurel, University of Toronto

ozgur.gurel@utoronto.ca

Disc. Adam L. Fuller, Claremont Graduate University

adam.fuller@cgu.edu

Christopher A. McKoy, University of California, Santa Barbara mckoy@polsci.ucsb.edu

33-15 Speech, Silence and Intimacy in Anti-Racist Politics

Room Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Darryl Clark Thomas, Pennsylvania State University

dct10@psu.edu

Malcolm X and the Politics of Declaration **Paper**

Through an analysis of Malcolm X by way of the formal declarations of Jefferson, Stanton, and the UN, this paper locates the legitimacy of such politics of declaration, not in the metaphysics of right, but in the act of declaration itself.

Michael Clifford, Mississippi State University

mrc4@ra.msstate.edu

Paper Silent Yielding, Dismantling Whiteness, and the Potentiality of **Political Suicide**

I offer a radical re-interpretation of silence as an alternative site for dismantling "whiteness" and white privilege. Silent yielding and silent refusals can allow whites to more deeply reject their privileged status under white supremacy.

Vincent Jungkunz, Ohio University jungkunz@ohio.edu

Race, Power, and Political Intimacy Paper

To generate a more just and humane politics we must understand how it is intimate. I discuss political intimacy and evaluate the effects of its absence and presence in U.S. race history using narrative, rhetoric, and historical investigation.

Winter Eliza-Noel Brown, Duke University

winter.brown@duke.edu

Paper Supplementing the Veil with the Sea: Du Bois' Attention to the **Lived Experience of Black Individuals in Souls**

Unlike most scholarship on Du Bois' early thought, this paper focuses on his account of racial prejudice in Souls. This shift exposes a textual tension in Souls and uncovers a more complex account of racial prejudice.

Ainsley Nicole LeSure, University of Chicago lesurea@uchicago.edu

Michael K. Green, University at Oneonta, SUNY Disc.

greenmk@hotmail.com

34-14 **Individualism**

LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Mary Barbara Walsh, Elmhurst College Chair

walshm@elmhurst.edu

Self-Doubt and Intellectual History: Autonomy and the Problem **Paper** of Doubt in the Work of Christopher Marlowe

This paper argues that self-doubt became a distinct political problem in the modern era and traces its emergence by comparing the characters of Tamburlaine the Great and Dr. Faustus in the work of Christopher Marlowe.

Jonathan Harris, Independent jonathan.l.harris@gmail.com

Paper The Lost Souls of Liberalism: Hegel and the Irrationality of

This paper examines the relationship of Hegel's Philosophy of Right to the Phenomenology in light of the political problem presented by liberal individualism.

Gaelan Murphy, Grant MacEwan College

murphyc23@macewan.ca

Paper The Political Theology of Emersonian Self-Reliance

An interpretation of Emersonian self-reliance as an individualism that struggles with theological themes; a proposal to reconsider liberal individualism as itself a politics that confronts, and does not evade, the question of the theological.

Mina Suk, Johns Hopkins University

msuk@jhu.edu

Liberal Communitarian?: Redeeming Mill on Community

John Stuart Mill is often viewed, based upon On Liberty, as a liberal individualist who chips away at the foundations of communal cohesiveness. In fact, he is better understood as a "liberal communitarian".

Shefali Misra, Oberlin College

smisra@oberlin.edu

Disc. Andrew Sabl, University of California, Los Angeles

sabl@ucla.edu

35-11 The Politics of Redistribution

Chicago on the 5th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room Chair Torun Dewan, London School of Economics

t.dewan@lse.ac.uk

Paper **Political Economy of Welfare Reform**

This paper develops a formal model of welfare policymaking that incorporates both decisions about tax and transer levels but also the extent of behavioral regulation of the poor.

Nolan McCarty, Princeton University

nmccarty@princeton.edu

Social Democracy and Class Compromise Paper

A critique of Przeworski's structural dependence thesis (of labour on capital), on empirical grounds (using post-war UK and US data) and theoretical grounds (focusing on the neglect of endogenous preferences and structural constraints).

Simon Mohun, University of London

s.mohun@qmul.ac.uk

Roberto Veneziani, Queen Mary, University of London

r.veneziani@qmul.ac.uk

Paper A Wealthy Median Voter?

This paper presents a formal model of redistributive taxation that characterizes the political mechanism that explains the variation in the public provision of elementary education in Latin America. Empirical evidence is provided.

Christian Ponce de Leon, University of Chicago

chponce@uchicago.edu

Concessions or Repression: How Income Inequality Affects Paper **Institutional and Behavioral Choices in Dictatorships**

The paper addresses the observed institutional and behavioral variance among dictatorships within a single formal model and claims that different dictatorial regimes emerge at different levels of income inequality.

Patrick M. Kuhn, University of Rochester

pkuhn@mail.rochester.edu

Disc. Tasos Kalandrakis, University of Rochester

kalandrakis@ur.rochester.edu

39-8 **Presidential Appointments**

Hancock on the 6th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Wallace J. Thies, Catholic University of America Chair

thies@cua.edu

Illegitimate Nominees?: Selection Controversies in the 2008 Paper Nomination Contests

We examine the problem of perceived nominee illegitimacy, framing our discussion around the nomination battles of 2008 and other relevant nomination contests, such as the 1968 and 1980

Democratic contests and the 1976 Republican battle. Justin Scott Vaughn, Cleveland State University

j.s.vaughn@csuohio.edu

Paper Nontraditional Judicial Nominees: President's Delight and

Senators' Dismay?

To account for the president's eagerness and the Senate's reluctance to confirm female and minority judicial nominees, I incorporate political costs into a model of the confirmation process and test my theory on appellate court nominations 1977-2004.

Nicole Asmussen, University of Rochester

nasmusse@mail.rochester.edu

Presidential Appointment Power and Its Influence in the Paper **Supreme Court**

My research seeks to examine whether presidents respect or reshuffle the existing ideological composition of the Supreme Court when they replace an outgoing Justice with a new Justice.

Jonghoon Eun, University of Texas, Austin

silverbell@mail.utexas.edu

Appointing Loyalty: Stickers, Switchers, and the Clinton Paper

Superdelegate Hunt

We review the effect of executive branch appointments and prior electoral political successes in predicting superdelegate behavior during the 2008 Democratic presidential primary contests.

Christopher J. Galdieri, University of Minnesota

galdieri@umn.edu

Kevin James Parsneau, Minnesota State University

kevin.parsneau@mnsu.edu

Vincent Vecera, University of Minnesota

vecer002@umn.edu

Daaniel P. Franklin, Georgia State University Disc.

poldpf@langate.gsu.edu

39-10 Presidents and Parties (Co-sponsored with Political Parties and Interest Groups, see 38-13)

Price on the 5th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Chair Bruce F. Nesmith. Coe College

bnesmith@coe.edu

Electoral Accountability with Strong Parties Paper

We show that when executives can appeal to voters on valence then they will go against their party. This is true even in the presence of the strongest possible party: one that can dismiss their incumbent at no cost.

Erik Snowberg, California Institute of Technology

snowberg@caltech.edu

Gerard Padro-i-Miquel, London School of Economics

g.padro@lse.ac.uk

Paper Governing the Nation, Leading the Party

This paper addresses the question whether presidents' governing activities affect the policy image of their party.

Amnon Cavari, University of Wisconsin, Madison

cavari@polisci.wisc.edu

Party Factions and Presidential-Congressional Relations, 1872-2008

This essay treats the role of intra-party factions in shaping presidential-congressional relations. It identifies factions and categorizes the presidents strategies for dealing with them. A series of case studies supplement the strategic typology.

Daniel DiSalvo, City College of New York

ddisalvo@ccny.cuny.edu

Disc. David Karol, University of California, Berkeley dkarol@berkeley.edu

40-13 Spreading the Wealth? The Budget and Congressional Spending

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Wendy Ginsberg, Congressional Research Service

wginsber@sas.upenn.edu

Paper Federal Budget Reform on the Horizon: Historical Trends and Future Change

The existing federal budget process is not designed to handle the complex issues that currently face government leaders. This paper examines the historical trends in budget reform efforts by Congress and offers insight into emerging reform efforts.

Theresa J. Kohler, *Virginia Tech University* tjkohler@vt.edu

Paper Congress and the Oversight of U.S. Monetary Policy, 1976-2008

We examine congressional oversight of the Fed by the House and Senate banking committees from the mid 1970s to 2008, using automated textual analysis of the deliberations within those committees.

Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey, London School of Economics

c.m.schonhardt-bailey@lse.ac.uk **Andrew Bailey**, *Bank of England* andrew.bailey@bankofengland.co.uk

Paper Second Helpings: Another Peek Inside the Pork Barrel

A 2006 New York State Court decision ordered the State Legislature to reveal names of legislators requesting add-ons to the budget. This paper examines the distribution of pork over a two-year period.

Kevin R. Hardwick, Canisius College

hardwick@canisius.edu

Paper Advantage Democrats: Assessing the Ability of Congressional Members to Direct Federal Outlays to Their Home Districts

We document a substantively large and temporally persistent partisan gap in the ability of members of Congress to direct federal funds to their constituents. Our findings have implications for theories of distributive politics and party control.

William Howell, University of Chicago

whowell@uchicago.edu

Chris Berry, University of Chicago

crberry@uchicago.edu

Disc. Wendy Ginsberg, Congressional Research Service wginsber@sas.upenn.edu

40-23 Cosponsorship and Compromise in Congress

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Sean M. Theriault, University of Texas, Austin

seant@mail.utexas.edu

Paper Cosponsorship and Commitment

We test competing theories of cosponsorship (position-taking, signaling, and logrolling) by examining the behavior of dyads of MCs within and across issue areas.

William T. Bernhard, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign bernhard@illinois.edu

Tracy Sulkin, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign tsulkin@illinois.edu

Paper Congressional Travel and Informal Relationships: How Moneyed Interests Can Promote Democratic Principles of Compromise and Deliberation

This study examines the influence informal rapport may have on resolving ideological differences; specifically, whether legislator dyads attending privately sponsored travel are predisposed to cosponsoring subsequent legislation.

Gregory Fortelny, *Georgetown University* gpf6@georgetown.edu

Paper Groups in the U.S. Senate: A Social Network Approach

The Senate is described as individualistic, but lawmaking requires individuals to work together. Who works together? Does the structure provide insight into lawmaking? I examine cosponsorship behavior using a social network technique: blockmodels.

Neil Baer, *University of Illinois*, *Urbana-Champaign* nbaer2@illinois.edu

Disc. Hong Min Park, Washington University, St. Louis

hmpark@wustl.edu

Sean M. Theriault, *University of Texas, Austin* seant@mail.utexas.edu

42-10 Collegial Influence on Judges

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Artemus Ward, Northern Illinois University

aeward@niu.edu

Paper Institutional Maintenance and Unanimity at the U.S. Supreme Court: The Consensus-Building Justice

Using all cases decided between 1953-2004, we assess the emergence of "consensus-building justices," in building unanimity on the Supreme Court while controlling for legal issues, ideology, and institutional pressures.

Rachel Paine Caufield, Drake University/American Judicature Society

rachel.caufield@drake.edu

Michael J. Nelson, Drake University

mnelson@ajs.org

Paper Acclimation Effects and the Chief Justice: The Influence of Tenure and Role on the Decisional Behavior of the Court, 1888-2008

This study examines whether chief justices exhibit "acclimation effects" in their leadership of the Court, examining relative rates of consensus and decision-making.

Drew Lanier, University of Central Florida

dlanier@mail.ucf.edu

Paper Dissent Becomes the Majority: Supreme Court Adoptions of Prior Dissenting Opinions, 1790-2005

Why do judges dissent when they appear to have such limited value? Focusing on opinion quality, I argue that dissents are written to secure policy outcomes from future courts. Hypotheses from a formal model are tested using Supreme Court case dyads.

Susan Navarro Smelcer, Emory University

sknavar@emory.edu

Disc. Artemus Ward, Northern Illinois University

aeward@niu.edu

Roger J. Cusick, Empire State College, SUNY

rjc1028x@aol.com

42-11 Cognition, Emotion and Information Seeking on the Supreme Court

Room Adams on the 6th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Wendy Martinek, University at Binghamton, SUNY

martinek@binghamton.edu

Paper Cognition and Decision Making of U.S. Supreme Court Justices

Do justices display differing degrees of cognitive sophistication across situations? I use measures of the justices' cognitive sophistication in different circumstances to learn about their personalities and how it affects decision making.

Justin Wedeking, University of Kentucky

justin.wedeking@uky.edu

Paper Source of Information or Dog and Pony Show? Information Seeking During Oral Argument in the U.S. Supreme Court, 1960s and 2000s

An examination of the degree justices seek information during oral argument measured using a 6-point scale of information seeking combined with word counts to see what predicts oral argument behavior and if information seeking forecasts votes.

James Cleith Phillips, Brigham Young University

phillipschoro@hotmail.com

Ed L. Carter, Brigham Young University

ed_carter@byu.edu

Paper May it Please the Court: Assessing Whether the Emotional Context of Oral Argument Questions Affects Case Outcomes

We analyze the emotional content of Justices' questions at oral argument.

Timothy Russell Johnson, University of Minnesota trj@umn.edu

Ryan C. Black, Washington University, St. Louis

rcblack@wustl.edu

Sarah Treul, University of Minnesota

streul@umn.edu

Paper The Evolution of Oral Argument in the U.S. Supreme Court

Paper examines the evolutionary foundations of oral argument in the Supreme Court, focusing on: (1) the time allotted to oral argument (2) the nature of advocacy (3) the comparative significance of oral argument and the legal brief.

Isaac Unah, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill unah@unc.edu

Disc. Wendy Martinek, University at Binghamton, SUNY

martinek@binghamton.edu

Matthew Martyn Carlyon Roberts, Hope College

thew.roberts@gmail.com

42-30 Resolving Regional and Intergovernment Conflicts

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am
Chair Rodelio Manacsa, University of the South

romanacs@sewanee.edu

Paper The Second Russian Constitutional Court: A 10-Year Assessment of Its Role in Center-Regional Conflicts

This paper studies the role of the Second Constitutional Court in center-regional conflicts from 1995 to 2005, considering whether or not the Court shows favoritism towards the central government over the regions in these conflicts.

Sabrina Lyne Pinnell, San Jose State University SLPinnell@gmail.com

Paper How Courts Effect Territorial Politics? Judicial Review and Intergovernmental Relations in Brazil, Colombia, and Spain

This paper attempts to explain the role of courts on territorial politics by analyzing the relationship between judicial review and intergovernmental disputes between central and subantional governments in Brazil, Colombia, and Spain.

Helder Ferreira Do Vale, European University Institute Helder.ferreira@eui.eu

Paper Law as Movement Strategy in Taiwanese Judicial Independence Reform Movement

In this paper, I will discuss what kind of strategies the reformminded judges have used to carry out judicial independence reform. One of the major strategies of the reform movement centered on "the rule of law."

Chin-shou Wang, National Cheng Kung University wangc@mail.ncku.edu.tw

Disc. Rodelio Manacsa, University of the South

romanacs@sewanee.edu

Rebecca Wood, *University of Nevada*, *Las Vegas* rebecca.wood@unlv.edu

43-5 <u>Historical Perspectives on Legal Doctrines: 18th and 19th Centuries</u>

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair David M. Speak, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona dmspeak@csupomona.edu

Paper Contrasting Notions of Federalism in Original American Constitutions

The paper compares the ideas of federalism embedded in the National Constitution and early state constitutions to see if the state constitutions changed significantly after the National Constitution was adopted.

Michael Richter Fine, *University of Wisconsin*, *Eau Claire* finemr@uwec.edu

Paper The Influence of Independence on American Law

This paper examines the role of political ideas on legal development in the post-Revolutionary period.

Jeffrey Steven Kahana, Mount Saint Mary College kahana@msmc.edu

Paper Two Constitutions: A Conflict of Visions Regarding Constitutional Change

The Founder's vision for Constitutional change is contrasted with the Progressive vision for Constitutional change. When examined closely the two visions essentially offer distinct Constitutions to the American citizenry.

Darren Patrick Guerra, Vanguard University of Southern California

dguerra@vanguard.edu

Paper The Blessings of Liberty: An Explication and Commentary

Securing not liberty but "the blessings of liberty" is the last and most emphatically stated purpose of the U.S. Constitution. The paper provides an explanation of the term and analysis of some concepts and assumptions that it seems to imply.

Carl M. Dibble, *University of Michigan*, *Dearborn* cmdibble@comcast.net

Paper The American Institution of Courts and the Higher Law, Being Fundamentally Bound

Consider the claim that the institution of courts--or any structural mechanism--may impede the repudiation of higher law. What if, at most, the judiciary exercised judgment consistent with a people's current understanding of what is most fundamental?

Benjamin Patrick Newton, University of Maryland, College Park bnewton@umd.edu

Disc. Peter Schultz, Assumption College

pschultz@assumption.edu

45-10 Direct Democracy in the American States

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Arnold Shober, Lawrence University arnold.shober@lawrence.edu

Paper Assessing the Link Between Direct Democracy and Partisanship

This paper examines the effects of direct democracy on party identification. Findings suggest that states with greater use of the initiative process are likely to have higher levels of partisanship when resources are available to the state parties.

William Franko, *University of Iowa* william-franko@uiowa.edu

per <u>Legislative Responsiveness and the Initiative: A Model</u> <u>Incorporating Voting Behavior in the Presence of Direct</u>

Democracy

I reexamine the effect the initiative has on the responsiveness of legislatures. The ability of constituents to circumvent legislators after their election alters the degree to which the initial votes depend upon the policy positions of candidates.

James Rydberg, University of Iowa james-rydberg@uiowa.edu

Paper What's On the Ballot? The Nature and Origins of Direct Democracy Issues in the American States

Using data from all initiatives and referenda on the ballot of the 49 states over the last five election cycles we examine how institutional arrangements, partisan majorities, and interest group activity affect the policy choices put before voters.

David F. Damore, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

david.damore@unlv.edu

Stephen P. Nicholson, University of California, Merced

snicholson@ucmerced.edu

 $\textbf{Shaun Bowler},\ \textit{University of California, Riverside}$

shaunb@ucr.edu

Paper <u>Direct Democracy, Minority Rights and Judicial Protections</u>

This study examines the voting behavior of state judges in gay rights cases to assess how actively the courts protect minority rights from the majoritarian tendencies of direct democracy institutions.

Daniel C. Lewis, University of New Orleans

dclewis1@uno.edu

Frederick S. Wood, Coastal Carolina University

fwood@coastal.edu

Disc. Graeme Thomison Boushey, San Francisco State University

gboushey@sfsu.edu

46-8 The Local Dimension of Intergovernmental Politics and Policy

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Juliet Ann Musso, University of Southern California

musso@usc.edu

Paper Coerced Confusion: Local Emergency Management Policy Implementation Since 9/11

A study of local implementation of federal emergency management policy priorities since 9/11 and the impact that coercion has upon the decision making process of local emergency management professionals.

Sean Hildebrand, Western Michigan University

sean.hildebrand@wmich.edu

Paper The Structural Design of Local Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations

The findings reported describe the strategies of coordination and cooperation, with the distinction being that it is quite possible to have a coordination of public services in the absence of a compact, charter, or some other inter-local agreement.

Allen Brierly, University of Northern Iowa

AlBrierly@aol.com

Paper Political Institutions and Land Use Regulation at Affordable Housing; Multi-Level Analysis of City and County

This paper employs the political market framework to focus and emphasize on intergovernmental variation as mediators of local residential development among different level of governments in Florida State (city and county).

Sang-Chul Park, Florida State University

sp06m@fsu.edu

Se-Jin Lee, Florida State University

sl06r@fsu.edu

Paper Collusion, Cooperation and Competition Among Local Governments in the U.S.

We propose a model that builds on Brennan and Buchanan and Tiebout to link the literature on federal grants to the literature on interlocal competition and on interlocal cooperation.

Skip Krueger, University of North Texas

skip.krueger@unt.edu

Annette Steinacker, Loyola University, Chicago

asteinacker@luc.edu

Disc. Allen Kingsley Settle, California Polytechnical State University asettle@calpoly.edu

47-13 Policy Cohesion and Coherence: Myth or Goal?

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Alina R. Oxendine, Hamline University

aoxendine01@hamline.edu

Paper Will \$4.00 a Gallon Gas Produce a Coherent Energy Policy in the United States?

This paper examines the concept of policy coherence in energy policy as expressed in the Energy Policy Act of 2005, the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007, and the proposed Comprehensive American Energy Security and Consumer Protection Act.

Robert S. Wood, University of North Dakota

robert.wood@und.nodak.edu

Paper Corn at the Pump: Problems and Rationales Defining Ethanol as an Alternative Fuel

This paper analyzes policy design elements in congressional hearings addressing ethanol policy. It investigates the relationship between the development of these elements and the changing political context.

Jeffrey P. Kash, Western Kentucky University

jeffrey.kash@wku.edu

Paper Diverse Domain-Driven Policy: Defining U.S. Foreign Assistance

This paper examines internal inconsistencies of US foreign aid policy through three policy process frameworks: social construction & problem definition, policy domains and policies without publics, and offers a unique case in policy domain coherence.

Anne Buffardi, University of Washington

buffardi@u.washington.edu

Disc. Justin Abbott Tucker, California State University, Fullerton

justintucker@fullerton.edu

47-31 Information and Policy Networks

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Paul J. Quirk, University of British Columbia

quirk@politics.ubc.ca

Paper Self-Organizing Communication Networks in Emergency Management

This paper contributes to the emerging literature on selforganizing policy networks (Feiock and Scholz, 2008) by mapping communication networks among emergency managers in the three most populous counties in metropolitan Detroit.

Jered B. Carr, Wayne State University

jcarr@wayne.edu

Sarah Cahalan, Wayne State University

sarah.cahalan@gmail.com

Simon Andrew, University of North Texas

sandrew@unt.edu

Paper Talking Trash with Your Colleagues: A Study to Examine the Effect of Advocacy Coalitions on AB 939-Mandated Waste Diversion

Programmatic analysis of San Bernardino County (CA) response to AB939-mandated landfilled waste reduction standards using Advocacy Coalition Theory to gauge overall effectiveness, learning in public organizations and interjurisdictional cooperation.

Anne Louise Viricel, University of LaVerne

aviricel@brandman.com

Paper

Regulating Practice Through Information Campaigns: Government and Group Influence on Pharmaceutical Utilization

This paper argues that the power of information as a policy instrument depends on the links government information makes with organized interests and other third parties to distribute and legitimate government information.

Susan L. Moffitt, Harvard University

smoffitt@gov.harvard.edu

 ${\bf Radha\ Iyengar}, London\ School\ of\ Economics$

R.Iyengar1@lse.ac.uk

Paper Virtual Policy Administrators: VA, Veterans and Online Communities

Recently, veterans have created online communities to help each other navigate VA. In so doing, policy beneficiaries have become "virtual" policy administrators. This paper will explore this new relationship between veterans and the bureaucracy.

Cecilia Ferradino, University of Albany

cferradino@hotmail.com

Paper Policy-Instruments and Innovation Strategies for High-Technology Industries

The paper examines the state of theoretical knowledge and practical experience on innovation policy geared toward high-tech sectors. It reviews and expands existing conceptual frameworks using the lens

of a complex systems perspective.

Volker H. Schneider, University of Konstanz, Germanz

volker.schneider@uni-konstanz.de **Achim Lang**, *University of Konstanz* Achim.Lang@uni-konstanz.de

Johannes M. Bauer, Michigan State University

bauerj@msu.edu

Disc. Paul J. Quirk, University of British Columbia

quirk@politics.ubc.ca

Lael Ruth Keiser, University of Missouri

keiserl@missouri.edu

48-6 Business Regulation

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Katrina Lauren Kosec, Stanford University

kkosec@stanford.edu

Paper The Political Economy of Utility Privatization: Structural and Political Determinants

I describe a model of local governments' choice over the ownership type (public or private) of their local utilities. I then proceed to test the model using firm-level panel data on all water utilities in the United States over the period 1997-2003.

Katrina Lauren Kosec, Stanford University

kkosec@stanford.edu

Paper Executive Compensation, Institutional Constraint, and Inequality: How Public Outrage Over CEO Salaries Cannot Check Corporate Behavior

This paper shows that public outrage toward business fails to limit the total compensation of American CEOs due to institutional constraints. However, it also finds evidence that heightened activity on the part of the SEC can constrain compensation.

Timothy Werner, *University of Wisconsin*, *Madison* werner@polisci.wisc.edu

Paper Can Lower Tax Rates Be Bought?: Business Rent-Seeking And Tax Competition Among U.S. States

We examine the role played by business campaign contributions on business taxes. We derive several predictions and test them with U.S. state panel data on capital taxes and political preferences with newly-compiled data on business contributions.

Bob Chirinko, University of Illinois, Chicago

chirinko@uic.edu

Dan Wilson, Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco

Daniel.Wilson@sf.frb.org

Paper The Politics of Market Selection

The study estimates the effects of an economic sector's political power on the policies faced by its plants, its market survival probabilities, and finally, aggregate productivity. Data from the Colombian manufacturing sector is used.

Luis Eduardo Quintero, Carnegie Mellon University leq@cmu.edu

Disc. Katrina Lauren Kosec, Stanford University

kkosec@stanford.edu

Mats Landström, University of Gavle

mlm@hig.se

49-8 Voluntary Environmental Policy

Room LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am
Chair Frank T. Manheim, George Mason University

fmanhei1@gmu.edu

Paper Public Sector Voluntary Initiatives: The Adoption of the Environmental Management System for Biosolids by Public

Waste Water Treatment Facilities in the United States

This study examines the special case of voluntary environmental

behavior of public sector organizations.

Wan-Ling Huang, University of Illinois, Chicago

whuang24@uic.edu

Eric W. Welch, University of Illinois, Chicago

ewwelch@uic.edu

Elizabeth A. Corley, Arizona State University

elizabeth.corley@asu.edu

Paper Voluntary Programs in Global Climate Change Policy: Promises and Pitfalls

We examine the promises and pitfalls of U.S. voluntary programs on climate change through the lens of club perspective developed by Prakash and Potoski (2006).

Lily Y. W. Hsueh, University of Washington

lhsueh@u.washington.edu

Aseem Prakash, University of Washington

aseem@u.washington.edu

Paper Voluntary Environmental Programs: Substance or Symbolism?

this paper evaluates corporate voluntary environmental performance in a voluntary environmental program

Seong-gin Moon, Grand Valley State University

moons@gvsu.edu

Paper Buying our Way Out of the Climate Crisis: The Greenwashing of Voluntary Carbon Offsets

This paper questions the desirability of encouraging individuals to offset their greenhouse gas emissions with voluntary carbon offset schemes but emphasizes the importance of a system to verify the legitimacy and additionality such schemes.

Jane Frances Uebelhoer, Marymount University

jane.uebelhoer@marymount.edu

Disc. Leigh Raymond, Purdue University

lraymond@purdue.edu

50-12 Analyzing State Workforces

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 10:00 am
Chair Manny Teodoro, Colgate University

mteodoro@mail.colgate.edu

Paper So Long And Thanks For All The Fish: The Impact of Social Welfare Programs on the State Economy

Concerns have arisen over results that social welfare programs produce. What is the impact of these programs? Using a multilink approach, we investigate the direct and indirect impact of social welfare programs on the traditional southeastern states.

B. D. McDonald, III, Florida State University

bmcdonald@fsu.edu

D. Ryan Miller, Florida State University

drm06d@fsu.edu

Paper Pay Differences Between State Government and Private Sector Employees, by State, Race, and Gender

Using OLS on the ACS, we analyze whether state employees earn more or less than comparably educated and experienced private sector employees in the same state; whether public-private pay gaps vary by race and gender; and whether gaps are shrinking.

Gregory B. Lewis, Georgia State University

glweis@gsu.edu

Paper E-Government vs E-Business: A Comparison of Online Recruitment in the Public and Private Sectors

This experiment compares the online job application process between all fifty states and the fifty largest American businesses.

The states are much less likely to accept online applications, and the state websites tend to be less user-friendly.

Paper

Patrice M. Mareschal, Rutgers University

marescha@camden.rutgers.edu

Joel P. Rudin, Rowan University

rudin@rowan.edu

Paper Budgetary Trade-Offs in Municipal Government

How do fiscal capacity, political institutions, and demographic characteristics impact local government budgetary trade-offs? The study expands the guns versus butter argument by considering trade-offs among local government service areas.

Paper

Nathan J. Francis, Florida State University

njf06d@fsu.edu

Disc. Christopher Hawkins, University of Central Florida

cvhawkin@mail.ucf.edu

Luc Bernier, University of Quebec

luc.bernier@enap.ca

51-6 Finance and American Political Development

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Chair Andrea Campbell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

acampbel@mit.edu

Paper The State and the Money Market in Historical Perspective: United States, 1800-1836

Examines the historical relationship between the state and the money market. Particularly, explains the variation in the entry barriers and lending policy using the case of the United States in the 19th century.

Abhishek Chatterjee, *University of Virginia* ac7y@virginia.edu

Paper Why Didn't the United States Establish a Central Bank Until After the Panic of 1907?

The turmoil caused by the Panic of 1907 convinced the influential bankers in New York to throw their political influence in favor of a central bank, an institution they had previously been able to suppress politically.

Jon Moen, University of Mississippi

jmoen@olemiss.edu

Ellis Tallman, Oberlin College ellis.tallman@oberlin.edu

Paper Bankruptcy and Progressivism: The Bankruptcy Act of 1898 and its Application in the Eastern District of Michigan

This paper describes the influence of progressivism on the enactment and implementation of the Bankruptcy Act of 1898, the forerunner of current US bankruptcy law.

Kevin Ball, Wayne State University

kball@wide open west.com

Paper Explaining the Politics of Big Government Conservatism: Financial Bailouts, War in Iraq, and Education Reform

Comparing the cases of financial bailout, war in Iraq, and education reform, this paper analyzes "Big Government Conservatism." It shows that political entrepreneurship and alliances of convenience have abetted government expansion in the Bush era.

Jesse Rhodes, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

jrhodes@polsci.umass.edu

Disc. Andrea Campbell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology acampbel@mit.edu

53-7 Discurcive Theory

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am
Chair Chi-chen Chiang, University of Chicago

cchiang@uchicago.edu

Race Constructions and Race Relations in Twenty-First Century Cuba: Representations of Chinese-ness in Afro-Cuban

Hip-Hop

This paper employs discourse analysis of two popular Afro-Cuban rap songs to show how the lyrics of Afro-Cuban performers assert and define their racial and national identity as well as relations with Chinese Cubans.

Angela Ju, University of California, Los Angeles

angelaju@ucla.edu

A Comparative Examination of New and Old Marxist Thought in Iran

This comparative study depicts the similarities and differences between New and Old Marxist thoughts in Iran. The new Marxist student movement has rejected the old ideas and has called for a complete revision of Marxism in Iran.

Abdy Javadzadeh, Florida International University

abdyjavadzadeh@yahoo.com

Paper China's Ethos of Order and Security

This study will attempt to ascertain whether or not China has a unique ethos that causes it to prioritize order and security above other policy priorities through an in-depth look at its policy toward Kosovo, Sudan, and Tibet.

Joshua Paul Bartlett, Indiana Wesleyan University

josh.bartlett@student.indwes.edu

Paper Different Republics: Transformation of Authority, Territory and Rights in China

This paper intends to trace the development of citizen's rights in the formation of the Republic, and its political and economic reforms in the later periods.

Chi-chen Chiang, University of Chicago

cchiang@uchicago.edu

Disc. Chi-chen Chiang, University of Chicago

cchiang@uchicago.edu

Andrea Elizabeth Jones-Rooy, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor ajonrooy@umich.edu

54-12 Religion and Political Participation

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am
Chair Ted G. Jelen, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

jelent@unlv.nevada.edu

Paper Priming Civil Religion: How Campaign Rhetoric Activates

 $\underline{Religious\ Considerations\ in\ Political\ Campaigns}$

I examine the extent to which the connection between religion and voting is contingent on campaign rhetoric. Using content analysis and an experiment, I find that a civil religious identity is central to understanding religion and voting.

Christopher Chapp, St. Olaf College

chapp@stolaf.edu

Paper Religion, Societal Development, and Political Attitudes

We present a formal model in which an individual's decision about whether to engage in religious activities depends on the costs and benefits associated with these activities and economic development.

Ben Gaskins, Florida State University

bgaskins@fsu.edu

Matt Golder, Florida State University

mgolder@sfu.edu

David Siegel, Florida State University

dsiegel@fsu.edu

Paper Religious Participation in the Electoral Arena: The Case of

This paper examines the conditions under which religious activism in civil society leads to the formation of political parties, focusing on the links between religious hierarchies and popular networks.

The empirical focus is on the Venezuelan case. Luis Felipe Mantilla, Georgetown University

lfm5@georgetown.edu

The Continued Salience of Religious Voting in the United States, Post. 3 Paper Germany, and Great Britain

Focusing on the United States, Germany, and Great Britain, this paper compares the present social bases of electoral support with those of the 1960s. Despite the weakening of other social factors, religion remains a highly significant factor.

Christopher David Raymond, University of Missouri cdrxdd@mizzou.edu

Ted G. Jelen, University of Nevada, Las Vegas Disc. jelent@unlv.nevada.edu

56-11 Assessment: Addressing and Solving Problems in Pedagogy, Curricula, and Programs

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Michelle D. Deardorff, Jackson State University Chair

michelle.d.deardorff@jsums.edu

The Gradebook Project: Using the Grading Process to Help Paper Assess Course, Department, and General Eduation Student **Learning Outcomes**

Too often assessment activities are seen as an added or extra burden for faculty. This demonstration shows how faculty can take better advantage of the grading process to create, share, and reflect upon assessment data.

Paul J. Folger, Heartland Community College paul.folger@heartland.edu

The Dilemma of Teaching International Relations in the Paper **Distance-Learning Format**

In this paper, I assess the strengths and weaknesses of instructing students about international relations in a distance-education setting, and suggest ways to improve student comprehension.

Benjamin Lampe, University of Kansas blampe@ku.edu

Teaching International Relations and Political Science in the Paper **Public Affairs School Model**

When departments merge, combine, or pool resources there is a strong consensus that specific disciplines will suffer, particularly in their capacity to effectively teach within their fields. I argue that this has not been the case in most instances.

Christopher Joseph Saladino, Virginia Commonwealth University cjsaladino@vcu.edu

John M. Aughenbaugh, Virginia Commonwealth University jmaughenbaug@vcu.edu

Disc. Leon Halpert, Siena College

halpert@siena.edu

Michelle D. Deardorff, Jackson State University michelle.d.deardorff@jsums.edu

57-204 Undergraduate Research Poster Session: International **Political Economy: Oil and Finance**

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Whats In A Euro?

As the dollar continues to drop in value there has been much discussion about moving the trade of oil from the American dollar to the Euro. Economists disagree on the effects that this transition would have, as well as why no country has yet begun.

David Zeke Falcon, University of New Orleans

dzfalcon@uno.edu

Post. 2 Questions of Stability: The Effects that Oil and Natural Gas **Production Have Upon State Stability**

Few studies have fully addressed the effects that oil and natural gas production have upon state stability. I found that oil and natural gas production leads to a decrease in state stability induced by the nationalization of oil and natural gas.

Campbell Lehnertz Faulkner, Creighton University campbellfaulkner@creighton.edu

Oil Prices and Violent Conflict: Is There a Connection?

It is important to point out that this study serves as more of a baseline on which future research should be built. The resource curse literature has grown tremendously throughout the past decade but has failed to question the connection.

Blake Evan Garcia, Pennsylvania State University beg146@psu.edu

Post. 4 Sovereign Wealth Funds, the Emergence of State Capitalism in the 21st Century: Should Investments be Welcomed or Feared?

Analysis of Sovereign Wealth Fund activity and national security and economic reasons against investment. Explores methods to improve SWF transparency and legitimacy to ensure future benefits from SWF investments.

David M.A. Murphy, University at Geneseo, SUNY dmm23@geneseo.edu

Post. 5 The Globalized Covenant: American Civil Religion in the 21st Century

What effect is globalization having on American Civil Religion? While globalization is eroding its core, the rhetoric of civil religion continues to be a successful means of mobilizing political support in the 21st century United States of America.

Nicholas B. Musso, University of Utah n.musso@utah.edu

Post. 6 Paradox in Paradise: Tourism and Dependency in Barbados

The economy of Barbados was traditionally dependent on the sugarcane industry, however, in recent years tourism as an industry has surpassed sugar in economic importance and subsequently fostered detrimental dependency in the country.

Nicole Aileen Rakers, Carthage College nrakers@carthage.edu

Post. 7 The Iranian Democratic Deficit: How Oil Dominance Affects the Spread of Democracy in the Middle East and North Africa

Oil reliance produces barricades to democratization. States in the Middle East and North Africa are caught in a democratic deficit caused by their oil economies. For a state like Iran to accelerate its democracy there must be less of a reliance.

Kevin Britton Smith, Emmanuel College smithke4@emmanuel.edu

57-206 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: American:</u> **Political Pariticipation**

Grand on the 4th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am Room

Post. 10 Divine Inspiration: What Motivates Christians to Be Involved in **Social Movements**

The Christian faith has played an important role in past social movements, including abolition and civil rights. This paper explores whether and how religious faith affects people's desire to participate in social movements using information collect

Jeremy Johnson Castle, Hanover College

castlej10@hanover.edu

Post. 11 The Venezuelan Student Movement: Success and Popularity

How and why the movement has developed from protests against a TV station shut-down to rejecting constitutional reforms proposed by Hugo Chavez.

Yana Chernyak, Franklin and Marshall College yana.chernyak@fandm.edu

Post. 12 Gender Differences in Partisan Support Among Independent Voters in the 2000, 2004 and 2008 Presidential Elections

While both male and female partisan voters voted along party affiliation lines in both the 2000, 2004 and 2008 presidential election, survey data from the Seneca County, Ohio, area, suggest that male and female independent voters differed strongly.

Greg Doyle, Heidelberg College

gdoyle@heidelberg.edu

Sean Hutson, Heidelberg College

shutson@heidelberg.edu

Post. 13 Church and State: The Debate over Lines in the Sand

A look at the Establishment Clause, its origin, history, and impact on the American political landscape.

Jeffery David Ferguson, *University of New Orleans* jferguso@uno.edu

Post. 14 A Case for the Implementation of a Council-Manager or Council-Administrator Form of Government: Based on the History and Law of the United States, Wisconsin, and the City of La Crosse

This program evaluation researches the implementation of councilmanager and council-administrator forms of government, arguing for a council-administrator form of government for the City of La Crosse

Jacie LaVaughn Gamroth, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse Jacie.Gamroth@gmail.com

Post. 15 The Age Gap? Age and Gender Differences in Responses to Negative Campaign Ads

This paper investigates whether young voters (18-24 year olds) respond to negative ads differently, and whether there are gender differences in responses to these ads among the college student population.

Eric Daniel Giles, Clemson University egiles@g.clemson.edu

Post. 16 The Uncoordinated Campaign: How the Party and the Candidate Have Become Strangers

Field research complemented with an historical survey of the growing chasm between American political parties and major candidates' campaigns. Focuses on the Barack Obama Campaign for Change Offices in heavily Democratic Mahoning County, OH. Sarah Kathleen Lewis, *Youngstown State University* sklewis@student.ysu.edu

Post. 17 <u>Variation in Social Rationales Among Union Locals: A Cross</u> Sectional Analysis of the ILWU

This paper provides a comparative case study of how institutional, cultural, sociological and environmental determinants shape different social rationales, as measured by forms of collective action, within three distinct ILWU Locals.

Igor Voloshin, *University of Washington*, *Seattle* igorv@u.washington.edu

Post. 8 Youth Political Participation: The Motivations and Organizing Techniques that Engaged Youth During the 2008 Presidential Campaign

Young people have been involved in Obama's campaign for presidency at higher levels than ever seen before. This paper examines the factors behind this participation, from inspiration to the Internet

Jane West Booth-Tobin, Wellesley College jboothto@wellesley.edu

Post. 9 Cash and Pluralism – How Ethnic and Religious Tolerance Has Been Purchased Throughout American Political History

A chronological exploration of instances throughout American political history in which ethnic and religious tolerance were achieved through economic motivators.

Lawrence Cappello, Queens College

LCappello@nyc.rr.com

57-211 Undergraduate Research Poster Session: IR: Conflict

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Sat at 10:00 am

Post. 18 Lessons From U.S. Mission to the U.N. Agencies in Rome: Perceptions of U.S. Foreign Policy at the World Food Programme and Food and Agriculture Organization

By comparing perceptions of U.S. policy at both of the WFP and FAO, this paper will provide guidance on how the United States should proceed in working with the UN to encourage reform and improve its own image in the international community.

James Edward Allen IV,

ja4ra1@gmail.com

Post. 19 <u>Promoter vs Defender: U.S. Foreign Policy Identity Evolution</u> and Iran, 1943-53

A social constructivist explanation of the 1953 coup d'état in Iran. Specifically analyzing the evolution of U.S. foreign policy identity towards Iran from the Tehran Conference in 1943 up to the coup. **Colby James Bone**, *Weber State University* cbone287@gmail.com

Post. 20 Political Assassins: An Exploratory Research

Over the last few years significant progress was made in the understanding of personal motivation to the perpetration of terrorist attacks. So far, both the theoretical and methodological leaps in the study of terrorists have not been applied.

Cassy Lynn Dorff, University of Texas, Austin cassyLD@gmail.com

Post. 21 Kosovo: Independence, Sovereignty, Human Rights, and International Recognition

Kosovo's decision to secede from Serbia was rooted in Kofi Annan's conception of "individual sovereignty". However, experiencing no current human rights violations, its decision raises significant questions about the status of separatist movements.

Charlotte Jude Hulme, *Alma College* c_hulme2010@yahoo.com

Post. 22 Terrorism Financing: A Critical Analysis

The UN, working closely with the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering, has pursued diverse strategies following 9/11 to reduce terrorists' access to financial resources. While achieving early successes, such efforts must be broadened.

Olivia Lane Hulme, *Wellesley College* ohulme@wellesley.edu

Post. 23 The Implementation of Negotiated Settlements After Intrastate Wars

This project studies the impact of implementation on the prospects for durable peace in the aftermath of civil wars ended via negotiated settlements.

Whitney Elizabeth Louderback, College of Wooster wlouderback 10@wooster.edu

Post. 24 From Notion to Nation: Complications and Implications of a New Southern Sudan

With the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Southern Sudan is on track to potentially become a state separate from Sudan. This paper explains difficulties facing such a split in Sudan, as well as potential problems after secession.

Nathan Kyle Magrath, Hope College nathan.magrath@hope.edu

Post. 25 Global Terrorism: The Link Between a Regime's Political Orientation and Violence

Many governments base their terrorism policy on a non-empirically based ideology. Application of tactics containing only violence with no negotiations has been found to increase the frequency of terrorist incidents.

Erin M. Peterson, Creighton University ErinPeterson@Creighton.edu

Post. 26 The Weaponization of Space and the People's Republic of China

This paper evaluates arguments surrounding US space weaponization. China's space agenda will be evaluated as well as the drivers in the US policy. This paper argues to conduct further political negotiations with China until specific intent for space. **Matthew Louis Pineda**, *United States Air Force Academy* C09Matthew.Pineda@usafa.edu

Post. 27 <u>Counter-Insurgency Strategy in Iraq: Classical Strategies and</u> Their Applications

This paper seeks to examine the relationship between the counter insurgent's strategy in Iraq and measurable, meaningful success both "on the ground" as well as short and long term regional stability. **Joshua Eric Roberts**, *University of Pennsylvania* rjoshua@sas.upenn.edu

Post. 28 I've Got the Power: War, Rational Perceptions of Relative Power, and Military Emphasis

This paper shows how disagreements about relative power stem from the relationship of the dyadic partners' military emphases. **Patrick R. Scott**, *Brigham Young University* originalcoloredspaces@gmail.com

Post. 29 The Allure of the Radical: Understanding Jihadist Violence in the West

Using a comparative angle, this paper attempts to open some new lines of inquiry into understanding globalist radical Islam, arguing that macro-, meso-, and micro-level analyses be considered in unison when discussing the phenomenon.

Kabir Sethi, *Macalester College* ksethi@macalester.edu

Post. 30 An Analysis of Contemporary U.S.-Turkish Relations: To What Extent If Any, Has the U.S. Invasion of Iraq Been a Setback to U.S. Turkish Relations?

There have been significant developments in US-Turkish relations over the past decade and a half. What have these changes been? How important are they? What role has the US invasion of Iraq played and what is the likely evolution of the US-Turkish. **Kenan Craig Troeller**, *University of Minnesota, Twin Cities* troe0015@umn.edu

Saturday, April 4-12:45 pm

1-7 Dynamic Policymaking (Co-sponsored with Formal Modeling, see 35-17)

Room Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Nolan McCarty, Princeton University

nmccarty@princeton.edu

Paper Alternating Power and Policy Moderation Under Uncertainty

A measure of the success of a democracy is the frequent transition of power. Switching power has its costs, however, through frequent and often unpredictable changes in policy. In this paper I offer a novel argument in favor of alternating power.

Steven Callander, Northwestern University

scal@kellogg.northwestern.edu

Paper Existence and Computation of Pure-Strategy Equilibria in Models of Legislative Bargaining with Reconsideration

We prove general properties of all pure-strategy stationary equilibria for dynamic legislative bargaining with reconsideration and apply the model to various policy environments, including a model of spatial preferences and a model of public goods.

Daniel Diermeier, Northwestern University d-diermeier@kellogg.northwestern.edu Pohan Fong, Northwestern University p-fong@kellogg.northwestern.edu

Paper Learning and Teaching in a Model of Executive Agency

Appointments and Supervised Policy Implementation

We develop a model of executive appointments, dynamic policy choice, and implementation in a bureaucratic agency. We characterize behavior distinct to dynamic collective choice settings with belief-driven disagreements that are common knowledge.

Alexander Victor Hirsch, Stanford University ahirsch@stanford.edu

Disc. Elizabeth Maggie Penn, Harvard University epenn@latte.harvard.edu

3-12 **Inequality and Politics**

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm **Chair Jonathan Hanson**, *Syracuse University*

johanson@maxwell.syr.edu

Paper Trade, Labor Standard and the Evolution of Inequality

We theorize and test an argument linking formal labor standards and trade to changes in the income distribution conditional on a country's labor abundance.

Erik Wibbels, Duke University

ewibbels@gmail.com

Darin Christensen, *Duke University* darin.christensen@googlemail.com

Paper Inequality Under Democracy: Explaining the 'Left Decade' in Latin America

This paper proposes a formal model explaining the rise of the left in Latin America and finds support for the model looking at elections in 18 countries in Latin America from 1978 to 2008.

Alexandre Debs, University of Rochester

adebs@mail.rochester.edu

Gretchen Helmke, University of Rochester

hlmk@mail.rochester.edu

Paper Democracy and Redistribution in Historical Perspective: Argentina, 1880-1950

This paper shows that democracy is not sufficient or necessary for generating fiscal redistribution. It offers a model of democratization due to intra-elite rather than class conflict and provides detailed historical data for Argentina, 1880-1950.

Roy Elis, Stanford University

elis@stanford.edu

Paper Redistribution and the Definition of Party Positions in Brazil

Why have new democracies been slow in adopting equality enhancing policies? I propose an answer based on a formal model of learning by both representatives and voters and empirical analysis of voting data for presidential elections in Brazil.

Fabiana Velasques Machado, University of Rochester

fmachado@mail.rochester.edu

Disc. Thomas Edward Flores, New York University

thomas.flores@nyu.edu

4-9 Constitutional Structures

Room Adams on the 6th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Eduardo Aleman, University of Houston

ealeman2@uh.edu

Paper Understanding the Contemporary Rise of Constitutional Dictatorship: A Schmittian Perspective

Drawing on Carl Schmitt's typology of 'commissarial dictatorship' versus 'sovereign dictatorship,' we comparatively assess the existence of requisite conditions, language, and actions in a number of empirical cases of state of emergency declarations.

Christopher A. McKoy, *University of California*, *Santa Barbara* mckoy@polsci.ucsb.edu

Corinna A. Reyes, *University of California, Santa Barbara* creyes@polsci.ucsb.edu

Paper How Semi- is Semi-Presidentialism? On the Hybridization of Constitutional Forms

This paper examines how well the distinction between parliamentarism, presidentialism and semi-presidentialism predict the organization of executive-legislative relations in world constitutions.

Jose Antonio Cheibub, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign cheibub@illinois.edu

Zachary Elkins, University of Texas, Austin

zelkins@austin.utexas.edu

Tom Ginsburg, University of Chicago

tginsburg@uchicago.edu

Paper Legal Institutions and the Democratic Order

We examine whether effective legal institutions promote order in democracies by resolving fundamental commitment problems. We find that effective legal institutions are positively correlated with regime survival and fewer violent political events.

Jeffrey Staton, Emory University

jkstato@emory.edu

Christopher Michael Reenock, Florida State University

creenock@fsu.edu

Marius Radean, Florida State University

mradean@fsu.edu

Paper Constitutional Choices: Determinants of Institutional Design in Democratizing Nations

Why do democracies make the constitutional choices they do? We seek to model constitutional choices during the democratization events of the post World War II period with presidentialism, mixed-systems, and parliamentarism as the dependent variable.

Christopher J. Deering. George Washington University rocket@gwu.edu

Jai Kwan Jung, George Washington University jkjung@gwu.edu

Disc. Gretchen Casper, Pennsylvania State University

gcasper@psu.edu

Mona Marie Lyne, University of Missouri, Kansas City lynem@umkc.edu

4-14 Transitions to Democracy: The Sub-National Dimension

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Matt Evans, Pennsylvania State University

mde15@psu.edu

Paper Constitutional Design vs Constitutional Reform in Emerging

Democracies: Lessons for Post-Communist TransitionsIn the context of post-communist Eastern Europe, transition itself

has emerged in a number of those countries from a bargaining process between local political players and the old regime.

Katja Michalak, American University in Bulgaria

Kmichalak@aubg.bg

Gerald Pech, American University in Bulgaria

Gpech@aubg.bg

Paper Trust, Rationality, and Electoral Participation in Rural China

We develop a rational model to explain villagers' participation. Utilizing a national survey of rural residents in 2005, this paper tests and confirms the insights of the model.

Fubing Su, Vassar College

Fusu@vassar.edu

Paper Electoral Competition and Local Government Performance in Indonesia

This paper investigates factors affecting local government performance by testing the relationship between democratization process: the direct elections at the local level and increase in electoral competition) and the local governance.

Srie Ramli, Northern Illinois University

sramli@niu.edu

Paper Local Elections and National Multipartyism in Dictatorships

Why do some dictators allow opposition parties to contest local elections, to compete in national elections, or both? I argue the reason is the combination of opposition's strength and exogenous economic deterioration.

Yingying Na, New York University

yn360@nyu.edu

Paper Provincial Authoritarianism: A Formal Model with Evidence from Subnational Elections in Argentina

This paper develops of formal model of a subnational electoral competition with a patronage-based incumbent. Several hypotheses regarding potential sources of reform are tested using data from the Argentine provinces.

Matthew Kearney, University of California, San Diego mckearney@ucsd.edu

mckearney@ucsu.eu

Disc. Matt Evans, Pennsylvania State University

mde15@psu.edu

5-16 Theories of Power

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Michael Baggesen Klitgaard, University of Southern Denmark

mbk@sam.sdu.dk

Paper Institutions and Political Power

This paper proposes a theory of political power as the capacity to direct institutional change and explores the empirical implications of the analysis for accountability and democratic representation.

Johannes Urpelainen, University of Michigan

jurpelai@umich.edu

Paper Supply and Demand in Institutional Change: A Critical Review of the State Formation Literature

This paper discusses the limitations of demand-side theories of state formation and proposes an alternative that combines supply- and demand-side dynamics.

Tolga Demiryol, University of Virginia

td3x@virginia.edu

Paper Infrastructural Power as Boundary-Work, or What it Really Means to be a Strong State

This paper exposes the limitations of extant understandings of "infrastructural power" and offers a re-operationalization that is faithful to its origins in social network analysis and amenable to empirical analysis.

Diana Young hwa Kim, University of Chicago

yhkim11@uchicago.edu

Matthias Staisch, University of Chicago

mstaisch@uchicago.edu

Paper Bringing Power Back In: Inserting Power into the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) Framework

Following Moe's lead, in this paper we explore ways in which power can be explicitly incorporated into Ostrom's IAD framework. We use an empirical reanalysis of a previous study to show the differing conclusions that emerge when incorporating power.

Gustavo Garcia-Lopez, Indiana University, Bloomington

ggarcial@indiana.edu

Prakash Kashwan, Indiana University, Bloomington

pkashwan@indiana.edu

Disc. Michael Baggesen Klitgaard, University of Southern Denmark

mbk@sam.sdu.dk

7-14 Policymaking in the EU

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Andrea Haupt, DePaul University

AHAUPT1@depaul.edu

Paper Understanding EU Policy-Making: Interest Group Influence on Policy Formulation

Drawing on quantitative text analysis, this paper presents a largescale empirical analysis of interest group influence on EU policy formulation across a wide range of issues.

Heike Klüver, University of Mannheim hkluever@mail.uni-mannheim.de

aper The Political Economy of Supranational Institutions and the Limitations of Transparency in the European Union

This formal model presents an alternative interpretation of the devolution of power to the European Parliament by EU member-states: the EP helps ameliorate the imbalance of institutional transparency between interest groups and the general public.

Iliya Atanasov, Rice University

iliya@rice.edu

Paper Can the EU Status-quo Bias in Budgetary Matters Lead to Change?

Is it possible to reform the EU budget in an enlarged EU? Budgetary rules can be changed only if the status-quo bias (favoring net contributors) is taken into account. To overcome this bias, net beneficiaries and the Commission must use issue-linkage

Dana Adriana Puia, University of Pittsburgh, European Commission

dana-adriana.puia@ec.europa.eu

Paper How to Re-Shape Cohesion Policy for a Reviewed EU Budget?

This paper tackles EU Cohesion Policy shortcomings in the context of the budget review process. The paper addresses the issue of incentive incompatibility, using as theoretical framework multi-level governance and the theory of collective action.

Alina Stefania Ujupan, European Commission

alina-stefania.ujupan@ec.europa.eu

Paper Accountability in the Multi-Level Context: The Public's Impact on Elite Behavior in the European Union Council of Ministers

This paper investigates the possibility of accountablity in the European Union by examining the public's use of different electoral mechanisms to impact the behavior of national representatives in the European Union Council of Ministers.

Nicholas J. Clark, Indiana University

nijclark@indiana.edu

Andrea Haupt, DePaul University Disc.

AHAUPT1@depaul.edu

The Effect of Incumbency and Institutions on Voting and 8-20 **Elections in Latin America**

Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room

Chair Patrick Vander Weyden, University of Ghent

patrick.vanderweyden@ugent.be

Economic Voting and Clarity of Alternatives in Latin American Paper **Presidential Elections**

I analyze every democratic election in Latin America between 1978 and 2004 to see whether "clarity of alternatives" to the incumbent conditions the effect of national economic outcomes on presidential parties' vote shares.

Ozge Kemahlioglu, Florida State University okemahlioglu@fsu.edu

Let's Leave the Door Open That I Will Come Back Studying Paper **Incumbent's Advantage in Legislative Elections Under PR Closed and Open Lists Systems**

By looking at the Colombian case, where parties can present a single open or closed list, I show that incumbency advantages are stronger in cases where voters are entitled to rank their preferences.

Veronica Caro, University of Houston verowally@hotmail.com

Electoral Comebacks in the Third Wave by Former Strongmen Paper

> Why do former strongmen rulers make electoral comebacks, while others do not, and why do they successfully comeback in the elections in which they do?

Danilo Antonio Contreras, University of Texas, Austin

dcontreras@mail.utexas.edu

Effects of District Magnitude: A Comparison of Voting Paper **Behavior in Brazil**

Utilizing data from Brazil's Superior Electoral Court from 1990 to 2006 this paper will compare election results across Brazilian states for the Chamber of Deputies to determine if district magnitude has had an effect on voting behavior.

Linsey A. Moddelmog, University of Kansas linseym@ku.edu

Governability Appeals: Refining the Theory of Electoral Paper Linkages With Evidence From Argentina and Peru

This paper uses original survey data from Argentina and Peru to test the incidence of governability appeals in voting behavior.

Ezequiel Alejo Gonzalez Ocantos, University of Notre Dame egonzal4@nd.edu

Carlos Melendez, University of Notre Dame cmelend1@nd.edu

Scott J. Morgenstern, University of Pittsburgh Disc. smorgens@pitt.edu

9-17 Social Welfare Policy in Asia

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Bin Yu, University of Colorado, Boulder BIN.YU@COLORADO.EDU

Paper Clusters Representing Process: Welfare Capitalism in East and Southeast Asia

This paper sheds light on the institutional divergence of welfare capitalism in East and Southeast Asia by classifying the states into two groups - 'compensatory' and 'competitive' productivist welfare systems.

Myoung-Shik Kim, University of Pittsburgh myk2@pitt.edu

Comparative Study on Relations Between Consumer Paper Bankruptcy and Social Policy: Korea and Japan

This paper studies comparative consumer bankruptcy in the context of the relations between consumer bankruptcy and social policy in South Korea and Japan.

Soon Young Kim, Sogang University

soyo0707@gmail.com

The Impact of Globalization and Democratization on Social **Paper** Spending in East Asia

In this paper I will propose that a state can pursue both "compensation" and "efficiency" policies at the same time in order to respond to the negative effects of globalization and that democratization has negative impact on social spending.

Shapoatov Sayfiddin, Texas Tech University

sayfulloh2002@hotmail.com

Paper The Politics of Social Harmony: Survival Strategy and Social Welfare in Hu's China

This paper seeks to discern the effects of globalization on social welfare policy in authoritarian settings. It examines how social stability mediates the effects of globalization on Chinese health care policy under the Hu administration.

Bin Yu, University of Colorado, Boulder BIN.YU@COLORADO.EDU

Disc. Navine Murshid, University of Rochester

nmurshid@mail.rochester.edu

10-10 **Institutions and Governance in Africa**

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Sara R. Jordan, University of Hong Kong sjordan@hku.hk

Paper The Impact of British Colonialism on State Repression in Africa: A Quantitative Analysis

This paper examines undue affect of British colonialism in African states. We argue that the accumulation of revenue, which is an inherited from colonial period, is the main impetus for state repression.

KC Morrison, University of Missouri

morrisonk@mizzou.edu

Christopher Westergren, University of Missouri cjweaa@mizzou.edu

M. Cuneyt Ozsahin, University of Missouri

mo7v3@mizzou.edu

Surachai Pumipuntu, International Relations sp526@mizzou.edu

Democracy and Environmental Governance in Africa Paper

Democratic decision-making in environmental governance has been forwarded as a means of securing viable environmental conservation outcomes. This paper investigates the possibility of democratically-generated unsustainable environmental outcomes.

Ngeta Kabiri, Yale University ngeta.kabiri@yale.edu

Taxes, Institutions and Local Governance: Evidence from a **Paper Natural Experiment in Colonial Nigeria**

I show that different colonial institutions within Nigeria lead to different present day quality of governance. Areas where the colonial tax system required more bureaucratic capacity are better governed today than similar areas which were untaxed.

Daniel Berger, New York University

db1299@nyu.edu

The District Officer: Still a Colonial Shell? An Appraisal of the **Paper** Officers' Role in Political Development in Kenya

An Appraisal of the District Officers' role in political development in Kenya. Paper analyzes the intersection of politics and administration in Kenya.

Eric Edwin Otenyo, Northern Arizona University Eric.Otenyo@nau.edu

Disc. Sara R. Jordan, University of Hong Kong

sjordan@hku.hk

13-12 Getting Down to the Nuts and Bolts: Public

Administration in Post-Communist Countries

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Chair Ouintin H. Beazer, Ohio State University

beazer.1@osu.edu

Paper Committing to Professionalization: Civil Service Reform in East

Central Europe

Is it possible to professionalize the civil service when government turnover is high? We propose a game theoretic model of civil service reform formalizing the relationship between polarization, turnover, and civil service reform.

Conor O'Dwyer, University of Florida

codwyer@ufl.edu

Monika Nalepa, University of Notre Dame

mnalepa@nd.edu

Paper <u>Deregulation or Reregulation? Regulatory Reforms in Russia</u>

and Ukraine

Effective regulatory regimes are essential in providing a stable and secure environment for market players. The paper examines the role of market participants in shaping their own regulatory environment in post-communist Russia and Ukraine.

Dinissa S. Duvanova, University at Buffalo, SUNY

duvanova@buffalo.edu

Paper Wages of Diversity: State Policies and Remission Flows in

Poland, Romania and Moldova

The pattern of state policy on remmitances is shaped by bureaucratic legacies, democratization experience and the international political opportunity structure in which the state is embedded

Cornel Ban, University of Maryland

cban@gvpt.umd.edu

Paper The Effectiveness of Administrative Reform in New

Democracies

The paper assesses the effectiveness of civil service reform in Eastern Europe. We test two competing theories - of socialization and rational incentives. Effectiveness of reform is measured in terms of economic development and level of corruption.

Milena Neshkova, Florida International University mneshkov@fiu.edu

Tatiana Kostadinova, Florida International University

tkostadinova@fiu.edu

Paper The Effectiveness of Freedom of Information Legislation in East

and Central Europe

The paper addresses two interrelated questions: 1) why have so many countries of East and Central Europe adopted freedom of information legislation so quickly? 2) Are these laws truly

Alexandru Grigorescu, Loyola University, Chicago agrigor@luc.edu

Disc. Quintin H. Beazer, Ohio State University

beazer.1@osu.edu

Cornel Ban, University of Maryland

cban@gvpt.umd.edu

14-3 Sources of Trade Protection: Part II

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Christina Schatzman, Arizona State University

Schatzman@asu.edu

Paper Does Regime Type Matter? Political Economy of Agricultural

Protection Revisited

Is there any causal relationship between regime type and agricultural protection? In this paper, I provide a theoretical basis and empirical analysis to examine whether democracies are more successful in agricultural liberalization than autocracies.

Junga Kim, Stanford University

jakim@stanford.edu

Paper Factor Endowments, Trade, and Democracy

Factoral models of democracy & trade predict democracy should yield open markets where labor is abundant and low trade where it is scarce. We estimate new bilinear mixed effects models to examine this theory.

John Stephen Ahlquist, University of California, Los Angeles

jahlquist@irle.ucla.edu

Michael D. Ward, University of Washington

mdw@u.washington.edu

Paper <u>Labor Mobility, Foreign Direct Investment, and the Demand for</u>

Protection

This paper investigates how inter-industry labor mobility affects industry lobbying when foreign direct investment occurs. I treat labor as possessing various skills, and different types and skills of labor decide the stickiness of labor mobility.

Hak-Seon Lee, James Madison University

leehx@jmu.edu

Paper Factor Mobility and the Distribution of Trade Protection in

Democracies

This study analyzes the effect of factor mobility on electoral incentives of political parties in trade policymaking. It argues that high levels of factor mobility render parties more cohesively serve the interests of their partisan constituencies.

Su-Hyun Lee, University of Michigan

suhyun@umich.edu

Paper Redistribution or Mobility?: The Strategic Trade-Offs in

Globalizing Economies

This paper shows that interindustry labor mobility and redistribution are two substitutive policy tools at the disposal of governments to compensate losers from globalization and the trade-off is contingent on governments' resource constraints.

Boliang Zhu, Columbia University

bz2123@columbia.edu

Qiang Zhou, University of Chicago

qz2002@columbia.edu

Paper The Political Economy of Nontariff Barriers: Diffused

Protections and New Domestic Coalitions

How are Nontariff barriers different from tariffs? I argue that while tariffs only target the specific producers, features of NTBs such as product safety regulations makes unprecedented new coalitions among producers and consumers possible.

Hye Young You, University of Chicago

youhy83@uchicago.edu

Disc. Sean D. Ehrlich, Florida State University

sehrlich@fsu.edu

Prachi Mishra, IMF

pmishra@imf.org

14-21 China: Multifaceted Political Economy Investigations

Room Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair John A. Doces, Bucknell University

john.doces@bucknell.edu

Paper The Political Economy of China's Systemic Transformation: Successes and Perils

This paper analyzes China's experience with systemic restructuring. It is a study in China's reform approach that, as Deng described it, is "uniquely suited to China's given conditions."

Victoria L. Mantzopoulos, University of Detroit, Mercy armstrov@udmercy.edu

Raphael Shen, University of Detroit, Mercy

shenrs@udmercy.edu

Paper The "China Factor": The Rise of China and the Natural Resource Curse in Sub-Saharan Africa,1991-2007

This paper studies the "China factor" in the economic and political development of Sub-Saharan African countries.

Han-Pu Tung, Harvard University

tung@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Peace Through Trade: Can the Dragon be Tamed?

Central to debating China's rise is the idea that it has too much to lose should it engage in conflict as it seeks more influence in Asia. This work tests 4 theories that address the trade/conflict relationship, focusing on China and its neighbors.

James Robert Masterson, Morehead State University

j.masterson@moreheadstate.edu

Paper The Journey of Intellectual Property Rights Protection Under Central-Locality Conflicts: An Examination of the Influence of International Economic Institutions on Domestic Politics

The paper examines the internalization of international institution in domestic politics through a case study about the fulfilment of IPR protection in China and argues its force could be limited in a country undergoing central-locality conflicts.

Jing Tong, Indiana University

jitong@indiana.edu

Paper Alterations In Economic Foreign Policy: Examining China's Reform Through Theoretical Perspectives

The linkage between foreign economic policy and timing provide an insightful explanation for China's economic outgrowth alongside the convergence theory of reform.

Aaron Lee Short, Indiana Wesleyan University

aaron.short@student.indwes.edu

Disc. Han-Pu Tung, Harvard University

tung@fas.harvard.edu

15-16 Domestic Determinants of Foreign Aid

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Amanda Marie Murdie, Emory University

amurdie@emory.edu

Paper U.S. Foreign Aid and INGOs

This paper studies the relationship between US foreign aid and International Nongovernmental Organizations. The main argument is that the presence of US INGOs in a recipient country increases the amount of foreign aid that the government receives.

Youngwan Kim, University of Iowa youngwan-kim@uiowa.edu

Paper Trading for Aid: European Union Development and Pre-Accession Assistance

This paper discusses the role of European Union (EU) institutions in determining the distribution of EU Official Development Aid and pre-accession assistance.

Petia Kostadinova, University of Florida

petiak@ces.ufl.edu

Paper The European Union vs United States: Aid Motives and Impacts on Democratic Changes

This paper compares determinants that drive the U.S. and EU aids and establishes link between donors' decisions to grant aid and democratic changes in a recipient country.

Paulina Maria Pospieszna, University of Alabama

pospi001@bama.ua.edu

Douglas M. Gibler, University of Alabama

dmgibler@bama.ua.edu

Disc. Amanda Marie Murdie, Emory University

amurdie@emory.edu

15-25 Experimental Approaches to the Study of International Relations

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair J. David Singer, University of Michigan

jdsinger@umich.edu

Paper The Obama Effect: Parties, Votes and Responsibility for the War

How do citizens evaluate leaders' responsibility for involvement in international conflicts? Do they place more weight on whether a leader voted for the war or whether the leader is from the same party as the president who started it?

Sarah E. Croco, *University of Maryland*, *College Park* scroco@umd.edu

Paper Democracy and Culture Matter: A Test of Threat Perception, Trust, and Foreign Policy Opinion Formation in the U.S.

A survey experiment of U.S. adults investigates how information about regime and religious culture (Islam, Christian, Hinduism) impact perceptions of the security threat emanating from other countries and trust expressed toward foreign leaders.

Bethany Ann Lacina, Stanford University

blacina@stanford.edu

Charlotte Ping Lee, Stanford University

cplee@stanford.edu

Paper Institutional Bias and Public Opinion: An Experimental Approach

We use a survey experiment to examine the effects of international organization decision making on the foreign policy opinions of domestic audiences. We demonstrate that IO's can influence opinions by providing informative signals to citizens.

Stephen Jessee, University of Texas

sjessee@mail.utexas.edu

Terrence Chapman, University of Texas, Austin

t.chapman@austin.utexas.edu

Disc. J. David Singer, University of Michigan

jdsinger@umich.edu

Belinda Bragg, Texas A&M University

bbragg@polisci.tamu.edu

16-6 Security and IPE

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Jeffrey Michael Cavanaugh, Mississippi State University

jcavanaugh@ps.msstate.edu

Paper Signaling, Trade, and Alliance Commitment in Peacetime

This paper discusses the signaling effect of intra-alliance trade on alliance politics in peace time. Intra-alliance trade does not change strategic circumstances but leads to successful policy coordination by conveying allies' intentions.

Koji Kagotani, University of California, Los Angeles kagotani@ucla.edu

Paper Sovereign Wealth Funds and National Security

This paper documents the rise of sovereign wealth funds (SWFs), and explores the implications of SWF activities on foreign policy and national security issues, particularly energy security.

Nancy Brune, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

nancy.brune@unlv.edu

Paper Power Transitions and International Trade Institutions: How Do Power Shift Challenges Influence Institutional Alignments?

The addition of international economic transactions and institutions, specifically with regards to trade, increases the explanatory power of power transition theory as a model of international security and political economy.

John Alan Laich, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign jlaich@gmail.com

Paper Shocks and Turbulence: Globalization and the Occurrence of Civil War

This paper empirically demonstrates that sudden 'shocks' of globalization can overwhelm a state's ability to offset the negative impacts of globalization, weakening the state's capacity to deal with rival polities for the allegiance of its citizens.

Paper

Mark David Nieman, *University of Iowa* mark-nieman@uiowa.edu

Disc. Johann Park, *Michigan State University* parkjoha@msu.edu

16-12 Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Isa Camyar, University of Louisiana, Lafayette
ixc2997@louisiana.edu

Paper Dictatorial Peacekeeping Operations: Analyzing Motivations of Authoritarian Regimes' Participation in UN Missions

This paper analyzes the conditions under which authoritarian states send their troops to UNPKO. Analyses show that the veto player is a major predictor of participation. A variation in participation also exists by types of authoritarian states.

Kuyoun Chung, *University of California*, *Los Angeles* ckuyoun@ucla.edu

Paper The Long and the Short of It: The Effects of Conflict Context on the Duration of Peace Operations

Once peacekeepers are sent to a conflict, how long do they stay? Using event history analysis, this study explores the relationship between conflict context and peace operation duration by examining all UN and non-UN operations between 1948-2007.

Andrew P. Owsiak, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign* aowsiak@illinois.edu

Alexandru Balas, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign balas2@illinois.edu

Paper Consociationalism, State Capacity, and the Prospects for Peace

This paper focuses on the importance of elite bargaining and cooperation and state capacity in peace building. We adopt both an empirical analysis and a case study approach and find that successful consocialism depends on the capacity of a state.

Feng Sun, *Troy University* fsun2004@yahoo.com

Mark Ferguson, University of Alabama mjferguson@bama.ua.edu

Paper Development-Security Nexus: Strategies for Sustainable Peace in Post-Conflict Societies

Lack of integration is a problem for a peace operation. Using event history analysis, I test two strategies for integrated peace operations. I conclude that a 'sequential' strategy of multidimensionality fares better at achieving peace.

Bahar Akman, *McGill University* bahar.akman1@mail.mcgill.ca

Disc. Valerie Ona Morkevicius, DePaul University

morkevicius@uchicago.edu

17-14 Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Margaret Walsh Keiley-Listermann, Georgia Gwinnett College mkeiley@ggc.usg.edu

Paper An Exercise in Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution: A Simulation of a Potential Palestinian-Israeli Public Assembly

This paper is an initial attempt to offer general principles for the simulation of a potential Palestinian-Israeli public assembly. It provides guidelines and recommendations based on a theoretical knowledge and practical experience.

Sapir Handelman, Harvard University/University of Missouri handelm@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Peace Building and Decentralization

Self-governing mechanism, federalism or decentralization is often suggested for peace building. This paper discusses how decentralization works for peace building from analysis of the post ethnic violence situation of West Kalimantan, Indonesia.

Hisako Kobayashi, University of Southern California

hisakoko@usc.edu

Disc. Margaret Walsh Keiley-Listermann, Georgia Gwinnett College mkeiley@ggc.usg.edu

17-29 International Conflict and Military Strategy

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Steven D. Shewfelt, Yale University
steven.shewfelt@yale.edu

Paper Strategic Behavior in Imperialist Interstate Conflict: A Game-Theoretic Analysis

This paper presents a game-theoretic analysis of imperialist interstate conflict in modern East Asia involving two countries and examines the process of conflict resolution using standard game theory and the theory of moves.

Seung Hun Hong, Korea University scientia96@gmail.com

Paper Air Power and Clausewitz' Centers of Gravity

The United States has increased its reliance on airpower. What remains unclear is how the use of air strikes affects larger coercive processes. How does the destruction of particular targets translate into political influence?

Susan Hannah Allen, *University of Mississippi* shallen@olemiss.edu

Paper Conventional Wisdom? The Effect of Nuclear Proliferation on Armed Conflict, 1945-2001

While it is generally assumed that a proliferating state would be targeted in an effort to end or curtail their nuclear weapons program, the incentive to attack proliferating states is actually broader than previous thought.

Sobek David, Louisiana State University

dsobek@lsu.edu

Dennis Foster, Virginia Military Academy

fosterdm@vmi.edu

Samuel Robison, Louisiana State University

srobis2@lsu.edu

Paper Battlefield Effectiveness in Interstate War: New Measurement and a Test of its Causes

How do states improve performance in interstate war? I present a new data set on battle outcomes (1914-2001), and find that democracies are no more effective than non-democracies. Relative material advantage explains battlefield effectiveness.

Barry Masanori Hashimoto, $Emory\ University$

bhashim@emory.edu

Disc. Odysseas Christou, University of Texas, Austin

ochristou@mail.utexas.edu

18-10 Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Benjamin I. Page, Northwestern University

b-page@northwestern.edu

Paper Does American Foreign Aid Improve American Image Abroad? Post-9/11 U.S.-Turkish Relations in Focus

This article explores the relationship between American military and economic aid to Turkey and Turkish public opinion toward the United States since 9/11.

Giray Sadik, *Truman State University* girayuga@gmail.com

Paper Living With the Dragon: Americans and the Rise of China

Despite worries about China's economic and military power, its impact on U.S. jobs and wages, and its human rights record, most Americans favor engagement and friendly, cooperative relations with China.

Benjamin I. Page, Northwestern University

b-page@northwestern.edu

Tao Xie, Beijing Foreign Studies University

pageandxie@gmail.com

Paper An Eclectic Pattern to Understand Formation of Public Opposition on Foreign Policy: A New Schematic Model of Information Flows

This paper tries to explain how public opinion on foreign policy is shaped according to presidential and elite agenda setting through information systems with a new schematic model.

Mehmet Yegin, Bilkent University

yegin.m@gmail.com

Paper A Survey Experiment Testing the Impact of Competing Frames of Self Identity, Self Interest, and Communal Identity on Public Opinion Attitudes Toward Intervention in Genocide and the Use of Coercive Interrogation Techniques

We run a survey experiment testing how well competing theories of international relations can be used to shift public opinion in two policy areas: support for intervention in genocide and opposition to the use of coercive interrogation techniques.

Andrew J.W. Civettini, Knox College

acivetti@knox.edu

Brent J. Steele, University of Kansas

bjsteele@ku.edu

Paper International Interventions: Historical Analogy, Public Opinion, and Political Mobilization

This experimental research tries to build on previous attempts to understand the role of "learning from history" in int'l politics and how such insight can be used to shape public opinion by combining an analogical explanation and a prospect theory

Sirivalaya Kachathan, *Texas Tech University* sirivalaya.kachathan@ttu.edu

Disc. Victor Marin, Rice University

patron@rice.edu

19-14 Explaining International Institutions: Multiple Perspectives

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Frank P. Le Veness, St. John's University

levenesf@stjohns.edu

Paper Why Authoritarians Cooperate: Empirical Evidence about the Creation of Shanghai Cooperation Organization

The hypothesis suggests that "authoritarian regimes will choose to cooperate to avoid authoritarian breakdown when they face challenges from opposition parties". We will use Shanghai Cooperation Organization as an example to support our hypothesis.

Tsung-yen Chen, Stanford University

tzengyen@gmail.com

Paper Searching for Robust Explanatory Variables of Regional Institutionalization, 1955-2000: An Extreme Bounds Analysis (EBA)

The variations of regional institutionalization can be understood as products of cooperation among states at the regional level. Since this paper explores the political/economic conditions of cooperation, it is proper for the section above.

Jeeyong Kim, University at Buffalo, SUNY

jykim5@buffalo.edu

Paper The International Criminal Court's Paradoxes of Legitimacy

The International Criminal Court major challenges as it seeks to build international legitimacy. This paper develops a framework within which to evaluate contending constituencies and pressures on the Court.

Benjamin N. Schiff, Oberlin College

ben.schiff@oberlin.edu

Paper Spinning a New Financial Web: Power, Institutional Proliferation, and an Asian Monetary Fund

Functionalism is often used to explain institutional proliferation. Examining Asia's attempt to create an AMF I submit a power-oriented approach where institutions as structures of power produce negative feedback making alternatives likely to emerge.

Daniel E. McDowell, University of Virginia

dem4b@virginia.edu

Disc. Frank P. Le Veness, St. John's University

levenesf@stjohns.edu

21-15 The Implications of Economic Inequality

Room Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Toby Bolsen, Northwestern University

tobybolsen@gmail.com

Paper Belief in a Just World and Support for Public Health and Social Welfare Policies: The Social Psychology of Justice and the Formation of Public Opinion

A line of psychological research has examined the belief in a just world. The belief in a just world plays an important role in the formation of public opinion regarding overtly redistributive welfare policies such as government aid to the poor.

Jeremy C. Green, Yale University

jeremy.green@yale.edu

aper Inequality and Affluence: How Wealthy Americans Perceive Public Spending

This paper explores the connection between economic inequality and support for public spending by focusing on perceptions of affluent citizens and how community context seems to shape these views

Alina R. Oxendine, Hamline University

aoxendine01@hamline.edu

Paper The Interaction of Campaigns, Experience and Public Opinion

This study examines the effects of campaigns and public opinion regarding crime and punishment for individuals with different propensities to experience either crime or punishment. We then examine the interaction with economic disparity.

Chris Finn, Unversity of California, Berkeley

cfinn@berkeley.edu

 $\textbf{Karin Danielle Martin},\ \textit{University of California, Berkeley}$

karin_martin@berkeley.edu

er Educating Homer: The Effects of Information on Public Opinion About the Estate Tax

This paper analyzes two survey experiments to estimate the impact of information about the estate tax.

John Sides, *George Washington University* jsides@gwu.edu

Disc. John McAdams, *Marquette University* john.mcadams@marquette.edu

21-21 **Models of Campaign Cognition**

Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room Evan Parker-Stephen, Texas A&M University Chair

eps@polisci.tamu.edu

Attributions of Responsibility - Dynamics, Determinants and Paper Consequences: The Case of the 2005 German Election

Attributions of responsibility have become a focus of interest. A number of influencing variables have already been identified. The present paper will add a more detailed account of another variable namely political campaigns and their dynamics.

Thorsten Faas, University of Mannheim thorsten.faas@uni-mannheim.de

Shifting Candidate Evaluations Counter to Partisan Biases: A Paper Survey Experiment of Voter Experience and Candidate Issue

A Bayesian learning model predicts that voters with experience on a political issue are more likely to base their candidate evaluations on that issue and are less likely to cue-take on that issue. A survey experiment tests these predictions.

Aaron Strauss, Princeton University

abstraus@princeton.edu

Motivated Reasoning and Polarization in Political Campaigns Paper

Assesses the extent to which elections are polarizing events using the theory of motivated reasoning. Uses a latent growth curve model to analyze changes in issue positions and affect toward candidates over the course of a campaign.

Damon M. Cann, Utah State University

damon.cann@usu.edu

Obama vs Clinton, Honda vs Toyota: Political Lessons from Paper Your Local Car Dealer

Consumers often have to give difficult choices "legs to stand on." After I choose car A over B, I proceed to focus on the pros of A and the cons of B. Do voters do the same? If yes, is that a mark against long, competitive primaries?

Daniel J. Doherty, College of William and Mary djdoherty@wm.edu

Candidate Inconsistency and Voter Choice Paper

Many candidates take inconsistent positions within single campaigns and across their political careers. This paper reports findings from experiments that examine how citizens respond to candidate inconsistency.

Michael Tomz, Stanford University

tomz@stanford.edu

Robert Parks Van Houweling, University of California, Berkeley rpvh@berkeley.edu

Disc. Evan Parker-Stephen, Texas A&M University

eps@polisci.tamu.edu

22-12 **Economic Voting**

Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room Chair Paul Kellstedt, Texas A&M University

kellstedt@politics.tamu.edu

Unemployment, Government Partisanship, and the Dynamics of Paper **Voter Choice**

This paper examines the link between individual assessments of unemployment and voter transition that is conditional upon the government partisanship. The paper empirically tests the argument by using a set of British Election Panel Study.

Hyeok Yong Kwon, Korea University

hkwon@korea.ac.kr

Prospective Economic Evaluations: What Do They Measure? Paper

The paper shows empirically the shortcomings on the standard prospective economic assessment questions that make them inadequate to be used in economic voting studies at the individual level.

Marco A. Morales, New York University

marco.morales@nyu.edu

Polarization and the Decline of Economic Voting **Paper**

As the Democratic and Republican Parties polarize, increasingly loyal partisans are becoming more immune to the peaks and troughs of macroeconomic performance both in their perceptions of economic performance, and in their votes for President.

Michael H. Murakami, Yale University

michael.murakami@yale.edu

Paul Kellstedt, Texas A&M University Disc.

kellstedt@politics.tamu.edu

22-16 **Voting in Primaries, and Beyond**

Monroe on the 6th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room

Lynn Vavrek, University of California, Los Angeles Chair

lvavreck@ucla.edu

Crossover Voting in Presidential Primaries, 2000-2008 Paper

We examine the considerations and circumstances that lead some voters to cross over and others to stay onside in a presidential primary, and the consequences of permitting crossover, for candidates, the parties, and the electoral system.

Michael G. Hagen, Temple University

michael.hagen@temple.edu

Richard Johnston, University of Pennsylvania rgcj@sas.upenn.edu

Strategic Behavior and Local Information: The 1992 U.S. **Presidential Election**

This paper examines the role of information from voter networks in strategic decisions of the 1992 US presidential election. I use the Comparative National Elections Project data from 1992.

Emily Clough Clough, University of North Texas

eclough@unt.edu

Primary Competition and General Election Outcomes: An Paper **Analysis of Statewide and Federal Offices**

This paper examines whether candidate appeals in primary elections are related to their success in the general elections. We use a new dataset of county level primary election returns for statewide offices from 1908 to the present.

Shigeo Hirano, Columbia University

sh145@columbia.edu

James M. Snyder, Massachusetts Institute of Technology millett@mit.edu

William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University Disc.

jacoby@msu.edu

23-11 The Use of Policy Issues in Political Campaigns

Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room

Chair Daniel C. Reed, American University

dreed@american.edu

Paper The Electoral Impact of Anti-Corruption Discourse in Europe,

This paper explores to what extent and with what results political parties have used the issue of corruption in 206 electoral campaigns in 34 European countries between 1983 and 2008.

Andreas Bagenholm, University of Gothenburg

andreas.bagenholm@pol.gu.se

Paper Campaign Strategy of Issue Emphasis in General Presidential Elections

The paper hypothesizes that presidential candidates choose issues that are relevant to the general public, issues that reflect the candidates' personal backgrounds and issues that reflect candidates' partisan issue handling abilities.

Ruoxi Li, University of Georgia

liruoxi@uga.edu

Issue Emphasis, Campaign Resources, and the Distribution of Paper **Partisan Opinion**

I develop a formal model of Petrocik's issue ownership theory, and then improve upon it by integrating variable campaign resources. This model is then tested using issue emphasis data from the 2000 US Senate elections.

Andrew Therriault, New York University therriault@nyu.edu

Casualties and Electoral Fate: Is All Really Fair in Love and Paper War Come Re-Election?

This paper seeks to empirically test whether or not senatorial candidates' electoral fate in the 2006 midterm election was aided or hampered by their home state's casualty rates for the Iraq War.

Christopher Harper, Texas Tech University

christopher.harper@ttu.edu

Paper An Echo Chamber? Candidate Strategies, Priming, and Issue **Voting in Presidential Campaigns**

This paper examines presidential campaigns in 2000 and 2004, specifically the effects of candidate issue mentions on the electorate both in terms of priming and issue voting.

Hannah Goble, University of Wisconsin, Madison hbgoble@wisc.edu

Disc. Olugbenga Ajilore, University of Toledo

gbenga.ajilore@utoledo.edu

Daniel C. Reed, American University

dreed@american.edu

24-11 **Vote-Seeking Incentives and Legislator Behavior**

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Aaron J. Abbarno, University of Pittsburgh Chair

ajabbarno@gmail.com

Paper **Spatial Patterns of Electoral Support**

What explains whether candidates concentrate or disperse geographically? We model the process by which candidates locate themselves and test that model with data from a nationwide district (Slovakia).

Brian Ford Crisp, Washington University, St. Louis crisp@wustl.edu

Michael Malecki, Washington University, St. Louis malecki@wustl.edu

Santiago Olivella, Washington University, St. Louis olivella@wustl.edu

Ask and You Shall Receive?: Legislator Requests and Representation in Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada

We analyze how institutional, partisan, and personal features affect the frequency and type of legislator advocacy requests in Ukraine's parliament.

Erik Herron, University of Kansas

eherron@ku.edu

Nazar Boyko, L'viv Regional Public Administration Institute nazarboyko@ukr.net

Voter Demands or Electoral System Effects?: Explaining Party Paper Switching in the South Korean National Assembly, 1988-2008

This paper aims to explain party switching by legislators in South Korea. It tests whether party switching is largely driven by voter demands (social context) or affected by electoral system (political institution).

Jae Hyeok Shin, University of California, Los Angeles jae.shin@ucla.edu

Bureaucratic Accountability in Personal Vote Systems Paper

I analyze the degree to which personal vote electoral systems may facilitate the efficiency of ex-post bureaucratic controls such as fire alarm oversight.

Christopher Parker, Stony Brook University

cparker34@gmail.com

Disc. Jun Saito, Yale University jun.saito@yale.edu

25-15 Rally Effects, The Economy and Presidential Approval

Madison on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room

Patrick Flavin, University of Notre Dame Chair

pflavin@nd.edu

Robust Evaluation of Presidential Approval Models with Paper **Relative International Perspective**

This study evaluates international relativity for presidential approval; 'if Americans disapprove their presidents because of an economic recession, would they disapprove just the same if other developed economies are also in recession'?

Betul Dicle, Louisiana State University

bdicle1@lsu.edu

Mehmet F. Dicle, Loyola University, New Orleans

mfdicle@loyno.edu

Paper Influence of International Events and the Economy upon Presidential Approval: Reconsideration of the Popularity

Equation for Jimmy Carter

Prior studies of Carter popularity do not find both inflation and unemployment are significant influences. Using a quadratic model that includes international events as explanatory variables, this study finds both economic effects are significant.

Gerald T. Fox, High Point University

jfox@highpoint.edu

The Fixed Assessments of Presidential Performance: An **Paper** Informational Approach to Presidential Approval

In order to better understand presidential approval, this project will attempt to model the fixed assessments of presidential performance relying on aggregate data as well as survey data from the Annenburg National Election Study 2000 and 2004.

Laura Kathryn Frey, University of California, Santa Barbara lkfrey@umail.ucsb.edu

Disc. Gerald T. Fox, High Point University

jfox@highpoint.edu

26-20 Participation on the Global Stage

Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room

Chris T. Owens, Central Michigan University Chair

owens2ct@cmich.edu

Paper Focal Points on Elections: Russian Case

We analyzed Russian electoral data and found outliers in turnout distribution on round figures (50%, 60%...) We explain this effect as focal points and suggest that focal points come into existence as result of bureaucratic pressure on turnout.

Rustem M. Nureev, State University Higher School of Economics rustem@voxnet.ru

Sergey G. Shulgin, Academy of National Economy sergey@shulgin.ru

Paper Economic Development and Loser's Political Participation in China An Analysis of Petition Frequencies 1994–2004

This paper understands increasing non-elites' political awareness/ participation under the CCP regime's institutional structure with a modified modernization theory by a statistical analysis of 16 provinces' petition frequencies from 1994 to 2004.

Wooyeal Paik, University of California, Los Angeles wypaik@ucla.edu

Paper Democratic Paradox in the European Union: Systemic vs Participatory Components

We examine a potential democratic paradox at European Parliament elections related to high levels of diffuse support but low levels of political participation. Hypotheses regarding levels of individualism and systemic polarization are tested.

Nikoleta Yordanova, European University Institute

Nikoleta. Yordanova@eui.eu

Sergi Pardos, European University Institute

Sergi.Pardos@EUI.eu

Paper The Limitations of Public Participation in Science and Technology Policy-Making: Lessons from South Korean Bioethics Law-Making

This study will discuss the limitations of public participation in science and technology policy-making by exploring the Korean bioethics law-making process.

Myong Hwa Lee, Northern Illinois University

leemyonghwa@gmail.com

Paper How Hot is the Melting Pot? Foreign-Born Participation in U.S. Elections

Voter turnout rates for new naturalized citizens are relatively low, but seem to increase with time in the U.S. We estimate the roles assimilation and immigrants' year-of-arrival play in explaining changes in naturalized citizen turnout over time.

Courtney L. LaFountain, University of Texas, Arlington cllafountain@uta.edu

Noel D. Johnson, *George Mason University* njohnsoL@gmu.edu

Disc. Rustem M. Nureev, State University Higher School of Economics rustem@yoxnet.ru

27-18 Trends and Effects in Political Advertising

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm **Chair Paul Freedman**, *University of Virginia*

freedman@virginia.edu

Paper Political Advertising, Web Ads, and News Ads: The Flow of Audiovisual Communication in Campaign 2008

An exploration of political advertising and the message flow between ads and news in shaping the discourse of the 2008 campaign. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used to illuminate the substantive content and volume of communication.

Glenn W. Richardson, Jr. Kutztown University of Pennsylvania

Glenn W. Richardson, Jr., *Kutztown University of Pennsylvania* richards@kutztown.edu

Paper Is Negativity Increasing as Time Goes By? Candidate Advertisements in the 2000, 2004, and 2008 Presidential General Election Campaigns

A comparative examination of the advertising generated by the presidential candidates' campaigns in 2000, 2004, and 2008 has been conducted with an eye to determining whether or not advertising is becoming more negative as time goes by.

Sharon A. Sykora, Slippery Rock University

sharon.sykora@sru.edu

Seth T. Sykora-Bodie, *Slippery Rock University* alpine2sports@gmail.com

Paper The Priming Effect of Campaign Advertisements on Perceptions of Issue Salience

Using data from the 2004 National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES) and the 2004 Wisconsin Advertising Project (WAP), I examine the priming effect of campaign advertisements on opinions of issue salience.

Lauren Deschamps, *University of Notre Dame* ldescham@nd.edu

Disc. Paul Freedman, University of Virginia

freedman@virginia.edu **Keiko Ono**, *Millikin University*onok@millikin.edu

27-19 Race, Ethnicity, and Political Communication

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Michael Margolis, University of Cincinnati
michael.margolis@uc.edu

Paper The Effect of the Media-Transmitted Race Card

When the media chooses to signal that the "race card" has been played, receivers of that message vary in their assignment of blame. This blame assignment correlates with measures of racial resentment, submission to authority and trust in the media. **Joshua Aaron Green**, *University of California*, *Berkeley* joshgreen@berkeley.edu

Joshua Aaron Green, *University of California, Berkeley* joshgreen@berkeley.edu

Paper Targeted Media Influences on African American Political Behavior

This study examines the influences of news and entertainment media targeted toward blacks on voting, letter-writing, campaigning, and other political activity. Small but significant effects are documented.

Mark Donald Ludwig, California State University, Sacramento mdludwig@csus.edu

Paper Geo-Ethnic Campaign Playgrounds: Co-Effects of Geopolitical Competitiveness and Ethnic Political Culture on Attitude Vulnerability

Using experimental data gathered during the 2008 presidential campaign period, this study explored different campaign effects on different ethnic groups across different political regions of battle vs. non-battle ground states.

Hyun Jung Yun, *Texas State University* como35@gmail.com

Disc. Angela L Bos, College of Wooster abos@wooster.edu

28-11 Gender Stereotypes, Gender Threat, and Emotions

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Sue Tolleson-Rinehart, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill suetr@unc.edu

Paper Gender Stereotypes and Attitudes About Women's

<u>Underrepresentation in Elective Office in the United States</u>
This paper draws on original survey data to explore the role of

This paper draws on original survey data to explore the role of gender stereotypes in people's attitudes both toward the general under representation of women in elected office and the specific reasons for this underrepresentation.

Kathleen Dolan, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee* kdolan@uwm.edu

Paper Symbolic Masculinities and Politics

An Experimental Study of the Effects of Gender Role Threat on Political Topics, including Support for Senator Hillary Clinton during the 2008 Presidential Primary.

Daniel Raymond Cassino, Fairleigh Dickinson University dcassino@fdu.edu

Yasemin Besen-Cassino, Montclair State University beseny@mail.montclair.edu

Paper Gender Stereotypes and Campaign Strategies

How do candidates decide which issues to discuss in their campaigns? What factors motivate candidates' decisions to emphasize particular issues? And how might this decision-making process explain differences in issue emphasis among women and men?

Jessica Harrell, *Emory University* jlharre@emory.edu

The Sexist Vote: Results from Field and Lab Election **Experiments**

Do voters think men are more qualified than women for political office? To what extent do biases become attenuated in the face of more relevant information? This study assesses the role of gender stereotypes and candidate qualifications on voting.

Cecilia Hyunjung Mo, Stanford University

mo cecilia@gsb.stanford.edu

G. Michael Weiksner, Stanford University

weiksner@stanford.edu

America's Ultimate Tree House: Gender, Emotion, and Paper **Campaigning for the Presidency**

This research explores the use and effects of gender stereotypes in media coverage of shows of emotion by presidential candidates of both genders. The study uses an original content analysis of the mainstream media and an experiment.

Carly Jacobs, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

cjacobs@bigred.unl.edu

Mike Gruszczynski, University of Nebraska, Lincoln mikegruz@bigred.unl.edu

Sue Tolleson-Rinehart, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill Disc.

suetr@unc.edu

Erin Cassese, West Virginia University

erin.cassese@mail.wvu.edu

29-15 **Muslim and Arab American Identities**

Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room

Chair Sam Whitt, Mt. Mercy College

swhitt@mtmercy.edu

Paper Why a Liberal Muslim America?

Why do Muslim Americans identify as liberal even though they have socially conservative positions? This paper will seek to understand this paradoxical position. Using data from MAPOS I sort out the predictors for a liberal Muslim America.

Dino Bozonelos, University of California, Riverside

dino.bozonelos@email.ucr.edu

Paper The Making of Arab New York: Discourse and Politics in Bay Ridge

This paper analyzes political thought, ideas, and debates over identity in the diverse Arab community of New York City, to explore the new ideas about gender, democracy, and Middle Eastern politics developed in the Arab diaspora.

Emily Regan Wills, New School for Social Research

wille480@newschool.edu

Support for and Satisfaction with Democracy Among the Paper **Muslim Community in the United States**

This paper investigates the extent as well as the correlates of support Paper for and satisfaction with democracy among the Muslim community in the United States.

Kacem Ayachi, University of Texas, Dallas

kacem@utdallas.edu

Disc. Tony Gaskew, University of Pittsburgh

tog6@pitt.edu

31-9 **Machiavelli's Tyranny?**

Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room steve G. Hartlaub, Frostburg State University Chair

shartlaub@frostburg.edu

The Reluctant Tyrant: Machiavelli's Good Man and the Paper **Purification of Corrupt Society**

Machiavelli teaches the good within a corrupt society that they cannot lead a private life for they will be regarded as enemies. As a solution he proposes that they reluctantly take up tyranny for the purpose of reforming the city in which they live.

Murray Bessette, Claremont Graduate University

murray.bessette@gmail.com

Taming the Tyrant: Aristotle and Machiavelli on Tyranny **Paper**

This paper reads Machiavelli in the light of Aristotle's teaching on tyranny revealing a consistent effort by both theorists to guide the tyrant towards policies that would promote the common good.

Steve G. Hartlaub, Frostburg State University

shartlaub@frostburg.edu

Frank A. Lancaster, Michigan State University

lancas25@msu.edu

Paper Greatness and Power in Machiavelli's Prince

Saving Machiavelli from the ranks of power theorists. After delineating Machiavelli's main ideas looking at Borgia to help pursue them. The example of Agathocles is also looked at to help clarify the lesson Machiavelli intended to teach.

John Swift Ransom, Dickinson College

ransomj@dickinson.edu

Paper Rethinking Machiavelli's Virtú as the Extraordinary Politics of Transforming a State of Emergency into Normal Politics

This paper argues that Machiavelli develops a blueprint of transformative politics that outlines the transition from a state of emergency to normal politics by way of extraordinary politics that founds, sustains, and glorifies a new republic.

Man Kwon Kim, New School for Social Research

mankwon@gmail.com

Disc. Benjamin Lynerd, University of Chicago

btlynerd@uchicago.edu

32-18 **Underappreciated Chapters in the History of Liberal**

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Meera Ashar, Independent researcher

meerashar@gmail.com

Paper Representation and Communication: Emile Durkheim's

Unorthodox Understanding of Democracy

Emile Durkheim(1858-1917) has been seldom studied in the realms of political theory. This article, however, sets out to show that it is in fact relevant to illuminate Durkheim as a political thinker, especially considering those issues on democracy.

Juman Kim, Korea Air Force Academy jumankim@gmail.com

Frederick Douglass in the American Mind **Paper**

My paper is an exploration of the competing interpretations Douglass's political thought. I contend that Douglass defies simple categorization and that his project is best understood as a synthetic one that drew on several strands of thought.

Nicholas Buccola, Linfield College

nbuccol@linfield.edu

Against the "Engineers of Human Souls": Isaiah Berlin's Anti-**Managerial Liberalism**

A re-interpretation of Isaiah Berlin's account of liberty, and his political thought as a whole, centering on his opposition to the tendencies toward paternalism and technocracy in post-World War II intellectual life.

Joshua Laurence Cherniss, Harvard University

cherniss@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Individual Responsibility or Irresponsible Individualism: Re-**Examining Thoreau's Political Ethics**

This paper examines Henry David Thoreau's account of the individual's responsibility for the impact that her actions have upon others, one of the most inspiring and demanding accounts affiliated with the liberal tradition.

Nora Hanagan, Duke University

nah7@duke.edu

Disc. Ronald Terchek, University of Maryland

rterchek@gvpt.umd.edu

33-16 Arendtian Themes: Freedom, Life, Action

Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room Julie Kuhlken, Misericordia University Chair julie.kuhlken@misericordia.edu

Paper Recovering the Third Face of Freedom: Hannah Arendt and the

Beautiful

Hannah Arendt defines the "beautiful" as one of three dimensions of freedom, yet she largely neglects the beautiful in favor of a project that recovers the vita activa and the vita contemplativa. I explain and critique this neglect.

Jim Sven Josefson, Bridgewater College

jjosefso@bridgewater.edu

Violence and Deprivation: Arendt and the Pervasiveness of Paper Superfluous Life

> This paper teases out several strands of Arendt's view of human superfluousness. Relating this idea to issues of stateless persons and terrorism, I argue the links between superfluousness and violence in her work are far closer than is often thought.

Emma R. Norman, University of the Americas, Puebla politics.policy@ipsonet.org

Paper Arendt and Promising: Why Make the Leap of Faith?

Arendt's conceptualization of the public sphere as an arena of freedom is a sadly ironic construction. It remains only as a potentiality for beginnings--something waiting for its own natality.

Melissa Jeanette Scheier, Georgetown College Melissa_Scheier@Georgetowncollege.edu Kant and Arendt: History, Actor and Spectator

This paper argues that Hannah Arendt takes a particular conception of history from Kant's writings, different from Hegel and Marx's, which allows Arendt to redefine the link between actor and spectator, theory and practice, responsibility and action.

Gaye Ilhan Demiryol, Yale University gaye.ilhan@yale.edu

Ashley Biser, Ohio Wesleyan University Disc.

anbiser@owu.edu

Roudy Hildreth, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale roudy@siu.edu

33-17 **Praxis**

Paper

Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room

Jeffrey Allen Bell, Southeastern Louisiana University Chair jbell@selu.edu

Aristotle, Critical Theory and the Critique of Liberal Paper

Formalism

I explore the fruitful exchange to be had between neo-Aristotelians and Marxist-influenced critical theorists regarding the limits of the formalistic accounts of reason that characteristically figure in liberal political theory and ethics.

Ruth Groff, St. Louis University rgroff@slu.edu

Specter and Spirit: Derrida's Messianism or Bloch's Utopia as Paper the Future of Marxism

> This paper explores the similarites and tensions between Jacques Derrida's "Spectral Messianism" and Ernst Bloch's "Utopian Hope" in thier efforts to interpret the promise of Marx.

Jason Evan Kosnoski, University of Michigan, Flint kosnoski@umflint.edu

The "Pure Domain of Abstract Intellect" and the "Restless Paper Impulse to Revolt": Understanding Gramsci's Theory of

> I examine Antonio Gramsci's texts and political biography to argue that, from the standpoint of the oft-lamented crisis of the contemporary intellectual, he stands as an indispensable, and unheeded resource for self-awareness and self-criticism

Emanuele Saccarelli, San Diego State University esaccare@mail.sdsu.edu

Antonio Negri's Contribution to Italian Autonomis: The Power **Paper** of Refusal and the Project of Working Class Liberation

> This paper explores Negri's theorization of the refusal of work as a revolutionary praxis for the liberation of working class subjectivity in the Italian autonomist workers' movement of the 70's.

David Peter Palazzo, The Graduate Center, CUNY

david.palazzo@gmail.com

Stefan Dolgert, Hamilton College Disc.

spd5@duke.edu

Chair

34-15 Travel, Empire, and the Other

Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room

Hassan Bashir, Texas A&M University, Qatar

hassan.bashir@qatar.tamu.edu

Philosophical Travel and Gulliver's Travels Paper

> An analysis of the dangers of travel and scientific progress as found in Swift's "Gulliver's Travels."

Gail Marie Pivetti, University of California, Davis gmpivetti@ucdavis.edu

From Billfinger to Ferguson: Tourism and Travel in Mark **Paper Twain**

> This paper articulates two divergent models of encountering the other drawn from Mark Twain's travel writing. These two competing models illustrate the tensions inherent in the democratic politics of contemporary multicultural states.

David Leitch, University of California, San Diego dleitch@ucsd.edu

Paper Sepúlveda, Las Casas and the Other: Exploring the Tensions of Modernity

> Exploration of the tensions of Modernity with regards to alterity by returning to Spanish debates about Ameridaians in sixteenth century

Daniel R. Brunstetter, University of California, Irvine dbrunste@uci.edu

Disc. Leigh Jenco, National University of Singapore

pollkj@nus.edu.sg

35-13 **Sophisticated Voting and Vetoing**

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

David Hugh-Jones, Max Planck Institute of Economics Chair

hugh-jones@econ.mpg.de

Explaining Policy Making in the European Union: Veto Players, Paper **Bargaining, and the Empirical Analysis of Game Theoretical** Models

I develop and test quantal response models of veto players and bargaining theories of EU policy making. The findings show that veto players models outperform bargaining models but also point to

the relevance of long term interest coordination.

Dirk Junge, University of Mannheim djunge@mail.uni-mannheim.de

Paper Strategic Voting in a Bicameral Setting

The paper presents a game-theoretic model on sophisticated voting in a bicameral setting. Preliminary empirical analysis based on a novel data set supports its implications

Simon Hug, Université de Genève

simon.hug@unige.ch

Catch Me If You Can! Recovering Sophisticated Voting in the Paper **Swiss Parliament**

> An algorithm is presented which allows to identify sophisticated voting in parliaments. Using votes where sophisticated and sincere voting are observationally equivalent, typical voting behavior can be estimated. Swiss parliamentary data is analyzed.

Lucas Leemann, Washington University

lleemann@gmail.com

Disc. David Hugh-Jones, Max Planck Institute of Economics

hugh-jones@econ.mpg.de

36-13 **Topics in Political Methodology**

Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room Brian Gaines, University of Illinois Chair

bgaines@illinois.edu

Rare Events Design Without a Sense of Proportion Paper

This paper introduces methods for correcting model predictions for rare events when neither known nor estimated population level event category proportions are available whilst also estimating population proportions.

Will Lowe, University of Nottingham will.lowe@nottingham.ac.uk

Are There Red States and Blue States? Simultaneous Variable Paper **Selection and Data Smoothing**

Are there red states and blue states, or red regions and blue regions delineated by state boundaries? Looking at 2008 county level McCain/Obama returns, I fit a curve with a smooth, geographic component and jumps corresponding to state lines.

Marc Thomas Ratkovic, University of Wisconsin ratkovic@wisc.edu

Split Population Logit: Accounting for Unobservability in Paper **Binary Variables**

We propose a split population logit model for situations in which observed data suffer from an underreporting bias in which false positives are improbable but false negatives are likely, and use simulated data to evaluate the model.

Andreas Beger, Florida State University

abeger@fsu.edu

Jacqueline H.R. Demeritt, Florida State University jdemeritt@fsu.edu

Wonjae Hwang, University of Tennessee, Knoxville whwang@utk.edu

Will H. Moore, Florida State University

whmoore@fsu.edu

Paper **Modeling Ordinal Predictors: Insights from Recent Development**

Model fitting with ordinal predictors is discussed. Paul Edward Johnson, University of Kansas pauljohn@ku.edu

Disc. Will Lowe, University of Nottingham will.lowe@nottingham.ac.uk

Paul Edward Johnson, University of Kansas pauljohn@ku.edu

37-7 The Impact of New Technologies on Political **Participation**

Room LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Kevin M. Esterling, University of California, Riverside Chair kevin.esterling@ucr.edu

Paper Virtual "Patriotic Communities" and the Organization of "Smart Mob": Empirical Evidence from the Globalized **Nationalist Movements in the Chinese Community**

This paper examines the micro-level mechanism about how online "patriotic communities" galvanized overseas Chinese web users and transformed nationalist sentiments into offline group actions across

Meimei Zhang, University of California, Santa Barbara meimeizh@umail.ucsb.edu

The Internet-Voting Dilemma: Explaining the Limited Impact Paper of Technology on Electoral Participation

E-democracy faces a dilemma: I-voting boosts turnout among 'peripheral' citizens, but these citizens rarely vote on the internet. This explains why I-voting has failed to increase turnout but also points to a role in reducing political inequality.

Kristjan Vassil, European University Institute

kristjan.vassil@eui.eu

Till Weber, European University Institute till.weber@eui.eu

Information Technology and Political Participation: How to **Paper** Reconcile the Different Levels and Approaches of Analysis

In this study, authors seek to contribute to building a bridge between different levels and research methods of analysis in exploring the impact of IT on political participation

B. Joon Kim, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne kimbj@ipfw.edu

M. Veronica Elias, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne

eliasm@ipfw.edu

Examining the Potential Influence of Live Information Paper **Processing on Public Opinion and Policy Making**

We examine the potential influence live information processing can have on public opinion and policy making. Specifically, we test whether exposure to satellite imagery of human rights violations moves participants to support a human rights cause.

Jose D. Villalobos, Texas A&M University

jvillalobos@polisci.tamu.edu

Cigdem V. Sirin, Texas A&M University cigdemsirin@politics.tamu.edu

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

kevin.esterling@ucr.edu

Mary Schmeida, Kent State University mschmeid@kent.edu

38-7 **Interest Group and Social Movement Strategy**

Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room

Chair Lee Drutman, University of California, Berkeley

drutman@berkeley.edu

Paper **Collective Action and Congressional Action**

This paper will analyze the impact on Congress of many types of collective action - demonstrations, lobbying, speeches, etc.for a stratified random sample of 60 policy proposals on the congressional agenda 1989-90.

Paul Burstein, University of Washington burstein@u.washington.edu

The Effects of Organizational Practice on Public Recognition of Paper **Civic Associations**

This paper studies 182 local groups of the Sierra Club to understand why some civic associations are more effective than others in achieving public outcomes. We show that internal structure and organizational practices affect how effective they are.

Hahrie Han, Wellesley College hhan@wellesley.edu

Between Development and Conservation: Politics of Coalitions Paper Surrounding the Nu River Hydropower Development Project in the Yunnan Province of China

Drawing on the Advocacy Coalition Framework, the paper investigates the emergence of two broad coalitions that have formed over the Nu River Hydropower Development Project.

Hee-jin Han, Northern Illinois University

hhan@niu.edu

Disc. Allan Cigler, University of Kansas

acigler@ku.edu

John C. Berg, Suffolk University jberg@suffolk.edu

40-14 **Congress and Foreign Policy**

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Robert X. Browning, Purdue University Chair

rxb@purdue.edu

Paper The Rules Committee in the Foreign Policy-Making Process

Scholars pay little attention to committees of Congress in foreign policy area. In this paper, I explore how the function of the House Committee on Rules has influenced foreign policy-making in the House since the early period of the Cold War.

Jianying Wang, University of Missouri jwmq3@mizzou.edu

Paper The Reagan Defense Buildup and Partisanship on Capitol Hill: Has Foreign Policy Promoted Party Polarization?

This paper analyzes the Reagan defense buildup as a possible source of party polarization in Congress. When politics no longer stop at the water's edge, congressional parties have found it easy to agree to disagree.

Jungkun Seo, University of North Carolina, Wilmington SEOJ@UNCW.EDU

Paper The Voting Response of the Congressional Border Caucus to Post-9/11 Border Issues

This explores the voting behavior of Congressional Border Caucus members before and after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Hypotheses tests using House border amendment votes clarify which variables are key in influencing the votes of caucus members.

William R. Mack, University of Southern Indiana wrmack@usi.edu

Paper Protecting Your Constituents: Congressional Testimony at the International Trade Commission

Despite relatively few trade bills each year, Members of Congress are active in trade policymaking, particularly lobbying for trade protection for firms in their districts, through their participation in International Trade Commission hearings.

Kris Miler, University of Illinois kmiler@illinois.edu

Disc. Robert X. Browning, Purdue University

rxb@purdue.edu

Jason D. Mycoff, University of Delaware mycoff@udel.edu

40-24 Parties, People, and Polarization in Congress

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Blair Shaffer Williams, United States Military Academy

blair.williams@us.army.mil

Paper The Procedurally Polarized Congress

This paper examines the substantive divide between the parties in Congress. The policy differences between the parties is smaller than the roll call voting differences.

Sean M. Theriault, *University of Texas*, *Austin* seant@mail.utexas.edu

Paper Party Unity, Party Cohesion, or Party Discipline

Party Unity, Party Cohesion, or Party Discipline: What should we call it; what is it; and how do we measure it? -With an up to date analysis of a parliament with very high party unity figures.

Asbjørn Skjæveland, *University of Aarhus* skjæveland@ps.au.dk

Paper Polarization in American Legislatures: Empirical Tests of Congressional Theory

This paper analyzes several explanations of Congressional polarization and empirically evaluates them with roll call data from the South Carolina Legislature. These tests give us leverage on assessing the endogeneity of legislative polarization.

Nathaniel Andrew Birkhead, *Indiana University* nbirkhea@indiana.edu

Paper Examining the Origins of Ideological Diversity Among Senate Republicans

An analysis of DW-Nominate scores shows higher ideological diversity among Senate Republicans than among Senate Democrats or either party in the House for nearly the last 30 years. This paper investigates the causes and consequences of this fact.

Peter Christopher Hanson, *University of California, Berkeley* phanson@berkeley.edu

David Hopkins, *University of California*, *Berkeley* dhopkins@berkeley.edu

Disc. Jordan Michael Ragusa, University of Florida jragusa@ufl.edu

Blair Shaffer Williams, United States Military Academy blair.williams@us.army.mil

42-101 Roundtable: Federal Judicial Selection: Past, Present and Future

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

This roundtable will assess judicial selection processes and their outcomes during the Bush administration, while also exploring what the early signs from the new administration suggest for judicial selection politics during the next four years.

Panelist Elliot E. Slotnick, Ohio State University

slotnick.1@osu.edu

Sheldon Goldman, University of Massachusetts

sheldon.goldman@polsci.umass.edu

Robert Carp, University of Houston

racarp@uh.edu

Rorie Spill-Solberg, Oregon State University

rorie.spillsolberg@oregonstate.edu

Kenneth Manning, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

kmanning@umassd.edu

Wendy Martinek, University at Binghamton, SUNY

wendy.martinek@gmail.com

Sarah Binder, George Washington University

binder@gwu.edu

43-8 <u>Supreme Court Processes and Theories (Co-sponsored with Judicial Politics, see 42-32)</u>

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor. Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Randall Calvert, Washington University, St. Louis

calvert@wustl.edu

Paper <u>Judicial Supremacy or Judicial Defense?: The Supreme Court</u> and the Separation of Powers

Considers the Supreme Court's recent separation of powers jurisprudence and the hierarchy of institutional winners and losers.

The most consistent winner is the judicial branch. **Katy Jean Harriger**, *Wake Forest University*

harriger@wfu.edu

Paper Judicial Elections and the Misguided Legal Theory of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Efforts to deregulate judicial elections often assume a theory of legal interpretation which views judges as part-time legislators. My paper examines that theory, and then shows why it is wrong.

Ofer Raban, University of Oregon

ofer@uoregon.edu

Paper Speaking for the Judiciary: Representation of Judicial Interests in Constitutional Design Processes

This paper examines the relationship between the formal provision of judicial authority in national constitutions and the institutional actors responsible for drafting, deliberating and adopting such texts. **Justin A. Blount**, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

jblount2@illinois.edu

Disc. Mark J. Richards, Grand Valley State University

hyubasa@gmail.com

Brett Curry, Georgia Southern University

bcurry@georgia southern.edu

44-3 Human Rights

Room Medinah on the 6th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Susan Kang, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY

skang@jjay.cuny.edu

Paper Racing to the Bottom?: Exploring the Linkage Between Globalization and Human Rights

The paper examines how globalization affects human rights standards. It makes the explicit linkage between economic globalization, expected MNCs behaviors, and government responses and test the hypotheses with a selection model.

Autumn Lockwood Payton, Ohio State University

payton.29@osu.edu

Byungwon Woo, Ohio State University

woo.54@polisci.osu.edu

Paper Non-State Actors and the Protection of Human Rights: Theoretical and Practical Expansion of International Law

There is an emerging international norm of acceptance of non-state actor involvement in the provision of humanitarian assistance and protection of human rights within sovereign states. This challenges the state-centric international legal framework.

Jaclyn Kerr, *Georgetown University* jackiekerr@gmail.com

Paper Solidarity and Paternalism: The Dangerous Ambiguity of the 'Responsibility to Protect' Doctrine

This paper analyzes the merits and possible dangers of the Responsibility to Protect doctrine adopted by the United Nations in 2005. The doctrine raises questions about whether national sovereignty or international law better protects human rights. **Tracey Nicholls**, *Lewis University*

nicholtr@lewisu.edu

Paper Green Jurisprudence: Is There A Human Right to a Healthy Environment?

Is there a human right to a healthy environment? This paper will look at the Inter-American, European and African Courts of Human Rights to examine the past, present and future of the environmental jurisprudence in the regional human rights systems.

Lenore VanderZee, *University of Notre Dame* lvander2@nd.edu

Disc. Jonathan Ring, *University of Iowa* jonathan-ring@uiowa.edu

45-11 Legislative Behavior in the American States

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Ronald Weber, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee rweber@uwm.edu

Paper The Determinants of Power: State Speaker Power and Conditional Party Government

Building on Clucas' work on state speaker power, we test conditional party government theory by examining the effect of intraparty preference homogeneity and interparty polarization on speaker power in the lower houses of the U.S. state legislatures.

Susan M. Miller, University of Missouri smmiller@mizzou.edu Ben L. Hall, University of Missouri

BLHall@mizzou.edu

Paper When to Exit: Exploring Differences in Length of Political Service Among State Legislators

This paper examines the factors that influence when and why state legislators choose to leave office. In particular, the study explores whether or not there is a minority/gender gap in length of legislative careers.

Kathleen Bratton, Louisiana State University bratton@lsu.edu

Stella M. Rouse, *University of Maryland* srouse@gvpt.umd.edu

Paper Patterns in State Legislative Partisan Polarization: A Case Study of NC and MA

While scholars have examined congressional polarization, the extent of party polarization in state legislatures has been ignored. We address this weakness by examining patterns of party polarization in NC and MA state legislatures over last 3 decades

Phillip J. Ardoin, Appalachian State University

ardoinpj@appstate.edu

Erik Bumgardner, Appalachian State University eb32628@appstate.ed

Zachary Ward, Appalachian State University wardwz@appstate.edu

Disc. Jim Battista, *University at Buffalo*, *SUNY* jbattist@buffalo.edu

46-9 Influences and Impacts: Local Officials as Policy Actors

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair Dick Weldon Simpson, University of Illinois, Chicago simpson@uic.edu

Paper The Politics of Stadium Financing: The Price of Mayoral Support

Professional sports teams often benefit from the provision of publicly funded stadiums. This study examines if mayors benefit politically or face consequences depending on their level of support for these projects.

Patrick Joseph Carr, Georgetown University pjc83@georgetown.edu

Paper Evaluation of Personality and Performance of Mayors of 111 Cities

A computer analysis of mayors of 111 American cities and assessment of their performance based on computer analysis news reports from the relevant cities.

Christopher D. Newman, Elgin Community College cnewman@elgin.edu

Andrew D. McNitt, Eastern Illinois University admcnitt@eiu.edu

Paper The Role of Politician Rhetoric and Immigrant-Serving Policy on Immigrant Incorporation in New Destinations

Drawing on 300 interviews with local leaders and immigrants in five new immigrant destinations, I consider how disconnects between local politician rhetoric and the reality of immigrant-serving policies affect on-going processes of incorporation.

Abigail Fisher Williamson, *Harvard University* abby_williamson@ksgphd.harvard.edu

Paper Urban Fiscal Policy: A Test of the Political Budget Cycle Hypothesis

The political budget cycle hypothesis suggests that elected officials actively manipulate revenue and spending policies to enhance their chances of reelection. I examine this question with panel data on 58 U.S. cities for the period 1970 to 2006.

Timothy B. Krebs, *University of New Mexico* tbkrebs@unm.edu

Paper National Politics and Mayoral Elections

This paper uses survey data (N=2305) gathered from 16 large U.S. cities to analyze the influence of evaluations of presidential performance and perceptions of the nation's economy on voting behavior in mayoral elections in 2007 and 2008.

Thomas M. Holbrook, *University of Wisconsin*, *Milwaukee* holbroot@uwm.edu

Disc. Jessica Trounstine, *Princeton University* jtrounst@princeton.edu

47-14 Taxing, Pricing, and Incentives: Explorations of Public Finance

Room Chicago on the 5th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Paul J. Culhane, Northern Illinois University

pculhane828@cs.com

Paper Institutional, Regulatory, and Municipality-Specific Factors Affecting Sewer Prices: The Case of North Carolina Municipalities

This paper examines the factors and characteristics affecting differences in sewer prices across municipalities. Especially, it focuses on not only cost factors but also non-cost factors, such as institutional arrangements and government regulations.

Suho Bae, San Francisco State University

bae@sfsu.edu

Seong-gin Moon, *Grand Valley State University* moons@gvsu.edu

Paper The Primacy of Politics: How Credibility Mediates the Effect of Economic Incentives

A test of the hypothesis that the effect of economic incentives is dependent on the credibility of these incentives. It is tested on the relationship between activity based reimbursement and hospital efficiency using a quasi-experimental design.

Mads Leth Felsager Jakobsen, University of Aarhus mads@ps.au.dk

Paper Public Health and Public Finance: Understanding Public Support for State Cigarette Taxes

This project attempts to explain public support for cigarette tax increases, taking into account expected effectiveness in reducing smoking, but also accounting for the anticipated use of the revenue.

Michael J. Licari, University of Northern Iowa

michael.licari@uni.edu

Paul I Culhana Northern Illinois l

Disc. Paul J. Culhane, Northern Illinois University pculhane828@cs.com

47-28 Assessing Need: Food, Shelter, Healthcare, and Jobs

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Mary Kay Gugerty, University of Washington
gugeryt@u.washington.edu

Paper When Even the "Dollar Value Meal" Costs Too Much: Food Insecurity and Long Term Dependence on Food Pantry

Assistance
We look at long-term dependence on food pantries by specifically considering how poverty, employment, and the food stamp entitlement program are related. We also look at demographics,

including qualitative information on why people seek assistance. **Maureen Michelle Berner**, *University of North Carolina*, *Chapel Hill*

mberner@sog.unc.edu

Sharon R. Paynter, Brown University

Sharon_Paynter@brown.edu

Emily K. Anderson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill emuanderson@gmail.com

Paper Best Practices in Policy Creation and Administration in Meeting Housing Needs for People with Disabilities and their Families

What policies & administrative practices exist surrounding housing for people with disabilities & their families? What gaps remain in the policy & implementation/administration arenas of housing for people with disabilities and their caregivers?

Virginia Parish Beard, *Hope College* beard@hope.edu

Paper Immediate Federal Medical Response to 7.0 Magnitude Earthquake in the New Madrid Earthquake Zone

If a massive earthquake, like that which reversed the course of the Mississippi in 1812, was to strike the Midwest today, what would be the necessary medical resources to treat life threatening crush injuries?

Carl Adrianopoli, United States Public Health Service carl.adrianopoli@hhs.gov

Lubko Berezowsky, Lake Forest College

lubkoberezowsky@yahoo.com

Paper Youth Perspectives on Their Empowerment in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Kenya

Q methodology research design was employed to gather, analyze and reveal youth's subjective opinions on how public institutions can better empower them to have a livelihood.

C. Mwongeli Mutuku, *Kent State University* mmutuku_n@yahoo.com

Disc. Alethia Hillman Cook, East Carolina University cooka@ecu.edu

Mary Kay Gugerty, University of Washington gugeryt@u.washington.edu

49-6 Market Approaches to Environmental Policy

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Gerhard Fuchs, University of Stuttgart
gerhard.fuchs@sowi.uni-stuttgart.de

Paper A Laboratory Study of Affirmative and Negative Motivations for Compliance in Emissions Trading Programs

Using an experimental research design, we study the role of affirmative and negative motivations in emissions reporting under imperfect enforcement, finding substantially more honest reporting than economically rational across several treatments.

Leigh Raymond, Purdue University

lraymond@purdue.edu

Timothy N. Cason, *Purdue University* cason@purdue.edu

Paper Impacts of Environmental Voluntary Agreement Participation on Compliance and Enforcement: An Analysis with Judicial

Considerations

Explicit consideration of the adjudicatory setting leads to different levels of penalty for environmental voluntary agreement participants and non-participants depending on the type of adjudicatory setting and the role of the judicial actor involved.

Joice Chang, Indiana University, Bloomington jychang@indiana.edu

Paper Development Based Conservation: Hope for Ecuador's Yasuní
National Park

Ecuador's Yasuní National Park is rich in oil and biodiversity, yet faces serious threats from the government and international oil companies. Only through effectively implemented incentive-based programs will rainforest conservation be successful.

Maximilian E. Sirianni, Macalester College msirianni@macalester.edu

Paper Experimental Investigations into Majority Rule Voting over

Common Pool Resources

Natural resource harvest rights are often decided by majority rule voting in legislatures, committees, or regional councils. This project examines the efficiency of voting processes over-time in assigning harvest rights in renewable resources.

Robert Holahan, Indiana University, Bloomington raholaha@indiana.edu

Disc. Dorothy Daley, *University of Kansas*

daley@ku.edu

50-13 Performance Management

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Stuart Kasdin, University of California, Santa Barbara
skasdin1@yahoo.com

Paper Performance Management in Federal Agencies: Does It Measure Up?

This study is an empirical analysis of the impact of performance management on the performance of federal agencies.

Jung-Wook Lee, *University of Illinois, Springfield* jlee265@uis.edu

Seok Eun Kim, University of Arkansas

seokeun@uark.edu

Paper Does Organizational Performance Make a Difference to Public Employees' Job Turnover in the Federal Government?

This paper will examine how performance management and work contexts affect public employees' work behavior (job turnover) in the federal government.

Geon Lee, *University of Illinois, Chicago* glee29@uic.edu

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \bf Benedict \, Salazar \, Jimenez, \, \it University \, of \, \it Illinois, \, Chicago \, \\ bjimen2@uic.edu \end{tabular}$

Trust as a Facilitator for Performance Management Paper

This paper investigates the effect of performance management and explores one factor-trust in one's supervisor-as a facilitator of performance management.

Yoon Jik Cho, Georgia State University

yoonjik@gmail.com

Jung-Wook Lee, University of Illinois, Springfield jlee265@uis.edu

Managing Human Capital: Intangible Assets, Internal Paper **Management and Organizational Performance**

I provide a model of human capital management, in which management of knowledge assets promotes organizations' performance in a non-linear way.

Ling Zhu, Texas A&M University lingzhu@polisci.tamu.edu

Disc. Rik De Ruiter, University of Twente

r.deruiter@utwente.nl

51-7 **Religion and American Political Development**

Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room William F. Byrne, St. John's University Chair byrnew@stjohns.edu

Christian Citizenship and Protestant Nationalism in Antebellum Paper

America Many Protestants in the antebellum United States represented themselves as both patriots and free, non-sectarian Christians. In doing so, they infused their sense of nationalism with a notion of

Christian citizenship, which led to anti-Catholicism. Allison O'Mahen Malcom, University of Illinois, Chicago

aomahe1@uic.edu Paper Cycles of Anti-Catholicism

The timing of anti-Catholic fervor in American political development is explained by changes in the Roman Catholic Church itself, particularly as it confronts European liberalism.

Douglas Dion, University of Iowa douglas-dion@uiowa.edu

A History of American Premillennialism: The Politics of the **Apocalypse**

This paper examines the history of the politicization of premillennialism in America

Paula Nicole Booke, University of Chicago pbooke@uchicago.edu

Faith-Based Imitative in the New Deal: Clarence Pickett, the Paper American Friends Service Committee, and the Subsistence **Homestead Program**

FDR relied on Quaker organization American Friends Service Committee to develop and help implement the subsistence housing program.

Michael D. Cary, Seton Hill University cary@setonhill.edu

Disc. William Collins, Samford University

wpcollin@samford.edu

Michael Salvador Rodriguez, Richard Stockton College of New

michael.rodriguez@stockton.edu

54-13 **Secularization and Modernity**

Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room Chair Barbara Ann Strassberg, Aurora University barbara.strassberg@sbcglobal.net

Explaining Secular Attitudes: What Prevents Modernization? Paper

This study investigates the factors that affect variation in secular attitudes across different countries and test prominent theories in the literature along with our theory.

Birol Baskan, Qatar University birolbaskan@yahoo.com

Ekrem Karakoc, Pennsylvania State University

ekarakoc@psu.edu

Religion and Political Repression Worldwide Paper

This paper examines if a country's level of secularism is important for human rights or if other variables better predict rights outcomes in given societies.

Nilay Saiya, University of Notre Dame

nsaiya@nd.edu

Paper Shari'a and the Secular State in Senegal: Understanding Citizen **Preferences for Islamic Family Law**

This paper explores the sources of popular support in urban Dakar for enforcing Shari'a laws for Muslim citizens.

Carrie Konold, University of Michigan

ckonold@umich.edu

Paper Left Behind: The Politics of No-Religion in Latin America

Are non-religious Latin Americans politically different from those who belong to a religion? We expect to find that non-religious individuals will stress values that are more compatible with democracy than religious individuals.

Juhem Navarro-Rivera, Trinity College juhem.navarro-rivera@uconn.edu

Yazmin A. Garcia-Trejo, University of Connecticut

yazmin.garcia_trejo@uconn.edu

Disc. Barbara Ann Strassberg, Aurora University

barbara.strassberg@sbcglobal.net

55-1 **Political Identity and Discourse**

Room Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Sulemana Abudulai, University of Cambridge Chair

s.abudulai@comicrelief.com

Paper From Stories of Origin to Political Domination: Indigenous

Theories of Territorial Jurisprudence in Africa and the

Colombian Amazon

Territorial boundaries and jurisdiction is very closely linked to stories of origin in indigenous societies. This has implication in the evolving nature of political authority and systems of jurisprudence.

Sulemana Abudulai, University of Cambridge

s.abudulai@comicrelief.com

Muslim Women's Political Engagement Through Civil Society **Paper** in Pattani, Southern Thailand: Research in Progress

The presentation is based on current research from a political anthropology perspective on Malay Muslim women's political engagement in civil society in the conflict-torn region of Southern Thailand.

Andrea Katalin Molnar, Northern Illinois University akmolnar@niu.edu

The Politics of Violence: The Use of Unconventional Weapons of **Paper** War by the LRA

Analysis of social and political events in Uganda that have created a discourse of power through violence in which the Lord's Resistance Army/Movement has been able to successfully wage a campaign of terror against civilians for more than 20 years.

Kristen Wolf, University of South Carolina

WOLFK@mailbox.sc.edu

Disc. Sulemana Abudulai, University of Cambridge

s.abudulai@comicrelief.com

Jane Elizabeth Lynch, University of Michigan jelynch@umich.edu

56-6 Student Perceptions of their Own Learning and Engagement

Room Hancock on the 6th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Dina M. Krois, Lansing Community College

dkrois@lcc.edu

Paper Debate-A-Palooza: Using a Festival to Teach Civic Engagement

Debate-A-Palooza was an on-campus festival held in concert with the initial presidential debate. Using qualitative and quantitative methods, the authors measured the impact of this format on civic engagement, political attitudes and vote choice.

Brian D Posler, University of Southern Indiana

bposler@usi.edu

Leigh Anne Howard, *University of Southern Indiana* lahoward@usi.edu

Paper Encouraging Civic Engagement in the Community College Environment

The paper presents findings of a year-long project among nine sections of undergraduate, political science students to determine what factors influence civic engagement among community college students.

Shyam Krishnan Sriram, Georgia Perimeter College ssriram@gpc.edu

Paper Experimential Learning in Washington, D.C.: A Study of Student Motivations and Perceptions

This study explores the motivations and perceptions of twenty Bryant University students who voluntarily participated in a ten-day experiential learning program on the 2009 Presidential Inauguration at The Washington Center.

Richard Holtzman, Bryant University

rholtzma@bryant.edu

Paper Experiencing Election 2008: The Impact of Hands-On Education

I describe results of three election-connected learning projects from Fall 2008 and look at the question of how these activities shape student learning and their feelings of attachment to the political process

Matthew Martyn Carlyon Roberts, Hope College

thew.roberts@gmail.com

Disc. Mel Cohen, Miami University, Middletown

cohenm1@muohio.edu

57-208 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: American:</u> <u>Interest Groups and Making Policy</u>

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Post. 1 Equal Opportunity Unequal Access: Exploring the Nexus Between Domestic Politics and Globalization

Relationship between domestic politics and economic inequality in a globalized world is explored. Globalization does not support equal access to the opportunities it creates. Forces of domestic inequality cause inequality at the international level.

Manzoor Ahmed, *Texas A&M University at Qatar* manzoor.ahmed@qatar.tamu.edu

Post. 10 Patterns in the Diffusion of Policies Across the American States in the 20th Century

This research develops a new understanding in the realm of policy diffusion research, which uses over 115 policy areas (including those originally brought about from Jack Walker) in determining the likely order each American state will adopt.

Paul Joseph Skinner, University of Iowa

paul-skinner@uiowa.edu

Frederick J. Boehmke, University of Iowa frederick-boehmke@uiowa.edu

Post. 11 Every Child Deserves to Read the Happy Ending: A Study Analyzing the Effectiveness of Literacy Programs

This poster will analyze, through a mixed method approach, the effectiveness of literacy programs and propose the most effective policy to enhance literacy rates of non-native English speakers, leveling literacy rates among all students.

Julia Ann Sweeney, University of the Pacific Julia ASweeney @gmail.com

Post. 12 Pillars and Foundations of Capitol Lobbies: A Comparative Analysis of Registered and Active Lobbyists in the States

This empirical study analyzes factors relating to the number and diversity of lobbyists across all fifty states. Interviews of state officials and lobbyists from Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska examine the state interest group system.

Matthew R. Brunkhorst, University of Missouri mrbm9c@mizzou.edu

Post. 13 The Section 8 Program: The Role of Housing Policy Design in Facilitating Black Neighborhood Movement and Social Mobility

The Section 8 housing policy design may help deconcentrate poor black inner-city neighborhoods by providing mobility to neighborhoods where there are opportunities to access social capital, which presumably leads to upward social mobility.

Gerald Scott Dickinson, *College of the Holycross* gsdick09@holycross.edu

Post. 2 Federal Principals, State Agents, and Teacher Quality: Factors Influencing State Implementation of No Child Left Behind's Highly Qualified Teacher Provision

Through the lens of Principal-Agent Theory, this paper examines the relationship between the federal and state governments as both have tried to implement NCLB's Highly Qualified Teacher provisions.

Meghan Theresa Dunne, College of William and Mary Mtdunn@wm.edu

Post. 3 The Impact of Professionalism and Term Limits on State Discretionary Spending

Examining the impact of professionalism and term limits on state discretionary spending with the expectation that professionalism enhances state discretionary spending, while term limits restrict it. **Amanda Jenkins**, *Saginaw Valley State University* aljenkin@svsu.edu

Post. 4 State Wind Energy Policy: The South Dakota Case Study

The paper studies the obstacles that must be overcome before rural states with rich wind resources can expand their wind generation. The project draws original insight from nearly fifty interviews and a survey of the SD Farmers Union membership.

Carrie Elizabeth Johnson, American University cejohnson87@gmail.com

Post. 5 A Question of Morality? The Regulation of Same-Sex Marriage in the United States

The paper presents a comprehensive historical and contemporary look at same-sex marriage regulatory policy in the United States, with an emphasis on the socio/religious aspects of the issue.

 ${\bf Matthew\ James\ Kasl},\ Norwich\ University$

kaslm@student.norwich.edu

Post. 6 State Cigarette Excise Tax: The Anti-Drug?

The aim of this article is to determine how education rates, distance from point of production, and agriculture rates may affect a state's cigarette excise tax.

Valerie J. Kraucunas, Creighton University valeriekraucunas@creighton.edu

Post. 7 Fulfilling a Dream or Shattering Expectations

Federal Intervention in Higher Education and the Decay of Democratic Party Influence.

Claire Gallogly Rheaume, College of the Holy Cross cgrhea09@holycross.edu

Post. 8 Claiming Expertise and Authority: Think Tanks, Policy Space, and American Political Development in the Twentieth Century

This research re-evaluates the multiple and overlapping roles think tanks have played in American public policy and politics, asking the questions: what strategies have think tanks deployed to institutionalize themselves as legitimate actors.

Philip Bartholomew Rocco, *University of Pennsylvania* philipbr@sas.upenn.edu

Post. 9 Democracy Witheld: U.S. Attempts to Enact a System of Universal Health Care in Comparative Perspective

As the only capitalist democracy in power without a universal system of health care, the U.S. has made numerous attempts at passage of such a system. However, due to many unique traits of its body politic, its health care remains privatized.

Christopher Ryan Scott, University of Oklahoma crscott@ou.edu

57-210 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: IR:</u> <u>Miscellaneous</u>

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Post. 1 An Empirical Assessment of the 2004 Intelligence Reform

This paper empirically evaluates intelligence reform by machine coding government and academic sources. An intelligence reform dictionary is used to derive percent values of the amount of coverage devoted to topics related to intelligence reform.

Rocky Taylor Cole, University of Georgia

rtaylorcole@gmail.com

Chris Chiego, University of Georgia

cchiego@gmail.com

Post. 2 Another Side, Another Story: A Look at Online Video Personae and Tolerance

Online video games have revolutionized the way people interact with each other. In this new medium, players are able to interface with others that may hold different beliefs, are of another race or ethnicity, and may even speak a different language.

Broderick James Dressen, Carleton College dressenb@carleton.edu

Post. 3 NGOs and Democratization: The Role of International NGOs in Afghanistan in the Establishment of a Sovereign State

This paper explores the role of NGOs in the ongoing establishment of a sovereign state of Afghanistan. It addresses the tensions between NGO operations and the establishment of a sovereign state. **Andrew David Evans**, *Davidson College* anevans@davidson.edu

Post. 4 The New Media As Facilitatory Agents of International Migrations, The African Perspective

The impact of the new media in facilitating the process of international migration cannot be overemphasized. In this way ,the media concommitantly act as agent of cultural diffusion thereby synchronizing the global web of international relationships.

Olugbenga Johnson Falodun, *University of Lagos* awosikalnr@yahoo.com

Post. 5 How does Machiavelli and His Principles Relate to President George W. Bush and the U.S.A Patriot Act?

This paper looks into the U.S.A Patriot Act of 2001 and its similarities with the principles established by Machiavelli in "The Prince."

Andrew Kipp Herrmann, Northern Illinois University z161641@students.niu.edu

Post. 6 <u>Democracies Almost Never Fight One Another: Determining Causes</u>

Logistical regression analysis was used to test why democracies do not fight one another using the following independent variables: a state's electoral competition, its number of veto players, and its age of its democracy.

Andrew M. Meng, *Creighton University* andrewmeng@creighton.edu

Post. 7 The World in 2009: Barack Obama and United States Foreign Policy

The international community looks to Barack Obama for policies promoting international cooperation. Obama promises economic stability, greater military cohesion, and more attention to human rights. Whether he can deliver, only time will tell.

Erica L. Podrazik, *Illinois Wesleyan University* epodrazi@iwu.edu

Maria H. Gobbi, *Illinois Wesleyan University* mgobbi@iwu.edu

Nathan Y.H. Wheatley, *Illinois Wesleyan University* nwheatle@iwu.edu

Post. 8 The Institutionalized Role of NGOs in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

By using primary documents and interviews the study examines the drafting processes and texts of the UN Conventions against Torture and on the Rights of the Child to understand whether and how NGO involvement was formally established in each convent.

Sarah Wald, *Northwestern University* s-wald@northwestern.edu

Post. 9 Determinants of Household Migration from an Ethnic Perspective

Data reveal that ethnic divisions have led to institutions and policies which alter each group's likelihood of migration. This study offers ethnicity as another possible influence on the decision to migrate.

Matthew Charles Wilson, Clemson University mwilso5@clemson.edu

58-104 Roundtable: What to Expect When You're... Interviewing

Room Spire on the 6th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

This roundtable will offer guidance to those entering the job market about what to expect during the application process, and during the telephone, and in-person interviews.

Panelist Tracy Osborn, University of Iowa

tracy-osborn@uiowa.edu

Jacqueline DeLaat, Marietta College

delaatj@marietta.edu

Amber Boydstun, *University of California*, *Davis* aboydstun@ucdavis.edu

Saturday, April 4-2:45 pm

1-100 Authors Meet Readers: Beyond Pathways to Power:
Political Recruitment and Candidate Selection in Latin
America (Co-sponsored with Latin American and
Caribbean Politics, see 8-100)

Room Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Authors Meet Readers: Beyond Pathways to Power: Political Recruitment and Candidate Selection in Latin America
Panelists will comment on the recent book Pathways to Power and discuss important considerations future research on candidate selection as both a dependent and independent variable.

Panelist Maria Escobar-Lemmon, Texas A&M University

escobar@polisci.tamu.edu

 $\textbf{Scott J. Morgenstern}, \ \textit{University of Pittsburgh}$

smorgens@pitt.edu

Peter M. Siavelis, Wake Forest University

siavelpm@wfu.edu

Jon R. Bond, Texas A&M University

jonbond@polisci.tamu.edu

Frances Hagopian, University of Notre Dame

fhagopia@nd.edu

Jonathan Hartlyn, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

hartlyn@unc.edu

Kathryn Hochstetler, University of New Mexico

hochstet@unm.edu

2-10 Cross-National Policy Diffusion

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Paper An Agent-Based Model of Policy Diffusion

In this paper, in order to investigate the complexity of diffusion processes, I first develop an agent-based model of policy diffusion. Secondly, I attempt to validate the model by comparing the computational data with "real world" data.

 $\textbf{St\'ephane Luyet}, \ \textit{University of Konstanz/University of Lausanne}$

stephane.luyet@uni-konstanz.de

Paper The Sources of Pension Reforms in Europe: Domestic, Interdependent, or International Factors?

Challenging accounts that attribute recent pension reforms in Europe to a process of policy diffusion, this paper argues that reforms are the result of government reactions to the "common shocks" of demographic aging and European Monetary Union.

Alexandra Hennessy, Clarkson University

ahenness@clarkson.edu

Disc. Moira Louise Nelson, Bremen International Graduate School

moira@email.unc.edu

3-13 <u>Understanding Civil Conflict</u>

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Chair Ryan Matthew Sheely, *Yale University*

ryanmsheely@gmail.com

Paper Barrios and Bodyguards: Security and Democratic Values in Latin America.

This paper examines the relationship between security, institutions, and democratic values. I hypothesize that heightened security concerns can influence individuals' support for democracy.

Dorothy Lund, Ohio State University

didi.lund@gmail.com

Paper Natural Resources, Stability, and Conflict

An attempt to reconcile the apparently conflicting findings that natural resources both stabilize political regimes and lead to more civil conflict. I hypothesize that the former is true in more institutionalized polities and the latter in less.

Kevin M. Morrison, Cornell University

morrison@cornell.edu

Paper Voting for Peace: Do Post-Conflict Elections Help or Hinder Recovery?

For countries recovering from civil conflict, democratization is often a central tenet of post-conflict reconstruction. This paper seeks to understand when and why first elections after conflict can undermine the peace as opposed to bolstering it.

Thomas Edward Flores, New York University

thomas.flores@nyu.edu

Disc. Megan Elizabeth Reif, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

reifm@umich.edu

3-21 Authoritarian Politics

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Amanda Louise Beal, University of Missouri, Columbia

albgd4@mizzou.edu

Paper Deposing Despots: 11 Intra-Country Analyses of the Dictator Durability Thesis

How durable are different types of dicatorships? I analyze changes within eleven authoritarian countries over time to investigate whether the types of dictatorship determines leadership survival and stability.

Natasha Marie Ezrow, University of Essex

nmezrow@yahoo.com

Paper Seizure of Power: Why Some Military Coup Attempts Fail While Others Succeed

This paper analyzes the determinants of coup outcomes, a question that has never been addressed in the literature on civil-military relations literature. It is based on an original dataset of all coup attempts in the world between 1945 and 2005.

Naunihal Singh, *University of Notre Dame* nsinghl@nd.edu

Paper Pathways to Political Liberalization in Dictatorships

This paper develops a typology of pathways to political liberalization in dictatorships and then examines evidence from all cases of liberalization since 1972 to test competing hypotheses about their relative frequency and causes.

Jay Ulfelder, Political Instability Task Force ulfelder@gmail.com

Disc. Illan Nam, Princeton University

inam@princeton.edu

4-15 Social Heterogeneity and Democratic Development

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Petros Vamvakas, Emmanuel College

vamvakpe@emmanuel.edu

Paper Magic Potion or Molotov's Cocktail? Democratic Development, Economic Growth, and Ethnic Heterogeneity

There are no data on temporal changes in domestic ethnic tensions and thus no global test of Mansfield and Snyder's argument, suggesting that new democracies are more prone to conflict. This paper applies growth modeling to provide such a test.

Lena M. Surzhko-Harned, University of Pittsburgh

lms34@pitt.edu

Paper Too Much Cleavage?: Regional Implications for Democratic Consolidation in Post-Communist Ukraine

An institutional analysis of societal cleavages in post-communist Ukraine challenges the conventional political wisdom that higher degrees of societal fragmentation are inherently inimical to processes of democratization.

Alexander J. Jakubow, *Rutgers University* ajakubow@polisci.rutgers.edu

Paper The Warrior's Curse: Militarized Minorities, Democratic Transitions, and Ethnic Conflict

The paper examines the political consequences of ethnic bias in the military and police recruitment policies of non-democracies.

Subhasish Ray, University of Rochester

sray@mail.rochester.edu

Feisty Youths and Freedom: The Effect of Youth Populations on 6-12 **Civil Liberties and Political Rights**

This paper studies the effect of large youth populations on levels of democracy. Governments facing sizable youth populations are forced to increase levels of authoritarianism and also to place limits on levels of democracy.

John A. Doces, Bucknell University john.doces@bucknell.edu

Petros Vamvakas, Emmanuel College Disc.

vamvakpe@emmanuel.edu

Teresa Almeida Cravo, Harvard Kennedy School

teresa cravo@ksg.harvard.edu

5-18 The Evolution of Parties (Co-sponsored with Political Parties and Interest Groups, see 38-12)

Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room

Fred Eidlin, University of Guelph Chair

feidlin@uoguelph.ca

Chair Fred Eidlin, University of Guelph

feidlin@uoguelph.ca

Women Voters and Women Politicians: An Analysis of Female **Impact on Changed Party Platforms of Christian-Democratic** Parties in Germany, Ireland and Norway

This paper will discuss the reasons for change of Christiandemocratic party platforms. The focus will be on domestic institutional constraints on the impact of female politicians in key

Katja E. Vermehren, University of Colorado, Boulder katja.vermehren@colorado.edu

Political Party Populism in Central and Eastern Europe: Filling Paper the Ideological Vacuum?

This paper focuses on the rise of political party populism in excommunist states of Central and Eastern Europe. Which factors explain the rise of populism and its stronger appeal in some CEE cases and its relative weakness in other cases?

Max Kovalov, University of Oklahoma maksym@ou.edu

Moments in Transatlantic Political Development: Health Care Paper as State and Party-Builder

Since the founding of the National Health Service, and even before, health care has been employed to build parties and attract votes. Quite a different situation has arisen in the United States. This paper Paper will explain why.

Daniel Carl Ehlke, Brown University Daniel Ehlke@brown.edu

Paper How Ideas Change: Exploring the Sources of Radicalism and Reformism in the Socialist Parties of Italy and Sweden

This paper examines the sources of Radicalism and Reformism in Italian and Swedish Socialist parties - arguing that the processes through which suffrage was extended determined the dominant ideational framework entering the interwar period.

Andrew Kelly, Northwestern University a-kelly@northwestern.edu

Disc. Royce Carroll, Rice University rcarroll@rice.edu

Gender and Political Behavior

Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room Chair

Andy Baker, University of Colorado, Boulder

andy.baker@colorado.edu

Paper Patterns, Not Gaps: Gender Differences in Political **Participation**

We show that women in Western democracies are more likely to engage in individualistic action, men are more likely to engage in direct contact, and, controlling for socio-economic characteristics, there is no gender gap in collective action.

Hilde Roza Coffé, Utrecht University

h.r.coffe@uu.nl

Catherine Bolzendahl, University of California, Irvine

cbolzend@uci.edu

Mobilizing Women to Vote in Traditional Societies: A Paper Randomized Field Experiment on Grassroots Mobilization in **Rural India**

What factors motivate women to become politically active in traditional societies? This study discusses the results of a 1) grassroots voter mobilization experiment and 2) natural experiment reserving seats for women politicians in rural India.

Jennifer Elizabeth Green, Yale University

jennifer.green@yale.edu

Explaining Gender Gap in the 2007 Korean Presidential Paper Election

This paper explores whether there exists a gender gap in Korean political behavior and if so, what is the type of this gender gap.

Yun Mi Park, Korea University yunmirul@naver.com

Andy Baker, University of Colorado, Boulder Disc.

andy.baker@colorado.edu

7-15 Supranational Parties in the EU

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Meltem Muftuler-Bac, Sabanci University Chair

muftuler@sabanciuniv.edu

Parties at the European Level: The Technocratic Model of Party **Paper**

Behavior

The paper explores how parties at the European Union level behave. Juan Javier Negri-Malbran, University of Pittsburgh

Interest Groups in the European Union

This paper seeks to explain the dynamic shift Europarties have undergone in recent years using an explanatory variable that has been absent from much of the literature: interest groups. Laila Sorurbakhsh Elba, University of Houston

iamlaila@gmail.com

Institutionalising Transnational Political Parties: A Case Study **Paper** of the European Political Parties (Euro-Parties)

To what extent are political parties beyond the state a viable prospect? This paper will highlight how the European Political Parties (Euro-parties) have sought to enhance their role and significance within the EU's governance architecture.

Stephen Day, University of Oita srday@cc.oita-u.ac.jp

Meltem Muftuler-Bac, Sabanci University Disc.

muftuler@sabanciuniv.edu

8-21 Subnational Perspectives on Democracy and Party Competition in Latin America

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Angel Eduardo Alvarez, Universidad Central de Venezuela

aalvare3@nd.edu

Paper The Political Economy of Bolivia's Regional Autonomy Movements

A test of the relationship between support for regional autonomy, socioeconomic indicators, and fiscal spending in three Bolivian departments using municipal-level data.

Miguel Centellas, Mount St. Mary's University

centellas@msmary.edu

Miguel Angel Buitrago, GIGA-Institute of Latin American Studies buitrago@giga-hamburg.de

Paper Questioning the Effects of Democracy: Electoral Competition and Public Good Provision in Mexico

Although Mexico has established itself as a democratic country, the regional disparities it exhibits have given way to challenges on the quality of its democratic system. This paper focuses on sub-national level data to shed light on this matter.

Elda Lorena Becerra Mizuno, Duke University

elda.becerra@duke.edu

Marco Antonio Fernandez Martinez, *Duke University* maf16@duke.edu

Paper The Impact of Civil Society on Policy Outcomes: An Examination of Municipal Councils and Civil Society Participation Brazilian Housing Policy

This paper assesses the influence of civil society on housing policies across Brazilian cities. Using quantitative and qualitative evidence, this study examines the importance of local participatory institutions for enabling civil society's impact.

Maureen Donaghy, University of Colorado, Boulder Donaghy@colorado.edu

Paper Failures of Representation: Examining the Impact of Party System Fragmentation on Social Conflict in Peru

Examines the case of Peru to identify the causal link between party system fragmentation and social conflict at the sub-national level, combining quantitative and qualitative research methods.

Luis Felipe Mantilla, *Georgetown University* lfm5@georgetown.edu

Disc. Angel Eduardo Alvarez, Universidad Central de Venezuela aalvare3@nd.edu

Eduardo J. Gomez, *Rutgers University* edgomez@gmail.com

9-18 All Politics is Local: Decentralization and Local Governance in East Asia

Room Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Jing Vivian Zhan, Chinese University of Hong Kong
zhan@cuhk.edu.hk

Paper Why Does Local Finance Go Extra-Budgetary? Analysis of Informal Fiscal Institutions in China

This paper explains why Chinese local governments increasingly resort to informal fiscal institutions to finance their activities, although the process often arouses popular discontents and social unrest.

Jing Vivian Zhan, Chinese University of Hong Kong zhan@cuhk.edu.hk

Paper Playing Along: Local Survival of Central Fiscal Reforms in China

The paper examines responses of China's lowest level governments towards recent central fiscal policy changes that have undermined local fiscal autonomy. It analyzes the rationality of local practice and central tolerance in an authoritarian regime.

Juan Wang, *Johns Hopkins University* juanwang@jhu.edu

Paper Decentralization and the Impact of Local Environments on Policy Outcomes in South Korea

We examine if and how decentralization influences local government welfare policy outcomes for the elderly. We expect local environments will influence policy outcomes through the increased discretion of local environments due to decentralization.

Byungkyu Kim, Daegu University

K7333uk5@gmail.com

Seongman Park, Daegu University

hong3363@hanmail.net

Kon-Su Yi, East Asian Institute

ksyi@eai.or.kr

Deokho Cho, Daegu University

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Disc. Megumi Naoi, University of California, San Diego

mnaoi@dss.ucsd.edu

Shaojin Chai, University of Notre Dame

schai@nd.edu

9-23 Bureaucracies and Judiciaries in Asia

Room Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Joel Sawat Selway, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

jselway@umich.edu

Paper An Analysis of Supreme Court Decision on Proposed Memorandum of Agreement Between the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Philippine Government on the "Ancestral Domain" Issue

The Supreme Court of the Philippines recently declared as unconstitutional a proposed Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) between the Moro Islamic Liberation front (MILF) and the Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo government.

Benjamin Navarro Muego, Bowling Green State University bnmuego@aol.com

aper The Role of the Judiciary in India's Environmental Politics

How has the Indian Supreme Court become an activist court in shaping India's environmental policy? A comparative analysis of the Indian and US Supreme Courts.

Krishna K. Ladha, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County* Krish.ladha@gmail.com

Paper Policy Implementation, Bureaucratic Accountability, and Local Governance: The Case of the Grain for Green Project in China

This paper aims to investigate how to hold bureaucrats accountable in authoritarian system. Findings will show that the participatory governance is more likely to hold officials accountable in implementing the Grain for Green project in China.

Jia Guo, *University of Hong Kong* guo925@gmail.com

Paper Scattering Flying Geese: Diverging Bureaucracy in East Asian Economic Transition

East Asian economies are different in many parts as well as share a few common features. Existing studies emphasize either aspect depending on their study period. My paper links the two with a single variable of bureaucracy.

Dongryul Kim, Rochester Institute of Technology rdokim@gmail.com

Disc. Kharis Ali Templeman, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor kharist@umich.edu

Joel Sawat Selway, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor jselway@umich.edu

10-11 Organizations and Governance in Africa

Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room KC Morrison, University of Missouri Chair

morrisonk@missouri.edu

Unions as Mediating Organizations Between Society and the Paper State in South Africa

This study, based upon field work in South Africa explores how organized labor as part of a corporatist tripartite alliance has utilized or responded to new post-apartheid political opportunities.

LaTasha Chaffin, Western Michigan University

chaffinlatasha@yahoo.com

Collective Action and the Emergence of Voluntary Regulation Paper **Programs Among NGOs: Evidence from Africa**

This paper examines the emergence of collective action institutions - voluntary self-regulation programs - among NGOs in sub-Saharan Africa. Data on 22 countries and six paired case studies suggest the conditions under collective action may arise.

Mary Kay Gugerty, University of Washington

guguerty@u.washington.edu

Religion, Gender and Political Participation in Sub-Saharan Paper Africa: Lessons from Nigeria, Senegal and Uganda

This paper explores the impact of communal religious involvement on the gender gap in political engagement and participation in sub-Saharan Africa.

Robert Dowd, University of Notre Dame

rdowd1@nd.edu

Michael Hoffman, University of Notre Dame mhoffa5@nd.edu

Disc. Virginia Parish Beard, Hope College

beard@hope.edu

11-8 **Lasting Legacies and Middle East Politics**

Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Caroleen Marji Sayej, Long Island University

caroleen.sayej@liu.edu

Paper The Post-Colonial Middle-East: Reality or Myth?

I examine what factors may explain the continued impact of colonialism on Middle East politics, explore US neglect of colonial legacies in the region, and post future regional responses to foreign powers' policies that parallel colonialism.

Fouad Pervez, Georgetown University

fouad0@gmail.com

Beyond Oil: The Geopolitical Origins of Regime Coalitions in Paper **Kuwait and Iran**

Rejecting structuralist theories of rentierism, this paper argues that pre-oil social coalitions conditioned by early Western interventions explain why Kuwait's dynasty has endured while Iran's monarchy fell to revolution.

Sean Yom, Harvard University yom@fas.harvard.edu

The Israeli/Jewish Historical Memory Regarding the Causes for Paper the 1948 Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1949-2004

Rafi Nets-Zehngut, Tel Aviv University/Columbia University rafi.nets@gmail.com

Disc. Ahmet Selim Tekelioglu, Boston University astekeli@bu.edu

13-18 Pre-Post-Communism: Papers on Soviet Era Politics and their Legacies

Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Joan Davison, Rollins College

idavison@rollins.edu

Paper Reconstructing Galicia: Mapping the Cultural and Civic Traditions of the Former Austrian Galicia in Poland and

Reconstructing the former Galicia electoral district by district, we explore the historical legacy of the region and its consequences for contemporary political behavior in Poland and Ukraine.

Jacek Lubecki, University of Arkansas, Little Rock

jxlubecki@ualr.edu

Paper

Andrew James Drummond, University of Arkansas, Little Rock ajdrummond@ualr.edu

The Nation That Wasn't There? The Notion of the Soviet People/Nation and Post-Stalinist Attempts at Reforming the Regime of Ethnicity in the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation, 1953-1997

This paper investigates attempts at revising state policies regarding citizens' ethnic background in the USSR/Russia after Stalin by abolishing the ethnicity category in the internal passport in an attempt to promote a supra-ethnic Soviet identity.

Sener Akturk, University of California, Berkeley

sakturk@berkeley.edu

Paper The Political Role of Religion in Russia

Both in Marx's day and during the Soviet period, the frequent contrast between religion and socialism was never fully satisfying. Religious perspectives contributed to the broad critique of Communism that spread in the USSR from the 1980s onward.

Lynn D. Nelson, Virginia Commonwealth University

lnelson@vcu.edu

Irina Y. Kuzes, Independent Scholar

kuzes@mindspring.com

Disc. Sophia Voitanik Wilson, University of Washington

sophiaw@u.washington.edu

14-14 **Politics of Foreign Aid**

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Chair

Carl Jan Willem Schudel, University of Essex

cjwsch@essex.ac.uk

Public Preferences for Foreign Aid Paper

Survey analysis on support for foreign aid using experimental and non-experimental techniques.

Dustin Tingley, Princeton University

dtingley@princeton.edu

Efficient Distribution of Foreign Aid: Irish Example Paper

Ireland achieved remarkable growth since 1990s partly due to foreign aid (EU structural funds). We analyse efficiency of aid redistribution in the institutional context and show the detrimental effect of broadly representational oversight bodies.

Slava Mikhaylov, Trinity College, Dublin

mikhailv@tcd.ie

Patrick Honohan, Trinity College, Dublin

phonohan@tcd.ie

Paper Foreign Aid, Political Corruption and Economic Growth

Foreign aid's economic effects are conditioned by recipient states' level of political corruption. Pervasive corruption reduces aid effectiveness and hampers GDP growth by wasting resources and distorting state expenditure in aid recipients.

Xiaohong Xu, University of Missouri, Columbia xxhfac@yahoo.com

Paper The Politics of Multilateral Aid Allocation: Is the EU Bad for Africa?

We argue that the EU faces a trade off when deciding on aid allocation. In principle they support the development needs of the LDCs. However, budget constraints and expansion have increased the demands for a shift in aid towards associated countries.

Tobin Jennifer, Georgetown University

jlt58@georgetown.edu

Christina Schneider, Princeton University

cjschnei@Princeton.EDU

Disc. Nicholas Weller, University of Southern California

nweller@usc.edu

Carl Jan Willem Schudel, University of Essex

cjwsch@essex.ac.uk

14-20 Economic Reform, Privatization, and Financial Liberalization

Room Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Alexandra Gibbons Guisinger, University of Notre Dame

Guisinger.1@nd.edu

Paper Democracy and Reforms

This paper studies the impact of democracy on the adoption of economic reforms using a new dataset on structural reforms over the period 1960-2004. We show that democracy has a positive significant impact on economic reforms.

Prachi Mishra, IMF

pmishra@imf.org

Paola Giuliano, University of California, Los Angeles

paola.giuliano@anderson.ucla.edu

Antonio Spilimbergo, IMF

aspilimbergo@imf.org

Paper Pressures of Americanization on Economic Policy Making: Foreign Educated Technocrats and Free Market Reforms in Turkey, Chile, and South Korea

This paper focuses on one of the central actors of neoliberal globalization, economic experts. It compares three neoliberal technocratic moments (Chile in 1970s, and Turkey and S. Korea in the 1980s) to assess the role of economists as technocrats.

Umud Karaca Dalgic, Northwestern University

UmudDalgic2010@u.northwestern.edu

Paper National Assets for Sale: International Diffusion of Privatization Policies

Competing causes of international policy diffusion are tested with respect to privatization polices.

Dale L. Smith, Florida State University

dlsmith@fsu.edu

Sally T. Anderson, Florida State University

sta05c@fsu.edu

Paper Capital Account Liberalization: When International Commitments Run Up Against Domestic Politics

We examine the factors that influence a country's decision to initially remove capital controls and the decision to continue liberalization efforts.

Nancy Brune, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

nancy.brune@unlv.edu

Alexandra Gibbons Guisinger, *University of Notre Dame* guisinger.1@nd.edu

Paper Do Crises Cause Capital Account Liberalization?

We argue that capital account liberalization occurs during "economic recoveries"—times of economic stability in the immediate aftermath of economic crises. We provide support for this hypothesis using regression analysis and a case-study.

Sebastian Karcher, Northwestern University

karcher@u.northwestern.edu

David Steinberg, Northwestern University

d-steinberg@northwestern.edu

Disc. Alexandra Gibbons Guisinger, University of Notre Dame

Guisinger.1@nd.edu

15-17 Domestic Crises and Diversionary War

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair R. B. Packer, University of Michigan

rbpacker@gmail.com

Paper Dynamics of Wars of Extermination (WOE): A Theory

Certain historical conditions lead states to wars of extermination (WOE: wars with high casualties). Foreign invasions/occupations result in internal WOE such as civil wars, while states with internal power struggles tend to start external WOE.

Yeoun Varley, University of Hawai, Manoa

yeoun@hawaii.rr.com

Paper Discovering Diversion: The Conditions and Processes of Diversionary Conflict

Using a data set consisting of opportunities to use force, the author demonstrates that various domestic indicators do affect the likelihood the US president will act upon an opportunity to use military force to solve an international crisis.

Ryan Isaacson, University of Colorado, Boulder

ryan.isaacson@colorado.edu

Paper Choosing to Lose? Revolutionary Legitimacy and Nasser's Decision-Making in the 1967 War

This paper explores Gamal Abdel-Nasser's decision-making in the run-up to the 1967 Middle East War, weighing his search for domestic political legitimacy against third-image factors in determining the ultimate decision to risk war with Israel.

Gene Gerzhoy, University of Chicago

gerzhoy@uchicago.edu

Disc. Jeff D. Colgan, Princeton University

jcolgan@princeton.edu

15-26 Foreign Policies of Russia and the Former Soviet Union

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Steven Patrick Dobransky, Kent State University

sdobrans@kent.edu

Paper Transdinestrian Conflict Resolution and Russian Foreign Policy: What has Changed After 08/08/08?

Paper analyzes the trends in Russian foreign policy towards Trasndniestrian conflict resolution since the formation of PMR till nowadays.

Anna Tolkachova, European University, St. Petersburg atol@eu.spb.ru

Paper <u>Understanding Russian Aggression Towards Georgia</u>

What were the underlying incentives behind Russia's decision to initiate conflict with Georgia? Was Russia's decision rational? This paper will attempt to answer these questions and scrutinize the conflict decision by using an expected-utility model.

Michael Langlois, Wayne State University

ax2189@wayne.edu

Paper Studying the Influence of Negative External Actors: The Case of Russia (Effects, Characteristics and Future Perspectives)

Is Russia weakening democratic perspectives in the Post-Soviet republics? If so, how can we characterize such a "negative" external actor? And what does the existence of such "negative" influence imply for the success of Western democracy promotion?

Jakob Tolstrup, University of Aarhus

tolstrup@ps.au.dk

Paper Are You My Parent? The Dynamics of Treaty Nestedness in the Former Soviet Union

This paper examines bilateral treaty nestedness in the Former Soviet Union, specifically examining the bilateral relationships between Russia and Kazakhastan, Moldova, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

Michael O. Slobodchikoff, University of Arizona

slobodcm@email.arizona.edu

Disc. Michael Jon Stoil, University of Guam

mstoil@uguam.uog.edu

16-13 Strategies of Terrorism and Counterterrorism

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Toby Lee Lauterbach, Purdue University

leto1777@yahoo.com

Paper Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and Counter-Counter Terrorism:

Dynamic Patterns and Responses to Quality of Violence During the Al-Aqsa Intifada

Using data on terror and counterterror operations during the Al Aqsa Intifada and a vector autoregression, I find that responses by each actor depend on the specific types of violence used by the opposition, their interactive effects, and context.

Jennifer Erin Kavanagh, University of Michigan jennkav@umich.edu

Paper Small Scale Public Health and Social Welfare Projects as Counter-Terrorist/Counter-Insurgency Tools

Social welfare projects can be shown, both theoretically and empirically to have a substantial impact on the effectiveness of terrorist groups by limiting their mobility and souring public opinion toward them in the areas in which they operate.

Eli Asher Balkin, Georgetown University eab67@georgetown.edu

Paper Coercion and Collective Punishment: Israel's Conflicts with Hamas and Hezbollah

This paper examines the effectiveness Israel's strategy of targeting the civilian populations and infrastructure in its 2006 conflicts with Hamas and Hezbollah.

Stacie Pettyjohn, University of Virginia

sp3h@virginia.edu

Evan Montgomery, University of Virginia

em9d@virginia.edu

Paper Stages of Conflict: Strategic Choice, Terrorism, and the Outcome of Insurgencies

How do strategic decisions matter in conflicts between insurgent organizations and states? I argue that the course of insurgencies can be explained by the intersection of actors' strategies coupled with the relative power balance between combatants.

Charles Wilson Mahoney, University of California, Los Angeles cmahoney@ucla.edu

Disc. Jonathan Edward Czarnecki, Naval War College, Monterey jczarne@nps.edu

17-15 Rebuilding Societies and Institutions After War

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Chair Clayton Lynn Thyne, University of Kentucky

clayton.thyne@uky.edu

Paper Finding the "Place" for Peace: An Examination of Place Based
Community Change in Post Conflict Societies

This paper will examine the concept of "place based" community change for its potential impact in post conflict societies for the purposes of building a deep rooted peace.

Margaret Walsh Keiley-Listermann, Georgia Gwinnett College mkeiley@ggc.usg.edu

Paper <u>Legacies of War: How Violence Shapes Post-Conflict Life</u>

This paper examines similarities and differences in how different kinds of trauma affect the way people participate in post-conflict social and political life.

Steven D. Shewfelt, *Yale University* steven.shewfelt@yale.edu

Paper Personal and Political Reconciliation in Post-Genocide Rwanda

This paper is concerned with the prospects for peace and justice in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide and, to that end, we consider the potential uses and limits of restorative justice initiatives in the process of healing and reconciliation.

Ari Kohen, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

akohen2@unl.edu

Michael Zanchelli, Unaffiliated

zanchema@gmail.com

Levi Drake.

levi.drake@gmail.com

Paper Peace Organizations' Entrepreneurial Role: Comparing Two Israeli Peace Organizations

The article focuses on the entrepreneurial role of peace organizations in promoting societal change. It offers a measure for ideological differences between peace organizations. It explains these differences based on intrinsic organizational aspects.

Tamir Magal, Haifa University, Israel

pooh@inss.org.il

Disc. Clayton Lynn Thyne, University of Kentucky

clayton.thyne@uky.edu

17-31 Conflict and Instability in the Developing World

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Joshua M. Kivuva, University of Nairobi

joshuakivuva@hotmail.com

Paper Recurring Conflicts in Ghana's Northern Region: Causes and Institutional Remedies

Ghana's Northern region where the Dagomba kingdom is located has been experiencing recurring conflicts. I investigate causes of the conflicts and suggest measures to forestall genocide in this region, and tensions within the larger political arena.

Kenneth Shelton Aikins, University of Kansas

kenny@ku.edu

Paper Culture, Conflict and Sustainable Development; African Perspective

> The cultural super-ordination which colonial experience entailed has continued to flourish even after political independence with conflicts and contradictions in various aspects of social relations.

Abiola Hammed Odu, University of Ibadan, Nigeria dabye2000@yahoo.com

Paper Zapatista and Anti-Zapatista Protests: A Test to Movement and Countermovement Dynamics

This study analyzes movement-countermovement protest dynamics in developing countries with incipient democracies. It offers a test of the theory outside its realm of application.

Maria Inclan, Centro de Investigacion y Docencia Economicas maria.inclan@cide.edu

Paper Information, Loyalty Policies, and Military Defection in Rebellion

Examines the defection of government troops in rebellions, relating patterns of defection to government policies for maintaining loyalty (whether individual- or group-based). Compares Syria, Jordan and Iran to illustrate the argument.

Theodore McLauchlin, *McGill University* theodore.mclauchlin@mail.mcgill.ca

Disc. Abdy Javadzadeh, Florida International University

abdyjavadzadeh@yahoo.com

18-11 Ideas, Identities, and Foreign Policy

Room LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair William Douglas Anderson, Western Illinois University

wd-anderson@wiu.edu

Paper The Tragedy of Grand Strategy: Problems of the Singular Foreign Policy

The tragedy of US grand strategy as practiced is that when vigorously pursued, it creates more and more serious problems because of identifiable errors of interpretation and implementation, unavoidable mistakes both philosophical and practical.

Gerry Gendlin, Edinboro University of Pennsylvania

public@tsar.com

Paper Battling for Hearts and Minds: Superpower Strategy, Political Reconstruction and Education Reform After the Second World War

This paper explains the variation among education reforms in occupied territories implemented by the superpowers at the end of WWII by tracing the contrasting ideas about the purpose, content and structure of education and their influence on policy.

Christopher Burdett, *University of Virginia* clb9u@virginia.edu

Paper Changes of Identity, Changes of Course: The Non-Crisis Kind of Foreign Policy Transformation

This conceptual paper casts light on the ignored aspect of non-crisis foreign policy change. Such more gradual transformation in a state's external orientation is linked to changes in identity, rarely abrupt. Illustrated with recent European history.

Dessi Kirilova, *Yale University* dessislava.kirilova@yale.edu

Paper Inscribing Justice in the Collective Self: Changes in

Remembrance, Constitutional Law, and National Security

This paper explains how the interactions between collective identity constitution and the subjective understanding of intergenerational justice played a role in the post-Cold War international relations.

Jaeyeon Yim, University of Chicago

jyim@uchicago.edu

Disc. Rashida Hussain, Wright State University

rashida.hussain@wright.edu

19-15 Understanding and Evaluating International Institutions

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Songying Fang, University of Minnesota

sfang@umn.edu

Paper From Interdependence to Asymmetry: The Politics of

Effectiveness in International Organizations

How do political variables influence the performance of IOs in their role as agents? Through an analysis of UN agency evaluations, I assess the influence of politics on how effectiveness is understood and its subsequent influence on IO performance.

Erin Graham, Ohio State University graham.474@polisci.osu.edu

Paper Better Safe than Sorry: Bargaining and the Length of IMF Debt Paper Repayment

We are analyzing whether the length of planning needed to establish a country's poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) has an influence on the time a country needs to repay its debt vis-à-vis the international monetary fund (IMF)

Gabriele Stella Ruoff, ETH Zürich gruoff@ir.gess.ethz.ch

Lena Maria Schaffer, *ETH Zürich* lena.schaffer@ir.gess.ethz.ch

Paper UN Security Council Non-Permanent Member Elections: Security and Equitable Representation?

This research empirically evaluates UN Security Council nonpermanent member elections from 1946 to 2007 focusing on the factors that predict electoral success with respect to security management and regional representation.

Vanessa A. Lefler, University of Iowa

vanessa-lefler@uiowa.edu Brian Lai, University of Iowa

brian-lai@uiowa.edu

Paper IMF Program Suspensions: Theoretical Issues in Model Specification

To what extent are the empirical models we employ to estimate IMF program suspensions divorced from our understanding of the process of suspension?

Martin S. Edwards, Seton Hall University

edwardmb@shu.edu

Paper Cooperation by Design? Uncertainty, Context, and International Agreements

Why do international agreements vary widely in design? We address this question using a new database of 1000 bilateral treaties from 1945-2000 with variables from international negotiating environments and results that depart from prior analyses.

Mark S. Copelovitch, University of Wisconsin, Madison copelovitch@wisc.edu

Tonya L. Putnam, Columbia University tp2202@columbia.edu

Disc. Autumn Lockwood Payton, Ohio State University

payton.29@osu.edu

 $\textbf{Songying Fang},\ University\ of\ Minnesota$

sfang@umn.edu

21-16 The Effects of Candidate Images and Ascriptive Traits

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm **Chair** Andrew J.W. Civettini, *Knox College*

acivetti@knox.edu

Paper Political Campaign Effects and Candidate Image Association

The current study observed how political candidates' strategies and manners of political communication determine their professional and personal associations utilizing the concept of brand association

Hyun Jung Yun, Texas State University

como35@gmail.com

Paper The Role of Weight Bias in Candidate Evaluation

Much psychological research focuses on the role of body weight in our perceptions of others. Given the importance of image for candidates, we assess the relationship between weight bias and candidate evaluation.

Beth Miller, *University of Missouri, Kansas City* millerel@umkc.edu

Jennifer Lundgren, *University of Missouri, Kansas City* lundgrenj@umkc.edu

Changed Perceptions, Unchanged Evaluations? The Relationship Between the Image Persuasive and Image Priming

Effects of Presidential (Un)responsiveness on Foreign and Domestic Policy

I argue that changes in public perceptions of the extent to which a politician possesses a certain trait (image persuasion) do not necessarily change the weight given to that trait in overall approval evaluations (image priming).

Bas van Doorn, College of Wooster bvandoorn@wooster.edu

Paper Effect of Prejudice on Mexicans and Mexican Americans' Electoral Behavior

In this paper I discuss the findings of an experiment conducted in Mexico City and in Chicago to explore the effect that prejudice related to people's racial appearance has on voters' evaluation and intention to vote for a candidate.

Rosario Aguilar-Pariente, *University of Michigan* rosarioa@umich.edu

Disc. Philip Paolino, *University of North Texas* paolino@unt.edu

23-13 Evaluating Electoral Accountability

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Kim Quaile Hill, Texas A&M University
kimhill@tamu.edu

Paper A Policy of Honesty: Election Manifesto Pledge Fulfillment in New Zealand from 1972-2005

This paper explores the enactment of party pledges in New Zealand, the impact of parties' changing attitude towards the mandate and MMP on election policy implementation.

Nathan Perry McCluskey, *University of Canterbury* nathan.mccluskey@canterbury.ac.nz

Paper Popular Promises and Partisan Words

This paper presents evidence that differences in campaign language predict levels of polarization in the post-election Congress. Even broad symbolic ideals appear to carry reliable information about party polarization.

Patrick John McHugh, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill pmchugh@email.unc.edu

Paper Win or Lose: Electoral College Effects on Citizens' Attitudes Toward Government

The Electoral College produces election outcomes at the state and national levels. This paper examines how these outcomes affect citizens' levels of efficacy and trust. In addition, I examine the moderating effect of a state's battleground status.

Henriet Hendriks, *University of Minnesota* henrieth@yahoo.com

Paper Are Promise-Keeping Governments More Competent?

We propose a formal model of electoral accountability in which governments choose whether to keep promises about policy initiatives and then test hypotheses implied by this model using an original dataset of sixty Third Wave democracies.

Sooh-Rhee Ryu, *University at Buffalo, SUNY* sryu4@buffalo.edu

Gregg B. Johnson, *University at Buffalo*, *SUNY* gbj2@buffalo.edu

Harvey D. Palmer, *University at Buffalo*, *SUNY* hpalmer@buffalo.edu

Disc. Kim Quaile Hill, Texas A&M University

kimhill@tamu.edu

Scott Desposato, *University of California, San Diego* swd@ucsd.edu

23-19 Causes and Consequences of Electoral Competition

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Stacy G. Ulbig, Sam Houston State University
ulbig@shsu.edu

Paper Electoral Consequences of Lawmaking Activities in State Legislatures

The present analysis considers whether bill introduction and passage of legislation affects the reelection efforts of incumbents in 18 states during the 1998 and 2000 elections.

Robert Edward Hogan, Louisiana State University

rhogan1@lsu.edu

Mileah K. Kromer, Elon University mileahkaykromer@gmail.com Rhonda L. Wrzenski, Baker University rwrzenski@lsu.edu

Paper Political Endorsements: Influential or Much Ado About Nothing?

This paper examines the effects of state level endorsements by members of Congress, governors as well as state legislators, on the success of candidates in the 2008 Democratic Presidential Primary/ Caucus season.

Bryce Don Summary, *University of Missouri*, *St.Louis* bdsn75@umsl.edu

Paper Are PACs Rational?

Paper

Analysis of how PACs change their donations to House candidates in response to new information about level of competition in House races

Jennifer E. Sykes, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill jesyke@email.unc.edu

The Incumbency Advantage and Mis-allocation of Resources and Effort: Alan Powell and the Georgia State 29th House District Election of 2006

In 2006, the Georgia Republican Party spent over \$500,000 opposing an incumbent who, by any professional standard, was unbeatable. This paper explores four possible explanations for such a poor campaign decision.

Michael P. Bobic, West Virginia Wesleyan College bobic m@wvwc.edu

Disc. Tim H. Blessing, Alvernia University

Tim.Blessing@alvernia.edu

Stacy G. Ulbig, Sam Houston State University ulbig@shsu.edu

24-9 Electoral Systems and Fiscal Politics

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Arturas Rozenas, Duke University

ar71@duke.edu

Paper Budgetary Policy-Making in a Single-Member District Plurality System

This paper looks at the representation of socio-economic interests in caucus and explores the effects this representation may have on budgetary policy-making.

Marc Andre Bodet, *McGill University* marcandre.bodet@mail.mcgill.ca

Paper The Economic Effects of Gerrymandering

This paper investigates the consequences of gerrymandering. It finds that when political subdivisions are split into multiple congressional districts, they receive less federal assistance than they did before the split.

Michiko Ueda, California Institute of Technology michiko@caltech.edu

Salvatore Nunnari, California Institute of Technology snunnari@hss.caltech.edu

Paper The Distributional Consequences of Representation: Census Apportionment Cycles as a Natural Experiment

This paper uses census apportionment cycles as a source of exogeneity to identify the relationship between representation in the U.S. House and the distribution of federal grants-in-aid to the states.

Roy Elis, Stanford University

elis@stanford.edu

Disc.

Fred Wolens, Stanford University

fwolens@stanford.edu

Vincenzo Galasso, Bocconi University

vincenzo.galasso@unibocconi.it

Demographics and Political Preferences 25-17

Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room

Tom van der Meer, Netherlands Institute for Social Research Chair

(SCP)

t.van.der.meer@scp.nl

Paper **Policy Lessons: How Experiences of Higher Education Policies**

Influence Attitudes Toward Government

Drawing on a newly conducted survey, this paper examines how Americans' usage of a wide array of higher education policies influences their views about the role of government, support for specific policies, and sense of political efficacy.

Suzanne Mettler, Cornell University

sbm24@cornell.edu

Differences in Income, Policy Preferences, and Priorities in Paper

American Public Opinion

Recent research calls into question whether citizens' political preferences vary by income. Assessing survey responses across multiple issues, I find that they do. Different income groups also prioritize different issues as most salient.

Patrick Flavin, University of Notre Dame

pflavin@nd.edu

Economic Contexts and Americans' Attitudes Toward Income Paper Inequality

> We explore how individuals' views toward the distribution of incomes in the U.S. are shaped by patterns of objective income inequality in their home state contexts. We use data from the 2002 and 2004 ANES surveys and data on state income inequality.

James Christopher Garand, Louisiana State University

pogara@lsu.edu

Ping Xu, Louisiana State University

pxu5@lsu.edu

Disc. Keith Nicholls, University of South Alabama

knicholls@usouthal.edu

26-19 Costs of Voting: Interest, Time, and Registration (Co-

sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-29)

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Chair

Costas Panagopoulos, Fordham University

costas@post.harvard.edu

Do Voter Registration Drives Increase Voter Turnout? Paper

> The paper gauges the effect of a voter registration drive on voter turnout in 2008. It then compares the results to previous drives performed in 2004 and 2006.

Tina Ebenger, Calumet College of St. Joseph

tebenger@ccsj.edu

Darren Henderson, Calumet College of St. Joseph

darrenh@ccsj.edu

The Link Between Registration and Turnout: An Experimental Paper

Approach

A series of controlled, randomized field experiments were conducted between 2004 and 2008. Heterogeneous responses to the treatments suggest that registration is only a barrier to participation for a subset of citizens.

David W. Nickerson, University of Notre Dame

david.w.nickerson@gmail.com

Paper Why Are Some People More Interested in Politics than Others?

> Some people are more interested in politics than others. Why this is so remains largely unclear. This paper reports the results from a larger research project on the origins and development of political

Markus Prior, Princeton University mprior@princeton.edu

The Costs of Voting Across Time and Space **Paper**

> I observe a natural experiment in several counties in California that changes the costs of voting for registrants in an approximately random way over a number of election cycles. Here I differentiate effects by spatial and temporal context.

John E. McNulty, Binghamton University

jmcnulty@binghamton.edu

The Influence of the Vice President on Vote Choice **Paper**

This paper examines the effect of the vice presidential candidate on

vote choice.

Lonna Atkeson, University of New Mexico

atkeson@unm.edu

Lisa A. Bryant, University of New Mexico

lbryant@unm.edu

Yann Kerevel, University of New Mexico

kerevely@unm.edu

Sarah Anzia, Stanford University Disc.

sanzia@stanford.edu

27-20 Framing Political Events, Issues, and Actors

Empire on the Lobby Level, Sat at 2:45 pm Room

Chair Todd M. Schaefer, Central Washington University

schaefet@cwu.edu

Paper Envisioning War's Denouement: Narratives of the Iraq War

Endgame in Campaign 2008

This study examines the frame contest over the Bush administration's post-surge strategy during the 2008 presidential election campaign as part of the larger discursive struggle about the

outcome and meaning of the Iraq War. Erika G. King, Grand Valley State University

kinge@gvsu.edu

Robert A. Wells, Thiel College

rwells@thiel.edu

Media Framing of Geostrategic Outcomes of the War in Iraq: **Paper**

The Case of Iran

This paper reports findings of a framing study of the Iraq war. Dominant political and media frames emphasize WMD and al Oaeda connections, while de-emphasizing geostrategic policy outcomes concerning Iran.

Steven Livingston, George Washington University

sliv@gwu.edu

Tijana Milosevic, George Washington University

tijana@gwu.edu

The Anthrax Investigation: A Case Study in the Framing of **Paper**

The anthrax investigation ended in 2008 with the suicide of the scientist investigators planned to indict. Framing and the social amplification of risk are used to examine how divergent perceptions of risk affected political and media communication.

Marjorie Kruvand, Loyola University, Chicago

mkruvand@luc.edu

Media Framing of Interest Groups as Special Interests Paper

Keywords: Media effects, framing, interest groups, Social Security

Richard Almeida, Francis Marion University

ralmeida@fmarion.edu

And the War Continues: A Comparative Study of Newspaper Paper Coverage of the War in Iraq

> This is a comparative study of newspaper coverage of the war in Iraq in four different countries using content analysis. Major differences emerged among the coverage.

Salma I. Ghanem, University of Texas, Pan American ghanem@utpa.edu

Disc. Christopher Graham Flood, University of Surrey

c.flood@surrev.ac.uk

Huib Pellikaan, Leiden University pellikaan@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

28-5 Women's Path to State and Local Office

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm **Chair** Allyson M. Lowe, *Chatham University*

loweallyson@gmail.com

Paper Women's Path to Legislative Office in Minnesota

We analyze gender dynamics affecting candidates' paths to the state legislature in Minnesota using a new data set that combines information about candidates, their districts, and their campaigns, and party gatekeeping from candidate surveys.

Sally Jane Kenney, University of Minnesota

kenne030@umn.edu

Kathryn Pearson, University of Minnesota

kpearson@umn.edu

Debra Fitzpatrick, University of Minnesota

dfitzpatrick@umn.edu

Elizabeth Sharrow, University of Minnesota

shar0139@umn.edu

Paper Revisiting Women's Routes to State Legislative Office

Do men and women take the same path to public office? This paper compares the backgrounds of state legislators in the United States in 1981 and 2008 using national surveys conducted by the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP).

Susan J. Carroll, Rutgers University

scarroll@rci.rutgers.edu

Kira Sanbonmatsu, Rutgers University

sanbon@rci.rutgers.edu

Paper Iowa Women and Politics: Pathways and Prospects for State and National Office

This paper discusses the political paths of women serving in the Iowa legislature and the results of a survey of Iowa women's political ambition. It includes excerpts from interviews of Iowa women who have run for Congress in recent elections.

Dianne Bystrom, Iowa State University

dbystrom@iastate.edu

Paper She Flies With Her Own Wings: Oregon's First Generation of Feminist Political Leaders

Due to a favorable political climate, organizational strength of women's organizations, and movement optimism, second-wave feminist women in Oregon create a policy revolution that addressed longstanding inequities for women in Oregon.

Melody Rose, Portland State University rosem@pdx.edu

Disc. Cindy Simon Rosenthal, University of Oklahoma

csrosenthal@ou.edu

28-13 Gender, Decision Making, and Behavior in the Legislature

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Kathleen Bratton, Louisiana State University

nbingh1@lsu.edu

Paper Incumbent Responsiveness to Female Challengers

We find incumbents who ran against female challengers in the previous election signal their responsiveness to that constituency through bill sponsorship.

Jennifer C. Lucas, St. Anselm College

jlucas@anselm.edu

Paper Gender and Representation: Do Female State Legislators Pay More Attention to their Districts Than Male Legislators?

This paper examines whether women pay more attention to and have more accurate perceptions of their constituents. This is explored through a survey of state legislators.

Rebekah Herrick, Oklahoma State University

herrick@okstate.edu

Paper Threat and Gendered Decision Making in State Legislatures

Does the threat of natural or economic disaster impact the way legislatures make decisions? Is there systemmatic variation based on the number of women serving? We explore this question via state legislative decision making following a disaster.

Rebecca J. Hannagan, Northern Illinois University

rhannaga@niu.edu

Alisa Von Hagel, Northern Illinois University

avonhagel@yahoo.com

Paper Identity Politics and Supreme Court Nominations

I analyze votes and floor speeches on the Supreme Court nominations of Roberts and Alito to determine the role of identity on a senator's decisionmaking in a case in which gender issues are salient and senators face pressure to support the party.

Michele Swers, Georgetown University

mls47@georgetown.edu

Disc. Kathleen Bratton, Louisiana State University

nbingh1@lsu.edu

Carly Hayden Foster, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville cahayde@siue.edu

28-16 Organizing Women: Women's Groups and Agenda Setting

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Christine L. Day, University of New Orleans

cldav@uno.edu

Paper Setting NOW's Agenda: Different Actors, Targets, and Messages

This paper examines the role of the staff and members in setting the agenda of NOW, 1995-2006. Five measures of NOW's agenda

are used. Consensus between these measures is considered, as are changes in the position of eight agenda items over time.

Janet K. Boles, Marquette University

Janet.Boles@mu.edu

Paper Who Represents Whom?: Marginalized Women and Representation in Reproductive Rights Interest Groups

This paper investigates how two national-level interest groups in the American reproductive rights movement, Planned Parenthood of America and the National Abortion Rights League, have systematically neglected the interests of disadvantaged women.

Erin Allyson Heidt-Forsythe, Rutgers University

heidt.forsythe@gmail.com

Paper Organizational Constraints: The Role of Discourse on Organizations' Agenda-Setting Practices and Politics

This paper examines the failure of feminist organizations to respond to the next generation of reproductive challenges to the feminist movement. The impact of choice framing on feminist organizations' agendas and politics will be examined.

Danielle Rochet Gougon, Rutgers University

dgougon@echo.rutgers.edu

Disc. Jamie Pamelia Pimlott, Niagara University

dr.jamie.pimlott@gmail.com

Mitchell Brown, Auburn University

brown 11@auburn.edu

29-7 Religion and Race and Ethnic Politics

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Anand Shastri, University of Illinois, Chicago

ashast2@uic.edu

Paper God's Nation?: The Political Consequences of Religious Nationalism

This paper examines the linkage between religion and nationalism and its consequences on immigration attitudes.

Eric L. McDaniel, University of California, Berkeley

emcdaniel@berkeley.edu

Irfan Nooruddin, Ohio State University

no oruddin. 3@polisci.osu.edu

Paper Religious Affiliation, Civic Skills, and Political Participation Among Latinos

In this paper we examine the effects of religious affiliation on a political participation among Latinos. We weigh in on the running debate over the effects of Catholic identity and present the one of the first analyses of Latino Protestants.

Jacob Neiheisel, *University of Wisconsin*, *Madison* neiheisel@wisc.edu

Paul Djupe, Denison University djupe@denison.edu

Paper Religious Identity and Muslim American Political Incorporation

Using a unique survey of Muslim Americans, this paper examines differences in religious identity between Sunni and Shi'a and how these differences impact political incorporation and participation in the United States.

Matt A. Barreto, University of Washington

mbarreto@washington.edu

Karam Dana, University of Washington

karam@u.washington.edu

Paper Holier Than Thou: Race, Politics and Religious Commitment

The General social survey shows that Blacks are far more religious than are whites even after controlling for political and demographic factors. Race rather than religion or politics seem to drive this difference.

Major G. Coleman, *University at New Paltz, SUNY* colemanm@newpaltz.edu

Disc. Dino Bozonelos, University of California, Riverside

dino.bozonelos@email.ucr.edu

30-8 The Politics of Virtue and the Therapy of Politics

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Brent Edwin Cusher, University of Toronto

brent.cusher@utoronto.ca

Paper The Plurality of Virtue in Plato's Republic

The question of whether virtue is unified and/or holistic or whether the virtues are many has a profound influence on how we understand the questions raised by Plato's Republic. I will explore the consequences of claiming the virtues are plural.

Matthew Post, University of Dallas mattdpost@gmail.com

Paper Aristotle on Polity and So-Called Aristocracy: The Problem of Virtue in Political Life

Aristotle's treatment in the Politics of "polity" and "so-called aristocracy" raises important questions for our understanding of virtue's role in political life, which are illuminated by reconsidering his concept of political rule.

Michael William Nitsch, Harvard University nitsch@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Seneca and the Therapy of Politics

The Stoic tradition disparages the psychological impact of politics. This paper examines Seneca's tantalizing suggestion to the contrary that politics, if approached in a particular fashion, may in fact assist in the Stoic therapy of the soul.

Firmin Rene DeBrabander, Maryland Institute College of Art fdebrabander@mica.edu

Disc. Eric Hoyer, University of Pennsylvania ehover@sas.upenn.edu

31-10 Politics and Religion in Modern Political Theory

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Philip A. Michelbach, West Virginia University

Philip.Michelbach@mail.wvu.edu

Paper He Jumbles Heaven and Earth Together: John Locke, Martin Luther, and Political Theology

This paper explores the argumentative and documentary evidence linking John Locke's theory of toleration with Martin Luther's theological project.

Philip A. Michelbach, West Virginia University

Philip.Michelbach@mail.wvu.edu

Charles Damien Arthur, West Virginia University

Charles.Arthur@mail.wvu.edu

aper Hobbes, Heresy, and the Power of Opinion

Much of what contemporary opponents and later commentators have taken to be anti-Christian thought in Hobbes is actually an early critique of the disproportionate power of private opinion-makers in modern political systems.

Yishaiya Abosch, California State University, Fresno yabosch@csufresno.edu

Paper Freedom of Thought and Hobbes' Liberal Critique of Christianity

This paper discusses Hobbes' case for a limited toleration that protects freedom of thought but not of speech. It analyzes his attempt to overcome the Biblical obstacles to this by carrying out a reform of Christianity.

Aaron L. Herold, *University of Texas*, *Austin* alherold@mail.utexas.edu

Paper Hegel's Philosophy of Religion: Church-State Relations and Toleration

My paper examines Hegel's church-state relations by exploring Geist, discussing his philosophy of religion and the relationship between church and state in his thought and offers a critical assessment of his arguments and their value today.

Tim Luther, *California Baptist University* tluther@calbaptist.edu

Disc. Alin Fumurescu, Indiana University, Bloomington

afumures@indiana.edu

 ${\bf Nicholas\ Troester},\, Duke\ University$

nrt@duke.edu

32-19 <u>Liberal Reason Confronts History, Culture, and Religion</u>

Room Spire on the 6th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Gordon Albert Babst, Chapman University

gbabst@chapman.edu

Paper Toward a Theory of Politics and Knowledge: Michael Polanyi and Edmund Burke

This paper draws upon the writings of Michael Polanyi to illuminate aspects of the political thought of Edmund Burke. In the process an effort is made to make progress toward a new understanding of relationships among politics, culture, and thought.

William F. Byrne, St. John's University

byrnew@stjohns.edu

Paper Dominionism and Epistemology

This paper examines attitudes of Christian conservatives toward education and epistemology and how these attitudes shape elements of their activism.

Gabriel S. Hudson, *George Mason University* ghudson@gmu.edu

Paper Representing Postcolonial Politics: Saraswatichandra and the Liberal Lexicon

Can the liberal political lexicon adequately represent a postcolonial political experience? This paper furthers the question by exploring the relationship between language and politics through the study of a nineteenth-century Indian novel.

Meera Ashar, Independent researcher meerashar@gmail.com

Paper A Political Conception of the Person for International Justice Theory

This paper offers a political liberal framework for international justice theory that gives moral primacy to the individual while still allowing for the toleration of nonliberal and nondemocratic societies.

Margaret Jenkins, *University of Toronto* margaret.jenkins@utoronto.ca

Disc. Gordon Albert Babst, Chapman University gbabst@chapman.edu

32-21 Reading Political Theory Against the Grain

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Richard Avramenko, University of Wisconsin, Madison avramenko@wisc.edu

Paper The American Frontier as State of Nature

This paper examines how well the American frontier fits with a Lockean understanding of a state of nature and what that means for the philosophical foundations of American government.

Michael J. Faber, University of Southern Indiana

mfaber@indiana.edu

Darla Martin, Indiana University

dmarting@indiana.edu

Paper The Memory of a Common World: Hannah Arendt and Politics After Totalitarianism

Arendt's Origins of Totalitarianism should be read not as a work of Cold War political science but in light of earlier theological critique of the pursuit of totality and of all modes of conceiving political action as a movement of self-realization.

John W. Ackerman, *Northwestern University* j-ackerman2@northwestern.edu

Paper The Uses and Abuses of Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Rousseau's intention is often difficult to discern. At times, this has facilitated a false and pernicious interpretation of his philosophy. **Sarah Mackenzie Burns**, *Claremont Graduate University*

sarah.burns@cgu.edu

Paper James Madison and the Character of Democratic Interests

Madison notes that civil society shapes people's passions, prompting us either to follow or resist the natural "propensity to fall into mutual animosities" Thus, the cure for factions rests as much on civil society as it does on formal institutions.

B. Jeffrey Reno, *College of the Holy Cross* jreno@holycross.edu

Disc. Burke A. Hendrix, Cornell University bh72@cornell.edu

33-18 Cosmopolitanism, For and Against

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Christopher F. Zurn, University of Kentucky

christopher.zurn@uky.edu

Paper A Response to Some Critiques of Moral Cosmopolitanism

I will critique arguments that claim that cosmopolitanism is too demanding given human limitations, that it is too abstract and idealistic, that there cannot be a moral community comprising all human beings, and that there is no "universal reason."

Gur Hirshberg, Georgetown University gah2@georgetown.edu

Paper The Olympics: Advancing Cosmopolitanism Through National Competition?

Despite tensions, do the Olympics advance cosmopolitan norms such as respect for the moral equality of individuals? The Olympics illustrate that for associations to advance cosmopolitanism requires more than a declared cosmopolitan purpose.

Bettina Raquel Scholz, Harvard University scholz@fas.harvard.edu

Paper What is Cosmopolitanism?

This paper provides an account of cosmopolitanism from a political perspective based on a multi-dimensional ontology of power. Such an account calls forth a need to rethink contemproary conceptions of politics, political institutions, and democracy.

Adam Gannaway, New School for Social Research adamgannaway@gmail.com

Paper Globalizing Identity: The Promise and Pitfalls of "Global" Citizenship

This paper explores the potential of global citizenship to result in collective action at both the local and international levels but requires a complex and at times uncomfortable marriage between the particularistic and cosmopolitan

Nawojka Lesinski, University of Illinois, Chicago nlesinski@rocketmail.com

Disc. Alessandra Sarquis, University of Brasilia

alessandrasarquis@hotmail.com
Lindah L. Mhando, Pennsylvania State University

34-16 Cities of God

llm28@psu.edu

Room Medinah on the 6th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Mary M. Keys, University of Notre Dame
mkeys1@nd.edu

Paper Between Order and Liberation: Abraham Lincoln, Frederick

Douglass and the Problem of Civil Religion
This paper analyzes the contributions of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass to the solution of the theological-political

Frederick Douglass to the solution of the theological-politcal problem and particularly to the problem of Civic Religion in an American context.

Joseph Anthony Harder, Macomb Community College Jah5y98_98@yahoo.com

Teresa Catalano Reinhardt, *Macomb Community College* Mzkaos@Yahoo.com

Paper Augustine's Dialectics of Peace

In the City of God, Augustine argues that all human beings fundamentally desire peace. Based on readers' own opinions rather than on divine authority, fully human rather than reductive, Augustine's argument is superior to that of Hobbes.

Peter Busch, Villanova University peter.busch@villanova.edu

Paper The Political Theologian as Romantic Author: Keys to the Idyllic Imagination Behind Leonardo Boff's Liberation

Theology

The quality of the literary imagination of Brazilian liberation theologian Leonardo Boff is examined in the light of Irving Babbitt's concept of the imagination. Thus Boff's anthropological motivations and its political corollaries are clarified.

Gustavo A. Santos, *Catholic University of America* 59santos@cua.edu

Paper Daimon Appearance in Hannah Arendt's Theory of Disclosive Action

The Greek daimon is at the center of Arendt's account of action's disclosure of the 'who,' and shows action as a revealing of alterity and a form of connection to the divine. This challenges the distinction between a political and a spiritual realm.

Trevor Peter Tchir, *University of Alberta* tchir@ualberta.ca

Disc. Rebecca Jean McCumbers, University of Notre Dame

rmccumbe@nd.edu

35-14 Endogenous Institutions

Room Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Chair Eric S. Dickson, New York University

eric.dickson@nyu.edu

Paper The Process of Civil War Resolution

This paper uses an agent-based computational model to capture the dynamics of civil war resolution. Specifically, it examines the nonlinear and recursive series of negotiations and agreements over

tıme.

Michael Findley, Brigham Young University

 $mike_findley@byu.edu$

Paper Centralization of Violence

I consider how states centralize access to the means of violence in the context of a dynamic bargaining model. My results will help in the analysis of episodes of regional integration and in understanding the phenomenon of the failed state.

Jeremy Thomas Kedziora, University of Rochester

jkedzio2@mail.rochester.edu

Paper The Origins of Social Institutions

I show that contemporary theories of the origins of social institutions are incomplete and propose an alternative analytical framework

Johannes Urpelainen, University of Michigan

jurpelai@umich.edu

Paper Predation, Production and Provision of Public Protection

The paper presents a model that shows how different incentives of the leader, the citizen, and the bandit influences the actual protection (protection from theft for the citizen) provided by the government.

Jinny Bang, NewYork University

jb1957@nyu.edu

Paper Risk Preferences and Search Costs in Legislative Delegation

This research analyzes jurisdictional assignment in a legislative delegation model that, unlike previous models, allows asymmetric preferences about ideal points and prevents agents from acquiring perfect knowledge of how policies map onto outcomes.

Laurence Tai, Harvard University laurence tai@ksgphd.harvard.edu

Disc. Katri K. Sieberg, University of Tampere

katri.sieberg@uta.fi

36-14 Sample Selection Problems

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Tobias Hofmann, College of William and Mary

thofmann@wm.edu

Paper Underestimating Selection Bias in Political Science: The

<u>Unforeseen Consequences of Algorithmic Errors in the</u>

Estimation of Heckman Selection Models

Estimation problems concerning Heckman selection are shown to underestimate selection bias. We use a Monte Carlo simulation and published data sets to demonstrate the algorithmic problems inherent to the major statistical software packages.

Thomas Zuehlke, Florida State University

tzuehlke@fsu.edu

Anthony J. Kassekert, Florida State University

ajk05f@fsu.edu

Paper Selection Problems in Survey Research on Crises

This paper studies methods for handling selection problems in situations where selection rates are unknown. Applications include survey research in post-conflict or post-natural-disaster areas when mortality and displacement rates are unknown.

Cyrus Samii, Columbia University

cds81@columbia.edu

Paper Sample Selection and Omitted Variable Bias: When the Cure is

Worse than the Disease

It is common to discuss sample selection, whether traditional or strategic, in terms of omitted variable bias. This paper takes a close look at the interaction between the omitted "selection" variable and other possibly omitted variables.

Kevin A. Clarke, University of Rochester

kevin.clarke@rochester.edu

Disc. Frederick J. Boehmke, University of Iowa

frederick-boemhke@uiowa.edu

Jude C. Hays, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

jchays@illinois.edu

36-100 Roundtable: EITM Approach to Political Science: What is the Value?

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

n/a

Panelist James Alt, Harvard University

jalt@latte.harvard.edu

John Aldrich, Duke University

aldrich@duke.edu

Brian Humes, National Science Foundation

bhumes@nsf.gov

Brandice Canes-Wrone, Princeton University

bcwrone@princeton.edu

Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, University of Utah

psshea@poli-sci.utah.edu

39-9 Presidents, Congress, and the American Public

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Lyn Ragsdale, Rice University

lkragsdale@rice.edu

Paper The Congressional Roots of Presidential Approval

Moderate presidents are rewarded with higher approval levels. Conditions in Congress greatly affect the degree of presidential moderation. Thus Congress affects levels of presidential approval.

Jeffrey E Cohen, Fordham University

cohen@fordham.edu

Paper Elite Opinion and Interbranch Policy Differences

I argue that persistent interbranch policy differences, often explained by Congressional parochialism and Presidential support for "the public interest" really reflect President's greater propensity to side with elite opinion.

David Karol, Unviersity of California, Berkeley

dkarol@berkeley.edu

Paper Divided We Stand? The Separation of Powers, Democratic Responsibility, and Counterterrorism

Presidential structure, by subjecting popular demands for increased authoritarianism to elite competition over policy formulation, is better equipped to avoid democratic breakdown in the wake of severe terrorist violence than parliamentary structure.

Dennis M. Foster, Virginia Military Institute

fosterdm@vmi.edu

Benjamin Adams Kleinerman, Michigan State University

bkleiner@msu.edu

Disc. Connor Raso, Stanford University

raso@stanford.edu

40-25 Representation in Congress

Room Chicago on the 5th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm
Chair Sally Friedman, University at Albany, SUNY

friedman@albany.edu

Paper Institutional Design and Democracy: Assessing Representation in the U.S. House vs Senate

This paper uses the Partial Birth Abortion Ban of 2003 to test member responsiveness in both the House and the Senate—at both the collective and dyadic levels. Our results show that senators are more responsive on both of these dimensions.

Benjamin George Bishin, University of California, Riverside bbishin@gmail.com

Toby Callen, University of California, Riverside

tcall001@student.ucr.edu

Heather Conklin, University of California, Riverside

heather.conklin@gmail.com

Thomas J. Hayes, *University of California, Riverside* thaye001@ucr.edu

Paper <u>Loyalty, Defection, and Going Public in the U.S. Congress,</u> 1981-2007

Our paper examines how senators balance individual and collective incentives when going public. Our analysis uses a record of all senators' press conferences on Capitol Hill between 1979 and 2005, compiled by the Senate Radio Television Archive.

Patrick Joel Sellers, Davidson College

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John Anderson, Davidson College

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Trevor Chamberlin, Davidson College

trchamberlin@davidson.edu

Brian F. Schaffner, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

schaffne@polsci.umass.edu

Danielle Vinson, Furman University

Danielle.Vinson@furman.edu

Paper Black Representation and Responsiveness to the Black Agenda

This paper examines the role that black members of Congress play in black agenda setting. I find that there are important racial differences in responsiveness to black activists and the types of black issues addressed.

Matthew Bartholomew Platt, *Harvard University* mplatt@gov.harvard.edu

Paper Legislating Professionalism? The Conditional Effect of Partisanship and Workload on Legislative Professionalism

We develop and test a theory of the interaction between constituency size, a proxy for legislative workload and thus the incentives for professionalization, and partisan control of the legislature, a key mechanism of professionalization.

Zachary D. Greene, University of Iowa

zachary-greene@uiowa.edu

Daniel Bowen, University of Iowa

daniel-bowen@uiowa.edu

Disc. Sally Friedman, University at Albany, SUNY

friedman@albany.edu

40-27 Setting the Senate Agenda

Room Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Steven S. Smith, Washington University

smith@wustl.edu

Paper Costly Consideration: Agenda Setting and Majority Party Advantage in the U.S. Senate

This paper tests a new theory of Senate agenda setting, which focuses on assymetric costs and first mover advantage. The results support the theory, and suggest that the Senate majority party has a significant advantage in the Senate.

Nathan W. Monroe, University of California, Merced

nmonroe2@ucmerced.edu

Chris Den Hartog, California Polytechnic Institute, San Luis Obispo

cdenhart@calpoly.edu

Paper The Senate Republican Whip System, 1996-2002

The paper uses interviews and evidence from Senate leadership archives to explore the recent institutional development and internal operations of the Republican whip system in the U.S. Senate.

C. Lawrence Evans, College of William and Mary

clevan@wm.edu

David B. Husband, College of William and Mary

dbhusb@wm.edu

Laura F. Minnichelli, College of William and Mary

lfminn@wm.edu

Paper Crossover: House Influence on Senators' Legislative Agendas

I examine to what extent senators refer to the legislative agendas of House members from their respective states and claim the issues on the representatives' agendas as their own.

Sarah Treul, University of Minnesota

streul@umn.edu

Paper Closing the Deal: Negotiating Social Policy Legislation on the Floor of the U.S. Senate

Estimating locations of legislative outcomes in the same space as legislator preferences, we use the uncovered set to test whether the final outcome is a result of the majority party dominance, chaotic instability, or partisan compromise.

Gyung-Ho Jeong, Claremont Graduate University

gyung-ho.jeong@cgu.edu

Gary J. Miller, Washington University, St. Louis

gjmiller@artsci.wustl.edu

Itai Sened, Washington University, St. Louis

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Disc. Steven S. Smith, Washington University

smith@wustl.edu

Gregory Robinson, Binghamton University, SUNY

grobinso@binghamton.edu

42-13 Judicial Elections

Room Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair David M. Jones, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

jonesd@uwosh.edu

Paper An Examination of How Citizen Participation Facilitates

Ideological Accountability in U.S. State Supreme Court

Elections

This paper shows that ideologically distant judges are more likely to lose re-election in states with higher levels of political participation. This finding presents additional nuance in our understanding how elected judges are held accountable.

Brent M. Dupay, University of Pittsburgh

bmd23@pitt.edu

Paper Assessing Politicization in State Supreme Court Elections

Develops an index measuring the politicization of state high court elections using IRT methods

Damon M. Cann, Utah State University

damon.cann@usu.edu

White Sale: Judicial Campaigning in the Post-Republican Party 46-10 Paper of Minnesota vs White Era

This paper examines how judicial codes of conduct affect local judicial campaigning in the post-White era. The paper includes a survey of local judicial candidates in six states.

Mark Jonathan McKenzie, Texas Tech University

mark.mckenzie@ttu.edu

Brian K. Arbour, John Jay School of Criminal Justice, CUNY barbour@jjay.cuny.edu

Disc. Rachel Paine Caufield, Drake University/American Judicature

rachel.caufield@drake.edu

David M. Jones, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

jonesd@uwosh.edu

42-16 **Courting Quality and Interests in Appointments**

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Brent Boyea, University of Texas, Arlington Chair

boyea@uta.edu

The Selection of Judges: Evaluating the Results of Different Paper **Systems**

We examine the impact of selection systems on the types of judges chosen. Surveys of "experts" in the field are used to evaluate judges. We analyze evaluations of judges and the relationship between judicial quality and strength of party connections.

Lori Hausegger, Boise State University

lorihausegger@boisestate.edu Troy Riddell, University of Guelph

riddell@uoguelph.ca

Matthew Hennigar, Brock University

mhennigar@brocku.ca

Bias and the Bar: Evaluating the ABA Ratings of the Bush Paper **Judicial Nominees**

With the Bush 43 presidency over, we evaluate the ABA ratings of Bush nominees to the lower federal courts, along with nominees from 1977-2008, to evaluate claims of bias against conservative

Richard L. Vining, University of Georgia

rvining@uga.edu

Amy L. Steigerwalt, Georgia State University

polals@langate.gsu.edu

Susan Navarro Smelcer, Emory University

sknavar@emory.edu

Explaining Interest Group Positions on Supreme Court Paper **Nominees: Evidence from Group Communications**

We examine how interest groups explain their support or opposition to Supreme Court nominees as revealed in e-mails to group supporters. More than 400 e-mails from 10 groups are examined throughout the Roberts, Miers, and Alito nominations.

Richard L. Vining, University of Georgia

rvining@uga.edu

K. Elizabeth Coggins, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill ecoggins@mac.com

The Impact of Selection and Retention Methods on Judge Votes Paper in School Finance Litigation

Judges on state courts of last resort are selected and retained by a variety of methods. This paper seeks to determine the influence of selection and retention methods on judge votes in school finance litigation cases over the past forty years.

Allan Roth, Columbia University

apr2105@columbia.edu

Disc. Brent Boyea, University of Texas, Arlington

boyea@uta.edu

Malia Reddick, American Judicature Society

mreddick@ajs.org

Institutional Approaches to Urban Political Change

Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room

Karen Mossberger, University of Illinois at Chicago Chair

mossberg@uic.edu

The Restructuring of Local Politics Paper

The argument here is that local agendas are being transformed not simply through the enactment of a new state program or mandates, but rather through a restructuring of local institutions.

Richard C. Hula, Michigan State University

rhula@msu.edu

Paper

Chelsea Haring, Governors State University

c-haring@govst.edu

The Relationship Between U. S. Central City Annexations and School District Annexations: The Patterns Across Fifty Large Cities

This paper goes beyond analyzing the most commonly identified variables in the municipal annexation literature to include the role of school district annexations. Descriptive analysis includes patterns across fifty large U. S. cities.

Craig Ramsay, Ohio Wesleyan University

dcramsay@owu.edu

Paper Why Do Reformed Cities Turn Back to "Unreformed" Cities?

The authors explore what determines the turn-back change in the form of governments. This research is about the institutional change and empirically tests the determinants of these rare cases.

Jungah Bae, Florida State University

ib07e@fsu.edu

Cheongeun Choi, Florida State University

cheongeun.choi@gmail.com

Paper Shocking Demands: How Local Governments Respond to

Unexpected Population Changes

We test hypotheses about how local political institutions affect policy responsiveness by comparing budget allocations in cities that experienced large inflows of Hurricane Katrina evacuees, to allocations in a control group of cities.

Elisabeth R. Gerber, University of Michigan

ergerber@umich.edu

Justin H. Phillips, Columbia University

jhp2121@columbia.edu

Collective Action Problems in Gated Communities: An **Paper**

Empirical Study of the Performance of Institutions for

Collective Decision Making

This paper reports a study on the formation of institutions for decision making in gated communities. The study differentiates between first and second-order collective action problems (Heckathorn, 1989) for the study of these institutions.

Edgar E. Ramirez-delaCruz, Arizona State University

edgar.ramirez@asu.edu

Sergio Cardenas-Denham, CIDE

scdenham@yahoo.com

Disc. Christine Kelleher Palus, Villanova University

christine.palus@villanova.edu

47-19 **Democratic Norms in Policy Debates**

Room Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Joseph Cobetto, University of Missouri, Columbia Chair

jcxr6@mizzou.edu

Paper Health Care in the Balance: A Comparison of Two Proposals for Reform

The AMA's heavily subsidized, but still market-based proposal for health care reform is contrasted with a single-payer, universal approach which calls for more public debate on health care spending.

Helen Morrow, Texas Tech University

helen.morrow@ttu.edu

Paper Deliberating Security and Democracy: The Development of the Surveillance Provisions of the USA Patriot Act

We examine legislative and media debate on the surveillance provisions of the USA Patriot Act. We find the debates deficient and consider the implications for theories of legislative deliberation and the future of public policy toward terrorism.

Paul J. Quirk, University of British Columbia

quirk@politics.ubc.ca

William Bendix, University of British Columbia

bill.bendix@gmail.com

Paper Addressing Methodological Challenges in Studying Norms in the Policy Process

This paper asks how we can better operationalize norms as variables in theories of the policy process, discussing the strengths and weaknesses of different methods for this task including interviews, surveys, experiments, content analysis, and QCA.

Leigh Raymond, Purdue University

lraymond@purdue.edu

Disc. Joseph Cobetto, University of Missouri, Columbia

jcxr6@mizzou.edu

Paul Rutledge, Marshall University

rutledgep@marshall.edu

47-32 Disparities in Higher Education

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Megan Elizabeth Osterbur, University of New Orleans

mosterbu@uno.edu

Paper Effects of Louisiana's TOPS Merit-Based Financial Aid

This paper examines the effects of Louisiana's Tuition Opportunity Program for Students (TOPS) merit-based student financial aid program on college enrollments and retentions by applying the differences-in-differences methods.

Min Su Kim, Southern University and A&M College drminsukim@gmail.com

Paper An Institutional Analysis of Women Scientists' Career Outcomes

Women have not advanced in scientific research careers as expected given their levels of degree attainment and initial career plans. Broader institutional and organizational environments are explored and data on career trajectories analyzed.

Sorina Vlaicu, George Mason University

svlaicu1@gmu.edu

Connie L. McNeely, George Mason University

clm@gmu.edu

Paper Exploring Effects on American Indian Student Success in Higher Education

This study investigates the environmental and institutional factors that influence American Indian student success in higher education.

Thaddieus Watts Conner, *University of Oklahoma* conner03@ou.edu

Disc. Megan Elizabeth Osterbur, University of New Orleans mosterbu@uno.edu

48-3 Causes and Consequences of Monetary Policy

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Ferris Dale Parent, Southeastern Louisiana University dparent@selu.edu

Paper Voting in Central Bank Monetary Policy-Making Committees: A Statistical Analysis

This paper investigates decision-making in independent central banks across different countries. We analyse the effect of institutional and individual-level variables on dissent voting behaviour in central bank interest rate-setting committees.

Nick Vivyan, London School of Economics

n.w.vivyan@lse.ac.uk

Bjorn Hoyland, University of Oslo

bjorn.hoyland@stv.uio.no

Paper Can it Deliberate: Democracy, Deliberation, and the Federal Open Market Committee

Is the FOMC deliberative? Applying accepted theoretical conceptions, we find on some counts the Fed is a healthy deliberative body, but on others, not. We argue that to produce good decisions the Fed need not satisfy all deliberative conditions.

Joseph Gardner, Northern Arizona University

joseph.gardner@nau.edu

John T. Woolley, *University of California, Santa Barbara* woolley@polsci.ucsb.edu

Paper The Power of a Dollar: Currency Devaluation and the 2008 Global Financial Crisis

This article considers the 2008 global financial crisis a currency crisis first and foremost. The US Federal Reserve bank's repeated interest rate cuts devalued the dollar considerably, fueling inflation with disastrous effects on the global economy.

Jonas Gamso, University of Toledo

j gamso@yahoo.com

Paper Why Do Politicians Implement Central Bank Independence Reforms?

In this paper the determinants of central bank independence reforms are studied using a new data set on the possible event of such reforms in 132 countries.

Sven-Olov Daunfeldt, Swedish Retail Institute (HUI)

sod@hig.se

Jorgen Hellstrom, Umeå University jorgen.hesstrom@econ.umu.se Mats Landstrom, University of Gavle

mlm@hig.se

49-11 Citizens and Environmental Politics

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Chair Richard Winters, Dartmouth College

rfw@dartmouth.edu

Paper Citizen Participation in Watershed Management: Northwest Indiana as a Case Study

This paper will explore how two environmental dredging projects in the Grand Calumet River-Area of Concern have resulted in two significantly different results.

Alexandre Ferreira da Silva, Northern Illinois University adasilva@niu.edu

Ellen Jean Szarleta-Yancy, Indiana University, Northwest aszarlet@iun.edu

Paper Public Participation in Environmental Policymaking in China: A Case Study

This paper examines the development of public participation in environmental policymaking in China, using a case study method. It describes characteristics, identifies problems and explores options for enhanced participation in the Chinese context.

Xiaojie Zhang, Northeastern University

neuzhangxiaojie@126.com

Edward Jennings, University of Kentucky

ed.jennings@uky.edu

Paper Overcoming NIMBY: Partisanship, Ideology, and Change in Risk Perception Over Time

An examination of the relationship between NIMBY attitudes, partisanship and ideology.

Matthew Nowlin, University of Oklahoma

mnowlin@ou.edu

Carol Silva, University of Oklahoma

clsilva@ou.edu

Hank Jenkins-Smith, University of Oklahoma

hjsmith@ou.edu

Disc. Philip Mundo, Drew University

pmundo@drew.edu

Budgeting and Finance 50-15

Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room

Howard A. Smith, Florida Gulf Coast University Chair

hsmith@fgcu.edu

Contracting and Networking: Some Notes on Decision Making Paper

Bureaucrats often use a decision making principle where initial contract decisions largely determine succeeding decisions. We test this principle over multiple federal agencies to explore how

bureaucrats make contracting-out decisions. Ernita Joaquin, University of Nevada, Las Vegas ernie.joaquin@gmail.com

Thomas J. Greitens, Central Michigan University

thomas.greitens@cmich.edu

Using Private Sector Methods to Achieve Public Accountability: Paper

The Case of Balance Scorecard in Public and Nonprofit **Organizations**

When for-profit accountability measures are applied to public and nonprofit organizations the results are often lackluster. We examine

the application of Balanced Scorecard and find the concepts are more successful when application is simplified. Nancy Winemiller Basinger, University of Utah

nancy.basinger@poli-sci.utah.edu Nancy Donnelly, University of Utah nancy.donnelly@netzero.com

Using Privatization Theory to Analyze Economic Development Paper

Projects: Promise and Performance

This paper examines economic development through the lens of the existing literature on public-private partnerships and privatization to determine the suitability of privatization theory for application to economic development.

John R. Lombard, Old Dominion University

jlombard@odu.edu John Charles Morris, Old Dominion University

jcmorris@odu.edu

Silent Effects: The Evaluation of Cooperative Federalism in Tax Paner Administration

> The paper explores federal-state cooperation in tax administration. By regular exchanges of audit and other taxpayer related information, federal and state tax authorities avoid duplication of efforts and increase efficiency of tax administration.

Liucija Birskyte, Iowa State University

birskyte@iastate.edu

Michael J. Licari, University of Northern Iowa Disc.

michael.licari@uni.edu

50-23 Structural Considerations at the Federal Level

Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room Skyler Cranmer, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill Chair

skylerc@email.unc.edu

Appointee Layering and Organizational Dysfunction: Paper

Responsiveness is a Moot Point

Does political layering decrease the responsiveness of the senior executive service? In this paper, agency performance is regressed on "layering", operationalized by data from a 2008 NAPA-sponsored survey of SES and administrative data from OPM.

William G. Resh, American University

resh@american.edu

Paper Regulating Food Safety Risk in China: A Historical-

Comparative Analysis

Introduction China's Food Safety Issue since 1990s Province and Breed Comparison Evaluation on Regulatory Reform and Its Effect Regulatory Failure? A Structural Factor Analysis Conclusion

Peng Liu, Renmin University of China

liupeng1031@gmail.com

When Policy is Not the Problem: Bureaucrats and the Paper

Perpetuation of Poverty in Rural Zambia

This paper discusses the paradoxical nature of rural poverty. Despite being major food production centers, with seemingly abundant natural resources, rural areas still remain a locus of abject poverty.

Why are governments caught up in this dilemma?

Rose Fumpa Makano, University of Missouri, St. Louis

rose.makano@gmail.com

Fluctuating Transaction Costs: What Factors Impact on **Paper**

Transaction Costs in Public Service Delivery?

What factors influence transaction costs in public service delivery? Transaction costs of public services change and fluctuate subject to their characteristics, delivery method, government structures and capacities, and surrounding conditions.

Eunro Lee, Florida State University

el05@fsu.edu

Susan Spicy Spice, Florida State University

sls02d@fsu.edu

Serkee Ahn, Florida State University

ska05@fsu.edu

Disc. Ian Ostrander, Washington University, St. Louis

icostran@artsci.wustl.edu

53-6 **General Theory**

Hancock on the 6th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room

Sezgin Seymen Cebi, Kadir Has University Chair

sezginseymen@yahoo.com

Paper **Geopolitics and Cult of Personality**

This paper will explore cult of personality as a geopolitical phenomenon in North Korea, Cuba, and Libya to illuminate the relationships between sovereignty, culture, history, ideology, and

Marvin Astrada, Florida International University

mastr001@fiu.edu

Comparing Inglehart with Schwartz on Cultural Value Changes

The paper attempts to compare and contrast Inglehart and Schwartz in their theories of cultural variation. It also tests their theoretically derived implications of cultural variation for the individual's psychology based on empirical evidence.

Kwang-Il Yoon, University of Michigan

kiyoon@umich.edu

Paper Diversity of Perception of Self and Others and Constituents of

Security in the Mediterranean

It is proposed here that, diversity of perception of self and others, could be reconceptualised as less of a problem and more of an opportunity for the development of new, alternative agendas in the region.

Burcu Bostanoglu, Gazi University

burcubos@yahoo.com

We Empathize, Therefore We Are: Toward A Neuropolitics of **Paper** Morality

> This paper explores the potentially profound political implications of neuroscience findings that human are hard-wired for empathy. Does political culture explain the disjuncture between this innate moral orientation and society's empathy deficit?

Gary L. Olson, Moravian College

olson@moravian.edu

Disc. Jeff L. Taylor, Jacksonville State University

JLTaylor@jsu.edu

54-15 **Political Theory and Religion**

Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room Halima Khan, Northern Illinois University Chair

halimakhan3@yahoo.com

Nature, Providence, and Natural Law: A Study of Thomas Paper **Aguinas's Commentary on Aristotle's Politics**

There are few studies of Thomas Aquinas's commentary on Aristotle's Politics. I propose a study combining Thomistic and Straussian traditions can solve problems raised by Strauss regarding the role of divine providence in Aquinas's natural law theory Kody Wayne Cooper, University of Texas

kodycooper@gmail.com

Religious Apology as Democratic Theory, or 'Ask Not What Paper Religion Can Do for Democracy': The Case of Tocqueville's Use of Pascal's Psychology in Democracy in America

Most approaches in democratic theory ask what religion can do for democracy. I argue that Tocqueville reverses this equation, without ignoring this question entirely, and defends the role of political liberty in safeguarding the vitality religion.

David A. Selby, University of California, San Diego daselby@weber.ucsd.edu

Abolutes for Earthlings? Beyond Political Secularism

The aim of the paper is to object to the doctrine of political secularism claiming its inadequacy to take note of secularism as a disputed option because of its fear of the publi engagement of different truth-claims.

Antonella Besussi, University of Milan antonella.besussi@unimi.it

Paper John Rawls and Robert P. George on Religious Reason and **Public Reason**

George, arguably the most influential conservative intellectual in America today, offers penetrating criticism of Rawls's conception of public reason. But he loads the dice in favor of his own favored theories of justice. Neither theory can stand.

Ryan T. Anderson, University of Notre Dame RyanTimothyAnderson@gmail.com

Disc. Christopher James Barker, California State University, San Bernardino

christopher.barker@cgu.edu

57-200 Poster Session: Women and Politics

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Empowering Women, Empowering Communities: Education, Post. 1 **Economic Opportunities and Health Care as Avenues for Community Transformation in the Developing World**

This study investigates how providing opportunities for women to obtain leadership roles in their communities throughout the developing world is promoting community transformation.

Sara Marie Aardema, Hope College sara.aardema@hope.edu

Post. 2 Migration and Gender Bias: Children Welfare in Mexican

The paper explores the impact of migration on the gender bias of resource allocation of sending households.

Monica Lisette Caudillo, CIDE ml caudillo@hotmail.com

Post. 3 Women's Silent Takeover of the Russian Electorate

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, demographic change and shifting political allegiances have resulted in surprisingly stark differences in Post. 12 Exploring the Nature of Anti-Federalist Thought: voting patterns among Russian men and women.

James "Harry" Krejsa, Grinnell College

krejsaja@grinnell.edu

Robert Grey, Grinnell College grey@grinnell.edu

Human Rights and Feminist Thought Within the Qur'an

This paper uses the Qur'an to evaluate the potential of Islamic feminism. Feminist interpretations of the book and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights are used to determine whether gender equality in the Qur'an is possible. Kathryn Lyn Kreps, Central Michigan University kathrynkreps@gmail.com

You Raise Me Up: The Social Identity Underpinnings of Post. 5 **Campaign Contribution Decisions**

In an effort to expand current theories of political donor motivations, I use social identity theory and new survey data to explore the 2008 presidential campaign. I consider if donors give principally to raise the status of a social group.

David Spencer Lassen, Brigham Young University dslassen@gmail.com

Post. 6 U.N. Resolution 1325: Women's Potential to Create Peace

U.N. Resolution 1325 was revolutionary, even though it was passed in 2000. Due to institutional limits within the U.N. and structural weaknesses in the Resolution itself, the success of the Resolution depends on NGOs concerned with women's rights.

Amber Marie Lindh, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee amber.lindh@gmail.com

Post. 7 Feminism's Tough Row to Hoe: The Disconnect Between Rural Values and Feminist Politics

Based on interviews with 20 farm women in southern Oregon, this study aims to illuminate the influence of an agrarian lifestyle on women's relationship to feminism. Three explanatory theories are

Stacy Michaelson, Willamette University smichael@willamette.edu

Post. 8 Performing Gender at the Podium: Women's Language in the **Debate Speech of Female Gubernatorial Candidates**

Candidates' use of stereotypical "Women's Language" structures in state gubernatorial debates is analyzed and media responses to the debate performances are compared, to see how candidates use speech to index gender without seeming "incompetent."

Ariel Rebecca White, Cornell University arw44@cornell.edu

57-201 Poster Session: Democracy in Action

Grand on the 4th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Room

Post. 10 Democracy and Imperialism, 1815-1915

Is imperialism detrimental to democracy? In examining empirical data, it appears that common knowledge on the subject may not be so straightforward as previously assumed. Explanations for this puzzle of democratic imperialism are examined.

Margaret Hogan Ariotti, Binghamton University molly@binghamton.edu

Post. 11 Civic Engagement and Democratic Education: Mexican Universities As Sites of Citizenship

As part of a major international collaborative research project, this paper documents and analyzes the methods Mexican institutes of higher education are taking to foster democracy and civic engagement in students.

Chelsea Germak, University of Pennsylvania chelsead@sas.upenn.edu

Luis Ernesto Tipan, University of Pennsylvania etipan@sas.upenn.edu

classical or modern republican interpretation.

Republicanism and Liberalism in the Political Thought of Cato This paper explores the nature of Anti-Federalist thought through an analysis of Cato. Evidence supports a liberal interpretation and not a

Christopher Roy Hallenbrook, Bridgewater State College challenbrook@bridgew.edu

Post. 13 The Effect of Empathic Deliberation on Tolerance: Experimental Evidence

The results of a survey experiment are presented that show the relationship between empathic deliberation (being asked to place oneself "in the shoes" of another person) on tolerance for a disliked group.

Bradley Mark Jones, Brigham Young University brad.csed@gmail.com

Post. 14 Continuation of the Past: Authoritarian Legacies in East Asian Transitioned Democracies

Transitioned democracies often behave like their authoritarian pasts. Such undemocratic acts conflict with the high normative value assigned to democracies. This paper argues these acts are inhibiting the democratic consolidation.

Jung Yul Kim, Macalester College jkim@macalester.edu

Post. 15 United States Democracy Promotion Efforts in Africa

This paper will evaluate the way the United States has attempted to promote democracy on the African continent, specifically following the Cold War. A determination will be made whether democracy promotion is successful.

Matthew Nygaard, Indiana Wesleyan University matthew.nygaard@student.indwes.edu

Post. 16 When Consociationalism Fails: Levels of Violence in Secessionist Conflicts

This research is an exploration into the efficacy of democratic institutions during civil war. Do electoral systems and federalism still function as an alternative to violence after the onset of war? **Mark Aaron Shadden**, *University of North Texas* mas0392@unt.edu

Post. 9 Creating Citizens: Schooling, Socialization, and Civic Engagement

Using a panel survey to study variations in high school civics programs, I hypothesize that classes requiring active engagement will foster students more likely to participate in political, democratic or social justice oriented activities.

Allison Penelope Anoll, College of William and Mary apanol@wm.edu

57-202 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: Theory</u>

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Post. 17 Meeting MacIntyre's Demands: Locke's Government and Aristotle's Man

Alasdair MacIntyre argues that a functional concept of a human being is necessary to justify moral claims. I argue that such a functional concept can be constructed in support of liberal political thought.

Benjamin Alan Bryan, *Belmont University* ben.a.bryan@gmail.com

Post. 18 Signaling in Enduring Rivalries

Within signaling research there is a selection effects problem. This arises from the unobservability of successful signaling events. Enduring rivalries offers a unique solution to the selection effects problems in signaling.

Kailee Catherine Craig, College of Wooster kcraig09@wooster.edu

Post. 19 Moral Lessons for Muggles: Aristotelian Virtue and Friendship in J.K Rowling's Harry Potter Series

In contrast to the Stoic interpretation of virtue in the Harry Potter series, I argue that Rowling provides an Aristotelian account of virtue that emphasizes the role of friendship.

Laurie Shea Delaney, Bridgewater State College ldelaney@bridgew.edu

Post. 20 Zachor: The Ethics of Memory

This paper explores the ethics behind different kinds of Holocaust memorials, from the sites themselves to monuments and countermonuments, and which represents the best form of memorialization.

Rebecca Elizabeth Dillmeier, Flagler College RDillmeier@flagler.edu

Post. 21 Identity, Distinction and Action: Re-Evaluating Questions of Recognition, Power, and the Search for an "Authentic Self"

In this paper, I use the conceptions of action and identity from the work of Hannah Arendt to critique the discourse of self and identity as framework of self-obsession in which both Charles Taylor and Michel Foucault find themselves trapped.

Jennifer Lynne Forestal, Ohio State University forestal.2@osu.edu

Post. 22 Political Theory in Alain Badiou

A project that attempts to outline the implications of Alain Badiou's thought on political theory.

Thomas Andrew Huddleston, University of Pennsylvania athoma@sas.upenn.edu

Post. 23 Machiavelli's Empathological Method

Machiavelli's greatest contribution to political thought was a new method of studying politics that accounts for human passions, motives, and beliefs. This 'empathological' method must be used by any political leader who develops his virtù.

Nathan Peter Sawatzky, University of Winnipeg swatz_nathan@hotmail.com

57-212 <u>Undergraduate Research Poster Session: Comparative:</u> Russian and a New Eastern Europe

Room Grand on the 4th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm

Post. 24 Russia's Constitutional Court on Freedom of Religion

Explains the Constitutional Court of Russia, the law on freedom of religion, and how the court has ruled.

Jennifer Marie Collins, *University of Central Florida* jcollins39@knights.ucf.edu

Post. 25 Changed Discourse or Unchanged Interests? Romanian Interest Groups and Europeanization of Discourse

Europeanization, discourse analysis, social constructivism, civil society, European integration.

Anamaria Narcisa Corca, American University in Bulgaria anc041@aubg.bg

Post. 26 Back to the U.S.S.R.: Explanations for Soviet Nostalgia in Russia

The high degree of Russian nostalgia for the Soviet Union is examined and then predicted using the variables of generation, family living standard and satisfaction with the country's direction, based on data from a 2008 public opinion survey.

Meredith Evelyn Schalk Decker, Grinnell College deckerme@grinnell.edu

Post. 27 Chechnya's Path to Ethnic Conflict

My thesis looks at why ethnic conflict occurred between Russia and Chechnya during the 1990s and not other regions in the Caucasus Mountains.

Melanie Anne Dominski, Saint Louis University dominski@slu.edu

Post. 28 The Latvian Experience: The Values of Latvians and Russians in Latvia with Respect to the Values of Russians in Russia

A study of the public opinion indicators of mass self-expression values among ethnic Latvians, Russians residing in Latvia and Russians in Russia, using survey data from the World Values Survey (1999-2000) and another provided by Stephen White.

Mahpara Faatin Faatin, *Grinnell College* faatinma@grinnell.edu

Post. 29 Europeanizers vs Slavophiles: Russian Public Opinion and the West

Using data from a 2008 public opinion survey this study examines the relationship between Russians' attitudes toward the West and their preferences for Russia's political system, economy, and style of development.

Andrew Duncan Fair, Grinnell College fairandr@grinnell.edu

Post. 30 An Institutional Approach to the Quality of Governance: The Romanian Parliament

Quality of governance, parliamentary efficiency, fragmentation, threshold, volatility, Romania, elections.

Mircea Florin Steriu, *American University, Bulgaria* mfs040@aubg.bg

60-1 LGBT Concerns on Campus and in the Workplace

Room Adams on the 6th Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm **Chair Jeffrey Edwards**, *Roosevelt University*

iedwards@roosevelt.edu

Paper The Making of LGBTQ-Supportive Campus Policies:

Preliminary Results from the American Association of University Professors Harvesting the Grapevine Project Offered

This presentation will highlight conclusions from a qualitative study of schools (done under the auspices of the AAUP) across the United States that have adopted these policies in recent years, showing the factors behind their promises and problems.

Charles Howard Ford, Norfolk State University chford@nsu.edu

Paper Lesbians and Gay Men in the Public Workforce

Using 1990 through 2006 census data, I examine whether gaystraight pay disparities among comparable workers are smaller in federal, state, and local governments than in nonprofit organizations and private for-profit firms.

Gregory B Lewis, *Georgia State University* glewis@gsu.edu

Disc. Susan Burgess, Ohio University

burgess@ohio.edu

Patrick Egan, New York University patrick.egan@nyu.edu

65-9 Movies: Movers or Moved?

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:45 pm Chair Charles Rubin, Duquesne University

rubin@duq.edu

Paper Policy Galore: How The Films Of James Bond Tells The World What Issues Really Matter

We examine the history of the James Bond film series and connect the plot lines of the films to the salient issues of their times. We will also to connect the films to polling data from that time to correlate changes in public opinion.

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \textbf{Geoffrey D. Peterson}, \ \textit{University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire} \\ \textbf{petersgd@uwec.edu} \end{tabular}$

J. Mark Wrighton, Millikin University

mwrighton@mail.millikin.edu

Elise M. Sitzman, *University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire* SITZMAEM@uwec.edu

Paper Politics, Policy, and Poverty in American Film: (How) Do Movies Matter?

How might the empirical tools of social science and the critical constructs of literary and film theory be brought together to trace the influence of popular images upon policymaking or, conversely, the influence of new policies upon moviemakers.

Stephen Pimpare, *Yeshiva University* pimpare@yu.edu

Paper Television Portrayals of the U.S. Intelligence Community

This paper will examine the impact of 9-11 on how network television portrays the roles and duties of members of the intelligence community.

Geoffrey D. Peterson, *University of Wisconsin*, *Eau Claire* petersgd@uwec.edu

Kimberly R. Tanguay, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire TANGUAKR@uwec.edu

Paper Laws of Race/Laws of Representation: The Construction of Race and Law in Contemporary American Film

This paper examines the intersection between images of race and law in mainstream Hollywood film. Specific topics include film's denial of the racism inherent in law, the "raced" construction of the lawyer-hero, and the suppression of the political.

Cynthia D. Bond, *John Marshall Law School* 7bond@jmls.edu

Disc. Bruce E. Caswell, Rowan University caswell@rowan.edu

Saturday, April 4-4:45 pm

1-9 Religion and the 2008 Presidential Election (Cosponsored with Politics and Religions, see 54-22)

Room Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm
Chair Stephen T. Mockabee, University of Cincinnati
stephen.mockabee@uc.edu

Paper Voter Religiosity in Recent U.S. Presidential Elections: How Much Does it Matter?

While we know that religiosity "matters" to one's presidential vote choice, it is not clear how much it matters once other variables are considered. This paper seeks to answer that question by analyzing 2004 general election and 2008 primary data.

Leigh A. Bradberry, *University of California*, *San Diego* lbradber@ucsd.edu

Paper Religion, Sex, and the 2008 Presidential Campaign

I examine the role played by faith and sex in the 2008 election and explore the behavior of religious interest groups, women's interest groups, and groups of religious women of faith during the 2008 campaign.

Katherine Knutson, Gustavus Adolphus College knutson@gustavus.edu

Paper What's a Jew to Do? Myths and Reality of the Jewish Vote in 2008

This study examines the role of the Jewish voter in the 2008 Presidential election.

Martin J. Sweet, Florida Atlantic University msweet4@fau.edu

Paper Why Wasn't Mitt Romney the "Chosen One"? Influence of Minority Religions in Presidential Politics

The following paper analyzes the impact Mitt Romney's faith had on his presidential campaign. There is evidence to suggest prejudice against the Mormon faith played a signficant role in his inability to gain support amongst likely Romney supporters.

Matthew Kristopher DeSantis, High Point University mdesanti@highpoint.edu

Disc. Stephen T. Mockabee, University of Cincinnati stephen.mockabee@uc.edu

2-11 Politics of the Welfare State

Room Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm
Chair Daniel Stegmueller, University of Frankfurt
stegmueller@soz.uni-frankfurt.de

Paper Fiscal Austerity and the Trade-Off Between Public Investment and Social Spending in OECD Countries

This paper analyzes budgetary trade-offs. It provides a theory and empirical evidence for why certain types of public spending (e.g. investment) are hurt more than others (e.g. social spending) in times of fiscal austerity.

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

bus@mpifg.de

Christian Breunig, University of Toronto

ckbreunig@gmail.com

Paper Labor and Social Welfare: North American and Nordic Union Structures

This paper compares the North American and Nordic union structures. I explore the negotiating frameworks involved in each. I use a model to compare profitability and utility and in each and show that coordination increases efficiency.

Katri K. Sieberg, University of Tampere

katri.sieberg@uta.fi

Paper A Nested Analysis of Government Partisanship and Social Policymaking in Differing Institutional Settings

By comparing Ireland, Germany and Switzerland, I analyze how party governments reform social policies according to their partisan preferences in differing institutional settings. The choice of countries is based on a previous quantitative analysis.

Evelyne Huebscher, *European University Institute, Florence* evelyne.huebscher@eui.eu

Paper Extreme Right Parties and Welfare State Expenditures

This paper argues that the success of extreme right parties will lead to a reduction in welfare expenditures in the countries of Western Europe

Jason Matthew Smith, Texas A&M University

jsmith@politics.tamu.edu

Disc. Katri K. Sieberg, University of Tampere

katri.sieberg@uta.fi

Daniel Stegmueller, *University of Frankfurt* stegmueller@soz.uni-frankfurt.de

3-3 Social Protest in Autocracies

Room Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Javier F. Aparicio, CIDE javier.aparicio@cide.edu

Paper Regime Type, Foreign Direct Investment and Economic Protest in Low- and Middle-Income Countries

What is the relationship between regime type and economic protest in the era of globalization? This paper analyzes the politics of FDI in democracies and autocracies based on new evidence on labor protest in low- and middle- income countries.

Grame Robertson, *University of North Carolina*, *Chapel Hill* graeme@email.unc.edu

Emmanuel J. Teitelbaum, George Washington University ejt@gwu.edu

Paper Strategic Nationalism: The Mobilization and Repression of Anti-Foreign Protest in China

Why do authoritarian governments sometimes allow and sometimes suppress nationalist street protests? I argue and test that nationalist protests can provide leverage for authoritarian governments visavis other governments and international actors.

Jessica Weiss, Yale University jeweiss@gmail.com

Paper <u>Islamist Social Mobilization in Egypt: Exploring the Dynamics</u> of Muslim Brotherhood Electoral Participation

Opposition electoral participation represents an important form of social protest in authoritarian Egypt. This paper explores the dynamics of Muslim Brotherhood political mobilization.

Lisa Blaydes, Stanford University blaydes@stanford.edu

Paper Social Protest in Electoral Autocracies: Competition, Coercion, and Mexico's Cycle of Indigenous Contention

This paper develops a simple model of social protest in electoral autocracies and tests it against a protracted cycle of indigenous protest in Mexico.

Guillermo Trejo, *Duke University* guillermo.trejo@duke.edu

Disc. Javier F. Aparicio, *CIDE* javier.aparicio@cide.edu

Clientelism 3_14

Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room Carolyn Logan, Michigan State University Chair

clogan@msu.edu

Information Flows and Variation in Vote Buying: Theory and Paper Evidence from a Field Experiment in Mexico

> I suggest that the voter's exposure to external factors of political campaigns influeces their decision to sell their votes. To test my claim, I use data gathered from a field experiment conducted during the 2008 local elections in Nayarit, Mexico.

Sergio Bejar, University of Notre Dame sbejar@nd.edu

Communal Brokers, Clientelism and Ethnic Politics in Africa Paper

This paper challenges the inter-relation of ethnic politics and clientelism, using original data from Senegal, by showing that communal brokers prefer to work for politicians offering the highest reward rather than for co-ethnics.

Dominika Koter, Yale University dominika.koter@yale.edu

Political Cash Transfers? Redistribution, Elections, and Bolsa Paper Família in Brazil

> This paper explores Bolsa Família, the world's largest conditional cash transfer program with over 11 million beneficiary families. We contribute to the core vs. swing voter debate using data on program allocation across over 5,500 municipalities.

Claudio Ferraz, Pontificia Universidade Catolica (PUC-RIO) cferraz@econ.puc-rio.br

Simeon Nichter, University of California, Berkeley nichter@berkeley.edu

Rewarding Loyalists, Buying Turnout and Mobilizing the Poor: The Success of Mixed-Clientelist Strategies in Bangalore **Elections**

> Why do clientelist parties offer material rewards to voters in Bangalore, India? Using original data from 1700 households and 40 political elites in Bangalore, this paper explores motivations for supplying clientelist benefits to poor citizens.

Mary E. Breeding, Georgetown University meb235@georgetown.edu

Disc. Lorena Guadalupe Barberia, Fundação Getúlio Vargas barberia@fas.harvard.edu

3-16 **Economic Policy Choice**

Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room

Chair Qiang Yan, Clemson University

atyanqiang@yahoo.com

Endogenous Protection and Multi-Member Districts: An Paper **Empirical Test With Brazilian Data**

> Paper examines the dynamics of industrial endogenous protection in multi-member district systems. Empirical test employs data from Brazil, adopting a hierarchical mixed-effect model.

Carlos Costa, Washington University, St. Louis

costa.wustl@gmail.com

Managing the Exit from Fixed Exchange Rate Regimes: Paper Partisan and Coalitional Explanations for the Divergent Paths

of Brazil and Argentina

Why did Argentina and Brazil respond differently to the external crises of the late '90s? The paper explains these divergent paths by focusing on partisan dynamics within federal institutions and their impact on national executives' policy choices.

Carlos Luis Freytes Frey, Northwestern University c-freytes@u.northwestern.edu

Political Centralization and the Dynamics of Industrial Policy in **Paper**

> India's industrial policy trajectory had 2 proximate drivers: public sector investment and private sector regulation. The paper argues that the changing nature of political centralization provides a systematic explanation for both.

Suraj Jacob, James Madison University

suraj.jacob@gmail.com

How to Create Industry Clusters: A Comparison of Industry Cluster Creation Process in South Korea and the United States

This paper traces industry cluster creation process in South Korea and the U.S. to investigate the effectiveness of top-down and

bottom-up decision making process.

Hyeyoung Chang, University of Southern California

hvevounc@usc.edu

Young Joo Chi, University of Southern California

ychi@usc.edu

Paper

Disc. Daniel Berger, New York University

db1299@nyu.edu

4-21 **Hybrid Regimes**

Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room

Chair Stephen Manning, University of Detroit, Mercy

mannings@udmercy.edu

Paper Sources of Variation in Hybrid Regimes: Patterns and Evidence from the Post-Soviet Successor States

Develops subtypes of hybrid regimes based on dimensions of social democratization, electoral fairness, and elite competition and investigates the factors influencing the formation of these regime types in the Soviet successor states.

Ian Smith, Georgia State University

ismith7@student.gsu.edu

Patronal Politics: Post-Soviet Political Transformations Twenty **Paper** Years after 1989

> A study of hybrid regime stability and breakdown generating predictions as to when democracy results from breakdown based on post-Soviet cases.

Henry E. Hale, George Washington University hhale@gwu.edu

Paper **Border-Line Democracies: The Case of Russia**

> The paper explores definitions and attributes of democracy and compares different types of democracy. Russia is a special case of democracy that has sufficient institutional features and laws that yet lack practical implementation.

Ekaterina V. Svyatets, University of Southern California svyatets@yahoo.com

Civil Society and the Russian Democratic Transition **Paper**

Assesses civil society in Russia by seeking types of governmentresisting behaviors characteristic of established liberal-democratic regimes.

Fred Eidlin, University of Guelph

feidlin@uoguelph.ca

Lisa Post, University of Guelph

lpost@uoguelph.ca

Disc. Vicki Hesli, University of Iowa

vicki-hesli@uiowa.edu

5-12 Political Institutions and Civil Conflict

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Jai Kwan Jung, George Washington University

jkjung@gwu.edu

Paper Violence by Other Means: Institutional Design for Democratic Politics After Civil Conflict

We explore how electoral rules and decision making structure and process affect actors' calculations of the value of accepting democratically produced outcomes versus rejecting both outcomes and the system that produced them

Weiwei Hu, Binghamton University

whu2@binghamton.edu

William B. Heller, Binghamton University

wbheller@post.harvard.edu

Paper Power-Neutralizing Institutions and Conflict Resolution

Power-neutralizing institutions are an often-overlooked design for conflict resolution. These institutions remove power from all relevant actors. For example, the use of Malay in Indonesia neutralized linguistic powers via the use of a lingua franca.

Amy Liu, Emory University

ahliu@emory.edu

Paper Role of Institutional and Cultural Factors in Structuring Outcomes in Conflict Resolution Process

This cross-regional study puts to an empirical test a concept of institutional factors vs. cultural legacies in explaining peaceful or violent outcomes in conflict resolution process.

Irina Khmelko, Georgia Southern University

ikhmelko@georgiasouthern.edu

Krista Wiegand, Georgia Southern University

kwiegand@georgiasouthern.edu

Paper Energy, Political Stability and the Role of International Trade

I find that that there is not enough evidence to establish a viable association between oil reliance and internal conflict when the economic openness in a country is taken into account.

Yavuz Akalin, University of Texas, Dallas

akalina posta@yahoo.com

Disc. Jai Kwan Jung, George Washington University

jkjung@gwu.edu

5-19 Authoritarian Institutions

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Kevin K. Tsui, Clemson University

ktsui@clemson.edu

Paper Does Institutionalized Cooperation Under Dictatorships Breed Good Economic Performance? Bring Regime Classifications

Back In

Cooperation under dictatorships is often viewed as only among few elites. Yet recent studies expand to more broadly society-based. This paper explores how variations in institutional cooperation translate into differences in economic outcomes.

Dong-wook Lee, Claremont Graduate University

dong-wook.lee@cgu.edu

Paper Parties and Electoral Systems in Authoritarian Regimes

In this paper I look at the effective number of parties in authoritarian regimes. An original data set is used to test Duverger's and competing hypotheses.

Susanne Michalik, *University of Konstanz* susanne.michalik@uni-konstanz.de

Disc. Kevin K. Tsui, Clemson University

ktsui@clemson.edu

6-13 Mass Political Behavior in Latin America

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair James C. Franklin, Ohio Wesleyan University

jcfrankl@owu.edu

Paper Democracy Now! Protesting for Democracy in Latin America

This paper uses an original dataset to examine pro-democracy contentious challenges in seven Latin American countries. Crossnational differences in the incidence and success of these challenges are analyzed.

James C. Franklin, Ohio Wesleyan University

jcfrankl@owu.edu

Paper The Political Consequences of Crime Victimization in Latin America

The political consequences of Latin America's contemporary violent crime epidemic are largely unknown. Using survey data, I argue that crime victimization increases political participation but has no impact on support for authoritarianism.

Regina Anne Bateson, Yale University

regina.bateson@yale.edu

Paper Trust and Turnout: A Comparative Analysis of Contemporary Latin America

Using the Latinobarometer 2005 survey, this paper examines the impact that declining trust in government and public institutions has had on turnout throughout Latin America.

Irina Alberro, El Colegio de México

ialberro@colmex.mx

Fernanda Somuano, El Colegio de México

fsomuano@colmex.mx

Paper The New Dynamics of Political Tolerance in Bolivia

Bolivians are the least politically tolerant citizens in the American continent. They were already ten years ago. Nevertheless, the new political era of President Morales brings a new dynamic of tolerance, driven by ideology and geographic situation.

Vivian Schwarz-Blum, Vanderbilt University

vivianschwarz@yahoo.com

Disc. Carole J. Wilson, University of Texas, Dallas

cjwilson@utdallas.edu

7-3 Extremist Parties, Public Opinion, and Elections

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Barbara Sgouraki Kinsey, University of Central Florida

bkinsey@mail.ucf.edu

Paper Why is the Support for Extreme Right Higher in More Open

Societies?

We investigate the support for neofascist and populist parties across societies in Europe. We establish links between (1) societal openness, (2) welfare state, and (3) democracy, and find out their impact on support for the extreme right in Europe.

Nejat Anbarci, *Deakin University* nejat.anbarci@deakin.edu.au

Hasan Kirmanoglu, Bilgi University

hkirman@bilgi.edu.tr

Mehmet Ali Ulubasoglu, Deakin University

maulubas@deakin.edu.au

Paper Discourses of the Extreme Right: A Comparative Analysis of Party Manifestoes in 4 European Countries

This paper examines the discourse and strategies of extreme right parties in four European democracies; France, the UK, Germany and Romania. Using text analysis of party manifestoes, we distinguish four sub-types of extreme right parties.

Sarah Harrison, London School of Economics

S.L.HARRISON@LSE.AC.UK

Paper The Resurgence of the Radical-Right in Western European Politics: Analysis of the French, Italian, Austrian, and Belgian Cases

The resurgence of the radical-right in European politics is cause for concern amongst politicians and academics alike. I examine why these parties are so strong now, and how far-right voters differ from mainstream voters in their respective states.

Nathan Price, Louisiana State University nprice2@lsu.edu

Paper Intolerance Facing Representation Deficit in European Union

Given the growth of support for Extreme Right Political Parties in national elections of Western Europe, this paper investigates the relationship between the representation deficit in EU's institutions and the new extreme right populism.

Ana Paula Tostes, Michigan State University tostes@msu.edu

Disc. Karl Kaltenthaler, University of Akron/Case Western Reserve University

kck@uakron.edu

Barbara Sgouraki Kinsey, *University of Central Florida* bkinsey@mail.ucf.edu

7-16 Identity and European Politics

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Chair Lawrence Clark Mayer, Texas Tech University

clark.mayer@ttu.edu

Paper From Periphery to Center: Shifts in Levels of National Identity in Western Europe

Using data from the 1995 and 2003 International Social Survey Programme, this paper explores whether levels of national identification in Western European nations have shifted across the left-right continuum in the given time period.

Lisa C. Fox, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill* lisacfox@email.unc.edu

Paper Assessing Supranational Identity: Culture in Support for EU Governance

Conceptualizing supranational institutions as governing bodies, I use state-building theory to evaluate EU integration. The role of supranational identity in support for institutions is assessed beside institutional theories in a multi-level model.

Zackary Shipley, *University of Arizona* zshipley@u.arizona.edu

Paper A Finger for Berlusconi: Italy's Anti-Immigration/Anti-Crime Measures, Romanian Realities, and the Poverty of European Citizenship

The paper explains the problems of EU-European citizenship as fissures between a political identity associated with the protective functions of a nationally-framed "state" and "Europe" as a topos of a historical-cultural and normative identity claim.

F. Peter Wagner, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater wagnerp@uww.edu

Paper The EU-Turkey Relations: A Challenge to the European Identity?

In this paper I analyze the EU-Turkey relations within the context of European identity crisis, and argue that the future of the EU-Turkey relations and the EU's position in the world system will be directly affected from the future of this problem.

Mustafa Kutlay, *Middle East Technical University* mustafakutlay@gmail.com

Disc. Lawrence Clark Mayer, Texas Tech University clark.mayer@ttu.edu

8-13 Political Culture in Latin America: Theoretical and Conceptual Crossroads

Room Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Patricia Bayer Richard, Ohio University

richard@ohio.edu

Paper Value Change and Political Participation in Latin America

Using the WVS and the Latinobarometro, the paper explores changes in fundamental political and social values in Latin American countries over the past two decades. It seeks to explore the consequences of changing values for modes of participation.

Joseph L. Klesner, Kenyon College

klesner@kenyon.edu

Paper What's Not to Trust? Rubrics of Political Party Trustworthiness in Chile and Argentina

To better understand low levels of trust in political parties in Latin America, this study employs original data to investigate rubrics of party trustworthiness -- the subjective criteria upon which citizens judge parties -- in Chile and Argentina.

Ryan Carlin, Georgia State University

rcarlin@gsu.edu

Paper Evaluating the Measurement of Attitudes Toward Democratic: An Empirical Approach

In the recent years, it has had innovative debate about the measurement of attitudes toward democracy using a single index or multiple indicators. Findings in this paper suggest the use of multiple indicators.

Rodolfo Sarsfield, *CIDE* rodolfo.sarsfield@cide.edu

Paper Populism in Latin America: The Americas Barometer 2008

The authors gauge populist attitudes in Latin America through a new series of questions in the Americas Barometer 2008, then use hierarchical modeling to test prominent theories on the causes of populism.

Kirk Andrew Hawkins, Brigham Young University

kirk_hawkins@byu.edu

Scott Riding, Brigham Young University

scottriding@gmail.com

Disc. John A. Booth, *University of North Texas*

booth@unt.edu

9-19 Parties and Elections in East and Southeast Asia

Room Sandburg Boardroom 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Taylor McMichael, Texas Tech University

taylor.mcmichael@ttu.edu

Paper The Rise and Fall of The Japan Right Socialist Party, 1949-1953

The questions posed in this paper are twofold; (1) Why did the Socialist Party split? and (2) Why did the Right Socialist Party win elections at its inception, but fail at the polls in subsequent elections?

Taylor McMichael, Texas Tech University

taylor.mcmichael@ttu.edu

Royce C. Wu, Texas Tech University

royce.wu@ttu.edu

The Effect of Electoral Rules on the Democratic Progressive Party's Performance in the 2004 and 2008 Legislative Elections in Taiwan

The 2004 and 2008 elections were widely viewed as major defeats for Taiwan's Democratic Progress Party, despite a rising vote share. Within this context, this article considers the effect of electoral rules on party electoral performance.

Daniel C. O'Neill, Washington University, St. Louis danoneill@wustl.edu

Paper Indonesian Voter Behavior and the 2009 Elections

The 2009 elections will be critical for the future of democracy in Indonesia as they will mark the beginning of political regeneration. With changes in the electoral rules and experiences with local elections, how will Indonesian voters vote?

Nicolaus Harjanto, Northern Illinois University

nharjant@niu.edu

Paper Response to the Will of the Public in Totalitarian China:

Does Public Opinion Matter for the Formation of Electoral Institutions? Evidences from Rural Grassroots Elections

We use a survey data to analyzed whether the implementation of village election institutions in rural China, as administered by local government, was a system that was influenced by the public opinion of villagers.

Qi Zhang, Northwestern University qizhang2008@u.northwestern.edu Mingxing Liu, Peking University mxliu@ciefr.pku.edu.cn

Disc. Malte Pehl, College of Wooster

mpehl@wooster.edu

Alexander R. Arifianto, Arizona State University

alexander.arifianto@asu.edu

9-24 Identity, Civil Society, and Ethnicity

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Eun Young Cho, Seoul National University

elen5@snu.ac.kr

Paper Nationalism and National Security at Home and Abroad: The Case of Korea and Korean-Americans

This paper explores nationalism as a political ideology, which was constructed around the issues of national security and the relationship between the nation-state and its diasporic community.

Soo-Bin You, Rutgers University

soobiny@gmail.com

Paper Beef, Nationalism, and Social Mobilization – Analyzing South

Korean Civil Demonstration on American Beef Importing Issue Korean civil demonstration started from American beef issue, is not

the outcome of nationalism, rather, nationalism is the outcome of the demonstration.

Eun Young Cho, Seoul National University

elen5@snu.ac.kr

Paper Representative Development? Civil Society/State Interactions and Health Outcomes in India

NGOs—the de facto manifestation of civil society in India's development project—may negatively affect democracy by short-circuiting the accountability of the government in providing public services and misrepresenting the wishes of the poor.

Aneel Brar, McGill University aneel.brar@mail.mcgill.ca

Paper External Kin, Ethnic Identity, and Pursuance of More

Autonomy: The Politics of Ethnic Mobilization in the People's Republic of China

This paper examines conditions under which ethnic minority groups in China are more likely to pursue more political autonomy from the Chinese state. It pays special attention to the role of external kin in ethnic mobilization.

Enze Han, George Washington University enzehan@gwu.edu

Disc. Siddharth Swaminathan, La Sierra University

sswamina@lasierra.edu

Wooyeal Paik, University of California, Los Angeles wypaik@ucla.edu

13-14 Institutions and Policy in Contemporary China

Room Medinah on the 6th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm
Chair WenWen Shi, Wayne State University

ba5087@wayne.edu

Paper Uncover it or Hide it? Media Exposure of Corruption Across Provinces in China

Media in China has undergone both marketization and government control. This research is interested in how the Chinese press has played its supervisory role of official corruption in between by studying media exposure of corruption across provinces.

Jiangnan Zhu, University of Nevada, Reno

jzhu@unr.edu

Guang Zhang, Nankai University

gzhang 85@nankai.edu.cn

Paper The Political Economy of China's Higher Education: From Communism to Markets, 1949-2006

Using Mitchell and Mitchell's political economic model of economic goods, we explore the transformation in higher education in the People's Republic of China over the past six decades. We also examine the role of public perception in those changes.

Xiaojian Li, University of Minnesota

xiaoj056@umn.edu

Nicola A. Alexander, University of Minnesota

nalexand@umn.edu

Paper Rethinking the Party-State Relationship in Post-Mao China:

Drawn from the Case of Higher Education Reform

My empirical examination of higher education reform in post-Mao China finds the coexistence of the two trends of separation and fusion between the Party and the state. This finding has strong implications for our understanding of Chinese politics.

Qinghua Wang, Shanghai University of Finance and Economics brianlwang@hotmail.com

Disc. WenWen Shi, Wayne State University

ba5087@wayne.edu

Ji Hyun Lee, Seoul National University

iamjihyun@gmail.com

14-100 Roundtable: Politics and the Multinational Corporation

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

This roundtable will discuss emerging reseach on how politics affects multinations and how multinationals influence politics.

Panelist Nathan Jensen, Washington University, St. Louis

njensen@wustl.edu

Glen Biglaiser, Texas Tech University

gbiglais@yahoo.com

Quan Li, Texas A&M University

quanli@tamu.edu

Edmund J. Malesky, University of California, San Diego

emalesky@ucsd.edu

Pablo Pinto, Columbia University

pp2162@columbia.edu

Joseph Staats, Valdosta State University

joseph.staats@gmail.com

15-19 Immigration and Border Security

Room Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Valerie F. Hunt, University of Washington

vfhunt@gmail.com

Paper Determinants of Asylum Success: A Comprehensive View of Applicants in the United States

This study of individual cases decided in Texas immigration courts from 1996 to 2006 is based upon a FOIA request of the EOIR and is supplemented by additional country of origin measures and judge specific average grant rates.

Linda Camp Keith, University of Texas, Dallas

linda.keith@utdallas.edu

Jennifer S. Holmes, University of Texas, Dallas

jholmes@utdallas.edu

Paper National Security and U.S. Immigration Policy

This paper analyzes the security components of U.S. immigration policy, which are related to border control, disease, material wealth, espionage, ethnic assimilation, domestic uprisings, foreign policy considerations, population, and terrorism.

Robbie James Totten, University of California, Los Angeles rtotten@ucla.edu

Paper Walls and Fences: The Making of Good Neighbors?

I argue barriers on borders fail to provide security by their inability deter attacks. This failure of deterrence is facilitated by strategic logic of evasion that is made more possible today by military technology and diffusion of information.

Doaa' Hamdi El Nakhala, *University of Texas, Austin* dnakhala@mail.utexas.edu

Disc. David L. Leal, University of Texas, Austin

dleal@austin.utexas.edu

Kathy Purnell, Western Michigan University

kathy.purnell@wmich.edu

16-15 The Rise of China

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Jianwei Wang, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point

j2wang@uwsp.edu

Paper Nuclear Tiger with Paper Teeth: Putting China's Stagnant

Nuclear Deterrent in International and Domestic Context

Despite a strong commitment to a nuclear deterrence doctrine, China allowed its force posture to stagnate dangerously. This paper argues that international and domestic contextual factors account for the period without a survivable nuclear arsenal.

Dave Ohls, University of Wisconsin

ohls@wisc.edu

K. Dalton Lin, University of Wisconsin

klin4@wisc.edu

Paper Triangular Peace among Beijing, Taipei, and Washington:

An Analysis of the Impact of Economic Independence and Institutions on Cross-Strait Relations

This paper unifies different theoretical insights to explore the role of economic interdependence, institutions on the stability and cooperation between mainland China, Taiwan, and the U.S.

Jun Wei, *University of Chicago* weijun2000@gmail.com

Paper China's Peaceful Rise: A Comparative Study

China's rise has become a world phenomenon causing reactions from all major players on the both sides of the Asia-Pacific. This paper attempts to compare three major countries' perceptions about China's rise-- the U.S, Japan, and South Korea.

Jianwei Wang, *University of Wisconsin*, *Stevens Point* j2wang@uwsp.edu

Paper The Politics of Off-Shore Balancing and the United States-China Relations

The paper aims to explain how war could occur between China and the US in the future. To this end, it examines America's past interactions with ascending powers, and applies findings to exploring pathways for a future war between the states.

Dong Sun Lee, Korea University

ds 0306@hotmail.com

Hyun Saeng Jae, Korea University

lifeisbebop@gmail.com

Disc. Sunil A. Vaswani, Johns Hopkins University sunilvaswani@gmail.com

17-16 Bargaining Models of International Conflict

Room Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Jeffrey M. Ritter, Rutgers University

jeffritt@rci.rutgers.edu

Paper Delegation, Agency Loss and Domestic Informational Asymmetries: Decision-Making Within Crisis Bargaining

This paper outlines a model of delegation. The model shows the conditions where agents have incentives to provide leaders with bad information regarding the state's strategic attributes within a crisis bargaining situation.

Aparna Kher, *Binghamton University*, *SUNY* akher1@binghamton.edu

Paper Coalitional Coercion

The frequent failure of coalitions is explained by twin problems of credibility and coordination. Optimal designs to overcome these limitations are also considered.

Scott Wolford, *University of Colorado*, *Boulder* scott.wolford@colorado.edu

Paper Power, Democracy, and the Initiation of Revisionist Disputes

This study presents a new theory of revisionist claim initiation that integrates power and regime type. Results indicate strong democratic states are the most likely to seek revisions.

Amanda M. Frost, University of Iowa Amanda-Frost@uiowa.edu

Paper The Utility of Victory: Revisiting the Bargaining Model of War

This paper reexamines the Bargaining Model's premise that war is inefficient. I assert that, while war is indeed inefficient for bargainers, victory can have positive utility.

Jonathan Berohn, *University of Colorado* jonathan.berohn@colorado.edu

Paper War as an Investment

When do states fight to accumulate resources that improve their bargaining power? I consider a game of complete information in which power is determined endogenously. I show that war can occur in equilibrium, even under complete information.

Thomas Chadefaux, University of Michigan

chadefau@umich.edu

Disc. Jeffrey M. Ritter, Rutgers University

jeffritt@rci.rutgers.edu

Bumba Mukherjee, Pennsylvania State University

sxm73@psu.edu

17-32 Paths to Terrorism

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Ahmed Saber Mahmud, Johns Hopkins University

asaber1973@gmail.com

Paper Guilt by Association: U.S. Ties and Vulnerability to Fatal Terrorist Attacks

I develop a theoretical framework to explain why terrorists are likely to target allies of powerful nations in the international arena in an effort to force the more powerful nation to change its policy stance.

Matthew Grant Warhol, Texas A&M University

derfjr@polisci.tamu.edu

Paper Political Parties: Why They Turn to Terror

This paper hypothesizes that political party ideology is positively correlated with the formation of terrorist organizations, even after controlling for institutional structural constraints.

Orlandrew Eion Danzell, *Kansas State University* orlandre@ksu.edu

oriandre@ksu.edu

Paper Who Becomes a Terrorist? Evidence from Early 20th Century India

Using archival data from Bengal, this project questions the scholarly consensus that terrorists are wealthy and well educated by comparing them to nonviolent activists rather than to the general population.

Alexander Mark Lee, Stanford University

amlee@stanford.edu

Paper Suicide Bomber Pathways in Comparative Perspective

The paper depicts individual trajectories into suicidal forms of violence as a pathway that highlights the role of both societal and smaller-group socialization processes, network ties, and the experience of catalysts.

Paul Gill, University College Dublin

paul.gill@ucd.ie

Disc. Ahmed Saber Mahmud, Johns Hopkins University

asaber1973@gmail.com

18-12 The Future for Iraq: U.S. and Allied Foreign Policies

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Ali Abootalebi, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire

abootaar@uwec.edu

Paper The Analysis of the 2003 Iraq War and the Post-Cold War

Turkish American Relations

The paper examines American and Turkish Foreign Policies during and after the 2003 Iraq war and discusses the main foreign policy motivations and objectives of both parties in the reconstruction period of the new Iraq.

Cem Cetin Birsay, Isik Universitesi

cembirsay@isikun.edu.tr

Paper A Coalition of the Willing: An Analysis of the Commitment and Withdrawal of Ukrainian and Georgian Armed Forces

A foreign policy decision making approach to analyze the decision by governments in Ukraine and Georgia to send troops to Iraq and the sequential decisions to remove their armed troops, stay the course, or escalate troop deployment.

Bruce Laymon Blair, University of Kansas

blair013@ku.edu

Paper Strategic Culture as an Independent Variable: The Case of the Iraq War

This study evaluates what treating strategic culture as an independent variable can teach scholars about the causes of the Iraq War. It also assesses what the Iraq War teaches scholars about treating strategic culture as an independent variable.

Toby Lee Lauterbach, Purdue University

leto1777@yahoo.com

Paper The "Psychological Seam"

In this political-psychology paper, I argue that during "Nation-Building," or "Peace-Keeping" operations, an exploitable "psychological seam" is created as one military unit is replaced by another military unit.

Joseph Edward Williams, *United States Military Academy* joseph.williams@usma.edu

Paper Preliminary Results from Voices of the Mada'in: An Oral Tribal

History of One of Baghdad's Six Rural Districts

Iraqi Politics, Tribal Politics, COIN, Operation Iraqi Freedom Adam L. Silverman, *United States Army Trining and Doctrine* adam.l.silverman@us.army.mil

Disc. Muqtedar Khan, University of Delaware

mkhan@udel.edu

19-16 Trust and International Cooperation

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Susan D. Hyde, Yale University

susan.hyde@yale.edu

Paper International Trust and Cooperation: Exploring the Individual Roots of Institutional Collaboration

This paper explores the link between "international trust" of individuals and government policies in international institutions.

Johannes Karreth, University of Georgia

jkarreth@uga.edu

Paper Trust and the International Cooperation in Disaster Management: The Case of Indian Ocean Tsunami, 2004

More recently, there has been a dramatice increase in the number of publications on trust, and the purpose of this study was to ascertain the effect of trust on international cooperation. Indian Ocean

Tsunami in 2004 is the case of this paper.

Chun-yuan Wang, National Chiao Tung University g885422@seed.net.tw

Paper <u>Is Trust a Cause or a By-product of Cooperation? The Case of</u> the European Union

Is trust a cause of by-product of cooperation? Repetitive interaction games explain early successful cooperation among European states, while the deepening of cooperation is explained by the verification of trust over a longer period of time.

Cristina Nicolescu-Waggonner, University of California, Riverside cnico001@student.ucr.edu

Paper Overlapping International Institutions, Trust, and International Cooperation

Do less-legalized international institutions promote international cooperation? The present paper proposes an explanation about the effect of less-legalized international institutions, using the concept of overlapping institutions.

Taisuke Fujita, Sophia University

fujita.t.f@gmail.com

Disc. Tana Johnson, University of Chicago

tana@uchicago.edu

20-4 Determinants of Ethnic Conflict

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Eric S. McLaughlin, University of Redlands

eric mclaughlin@redlands.edu

Paper Geography, State-Building, Empires, Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War

Rethinking the role of terrain, states and empires, and ethnic and religious homogeneity for civil war outbreak since 1945.

John Hulsey, Indiana University, Bloomington

jwhulsey@indiana.edu

Brian Shoup, Indiana University, Bloomington

bshoup@indiana.edu

Paper Recognzing Ethnic Diversity and Political Stability

How does official recognition of ethnic diversity affect political stability? I provide a new theory of the link between recognition and stability by studying the impact of recognition on ethnic conflict and test it using a new dataset on recognition.

Nazif Tolga Sinmazdemir, New York University

tolga.sinmazdemir@nyu.edu

Paper Ethnic Protest and Separatist Movements: Explaining Variant Outcomes to Challenges of Remapping Federal Units in India's Northeast

Aim is to compare separatist movements of Mizos, Bodos and Dimasas in India. I investigate the interactive dynamics of group-level factors, organizational cohesion and state-movement interaction accounting for varied consequences of ethnic movements.

Pahi Saikia, McGill University

pahi182@yahoo.com

Paper How Nations Without States Survive: Boundary-Drawing and the Strategic Value of Violence

How did stateless nations survive? I argue that this phenomenon is an externality of violent strategies pursued by radical nationalists competing with moderates within a national movement. A model of the strategic interactions involved is offered.

Felix Kuntzsch, *Université Laval* felix.kuntzsch.1@ulaval.ca

Disc. Douglas Woodwell, University of Indianapolis

woodwelld@uindy.edu

21-17 Electoral Rules, Political Processes, and Political

Outcomes

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm
Chair C Daniel Myers, Princeton University

cdmyers@princeton.edu

Paper Perceptions of the Fairness of Political Advertising in the 2008 Presidential Campaign

This paper examines judgments of the fairness of criticisms made in political advertising in the 2008 presidential election. We present the results of experiments in which we manipulated perceptions of the truth or relevance of such criticisms.

Daniel Stevens, University of Exeter

D.P.Stevens@exeter.ac.uk **Barbara Allen**, Carleton College

ballen@carleton.edu

John Sullivan, University of Minnesota

jsull@umn.edu

Paper How Should We Decide? Citizens' Evaluations of Political Processes

We employ a new series of survey-based experiments to examine citizens' preferences for various political processes, systematically varying both the nature of the participatory activity and the decision-making rule.

Christopher Karpowitz, Brigham Young University

ckarpowitz@byu.edu

Jeremy Pope, Brigham Young University

jpope@byu.edu

Paper Losing and Support for Electoral Reform: What We Can Learn

From the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election

We will leverage the 2008 Cooperative Comparative Analysis Panel (CCAP) survey to determine if losing in the general election effects support for changing election rules.

Jeffrey Karp, University of Exeter

j.karp@exeter.ac.uk

Caroline J. Tolbert, University of Iowa

caroline-tolbert@uiowa.edu

Paper Motivation and the 2008 Election

This study examines the motivations for political participation, and whether motives, and subsequent willingness to participate in the future, are affected by perceptions of and feelings about the election outcome.

Joanne M. Miller, University of Minnesota

jomiller@umn.edu

Mark Snyder, University of Minnesota

msnyder@umn.edu

Paper Electoral Effects on the Distribution of Political Knowledge

The number of vote decisions voters are asked to make has a direct impact upon what they are able to learn about the candidates of any single electoral race. Using survey data, this paper examines this relationship on the Federal level.

David J. Andersen, Rutgers University

davander@rci.rutgers.edu

Disc. David Doherty, Yale University

david.doherty@yale.edu

22-7 Opinion Formation

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Dean Lacy, Dartmouth College

dean.p.lacy@dartmouth.edu

Paper Why State Constitutions Differ in their Treatment of Same-Sex Couples

Some state constitutions restrict same-sex couples. Others do not. "Amendments follow attitudes" is a common explanation of why states differ. Our data does not support this explanation. State-level institutional variations are a better explanation.

Arthur Lupia, University of Michigan

lupia@umich.edu

Yanna Krupnikov, University of Michigan

yanna@umich.edu

Adam Seth Levine, University of Michigan

adamseth@umich.edu

Spencer Piston, University of Michigan

spencerpiston@gmail.com

Alexander Steven Von Hagen-Jamar, University of Michigan

avhj@umich.edu

Paper Vote Choice and the Construction of Coherent Opinions in the 2004 Election

Our paper examines the decision-making process at the individual level. Specifically, we argue that individuals must align their preferences to match the preferences of the candidate they are voting for to alleviate the stress of making a decision.

Craig Michael Burnett, University of California, San Diego

cburnett@ucsd.edu

Mathew D. McCubbins, University of California, San Diego

mmccubbins@ucsd.edu

Paper The Cross-Pressured Citizen: Revisiting Social Influence on Voting Behavior

We develop a novel measure for a classic concept -- cross-pressures. We test the effect of individual cross-pressuredness on several aspects of voting behavior and assess the changing nature of social influence in the U.S. over the past half century.

Joshua A. Tucker, New York University

joshua.tucker@nyu.edu

Ted Brader, University of Michigan

tbrader@umich.edu

Andrew Therriault, New York University

therriault@nyu.edu

Disc. Dean Lacy, Dartmouth College

dean.p.lacy@dartmouth.edu

22-20 Strategic Voting

Room Hancock on the 6th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Cees Vandereijk, University of Nottingham

cees.vandereijk@nottingham.ac.uk

Paper <u>Voting Strategically: Exploring Duverger's Psychological Effect</u>

To explore the psychological effect, I apply a structural equation model to panel data from the 2004-2008 Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study survey. The 2004 electoral reform in Taiwan also provides a natural experiment for this study.

Alex Chang, Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica chang626@gate.sinica.edu.tw

Paper Beyond District Magnitude: On the Level of Strategic Voting Across Electoral Systems

Using CSES modules 1 and 2 I show that there is a latent dimension of propensity for voters to cast a strategic vote across a variety of electoral systems.

Gschwend Thomas, *University of Mannheim* gschwend@uni-mannheim.de

Disc. Cees Vandereijk, University of Nottingham

cees.vandereijk@nottingham.ac.uk

23-14 Election Strategies of Candidates and Campaigns

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm **Chair David Weldon Thornton**, Campbell University

thornton@campbell.edu

Paper Mobilizing Minority Groups: The Impact of Campaign Appeals

This paper uses data from the Wisconsin Advertising Project, the Current Population Survey, and the National Annenberg Election Survey to assess whether campaign advertising affects turnout and vote choice among Latinos and African Americans.

Andrew Karch, University of Texas, Austin

akarch@mail.utexas.edu

John Sides, George Washington University jsides@gwu.edu

Paper Presidential Coalitions, 2000-2008: Structure and Dynamics

This paper juxtaposes propositions from two literatures, on campaign dynamics and on polarization, with data from the 2000, 2004, and 2008 National Annenberg Election Studies.

Richard Johnston, University of Pennsylvania

rgcj@sas.upenn.edu

Emily Thorson, University of Pennsylvania

ethorson@asc.upenn.edu

Paper Geographic Campaign Strategies in U.S. Senate Elections

This paper uses a computational model to derive hypotheses about the electoral effectiveness of multiple campaign resource allocation strategies. These hypotheses are then tested with data from the 2008 U.S. Senate election.

Joel A. Sievert, Washington University, St Louis

jasiever@artsci.wustl.edu

Santiago Olivella, Washington Unviersity, St Louis

olivella@wustl.edy

Paper The Influence of District Characteristics on Resource Allocation

Strategies

This research examines the effects of districting characteristics on the resource allocation strategies of candidates and their campaigns.

Daniel C. Reed, American University

dreed@american.edu

Disc. Conor M Dowling, Yale University

conor.dowling@yale.edu

David Weldon Thornton, Campbell University

thornton@campbell.edu

24-12 Public Preferences, Elections, and Policy Responsiveness

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Stuart Roy Kasdin, University of California, Santa Barbara

skasdin@umail.ucsb.edu

Paper Public Opinion and Welfare Reform: Evaluating Senate Votes Using New Estimates of Constituency Opinion

This paper uses multilevel modeling to estimate state-level opinion on social welfare policy. These estimates are then used to predict Senate roll call votes on the 1996 Welfare Reform Act.

Matthew Incantalupo, Princeton University

mincanta@princeton.edu

Paper Toeing the Line: How Same-Party Constituent Opinion Impacts Congressional Voting

We delve deeper into the analysis of public opinion responsiveness, finding that legislators are often considerably more responsive to the policy wishes of their same-party constituents, especially their wealthy same-party constituents.

Will Bullock, Princeton University wbullock@princeton.edu

Paper Congressional Responsiveness to Public Opinion on Free Trade Agreements

What effect does public opinion have on the behavior of legislators voting on international trade agreements? Using a new dataset (CCES), we estimate the effect of public opinion across income groups on legislative voting on CAFTA-DR legislation.

Will Bullock, Princeton University

wbullock@princeton.edu

Dustin Tingley, Princeton University

dtingley@princeton.edu

Paper Political Platforms and Representation

This paper relies on a survey experiment using mock elections. I test whether ideology alone determines votes or if adding issues to a platform affect vote totals; and if so, are the impacts proportional to the public's willingness-to-pay.

Stuart Roy Kasdin, University of California, Santa Barbara

skasdin@umail.ucsb.edu

Disc. Stuart Roy Kasdin, University of California, Santa Barbara

skasdin@umail.ucsb.edu

25-18 Presidential Elections and Public Opinion

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Nathan Kelly, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Nathan.J.Kelly@gmail.com

Paper Letters to President Obama: Opinions and Geographic

Distribution of the Contributors

In the traditions of Harold Holzer and Taeku Lee, letters written by citizens to the current president that reflect their perspectives, concerns and preferences will be analyzed and discussed in this presentation.

Josephine A. V. Allen, Cornell University

jaa7@cornell.edu

Sherman C. Puckett, Wayne County Department of Public Services

Sherman.Puckett@comcast.net

Hanes Walton, Jr., University of Michigan

Hantonjr@umich.edu

Donald R. Deskins, Jr., University of Michigan

dr.deskins@comcast.net

Paper Obama vs McCain: Dumb and Dumber?

The paper will catalogue and classify the themes, issue positions, and personal claims of the Obama & McCain campaigns to determine what if anything advanced by them challenges present assumptions about American public opinion and civic knowledge.

Jerold J. Duquette, Central Connecticut State University

duquettej@ccsu.edu

Paper News Consumption, Partisan Polarization, and Political Learning During Presidential Elections

Using 2000 and 2004 National Annenberg Election Survey data, I study interactive influence of partisanship and news consumption on national economic perceptions during an election and find citizens to be biased, not Bayesian, information processors.

Ramesh Sharma, University of Kentucky

rrshar2@uky.edu

Disc. Nathan Kelly, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Nathan. J. Kelly @gmail.com

26-21 The Voting Environment and Turnout (Co-sponsored with Electoral Campaigns, see 23-26)

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Tatiana Kostadinova, Florida International University

tkostadinova@fiu.edu

Paper Surge and Decline in the Voting Booth: The Causes of Ballot Rolloff

I examine the characteristics of offices on the ballot that lead to different rates of rolloff.

Seth J. Hill, *University of California*, *Los Angeles* sjhill@ucla.edu

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Bridging the Gap: The Effects of the Internet vs. Traditional Paper **Medias on Political Interest and Voter Turnout**

An evaluation of the effect of the Internet on political participation and voter turnout in the 1996 through 2004 election cycle based upon early effects of television in the 1950s.

Michael Kenneth Romano, Western Michigan University michael.k.romano@wmich.edu

Social Issue Ballot Measures and Their Impact on Turnout Paper

I investigate the relationship between the total number of social issue measures on the ballot and turnout in both midterm and presidential elections by using CPS November Supplements and HGLM to account for the multilevel nature of the data.

Daniel Ryan Biggers, University of Maryland, College Park dbiggers@gvpt.umd.edu

Toward a Holistic View of Political Participation: Explaining the Differences and Similarities Between Donors to Federal and **State Candidates**

Using a unique survey of donors to political campaigns at the state and federal level, we will investigate the motives that drive individuals' donations to state and federal candidates.

Bradley M. Jones, Brigham Young University

brad.csed@gmail.com

David B. Magleby, Brigham Young University

david_magleby@byu.edu

Jay Goodliffe, Brigham Young University

goodliffe@byu.edu

The Christian Right Thesis: Explaining Longitudinal Change in Paper **Participation Among Evangelical Christians**

Our study indicates that the Christian Right Thesis as an explanation for Republican gains in electoral strength may overstate the religious dimensions of Evangelical voter mobilization.

Ryan L. Claassen, Kent State University rclaasse@kent.edu

Andrew Povtak, Kent State University

apovtak@kent.edu

John F. Settich, Benedictine College Disc.

JSettich@benedictine.edu

27-21 Media Influences on Election Perceptions and Choice (Co-sponsored with Electoral Campaigns, see 23-28)

Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Darren Scott Osburn, St. Charles Community College

dosburn@stchas.edu

Paper Personalized Political Communication: The Overlooked Ground

Political communication has ignored personalized political communication, attempts to mobilize people as media for political messages through 'ground war' practices like canvassing and phone banking.I introduce the concept and demonstrate its utility.

Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, Columbia University rkn2103@columbia.edu

The Media and the Aggregate Public Consciousness

We use data from search engine queries to map the public consciousness of candidate perceptions.

Delton T. Daigle, Ohio State University

daigle.8@osu.edu

Anand E. Sokhey, Ohio State University

sokhev.2@polisci.osu.edu

Anyone watching? How politicians' media visibility influences **Paper** party choice

Who is running for a party makes a difference for election results, but we know little about the exact relationships. We test whether the visibility of and the media's tone towards politicians have an impact on vote choice. The answer is yes.

David Nicolas Hopmann, University of Southern Denmark dnh@sam.sdu.dk

Rens Vliegenthart, University of Amsterdam

r.vliegenthart@uva.nl

Claes H. de Vreese, University of Amsterdam

c.h.devreese@uva.nl

Erik Albæk, University of Southern Denmark

eri@sam.sdu.dk

Paper **Evangelical Values and News Media Choice: Changes from 2004**

This paper demonstrates how evangelical Americans make different media choices than non-evangelicals in ideological leaning, amount of media consumed, and form of media chosen. The pattern is consistent from 2004 to 2006 to 2008.

Russ Tisinger, Project for Excellence in Journalism rtisinger@journalism.org

Say Whatever You Want, Just Spell My Name Right: Feeding **Paper** Frenzies and Media Effects Reconsidered

This project examines the impact of "feeding frenzies" on electoral support, and offers an alternative conceptualization of media concentration that is both simpler and more consistent in terms of impact on voting preferences.

Joshua J. Weikert, Temple University

weikert@temple.edu

Disc. James W. Endersby, University of Missouri

endersby@missouri.edu

Media Coverage of Issues, Press Freedom, and the Effects of Media Systems Outside the U.S.

Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room

Chair Harry Wessel, Merrimack College

harry.wessel@merrimack.edu

Paper Media, Globalization, and Violence: Views From Around the World

Through a world systems analysis, this paper explores the content of various national media systems, and relates that content back to each country's position in the capitalist world economy.

Anthony Ross DiMaggio, University of Illinois, Chicago adimagg@ilstu.edu

Paper Potential Regulation of the Internet in Russia: Combating Between Users' Freedom and Government Monitoring

The author provides legal analysis of the debate regarding potential Internet regulation in Russia. The paper focuses on two sides of the major policy arguments surrounding this issue: government perspective and Internet users perspective.

Maria Fedorova, Indiana University, Bloomington mafedoro@indiana.edu

Paper Libertarian Model of the Press at the Crossroads: The Recent Turkish Case of Government vs Media

This paper will argue that the future of the media in Turkey is at the crossroads on the one side media conglomerates who strives to be economically and politically liberal and independent against the government who wants to suppress such media.

Banu Baybars Hawks, Kadir Has University

banubhawks@khas.edu.tr

Murat Akser, Kadir Has University

makser@khas.edu.tr

Media Framing, Reality and Conflict Paper

Through a comparative analysis of two Middle East conflicts, this article examines the effect of framing on public and policymakers' understanding of the significance of the events transpiring in different parts of the world.

Matt Evans, Pennsylvania State University

mde15@psu.edu

Hyun Jung Yun, Texas State University Disc.

como35@gmail.com

28-18 Gender, Candidates, and Representation in State and **Local Politics**

Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room

Pamela Joan Walsh, Eastern Michigan University Chair

pwalsh@emich.edu

Understanding Differences in the Electoral Success of Women Paper

State Legislature Candidates Across Racial Groups and **Institutional Contexts**

Why does the electoral success of women candidates vary interracially & by state? I consider how advantages & disadvantages accrue for women of different racial groups running in diverse institutional contexts, at each step of the candidacy process.

Katherine Gallagher, University of Michigan

kfgall@umich.edu

The Effects of State Level Term Limits on Female State Paper **Legislators' Political Ambitions**

This paper examines the effects of term limits on women's political ambitions by following the career decisions of female legislators in three states: Ohio, Michigan and Florida.

Amanda Pauline Bigelow, Northern Illinois University abigelow@niu.edu

States, Institutions, and Intersections: Predicting the Presence Paper of Women Legislators in the Fifty American States

Using data from four points in time, this paper analyzes women of color in state legislatures and provides an outline of the main factors that explain their presence in some legislatures more than others.

Becki Scola, University of California, Irvine bscola@uci.edu

Paper Political Ambition and Gender in Small Town Iowa

This paper will address gender, political ambition and risk aversion in small town Iowa.

Charlotte Ridge, University of Iowa charlotte-ridge@uiowa.edu

Women in State Legislatures and State Supreme Courts: The Paper Impact of the 2008 Elections

The paper will examine the change in the level of female representation in state legislatures and state supreme courts which had races on the ballot in November 2008. The paper will then explore multiple possible explanations for observed changes.

Ruth Ann Watry, Northern Michigan University rwatry@nmu.edu

Sarah Andrea Fulton, Texas A&M University Disc.

safulton@polisci.tamu.edu

Jennifer C. Lucas, St. Anselm College

jlucas@anselm.edu

29-16 **Group Consciousness**

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Ray Block, Florida State University Chair

rblock@fsu.edu

Paper **Expanding Contours of Black Politics?: Understanding Linked-Fate Among Afro-Caribbeans**

A comparison of African-American and Afro-Caribbean opinions on linked-fate, discrimination, and identity as well as an examination of the extent to which the black utility heuristic applies to Afro-Caribbean by utilizing a large-n sample survey.

Candis S. Watts, Duke University

csw5@duke.edu

Searching for Panethnicity of Asian Americans and Latinos **Paper**

In this study, defining panethnicity as manifestation of group solidarity beyond national/ethnic boundaries, I seek to explore how contextual factors affect Asian Americans and Latinos to form

Tae Eun Min, University of Iowa

taeeun-min@uiowa.edu

Paper Up Close and Personal: The Effect of Interracial Marriage on Latino Link-Fate

We look at the role interracial marriage on Latino perceptions of Link-Fate with other Latinos and non-Latinos. Our result suggests that future research is going to have to take into account the impact of interracial marriage on Latino identity.

Randy Burnside, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

burnside@siu.edu

Antonio Rodriguez, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale antonior@siu.edu

Exploring The Effects of Latino Subgroup Diversity on Latino Paper Identity Preferences

The focus of this study is on the relationship between Latino identity preferences and national origin subgroup interactions. A preliminary analysis suggests that Latino subgroup interactions have a positive effect on Latino identity.

Antonio Rodriguez, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale antonior@siu.edu

Disc. Otis Grant, Indiana University, South Bend

ogrant@iusb.edu

29-18 **Minority Representation**

Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room Chair Sylvia Manzano, Texas A&M University

smanzano@politics.tamu.edu

Paper Race and Home Style: How the Composition of Congressional **District Staff Affects Constituent Relations**

Members of Congress not only choose their personal staff based on race, but those staffers actively work to create connections with constituents of similar race. The racial composition of staffers influences their interactions with constituents.

Curt Ziniel, University of California, Riverside curtis.ziniel@email.ucr.edu

Paper

Minority Representation in the U.S. Courts of Appeals: An Examination of Judicial Behavior in Civil Rights, Contracts, and Employee Discrimination Cases

Focusing on race and ethnicity in the U.S. Courts of Appeals, this paper examines judicial voting behavior in civil rights, contracts, and employee discrimination cases.

Jason L. Morin, University of New Mexico imorin@unm edu

Representing Black and Latino Interests in the U.S. Senate **Paper**

I use bill sponsorships from the 103rd, 104th, and 107th congresses to examine how racial and ethnic composition of the state impacts legislators' advocacy of minority interests in the U.S. Senate.

Michael Minta, Washington University, St. Louis mminta@wustl.edu

Disc. Sylvia Manzano, Texas A&M University

smanzano@politics.tamu.edu

30-9 Exploring Aristotle's Legacy (Co-sponsored with Society for Greek Political Thought, see 59-2)

Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room

Chair David Lay Williams, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point david.williams@uwsp.edu

Paper Aristotle's Advice on Selecting Supreme Court Justices

Surveying Nicomachean Ethics and Politics, this paper examines what advice Aristotle might offer the new president on what he should look for in a potential supreme court justice.

Kevin Ethridge Stuart, University of Texas, Austin

kevinstuart@mail.utexas.edu

Efficient and Formal Causation in Aristotle and Darwin Paper

Sociobiology is criticized for reducing human ends from the noble to the subhuman. This is wrong. Darwinism allows for Aristotelian teleology, but evolution is an efficient rather than teleological process. Each organism pursues its own agenda.

Kenneth C. Blanchard, Northern State University blanchak@northern.edu

Paper

The Idea of the Good in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences: Reconsidering Aristotle's Legacy in the Human Sciences

This essay draws on the work of Hans-Georg Gadamer in challenging traditional theoretical distinctions between Plato and Aristotle, toward the end of reconsidering the legacy of Aristotle in the human sciences.

Edward W. Gimbel, University of Minnesota gimb0006@umn.edu

Disc. Jamie Muir, University of Winnipeg j.muir@uwinnipeg.ca

31-15 **Self-Interest Rightly Understood?**

Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room

Chair Stephen Engelmann, University of Illinois, Chicago

sengelma@uic.edu

The Mechanism of Perverse Effect in Mandeville's The Fable of Paper the Bees

In this paper I will focus a fundamental aspect of Mandeville's political theory, the extensive use of the mechanism of perverse effect as a way of understanding complex relations.

Rui Bertrand Romao, University of Beira Interior ruiromao@sapo.pt

Montesquieu on Two Forms of Normative Reasoning Paper

The claims of humanitarian principles based in substantive reason and utilitarian principles concerned with social preservation may at times overlap, but when their prescriptions diverge, they may be reconciled by a principle of moderation.

Peter M. Levine, National-Louis University plevine@nl.edu

The Invention of Market Freedom

A study of how the ideological alliance of convenience between natural jurisprudential and republican thinkers in the 18th century led to the articulation of a new, market-centered conception of

Eric MacGilvray, Ohio State University macgilvray.2@polisci.osu.edu

Paper The History of Alexis de Tocqueville's Category of 'Self-Interest **Properly Understood'**

The idea of 'self-interest properly understood' is an important part of Tocqueville's oeuvre, but its intellectual origins remain unknown. I trace the origins of Tocqueville's concept to a native French philosophical movement, Jansenism.

David A. Selby, University of California, San Diego daselby@weber.ucsd.edu

Godwin, Malthus, and the Birth of Biopolitics

This essay revisits the Godwin/Malthus debate in light of Michel Foucault's *Birth of Biopolitics*, with special attention to ethology, or the science of character, which is not featured in Foucault's

Stephen Engelmann, University of Illinois, Chicago sengelma@uic.edu

Disc. James Daniel Stewart, Tougaloo College

jstewart@tougaloo.edu

Nicholas Troester, Duke University nrt@duke.edu

32-8 Liberalism vs Populism, Fundamentalism, and **Democracy**

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair James Elliot Ficker Mastrangelo, Rutgers University

jmastran@rci.rutgers.edu

Paper

Liberalism's Democratic Impulse and the Abandonment of Liberalism in Italy on the Eve of World War I

By setting qualifications for active citizenry, liberalism sets in motion democratic impulses that challenge a liberal's allegiance to liberalism. I examine how Italians reacted to this challenge in 1912-13 with some moving toward a Fascist solution.

Paul Arpaia, Indiana University of Pennsylvania arpaia@iup.edu

Paper Progressive Discontent, Populist Anger, and Agonistic Democracy

Draws on the history of American political thought and contemporary democratic theory to juxtapose popular anger and progressive discontent as manifestations of what Jacques Ranciere calls the "grievance" that gives rise to and constitutes politics.

John Zumbrunnen, University of Wisconsin, Madison zumbrunnen@wisc.edu

Generation of Qur'an: Contesting Democratic Theory in **Paper Contemporary Turkey**

Through the analysis of emerging Islamist circles of 'Generation of Qur'an' in Turkey, this paper revisits the universal value of impassionate, moderate citizenship upheld in democratic theory and the recent literature on Islamist movements.

Dunya Deniz Cakir, University of Massachusetts, Amherst dcakir@polsci.umass.edu

Paper Formations of Democracy: An Analysis of Two Authoritative Discourses

This paper offers an analysis of the similarities between Dahl's liberal approach to and Whitehead's constructivist perspective on democracy. I argue that democracy is ultimately more a statement of identity than values, institutions, or norms.

Ahmed Khanani, Indiana University

akhanani@indiana.edu

Disc. James Elliot Ficker Mastrangelo, Rutgers University

jmastran@rci.rutgers.edu

33-19 **Technologies of Culture**

Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room Chair Roberto Nigro, Michigan State University

rnigro@msu.edu

Paper Ego-Panopticism: The Evolution of Individual Power

Panopticism presents technology as an agent for control of the masses. Yet emerging technology means individuals have usurped the surveillance society and created an evolution in societal power relationships. We construe this as "Ego-Panopticism."

Charles Anthony Smith, University of California, Irvine

tonysmithuci@gmail.com Thomas Bellier, Science Po, Paris

thomasbellier@berkeley.edu

John Altick, University of California, Irvine

johnaltick@yahoo.com

Paper

The Expert vs the Crowd? Assessing the Relevance of Crowds and Collaboration for Democratic Thought

This paper juxtaposes examples of crowdsourcing and collaboration facilitated by Internet communication technology with critiques of expertise and the role of experts in contemporary political discourse.

Timothy Kersey, Indiana University

tkersey@indiana.edu

From Virtue to Vice: Smithian Ethic and Contemporary Paper **American Culture**

From the perspective of modern political theory and through an analysis of contemporary American culture, this paper investigates the role of communication in the development of social institutions and the construction of cultural identity.

Hans Erskine Schmeisser, University of Florida hans42@ufl.edu

Heidegger's Political Philosophy: The Distinction Between Paper **Nationality and Patriotic Orientation**

The late Heidegger's distinction between nationality and patriotic orientation offers a possibility to refocus political thought away from nationalism and towards environmentalism and the ways of dwelling we generate by our relation to technology.

Julie Kuhlken, Misericordia University julie.kuhlken@misericordia.edu

Roberto Nigro, Michigan State University Disc.

rnigro@msu.edu

Elliott Paul Buckland, York University

ebuck@yorku.ca

34-17 **American Political Thought**

Chicago on the 5th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room Steve J. Shone, Winona State University Chair

sshone@winona.edu

Lincoln at 200: What is Still Living in Lincoln's Political Paper Thought?

Lincoln's Bicentennial is the occasion to consider major interpretations of Lincoln's political thought. This paper examines the natural rights and liberal interpretations in particular.

Spencer Davis, Peru State College sdavis@oakmail.peru.edu

Paper Forging American Identity: The Revolutionary Histories of Mercy Warren and David Ramsay

Analysis of the revolutionary histories of Warren and Ramsay shows both authors attempting to redefine what it means to be an American through the manipulation of the symbols of the American Revolution.

Jordon Bryce Barkalow, Bridgewater State College jbarkalow@bridgew.edu

Educating Spiritedness: George Washington and the Newburgh Paper

An examination of the 1783 near-revolt in the Continental Army and how Washington quelled it. The soldiers' indignation threatened the civil order, but Washington spoke and acted to direct their spiritedness back to supporting the nascent republic.

Sean Mattie, Clayton State University

seanmattie@clayton.edu

Benjamin Franklin's Use of Ancient and Early Modern Writers Paper

This paper examines Franklin's political writings considering their relationship to ancient and early modern thinkers including Sallust, Cicero, and Machiavelli.

Richard Barrett, University of California, San Diego rabarrettbus@gmail.com

John Charles Evans, California State University, Northridge Disc. john.evans@csun.edu

35-15 **Electoral and Institutional Influences on Lawmaking**

Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room Steven Callander, Northwestern University Chair

scal@kellogg.northwestern.edu

Paper **Electoral and Policy Dynamics in the U.S. Politics**

We specify and estimate a fully dynamic model of a USstyle system of government that includes policy making by representatives in two legislative chambers and an executive office, and elections which determine the partisan composition of Congress.

Tasos Kalandrakis, University of Rochester

kalandrakis@ur.rochester.edu John Duggan, University of Rochester dugg@mail.rochester.edu

Legislative Spending Bias, Fragmentation of Fiscal Power and Paper Electoral Accountability

I revisit theoretically and empirically the claim that fragmentation of decision making power in fiscal policy creates poor budget discipline. I propose a new channel for this effect, complementary to the common pool thesis: electoral accountability.

Razvan Vlaicu, University of Maryland

vlaicu@econ.umd.edu

Models of Interest Group Formation Paper

I develop a formal model of interest group formation that depends on assumptions about the role of interest groups in the legislative

Kasia Hebda, Princeton University

khebda@princeton.edu

Disc. Steven Callander, Northwestern University

scal@kellogg.northwestern.edu

36-4 **Modeling Dependence in Time and Space**

LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room Chair Michael Peress, University of Rochester

mperess@mail.rochester.edu

Paper Problematic Choices: Testing for Correlated Unit Specific Effects in Panel Data

This paper analyses the finite sample properties and power of the Hausman specification test under conditions of inefficient fixed effects estimation and correlated unit specific effects by using Monte Carlo experiments.

Vera Eva Troeger, University of Essex

vtroe@essex.ac.uk

Hidden Markov Model for Time Series Cross-Sectional Data

I develop a new method to model time depedence in time series cross sectional data using hidden Markov model.

Jong Hee Park, University of Chicago

jhp@uchicago.edu

A Model of Candidate and PAC Relationships: Testing a **Portfolio Theory of PAC Behavior**

This paper introduces a new approach to modeling the relationships between PACs and House members. I show that most money to incumbents comes from PACs who supported members prior to their initial election, and offer new scaling results for PACs.

Jonathan Wand, Stanford University wand@stanford.edu

Paper Discrete Longitudinal Data with Serial Correlation: A Bayesian Generalized Linear Mixed Model with AR(p) Errors

This project proposes a Bayesian generalized linear mixed model (GLMM) with AR(p) errors to handle serial correlation in discrete longitudinal data. Simulation-based methods are developed for parameter estimations and Bayesian model comparison.

Xun Pang, Washington University, St. Louis xpang@wustl.edu

Disc. Robert W. Walker, Washington University, St. Louis

rww@wustl.edu

Michael Peress, University of Rochester

mperess@mail.rochester.edu

38-4 New Research on Party Organization and Competition

Room Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Andrew D. McNitt, Eastern Illinois University

admcnitt@eiu.edu

Paper Party Strength and Activity and Women's Political

Representation at the Local Level

In this paper I present data on party characteristics and activities from a new national survey of local parties. I evaluate how party strength and activities before and during election campaigns affect whether women run for and win political office.

Melody Crowder-Meyer, Princeton University

mcrowder@princeton.edu

Paper Organizing Politics: Ohio and the Making of the Post-War

Republican Party

How did a push toward bureaucratization in the postwar period organizationally transform the Ohio Republican Party? By examining variation within the ORP, this paper aims to analyze how bureaucratization impacted state party organization.

Brian Matthew Conley, Suffolk University

bconley@suffolk.edu

Paper Institutionalized Diversity and Representation in Political

Parties in Advanced Industrialized Parliamentary Democracies

This paper examines the causes and consequences of

"institutionalized diversity" (i.e. quotas or reserved seats) in political parties' leadership positions and parliamentary candidate selection with original data on party organization.

Georgia Kernell, University of Pennsylvania

gkernell@sas.upenn.edu

Disc. Sarah MCCally Morehouse, University of Connecticut

macsarahj@worldnet.att.net

Michael D. McDonald, Binghamton University

mdmcd@binghamton.edu

40-16 Legislative Effectiveness

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Gerald Gamm, University of Rochester

gerald.gamm@rochester.edu

Paper Measuring Legislative Effectiveness in Congress

We develop a method for cardinally ranking members of the U.S. House of Representatives on their abilities to advance bills through the legislative process. We apply our method to data drawn from the 97th-109th Congresses.

Craig Volden, Ohio State University

volden.2@osu.edu

Alan E. Wiseman, Ohio State University

wiseman.69@osu.edu

Paper Wait Until Next Year: The Timing and Degree of Legislative

Change

We trace legislative activity across twenty policy areas over two decades to study when change occurs, and the extent to which those changes alter existing policy.

Scott Adler, University of Colorado

esadler@colorado.edu

John D. Wilkerson, University of Washington

jwilker@u.washington.edu

Paper Performance Management From Both Ends of the Avenue:
Issues and Challenges Related to Institutionalizing a

Congressional Role in Performance Measurement

The role of Congress is assessed based on a review of documents and interviews with members and staff. Using current oversight tools for agencies, what can Congress do to be a co-equal leader in performance measurement alongside the president?

Denise L. Baer, American University

src dlbaer@hotmail.com

Disc. Gerald Gamm, University of Rochester

gerald.gamm@rochester.edu

William Bendix, University of British Columbia

bill.bendix@gmail.com

40-28 Congress and Domestic Policy

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Thad Kousser, University of California, San Diego

tkousser@ucsd.edu

Paper Event Studies and Overreaction: An Analysis of the 2001

Jeffords Defection

Financial event studies are increasingly used to make inferences about politics. These results rely on an assumption of strongform market efficiency. An analysis of asset price responses to the Jeffords defection casts doubt on this assumption.

Zac Peskowitz, Stanford University

zacp@stanford.edu

Paper Lawmaking and Law Unmaking: A Survival Model of Federal Law in the United States

Using a large new data set, we examine the revision history of every section and subsection of federal law from 1972 onward. We construct a proportional hazard model to test competing theories about the factors that promote policy stability.

Matthew Hindman. Arizona State University

Hindman@asu.edu

Lada Adamic, University of Michigan

ladamic@umich.edu

Paper Playing the Wedge Issue Card in a Polarized Congress: Vote-Switching Over China Trade Policy, 1990-2001

This paper analyzes legislators' vote-switching over China trade policy during the 1990s. Rank-and-file party members in Congress often shift their positions, particularly when a wedge issue like the China trade keeps both parties divided.

Jungkun Seo, University of North Carolina, Wilmington

SEOJ@UNCW.EDU

Paper Information Management in Congressional Policy Making: A
Macro-Congressional Analysis and Issue Level Case Study

Using a unique theory of information management we explain how institutional, partisan, and representational factors influence and structure the collection and display of policy information in congress.

William Curtis Ellis, Carl Albert Congressional Research Center curtisellis@ou.edu

Walt Jatkowski III, Carl Albert Congressional Research Center jatk9385@ou.edu

Disc. Blair Shaffer Williams, United States Military Academy

blair.williams@us.army.mil

Thad Kousser, University of California, San Diego

tkousser@ucsd.edu

41-1 **Ideology in American Legislatures**

Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room J. Mark Wrighton, Millikin University Chair

mwrighton@millikin.edu

Assessing Accountability Paper

Ideologically extreme legislators are not more likely to be out of step with constituents. Out of step House incumbents are more likely to face a quality challenger, to enjoy a smaller spending advantage, and to receive a smaller share of the vote.

John Griffin, University of Notre Dame

John.Griffin@nd.edu

Brian Newman, Pepperdine University Brian.Newman@pepperdine.edu

The Incumbent Senator's Ideological Vulnerability and Paper

Challenger Entry into Senate Elections

This study reveals the relationship between the ideological vulnerability of the incumbent senator and her probability of facing the quality challenger, showing the conditional nature illustrating the strategic emergence of the quality challenger.

Jangsup Choi, Texas Tech University

jangsup.choi@ttu.edu

Candidate Entry in U. S. Senate Elections: The Conditional Paper Effect of Ideology

This paper investigates the role of ideology on the likelihood of quality challenger entry in Senate elections where the incumbent is seeking reelection.

Nicholas L. Pyeatt, University of North Carolina npyeatt@email.unc.edy

Moving Toward the Middle: Does Candidate Convergence Paper **Produce Electoral Gains?**

The Downsian model predicts candidates realize electoral gains as they converge toward district medians. I use item-response models to create exogenous measures of candidate preferences for the U.S. House and Senate in 2006 to test this prediction.

Jon C. Rogowski, University of Chicago

jrogowski@uchicago.edu

Flip-Flopping: Ideological Adjustment Costs in the United Paper **States Senate**

To what extent can electoral costs associated with changing one's position explain the ideological positions taken by Senators? Estimates of the electoral costs to changing position are made using roll call voting data.

Jason Matthew DeBacker, University of Georgia jason.debacker@gmail.com

Disc. Andrew Healy, Loyola Marymount University

ahealy@lmu.edu

Anand Shastri, University of Illinois, Chicago

ashast2@uic.edu

42-20 **Evaluation of Court Outputs and Electoral**

Consequences

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Joseph Daniel Ura, Texas A&M University Chair

jura@politics.tamu.edu

Paper The Impact of a Judge's Race on Public Support for a Judicial

Utilizing an experimental design, we survey the general public to investigate whether the race of a judge influences public support for a judicial decision in a search and seizure case.

Brett Curry, Georgia Southern University

bcurry@georgiasouthern.edu

Nancy S. Scherer, Wellesley College

nscherer@wellesley.edu

Total Recall: Setting the Cognitive Foundations for Evaluations Paper of Court Outputs

I survey 150 undergraduates to determine whether recall of Court decisions varies by political ideology, sophistication, case salience and outcome. This experiment-survey is a chapter in my dissertation under the direction of Valerie Hoekstra.

Nicholas Lee LaRowe, Arizona State University nlarowe@asu.edu

The Supreme Court and Elections: The Benefits, Costs and **Paper**

Implications of Making the Court a Campaign Issue

This paper uses an experimental design to determine possible effects of making the Court a campaign issue including effects on citizens' political behavior.

Michael A. Unger, Ramapo College

unger@ramapo.edu

Paper The Supreme Court and Electoral Accountability: Do Voters Hold the President and Congress Accountable for the Supreme

Are votes for Congress and the President associated with attitudes about the Supreme Court? Do voters hold candidates accountable for the behavior of the justices? Original data is from the 2008

Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Robert J. Hume, Fordham University

rhume@fordham.edu

Disc. Joseph Daniel Ura, Texas A&M University

jura@politics.tamu.edu

Joseph S. Devaney, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay devaneyj@uwgb.edu

43-10 **Criminal Punishment: Doctrine and Practice**

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Katy Jean Harriger, Wake Forest University Chair

harriger@wfu.edu

Dignity Without Death Paper

This paper examines the two contrasting interpretations of the relationship between dignity and the death penalty that Justices Brennan and Kennedy have offered.

Helen J. Knowles, University at Oswego, SUNY

knowles@oswego.edu

Paper **Drug Arrests in River City: The Use of Pre-textual Traffic Stops Under Whren vs United States**

Using warrantless arrest affidavits from 200 drug cases, this paper provides an analysis of the consequences of the US Supreme Court's decision in Whren v. US to explore issues of prextual traffic stops in the area of drug enforcement.

Michael C. Gizzi, Illinois State University

mgizzi@ilstu.edu

Jennifer Sheetz, Mesa County District Attorney's Office

jennifer.sheetz@mesacounty.us

New Evidence on the Deterrent Effect of Death Penalty

Among U.S. states, the number of execution is very small and the distribution is also extremely skewed. This could be a possible problem to estimate the effect of death penalty on homicide. This paper uses dummy variables to circumvent this problem.

Jongmook Choe, University of Texas, Austin cjm@mail.utexas.edu

Paper Harshness in State and Federal Prisons: The Effect of State **Power and Class Instability**

James Q. Whitman's hypotheses that status hierarchy/status abuse and state power affect harshness of punishment were tested in the United States federal and state prison systems.

Douglas McKinzie, Kent State University

kmckinzi@kent.edu

Daniel Nadler, Harvard University Disc.

nadler@fas.harvard.edu

45-13 Education Policy and Politics in the American States

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Adam J. Newmark, Appalachian State University

newmarkaj@appstate.edu

Paper Politics at the Schoolhouse Door: Partisanship and School Finance Levies

Do party preferences drive non-partisan ballots issues? Using specially-constructed school district party preference data, this paper examines the effect of party on the success of school levies. Implications for other ballot measures are discussed.

Arnold Shober, *Lawrence University* arnold.shober@lawrence.edu

Paper <u>Direct Democracy and Redistribution: How the Voter Initiative</u> <u>Influences School Finance</u>

Shows that the major fiscal effect of the voter initiative is not smaller government in general, but specifically the effect is lesser and more unequal education funding.

Christopher R. Berry, University of Chicago crberry@uchicago.edu

Paper Influences on State Policy Innovation and Interest Group Formation in Primary and Secondary Education

The paper examines policy innovation and interest group formation in state primary and secondary education policy. The research shows the principle role of underlying characteristics in both interest group formation and the enactment of innovations.

Carl Snook, Michigan State University snookcar@msu.edu

Paper Moral and Economic Conservatism in State Charter School Policy

This research examines the Christian Right's influence on state charter school regulations, and tests whether states where the Christian Right is politically influential have fewer regulations.

Andrea Vieux, University of Kansas

no1jhawk@yahoo.com

Disc. Lawrence R. Schultz, Salem State College elahrens2000@yahoo.com

46-11 Managing the Local Polis: Choice, Capacity and Innovation

Room Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm **Chair** Jered B. Carr, Wayne State University

jcarr@wayne.edu

Paper Transaction Cost and Its Impact on the Service Delivery Modes Choice: Two Stage Analysis, Nested Logit Model

How local governments change their existing public services provision methods? Transaction costs' characteristics of service are critical elements for the choice of delivery provision methods. Nested logit model (Two Stage Analysis) is applied.

Eunro Lee, Florida State University

el05@fsu.edu

Suan Spicy Spice, Florida State University sls02d@fsu.edu

Paper Improving the Innovation Management Capacity of Municipal Governments

This paper will present a theory of local government innovation and then report on the empirical findings thus far based on a sample of municipalities in northern illinois.

Gerald T. Gabris, *Northern Illinois University* ggabris@niu.edu

Paper Special-Purpose Authorities and the Public: Paths to Accountability and New Conceptions of Democracy

This paper considers the level of accountability at a special-purpose authority in Chicago. Content analysis of newspaper data and interviews reveal that special-purpose authorities may be operating accountably in ways scholars have not considered.

James M. Smith, University of Illinois, Chicago jsmith20@uic.edu

Disc. Jered B. Carr, Wayne State University

jcarr@wayne.edu

47-16 Debating Eligibility and Retrenchment: Healthcare and Disability

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm
Chair Richard C. Fording, University of Kentucky

rford@uky.edu

Paper Decision-Making Processes and the Generosity of the Welfare State

I explore how the structure of the decision making process in the Social Security Disability program affects program generosity by comparing eligibility decision making and outcomes across two different units of the SSA.

Lael Ruth Keiser, University of Missouri

keiserl@missouri.edu

Paper State Political, Socioeconomic, and Demographe Determinates in Choosing Medicaid Policies

It is important for bureaucrats to understand when the environment warrents changes to a policy that is being proposed for programs. This study seeks to determine this by analyzing the environment when Medicaid agencies seek to implement managed care.

Shelton Rayon Evans, *University of New Orleans* srevans@uno.edu

Paper Role of Legislative Oversight in Shaping the TennCare Program

This paper will examine the role of the Select Committee on TennCare in addressing problems which have developed with the Tennessee health care program since 2000.

Nathan Gregory Myers, University of Nevada, Las Vegas nagremy 1980@yahoo.com

Paper Subterranean Retrenchment Through State Medicaid Agencies: Evidence for the Risk Privatization Theory

This paper tests the feasibility of "drift" as a method of welfare state retrenchment by testing whether state legislatures can curb state Medicaid agencies' propensity to expand (1) Medicaid services and (2) Medicaid eligibility.

Jacqueline Chattopadhyay, *Harvard University* jchattop@fas.harvard.edu

Disc. Richard C. Fording, University of Kentucky

rford@uky.edu

49-7 Governing Water

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm
Chair Paul J. Culhane, Northern Illinois University

pculhane828@cs.com

Paper Implementing Total Maximum Daily Loads (TMDLs) for Watershed Protection: An Assessment of Results

This paper builds on the current literature relating to collaborative policymaking through an evaluation of the extent to which Total Maximum Daily Load Plans are actually implemented in ways that yield environmental results.

John A. Hoornbeek, Kent State University

jhoornbe@kent.edu

Evan Hansen, *Downstream Strategies* ehansen@downstreamstrategies.com **Evan Ringquist**, *Indiana University*

eringqui@indiana.edu

aper The Treatment of Federal Reserved Water Rights in Federal Land Conservation,1992-2008

This paper lays new groundwork in the study of federal reserved water rights by analyzing the type of language used as well as the effect of the language on the parties in reaching their objectives which generally are in opposition to each other.

Michelle Helene Belco, University of Houston

mbelco@earthlink.net

Paper Managing Water Pollution In Ohio: 319 Grant Program and Non-point Source Control in Ohio

Non-point source of water pollution is one of the most complex environmental problems in Ohio, and its impact is extensive. Using existing literature on water policies we will be looking at what drives the allocation of funds under the 319 program.

Sayantani Satpathi, Kent State University

sayantani81@gmail.com

Victoria Ceban, Kent State University

vceban@gmail.com

Paper A River Runs Through It. Joint Democracy and the Provision of Transboundary Public Goods

This paper analyzes the impact of democratic structures on transboundary environmental commitments based on a new dataset on transboundary water events.

Anna Kalbhenn, ETH Zurich kalbhenn@ir.gess.ethz.ch

Disc. Neal Woods, University of South Carolina

neal.woods@sc.edu

50-7 Formal Methods and Measurement

Room LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair David Robert Connelly, Utah Vally University

dconnelly@uvu.edu

Paper The Shotgun Behind the Door: Accountability and Expertise Development in the Securities and Exchange Commission,

<u>1934-1940</u>

Models of bureaucratic accountability often assume exogenous expertise, but it must typically be developed endogenously. We develop a logic of accountability with endogenous expertise and illustrate it with a case study of the early SEC.

Sean Gailmard, University of California, Berkeley

gailmard@berkeley.edu

John W. Patty, Harvard University

jpatty@gov.harvard.edu

Paper Defining, Mapping, and Measuring Bureaucratic Autonomy

In response to ambiguity in the literature, we create a nomological map and a new measurement tool for the concept of bureaucratic autonomy. We unify different approaches and produce a cumulative measurement index for theoretical and empirical work.

Devin Caughey, University of California, Berkeley

devin.caughey@gmail.com

Adam Cohon, University of California, Berkeley

acohon@berkeley.edu

Sara Chatfield, University of California, Berkeley

schatfield@berkeley.edu

Paper Predictors of Contract Complexity and Completeness

We use a dataset of 350 current Indiana State contracts and develop measures for contract completeness and complexity. We test the determinants of each contract dimension separately using the logic of transaction costs economics.

Deanna Malatesta, Indiana University-Purdue University

Indianapolis

dmalates@iupui.edu

Craig R. Smith, University of Arizona

crsmith@email.arizona.edu

Disc. David C Nixon, University of Hawaii

dnixon@hawaii.edu

50-16 Values and Ethics in Public Administration Practice

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Jason C. Sides, Western Carolina University

jsides@email.wcu.edu

Paper Social Call for Public Policy Initiatives, To Ameliorate A
Declining American Traditional Democratic Value...Human

Respectability of Generation Y (Millennials) and Generation Z (Internet): A Macro Perspective of Leake County, MS Public

School System

The purpose of this presentation is to advocate a declining democratic value, a lack of respect in Generation Y and Generation Z and the need of parents to impart values, principles and ethics in children to ameliorate the Generations of Misfits.

James E. Pittman, Southern University, New Orleans

jpittman@suno.edu

Sonia K. Boone, Southern University, New Orleans

sboone@suno.edu

Paper IRB Regulations and the State: Protecting Public Officials from Researcher Scrutiny?

Federal policy protecting human subjects exempts research involving "elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office" from research regulations. But how do campus IRBs interpret this exemption?

Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, University of Utah

psshea@poli-sci.utah.edu

Dvora Yanow, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam

D.Yanow@fsw.vu.nl

Paper Organizational Justice and Consequences: How Federal Employees Perceive Organizational Justice and React?

This study exmaines the impacts of organizational justice on employee work attitudes in public organizations. The results show that three dimensions of organizational justice may bring different outcomes into organizations.

Sungjoo Choi, Kennesaw State University

schoi10@kennesaw.edu

Paper Story-Finding, Story-Chasing, Story-Telling and Story-Selling, and Teaching Public Administration: An Attempt at Attracting, Retaining and Coaching/Placing Majors in Public Service

Through More Appeal

PA can be very dry. The most passionate students could be turned away with even dryer content delivery methods, before practice does and private sector attracts them. We propose ways to instill and maintain high interest in public sector leadership.

Adrian S. Petrescu, Kutztown University

aspetrescu@alumni.pitt.edu

Disc. Sara R. Jordan, University of Hong Kong

sjordan@hku.hk

51-10 America's Reconstructions

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

Chair Richard Valelly, Swarthmore College

rvalell1@swarthmore.edu

Paper L.Q.C. Lamar and the New South

This paper elaborates on Reconstruction Politics. Specifically on the issues of the resurrection of the National Democratic Party, New South Philosophy, through the work of U.S. Senator L.Q.C. Lamar of Mississippi.

Michael A Gattis, Gulf Coast Community College

mgattis@gulfcoast.edu

Did Roger Taney Author the 14th Amendment? Congress and **Constitutional Meaning**

Was Section One of the 14th Amendment written to overrule the Court holding in Dred Scott that African Americans were not and could never be citizens? Correcting this myth clarifies the congressional sources of constitutional meaning in America.

Richard Valelly, Swarthmore College

rvalell1@swarthmore.edu

Lauren Kluz-Wisniewski, Swarthmore College

kw.lauren@gmail.com

Truman's Committee on Civil Rights and the Rise of a Civil Paper **Rights Litigation Support Structure**

This paper examines the post World War II development of a civil rights "support structure" for plaintiffs, by focusing on the records of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.

Lynda Dodd, American University

ldodd@wcl.american.edu

The Good South: Moderation and the Changing Politics of Race Paper

By 1970 the southern electorate had altered its racial attitudes. This paper examines the growing moderation tapped by a new breed of southern politician

Randy Sanders, Southeastern Louisiana University dsanders@selu.edu

Jeffrey D. Grynaviski, University of Chicago Disc.

grynaviski@uchicago.edu

54-16 The Christian Right in the U.S.

Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room Chair Paul A. Djupe, Denison University

djupe@denison.edu

Paper Politics, Policy and Religious Rationalism: Study of Organizational Behavior Among Southern California

Evangelicals

This paper presents a supply-side model of congregant politicization and policy activism with non-mainline Evangelical churches in CA. Results indicate the role of sectarianism in maintaining the rhetoric of a "Culture War" in American politics.

Amanda Jimeen Cleveland, Claremont Graduate University acleveland@jesusanswers.com

In Expectation of the Advent: Premillennialists Views of **American Politics**

This paper offers an examination of the political implications of premillennial subculture in America.

Paula Nicole Booke, University of Chicago

pbooke@uchicago.edu

Paper Opportunities and Constraints of Hybrid Interest Groups: A Case Study of the Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission and the Baptist Joint Committee

This study analyzes the church-state activities of two denominational interest groups that have a hybrid organizational structure. It links their tactics to their organizational structure and compares activities with their membership's positions.

Andrew R. Lewis, American University al3978a@student.american.edu

The Moral Majority and Political Initiative Paper

A discussion of the founding and organization of The Moral Majority as a movement, its history and growth, and the nature of its influence and association with politics during its life as a movement. Jerry Hopkins, East Texas Baptist University

jhopkins@etbu.edu

Paul A. Djupe, Denison University Disc.

djupe@denison.edu

56-100 Roundtable: Teaching Political Theory to the Millennial **Generation: Is It Possible?**

Room Spire on the 6th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm

This roundtable will examine the serious problems facing political science faculty in teaching political theory or any text-based political subject to the Millennial Generation, those students born from the early 1980s to the early 1990s.

Panelist Aaron D. Hoffman, Bellarmine University

ahoffman@bellarmine.edu

Gregory S. Butler, New Mexico State University

gbutler@nmsu.edu

Eugene J. Halus, Immaculata University

ehalus@immaculata.edu

Erin M. McCullough, Loyola University, Chicago

emccullough@luc.edu

Steven P. Millies, University of South Carolina, Aiken

stevenm@usca.edu

Jeffrey Polet, Hope College

polet@hope.edu

64-1 Frontiers in Public Administration Theory and Research

Adams on the 6th Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room

Kirsten Kim Loutzenhiser, University of Illinois, Springfield Chair

kkl@uis.edu

Paper State Legislatures and Jurisdictional Centralization of Public Education Systems, 1930-1960

From 1930-1970, managerial state legislatures, powerful state educators and courted state bureacrats centralized their state education systems despite the resistance of geographic constituencies and wealthy elites.

Michael Callaghan Pisapia, University of Wisconsin, Madison pisapia@wisc.edu

Free Market Failure Or Runaway Predatory Corporatism?: **Paper** Revisiting the Role of Government and the Administrative State in American Capitalist Democracy

Addresses the current economic crisis and the issue of market failure; argues for revisiting the role of government and administrative state as a corrective as well as facilitative institution with implications for public policy and administration.

Ali - Farazmand, Florida Atlantic University

afarazma@fau.edu

Paper Another Big Question: Why Not Go to Developing Nations and **Learn How to Do More with Less?**

The big questions in public administration have to do with how to provide services in a way that adds public value. The bigger question is, why not go to poorer nations to learn how to provide more services with fewer resources.

Kirsten Kim Loutzenhiser, University of Illinois, Springfield kkl@uis.edu

Disc. Gary J. Miller, Washington University, St. Louis

gjmiller@artsci.wustl.edu

65-8 Postmodern America

Logan on the 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:45 pm Room

Chair Robert Van Sickel, Indiana State University

rvansickel@isugw.indstate.edu

Paper Race and Calculation in the Politics of Tom Wolfe's America

This paper examines Tom Wolfe's assessment in his fiction and nonfiction of the events of the post civil rights era.

Carol Lynn McNamara, Utah State University

carol.mcnamara@usu.edu

Kierkegaard, Bellow, and American Estheticism

This paper argues that Saul Bellow's fiction, particularly Mr. Sammler's Planet, demonstrates the relevance of Kierkegaard's (and Hegel's) discussion of the ethical, esthetic, and religious ways of life to the American political experience.

Julianne Marie Romanello, Baylor University

julianne romanello@baylor.edu

Sunday, April 5, 8:00 am-9:40 am

Disc. Elizabeth Suzanne Amato, Baylor University
Elizabeth_Amato@baylor.edu
Peter C. Meilaender, Houghton College

peter.meilaender@houghton.edu

Robert Van Sickel, *Indiana State University* rvansickel@isugw.indstate.edu

Sunday, April 5-8:00 am

1-104 Roundtable: The Persuadable Voter - Hillygus and Shields (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-100)

 $\textbf{Room} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{Red Lacquer on the 4th Floor, Sun at } 8:00 \text{ am}$

Roundtable on The Persuadable Voter: Wedge Issues in Presidential Campaigns, Sunshine Hillygus and Todd Shields

Panelist Jonathan Nagler, New York University

jonathan.nagler@nyu.edu

Sunshine Hillygus, Harvard University

hillygus@fas.harvard.edu

Todd Shields, University of Arkansas

tshield@uark.edu

Alan Abramowitz, Emory University

polsaa@emory.edu

R. Michael Alvarez, California Institute of Technology

rma@hss.caltech.edu

Robert Shapiro, Columbia University

rys3@columbia.edu

John Sides, George Washington University

jsides@gwu.edu

2-9 <u>Methodological Challenges in Comparative Political</u> Economy

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair James A. Stimson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

jstimson@email.unc.edu

Paper A Contextual Theory of the Origins of Consumer Confidence

We are proposing a paper that replicates in a large number of different political and institutional contexts, the U.S. analysis conducted by DeBoef and Kellstedt (2004).

Raymond M. Duch, Nuffield College, Oxford raymond.duch@nuffield.ox.ac.uk

Paul M. Kellstedt, Texas A&M University

kellstedt@polisci.tamu.edu

Paper Wheat From Chaff: A Sensitivity Analysis of Determinants of Social Expenditure Levels in OECD Countries

Systematically varying the subset of independent variables to differentiate between robust and fragile explanatory factors.

Roland Kappe, Stony Brook University

roland.kappe@gmail.com

Paper Ruling Party Stability and Economic Growth

We contend that ruling party duration has an inverted U-shaped relationship with economic growth. We find support for this contention using time series cross-section data on the economic growth of a sample of 56 democracies between 1950 and 1998.

Steven Hall, Ball State University

srhall@bsu.edu

Misa Nishikawa, Ball State University

mnishikawa@bsu.edu

Paper The Problem of Equivalence in Comparative Political Economy: Can We Compare Surveys from Different Countries?

Comparative political economists increasingly use pooled crossnational survey data to test their models. Here, the comparability of individual responses is key! A latent variable measurement model is proposed to test this assumption.

Daniel Stegmueller, University of Frankfurt

stegmueller@soz.uni-frankfurt.de

Disc. James A. Stimson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

jstimson@email.unc.edu

Raymond M. Duch, Nuffield College, Oxford

raymond.duch@nuffield.ox.ac.uk

3-15 **Insitutions and Governance**

 $\textbf{Room} \hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{Grant on the 6th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am}$

Chair Nick Jorgensen, University of Idaho

nickjorg@uidaho.edu

Paper Ethnic Divisions and Governance

Much work on politics in ethnically heterogeneous societies begins with the finding that ethnic diversity has negative effects on governance and public goods provision. This paper re-examines the theoretical and empirical bases of this finding.

Rachel M. Gisselquist, Harvard University

rachel_gisselquist@ksg.harvard.edu

Paper Presidents, Governors, and Policy Reforms: Post-

Decentralization Patterns of Intergovernmental Interactions in Latin America

This papers attempts to provide a theory for understanding recent patterns of intergovernmental interaction in Latin America, identifying the central variables that shape governors and presidents' strategies when they negotiate on fiscal issues.

Juan Cruz Olmeda, Northwestern University

j-olmeda@northwestern.edu

Paper Democratic Pluralism and Unconventional Political

Participation: The Case of Africa

This paper discusses the impact of pluralism in democracy on unconventional political participation in developing polities. We use African states as our test cases.

Jeff William Justice, Campbellsville University

jwjustice@campbellsville.edu

Samuel S. Stanton, Jr., Grove City College

SSStanton@gcc.edu

Joseph J. St. Marie, University of Southern Mississippi

J.StMarie@usm.edu

Paper Politics of Fertility and Economic Development in India

This paper estimates the impact of political development on demographic change and economic development in India's states during the period 1981-2005.

Siddharth Swaminathan, La Sierra University

sswamina@lasierra.edu

Disc. Alberto Simpser, University of Chicago

asimpser@uchicago.edu

3-19 Violence and Peace in Developing Democracies

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Renu Bhagat, Queens College

RENUBHAGAT@AOL.COM

Paper Elections in Africa: Are They "Instruments of Democracy?"

Using Afrobarometer survey data collected from 17 sub-Saharan African countries, this study examines the effect of two different types of electoral systems (majoritarian and proportional

representation) on popular confidence in parliament.

Wonbin Cho, University of Kentucky

wonbin.cho@uky.edu

Paper Violence and the Drug Trade in Latin America

This paper investigates drug-based violence in Latin America and argues that youth bulge, proximity to the final destination of the drugs, rule of law, and state capacity account for varying levels of violence associated with the drug trade.

Shelly Fleming Wilkinson, Ohio State University

wilkinson.143@polisci.osu.edu

Paper Peace Building in Nepal: From Revolution to Political Transformation

The success of Nepal's peace building hinges on whether former Maoist guerrillas now in government seize power by force to turn Nepal into a communist dictatorship or join the mainstream to win people by ballot instead of bullets.

Ganga Bahadur Thapa, Tribhuvan University

thapa gb@yahoo.com

Jitendra D. Khand, Tribhuvan University

khandjitendra5@yahoo.com

Janardan Raj Sharma, Nepal Institute of Development Studies jansharma@gmail.com

Paper Citizens or Subjects? How Individuals Relate to the Local State in Democratizing Africa

This analysis uses public opinion data gathered by the Afrobarometer in 20 African countries during 2008 to explore individual evaluations of local governments, and especially their propensity to engage as citizens in response to poor performance.

 ${\bf Carolyn}\;{\bf Logan},\, {\it Michigan}\;{\it State}\;{\it University}$

clogan@msu.edu

Disc. Thorsten Janus, University of Wyoming

tjanus@uwyo.edu

4-17 Comparative Perspectives on Democratic Transitions

Room Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Mahendra Lawoti, Western Michigan University

mahendra.lawoti@wmich.edu

Paper Small Victories and the Big Defeat: Lord and Peasant in the Making of Dictatorships and Democracy

Most research on democratization in poor agrarian countries assumes a unified economic system. Relax this assumption: democratization results from interaction between the dominant groups of autonomous economic systems in these countries.

Vasabjit Banerjee, Indiana University

vbanerje@indiana.edu

Paper Are Reforms Only Half-Done? A Comparative "Look" at Democratic Transition and Challenges Faced in South Korea and Taiwan

This essay examines the success of regime transformation in South Korea and Taiwan focusing on constraints and limitations that are common as well as unique to each country.

Chen Pao Chou, Hamline University

cchou01@hamline.edu

John Arne Grummel, Upper Iowa Universty

grummelj@uiu.edu

Paper The Democratic Revolution

How does the mode of transition from dictatorship to democracy impact democratic success and duration? I demonstrate that transitional modes are defining and formative events and exert a profound influence on the post-transitional regime.

Gary Alex Stradiotto, University of California, Davis gstradiotto@ucdavis.edu

Disc. Jay Ulfelder, Science Applications International Corporation ulfelder@gmail.com

4-19 The Role of the Military in Non-Democratic Polities

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am **Chair Denese Brewer**, *Texas Tech University*

ne.brewer@ttu.edu

Paper Controlling Coercion: Pakistan's Civil-Military Relations in South Asian Perspective

What has Pakistan diverged so radically from India in terms of civilian control of the military despite their shared colonial-institutional stock? One important part of the story is sticky military organizational norms.

Aqil Shah, Columbia University aqil.shah@lums.edu.pk

Paper Pakistan's Democracy: Cycling Failure or Cycling Success?

What explains the cycling failure of Pakistan's Democracy? This paper examines the role of both the military and the rise in sectarianism in Pakistan's democratic politics.

Simanti Lahiri, University of Alabama

simanti@gmail.com

Paper Estimating Value of Political Connections: Military in the Economy

When military regimes leave office for elections, they claim to have withdrawn from civilian life. Yet today the militaries of many LDCs are charged with involvement in the economic sphere. My paper statistically shows the military's privileged status.

Gokce Goktepe, New York University

gg527@nyu.edu

Disc. Daniel William Kuthy, Georgia State University

dkuthy1@student.gsu.edu

5-2 Representation and Policymaking II

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Matt Golder, Florida State University

mgolder@fsu.edu

Paper Tobler's Law, Income Distribution, and Electoral Districts

This paper shows that individual-level income distribution is more right-skewed than the distribution of district medians and the skew decreases with the size of electoral districts, which has important implications for redistribution.

Jonathan Andrew Rodden, Stanford University

jrodden@stanford.edu

Paper Tax Competition and the Welfare State: A Simultaneous Equation Model Approach

This paper looks theoretically and empirically at tax competition, tax reforms, government spending, income redistribution and income inequality as mutually dependent in simultaneous equation model.

Vera Eva Troeger, University of Essex

vtroe@essex.ac.uk

Thomas Pluemper, University of Essex

tpluem@essex.ac.uk

Paper Legislative Policy-Making Authority and Electoral Coordination

In this paper, we take a closer look at how the policy-making authority of the legislature (the size of the prize) shapes the dynamics of legislative electoral coordination.

Allen Hicken, University of Michigan

ahicken@umich.edu

Heather Stoll, University of California, Santa Barbara

hstoll@polsci.ucsb.edu

Paper Multiple Policymakers: Veto Actors Bargaining in Common Pools

This paper derives from the respective theories an empirical model of democratic policymaking that distinguishes three implications of the numbers and diversity of multiple policymakers: veto-actor, common-pool, and bargaining-compromise effects.

Robert J. Franzese, Jr., University of Michigan

franzese@umich.edu

Disc. Irfan Nooruddin, Ohio State University

nooruddin.3@osu.edu

6-14 **Identity and Religion in Mass Politics**

Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Michael Salvador Rodriguez, Richard Stockton College of New Chair

michael.rodriguez@stockton.edu

Paper Social Influences, Value Conflict and Cross-Cultural

Heterogeneity in Political Attitudes

I argue that the dominant values of the society interact with individual value orientations in determining individual attitudes and policy preferences.

Gizem Arikan, Stony Brook University garikan@ic.sunysb.edu

To Be or Not To Be: National Identities in Chinese Adolescents Paper

Using data from Wenfang Tang's 2006 survey of high school students in China, this paper seeks to understand what determines the strength of ethnic group identification as compared to the strength of identification with one's larger country.

Benjamin J. Darr, University of Iowa

benjamin-darr@uiowa.edu

The Regionalization of Partisanship and Identity in India Paper

The paper analyzes the relative importance of regional and national identities, and loyalties to regional versus national parties in India based on survey data. It sheds light on the impact of a relative regionalization of both on Indian democracy.

Malte Pehl, College of Wooster mpehl@wooster.edu

Secularization Circumvented: Moral Security and Paper

Modernization

This paper seeks to explain the absence of expected secularization in upper class citizens of developing countries and religious conservatives in the post-industrial Western by adding "moral security" to the modernization equation.

John Matthew Iadarola, University of Texas, Austin john.iadarola@gmail.com

Paper Nein zur Moschee!: Political Engagement in an Eastern German

This paper examines the development of civil society in Eastern Germany through the lens of a local anti-mosque organization, revealing issues of identity, trust, and extremism.

Catherine L Corliss, Brown University clcorliss@brown.edu

Steven Weldon, Simon Fraser University Disc. sweldon@sfu.ca

8-9 U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America

Room Adams on the 6th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

John H. Petersen, Western Kentucky University Chair

john.petersen@wku.edu

Paper Drug War's Collateral Damage: U.S. Counter-Narcotic Aid and **Human Rights Violations in Latin America**

This paper uses a structural Equation model to test the collateral damage thesis which argues that US counter-narcotic aid to foreign countries, especially in Latin America, increases human rights violations. The thesis found empirical support.

Horace Anthony Bartilow, University of Kentucky pascal@uky.edu

Paper Left Democratic Presidencies in Latin America: New Challenges to U.S. Foreign Policy

This paper aims to explore the overall role of the U.S. Foreign Policy's consequences for democratization in Latin America, in an era when Latin America has democratically elected left presidencies.

Martin Leif Nilsson, Washington and Lee University/Vaxjo University

Martin.Nilsson@vxu.se

Peril and Promise: The Potential of U.S. Policy in the Caribbean **Paper**

Within the greater Caribbean are three potential threats to the region that might affect US hegemony there: growing influence of foreign states, growing influence of regional states and the end of the Castro

David Hale Richards, Lynchburg College

richards_D@lynchburg.edu

Jonathan C. Benjamin-Alvarado, University of Nebraska, Omaha Disc.

jalvarado@unomaha.edu

9-20 **Identity, Nationalism, and Citizenship**

Logan on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Wei-chin Lee, Wake Forest University Chair

leewei@wfu.edu

Paper City Identity and the Cleavage of Public Opinion in

Contemporary China: Data from Four Rival Metropolises in Mainland China

Using the data collected from Internet surveys and postings across four metropolises in China, I argue that people's divided opinions, which are shaped by municipal collective memories, would affect their positions towards policy legitimacy.

Meimei Zhang, University of California, Santa Barbara meimeizh@umail.ucsb.edu

Paper Civic Beliefs, Identity, Agency and Disposition Initial Findings from a Longitudinal Study on Young People in Singapore

The paper presents initial findings from a longitudinal study conducted on primary and secondary students belonging to the Singapore Education System

Vicente Chua Reyes,

vicente.reyes@nie.edu.sg

National Identity, Political Engagement, and Campaign **Paper**

Participation: A Case Study of Taiwan

National identity is used to see Taiwan's campaign participation in the year 2001.

David Tzaan, Chinese Culture University

g9406701@ms2.pccu.edu.tw

Ting Chang, West Virginia University

ting02122000@hotmail.com

Paper South Korea's Humanitarian Assistance Policy Towards North

I question why South Korea's humanitarian assistance to North Korea increased rapidly during the Kim Dae Jung government. I argue that South Korean civic groups with nationalistic vision of unification played an important role in expanding aid.

Eun Ha Chang, Harvard Yenching Institute

eunha.chang@gmail.com

Wei-chin Lee, Wake Forest University Disc.

leewei@wfu.edu

Yongwook Ryu, Harvard University

yryu@fas.harvard.edu

10-6 **Party Politics in Africa**

Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Osaore Aidevan, St. Lawrence University Chair

oaideyan@stlawu.edu

Political Parties and the Closing of the Electoral Market in Sub **Paper** Saharan Africa

In this paper we use a framework to investigate the extent to which parties have "closed out" the electoral market in Sub Saharan Africa, by examining the impact of resources, ethnicity, previous regime type, and political institutional factors.

John Ishiyama, University of North Texas

John.Ishiyama@unt.edu

Angela Sortor, University of North Texas

asortor@gmail.com

Information, Institutions, and Identities: Evidence of Ethnic Paper **Head Counts in African Elections**

This paper considers the capacity of African voters to behave strategically despite information scarcity. Using cross-national and district-level data, I conduct a preliminary test of the Ethnic Head Count model's application to African elections.

Jon F. Shoup, University of Virginia

jfs7b@virginia.edu

Promoting Peace and Democracy Through Party Regulation? Paper **Ethnic Party Bans in Africa**

This paper engages in a first systematic analysis whether ethnic and other identity-related party bans, introduced in almost all sub-Saharan countries since the early 1990s, do facilitate peace and how they influence the development of democracy.

Matthias Basedau, GIGA Institute of African Affairs

basedau@giga-hamburg.de

Anika Moroff, GIGA Institute of African Affairs

becher@giga-hamburg.de

Contested Hegemony? The Uncertain Role of Opposition Paner Parties in a Post-Apartheid and Democratic South Africa

We assess the potential for multiparty politics in South Africa through analysis of parliamentary Q&A and roll call votes from 1996-2005. This lets us locate parties' ideal points and track their relationships to the ANC over time.

Matt Murphy, Swarthmore College mmurphy2@swarthmore.edu Graeme Blair, Princeton University gblair@princeton.edu

Disc. Robert Dowd, University of Notre Dame

rdowd1@nd.edu

11-5 **Education, Identity and Human Capital in the MENA**

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Ihsan Alkhatib, Law Office Of Ihsan Alkhatib Chair ehsankhatib@hotmail.com

Paper **Vocational Education in Developing Contexts: A Comparative** Analysis of Turkey and Argentina, 1990-2007

This paper explores causes of variation in skill formation policies from a comparative lens in Turkey and Argentina over the last two decades. Preliminary analysis of findings shows that local social pacts play a key role in human capital formation.

Fulya Apaydin, Brown University

fapaydin@gmail.com

Ambiguous Spaces: The Politics of Schooling and Identity Paper Formation in Postrevolutionary Iran

This paper argues that schools, designated by the regime as arenas for securing the Islamic Republic by remolding people's own definition of themselves, are in fact "ambiguous spaces" that facilitate both compliance and resistance to the regime.

Shervin Malekzadeh, Georgetown University sm424@georgetown.edu

Changing Conceptions of State - University Interaction: The Paper Israeli Case 1948 - 2008

The history of government-university relations has always been vexatious. However, developments since the 1950s caused universities to confront changes in fundamental concepts. This paper presents an analytical overview of Israel's universities.

Yaacov Iram, Bar Ilan University, Israel

ediiram@yahoo.com

Contextual Factors and Soft Power of American and French Paper Origin Universities in the Middle East

This paper studies the contextual factors for the soft power of American and French origin universities in the Middle East. These universities are powerful bridges of information and resources between societies holding context dependent attraction.

Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen, Harvard Kennedy School rasmus bertelsen@ksg.harvard.edu

Disc. A.Kadir Yildirim, Ohio State University

yildirim.10@osu.edu

12-3 **Public Policy and Administration**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor. Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Kelly L. Saunders, Brandon University

saundersk@brandonu.ca

Canada and Human Security: Examining the Trajectory of an **Paper Idea in Domestic and International Politics**

This analysis compares the development, diffusion and usage of human security within Canada – an early adopter and promoter – against the behavior of other actors in the international system.

Rachel Girshick, University of Wisconsin, Madison

girshick@polisci.wisc.edu

Paper The Power of Influence: The Canadian Federal Government, and The Collapse of Atlantic Canada's Fisheries

This paper will discuss Atlantic Canada's, particularly Cape Breton Islands snow crab fishery in two particular areas. With emphasis on bureaucratic abuse of power, which resulted in the annihilation of

Aaron MacMullin, Brock University

macmullinaaron@hotmail.com

Finance and "Fictitious" Capital in Contemporary Capitalism: **Paper Notes from the Canadian Case**

This paper outlines a particular theorization of finance and "fictitious capital" from a Marxist perspective and relates it to recent developments in Canadian capitalism with an eye to conceptualizing the politics of finance today.

Aidan Conway, York University

aconway@yorku.ca

Disc. Laura Stephenson, University of Western Ontario

lstephe8@uwo.ca

Benjamin H. Friedman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

bhf@MIT.edu

13-16 **Drawing a Line in the Stans: International Relations and Central Asia**

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Jonathan S. Dunn, United States Military Academy Chair

jonathan.dunn@usma.edu

Paper A Balance-of-Power Approach to Violent Conflict: A Comparison of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan

The goal of this paper is to explain why violent conflict occurs. It employs a comparative approach, contrasting a country which experienced civil war (namely Tajikistan) with a similar one which did not (Uzbekistan).

Idil Tuncer Kilavuz, Marmara University

idiltuncer@marmara.edu.tr

The Aral River Basin Crisis, Neorealism, and Neoliberal **Paper** Institutionalism

Water policy is not purely a domestic policy concern. Water sources run through numerous states and nourish inhabitants of multiple areas. The paper looks to explain differential policies taken by Aral Sea Basin states in regard to water resource use

James Michael McQuiston, Kent State University

jmcquist@kent.edu

Rethinking American Strategy in Central Asia Paper

American strategy in Central Asia has been largely ignorant of the security and political conditions inside each of the countries of Central Asia. To be successful, American strategy in Central Asia needs to be fundamentally adjusted.

Jonathan S. Dunn, United States Military Academy jonathan.dunn@usma.edu

Paper The U.S.-Uzbek Discursive Alliance: The Interplay Between State Identity, Threat Perception, and Regime Legitimation

Arguing that alliances are primarily discursive constructs, his paper will show that the US-Uzbek alliance against terrorism was based on a discourse that was rendered unstable by the instability of the discourse about terrorism.

 $\textbf{Philipp Frener},\ \textit{University of Chicago}$

frener@uchicago.edu

Disc. Mariya Y. Omelicheva, University of Kansas

omeliche@ku.edu

14-13 Growth and Development: New Stories and Analyses

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Paul Poast, University of Chicago

poastpd@umich.edu

Paper Explaining Autocratic "Over-Achievers"

Explain why some autocracies perform every bit as well as democracies with respect to promoting prosperity. Specifically, high levels of political competition in small selectorate polities creates incentives for leaders to produce public goods.

William Roberts Clark, University of Michigan

wrclark@umich.edu

Paper Regional Integration as a Vehicle for Development: Tangled Networks or Orderly Associations?

Integration among similarly sized small and poor economies is unlikely to promote development as opposed to the advantages bestowed by larger and relatively wealthier partners. This problem is exacerbated when states form overlapping networks.

Gaspare M. Genna, University of Texas, El Paso

ggenna@utep.edu

Charles Boehmer, University of Texas, El Paso

crboehmer@utep.edu

Paper The Political Effects of Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries

This study explores the political effects of disaggregated FDI in 124 developing countries from 1970 to 2005. The results show a positive effect of FDI from democratic countries and a negative effect of FDI in the primary sector on democracy.

Feng Sun, Troy University

fsun2004@yahoo.com

Paper IMF Programs and Firm Investment Perceptions

Does a country's participation in an IMF program stifle or promote economic growth? We study rm-level data to better understand the causal pathways via which participation in an IMF program affects economic growth.

Molly Bauer, *University of California*, *San Diego* mebauer@dss.ucsd.edu

Chris Dawes, University of California, San Diego cdawes@ucsd.edu

Paper Cultural Values and Inequality Across Nations: A New Look at Past Findings

Using new data, and taking advantage of the passage of time, this paper re-examines the work of Granato, Inglehart, and Leblang (1996), which finds that "achievement motivation" is a key predictor of economic performance.

Jonathan Hanson, Syracuse University johanson@maxwell.syr.edu

Disc. Pamela Blackmon, Valparaiso University

Pamela.Blackmon@valpo.edu

George Assenov Vassilev, *University of Chicago* georgevass@uchicago.edu

14-16 Regional Integration in Different Regions

Room Spire on the 6th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Thilo Daniel Bodenstein, Freie Universität Berlin

t.bodenstein@jmc-berlin.org

Paper The Myth of the Broader-Deeper Trade-Off: Empirical Evidence From Preferential Trade Agreements

I show that there is little empirical evidence of broader-deeper trade-off in relation to the formation of PTAs. Moreover, I demonstrate that the depth of commitments is a function of the degree of flexibility of PTAs.

Leonardo Baccini, New York University

lb135@nyu.edu

Paper Political Actors, Domestic Support, and Deep Cooperation: The Case of South Asian Regionalism

This paper examines the dynamics of domestic support in South Asia to explain the prospects of deeper regional cooperation among South Asian countries.

Kishore Dash, Thunderbird School of Global Management kishore.dash@thunderbird.edu

Paper Foreign Direct Investment as a Measure of Regional Integration: A Comparative Study of Emerging Markets in Latin America and Europe

Event history analysis is employed to test the hypothesis that those Latin American and Central and Eastern European countries with high levels of foreign direct investment will integrate into regional economic agreements at a faster pace.

Meredith-Joy Petersheim, University at Buffalo, SUNY mjp36@buffalo.edu

Paper Credibility and Commitment: The Effectiveness of PTAs in the Asia-Pacific

This paper analyzes the effectiveness of PTAs in liberalizing trade in Asia-Pacific countries. Rather than treating PTAs as homogeneous, the paper differentiates them by the level of credibility in their provisions and analyzes their impact on trade.

SooYeon Kim, University of Maryland

skim@gvpt.umd.edu

Disc. Adrian S. Petrescu, Kutztown University

aspetrescu@alumni.pitt.edu

15-20 Nationalism and International Relations

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Mohammad NA Amjad, Azad University of Iran

m.amjad2008@yahoo.com

Paper Korean Public Attitudes toward U.S.

What factors determine Korean public opinion on Anti-American sentiment?

Jung In Jo, Lee University jjo@leeuniversity.edu

Paper Repertoires of Oppression: Manipulating Nationalistic Sentiments in Dangers of Diminishing State Capacity

In cases of diminished state capacity, national sentiments can be used to create us-and-them dichotomy in multi-ethnic states through which the government or the monarch might try to increase its legitimacy.

Hande S. Ogutcu, Binghamton University

hogutcu1@binghamton.edu

Paper The Next Generation Chinese Nationalists: A New Breed of Anti-Japanese Sentiment

This paper will (1) explore the new breed of Chinese nationalism and (2) examine the tools that Chinese youths currently use to impact the complex and conflictive Sino-Japanese relationship. **Kathleen Meghan Appenrodt**, *University of California, Irvine*

kappenro@uci.edu

Disc. Mohammad NA Amjad, Azad University of Iran

m.amjad2008@yahoo.com

Fukimo Sasaki, St. Edwards University

fumikos@stedwards.edu

The Military and Foreign Policy 15-23

Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room Ermin Sinanovic, United States Naval Academy Chair

sinanovi@usna.edu

Political Accountability and Conflict Behavior in Pakistan Paper

Contrary to the expectations of the democratic peace literature, Pakistan is more likely to initiate conflict with India under a democratic government. This is due to the dynamics of accountability and the military's control over foreign policy.

Madhavi Devasher, Yale University madhavi.devasher@yale.edu

Military and Foreign Policy in Pakistan: Understanding the Paper Origins of Post-2004 Indo-Pakistan Peace Process

This paper will attempt to explain the origins of post-2004 peace process between India and Pakistan. Beyond this, it will anlayze the structure of foreign policy decision-making in Pakistan with special focus on the role of the military.

Asma ul-Husna Faiz, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign afaiz2@illinois.edu

Who Will Serve? Education, Labor Markets, and Military Paper **Personnel Policy**

Variations in national educational and labor market structures should influence military occupational assignment and separations policies. Evidence from five developed democracies is presented in support.

Lindsay P. Cohn, SAIS Center for Transatlantic Relations lindsay.cohn@alumni.duke.edu

What Makes "Rogue States" "Rogue?" A Theoretical Approach Paper with Insights from the Middle East

This paper seeks to explain the behavior of "rogue states" by positing a domestic political logic that coincides with specific regional opportunities and/or threats. It examines the recent cases of Syria and Libya along these analytical lines.

Cory Seth Julie, Georgetown University csj8@georgetown.edu

Disc. Ermin Sinanovic, United States Naval Academy sinanovi@usna.edu

16-16 **Arms Races, Arms Control and Deterrence**

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Andrew Clark Richter, University of Windsor Chair

arichter@uwindsor.ca

Great Power Security Cooperation: The Influence of Paper

Technological Change on the Prospects for Arms Control The study explores the influence of technological change on the willingness of states to engage in arms control, a critical subset of security cooperation. Both successful and failed attempts to cooperate can be explained by perceptions of change.

David W. Kearn, Jr., St. John's University kearnd@stjohns.edu

Managing Local vs Global Threats: A Dynamic Model of Paper **Military Spending**

This paper adapts the standard Richardson arms-race model by adding a diffuse, global threat to a state's security. It then examines how such threats affect how military budgets are allocated and what effect it has on arms races.

Jeffrey B. Stout, University of Iowa jeffrey-stout@uiowa.edu

Paper Capitalism, Commitment, and Peace

This paper examines how large quantities of public property heighten the risks of military conflict between states by enabling governments to sustain arms races and shift regional and global military balances to their advantage.

Patrick James McDonald, University of Texas, Austin pjmcdonald@austin.utexas.edu

Nuclear Fetishism and the Minimum Means of Reprisal **Paper**

What are the requirements of strategic nuclear deterrence? I argue that nuclear weapons are fetishized by rational deterrence theory. By denaturalizing nuclear weapons, it becomes possible to imagine alternatives that were previously proscribed.

Anne Harrington, University of Chicago

aih@uchicago.edu

Wallace J. Thies, Catholic University of America Disc.

thies@cua.edu

17-17 **Exploring the Dynamics of Interstate Conflict**

Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Karen K. Petersen, Middle Tennessee State University Chair

kpeterse@mtsu.edu

Paper **Gauging the Magnitude of Civilization Conflict**

Even though it is generally accepted there is no clash of civilizations per se, much of the world's conflict crosses civilization lines. This is a study of international different-civilization conflict to determine how pervasive this phenomenon is.

Glynn T. Ellis, Georgia Southern University

gellis@georgiasouthern.edu

Paper Beyond the Dyad: An Analysis of Conflict Predictors in Clusters of States

Introduces the cluster as a unit of analysis for understanding conflict behavior with an emphasis on the impact of various regime type configurations within clusters.

Karen K. Petersen, Middle Tennessee State University

kpeterse@mtsu.edu

Stephen R. Saunders, Vanderbilt University

saunders@mtsu.edu

Does Trade Foster Common Interests? Paper

This paper will explore the relationship between trade and preference similarity as the concept is usually measured in the literature. We argue that preferences grow closer as states develop a greater interest in maintaining the gains from trade.

Matthew R. DiGiuseppe, Binghamton University

mdigiuseppe@gmail.com

Benjamin O. Fordham, Binghamton University

benjamin.fordham@gmail.com

Paper **Decolonization and Conflict Over Territory in the Twentieth** Century

This paper tests theories of conflict over territory with a new data

set on violence during post-war decolonization. Rachel M. Stein, Stanford University

rmstein@stanford.edu

Disc. Patrick L. Warren, Clemson University

patrick.lee.warren@gmail.com

Karen K. Petersen, Middle Tennessee State University

kpeterse@mtsu.edu

19-17 **Formal Models of International Institutions**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Chair Jeremy Thomas Kedziora, University of Rochester

jkedzio2@mail.rochester.edu

Paper

International Institutions and the Path to Federal Union

The theory that states form federal unions to contrive symmetry implies that federations form when cooperation via an alliance or customs union is unsustainable. A survey of regional institutions that preceded federal union tests this implication.

Chad Rector, George Washington University rector@gwu.edu

Pre-Arrest Bargaining and Prosecutorial Power Paper

We present a bargaining model that includes the ability to offer charge or sentence leniency pre-arrest in exchange for surrender. We find this ability can help reduce the duration of the crimes committed at no cost to the court's deterrent capacity.

Emily Hencken Ritter, Emory University

emily.ritter@emory.edu

Scott Wolford, University of Colorado, Boulder

scott.wolford@colorado.edu

Disc. Jeremy Thomas Kedziora, University of Rochester

jkedzio2@mail.rochester.edu

20-1 Political and Economic Sources of Ethnic Mobilization and Violence

Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Douglas Woodwell, University of Indianapolis Chair

woodwelld@uindy.edu

Paper Poor Choices: The Rise of Subaltern Religious Nationalism in **India**

How does religious nationalism succeed in democratic politics? This paper argues that India's upper-caste Hindu nationalist party relies on its service-providing affiliates to expand its appeal with historically distrustful lower caste voters.

Tariq Thachil, Cornell University

tariq.thachil@gmail.com

The Media in Ethno-Nationalist Violence: The Case of Gujarat Paper

In ethno-nationalist violence, elites shape mass behavior by forcing public opinion to focus on nationalism. The 2002 riots in the Indian state of Gujarat show how elites used the media in a democracy to intensify ethnic tensions for their benefit.

Lisa Kissopoulos, University of Cincinnati

lisak17@gmail.com

The Political Economy of Ethnic Mobilization: Micro Incentives Paper and Macro Resources in Post-Colonial Sri Lanka and Malaysia

I present evidence from Sri Lanka and Malaysia to show how ethnic mobilization, by requiring political entrepreneurs to credibly and sufficiently provide resources to ethnic group members, creates the potential for an inherently escalatory mechanism.

Nikolaos Biziouras, United States Naval Academy BIZIOURA@USNA.EDU

Ethnic Challenges to the African Nation-State Paper

African states exhibit wide variation in the degrees of "success" in nationalizing their citizens. I use survey data to evaluate micro and macro theories of identity choice, by exploring state, ethnic group and individual correlates of nationalism.

Amanda Lea Robinson, Stanford University

alrobins@stanford.edu

Devashree Gupta, Carleton College Disc.

dgupta@carleton.edu

21-9 **Behavioral Economics Applications for Political Psychology**

LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Pazit Ben-Nun-Bloom, Stony Brook University Chair

pbennun@notes.cc.sunysb.edu

Paper What's Fair? Exploring the Role of Self-Monitoring in an **Ultimatum Game**

We explore the role of self monitoring in an ultimatum game where the degree of social influence was varied. The social influence manipulation was found to resonate most with those scoring high on self monitoring.

Christopher Weber, Louisiana State University

crweber@lsu.edu

Johanna Dunaway, Louisiana State University

jdunaway@lsu.edu

Cooperation Through Punishment: How Altruistic Punishment Paper Induces Cooperative Strategies

Altruistic Punishment induces cooperation via transforming the payoff of defectors. Punishers tend to be social conformists who perceive defection as a norm violation and engage in punishment even though it is costly.

Eser Sekercioglu, Sabanci University, Istanbul, Turkey esekercioglu@sabanciuniv.edu

Paper Punitive Leaders and Unquestioning Followers: An

Experimental Analysis of the Causes of Harsh Interrogation

This paper examines the relationship between Social Dominance Orientation, Right-Wing Authoritarianism, and the preference for harsh interrogation. We employ an experimental survey and a novel form of the iterated prisoner's dilemma game to do so.

William D. Anderson, University of South Dakota

William.Anderson@usd.edu

Collette Roberts, University of South Dakota

Collette.Roberts@usd.edu

Allison N. Struck, University of South Dakota

Allison.N.Struck@usd.edu

Playing From Memory Paper

A multiple-trace simulation of cognitive processes of memory and hypothesis generation which learns and reacts to various opponents is tested in both in game-theoretic settings and in a simplified multiplayer system of international interaction.

William Hanson, University of Oklahoma

whanson@ou.edu

Disc. David Moskowitz, Roger Williams University

dmoskowitz@rwu.edu

23-2 **Electoral and Behavioral Implications of Competitive Elections**

Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room Chair

Christopher B. Mann, Yale University

christopher.mann@yale.edu

Paper The Long-term Consequences of Competitive House Campaigns

We investigate whether competitive House campaigns affect citizens' (1) recall and accuracy of information about incumbents, (2) levels of trust in Congress, (3) views of the quality of the political process, and (4) levels of interest in politics.

Heather K. Evans, Indiana University

hkbarton@indiana.edu

Michael Ensley, Indiana University

ensley@indiana.edu

Edward G. Carmines, Indiana University

carmines@indiana.edu

Effort Carryover and Information Disclosure in Two-Stage **Paper Political Contests**

This experiment studies two-stage elimination contests between two political parties. All major predictions of the theory are supported. Disclosing information about the opponent's effort changes the behavior in both stages of the contest.

Roman M. Sheremeta, Purdue University

rshereme@purdue.edu

The Voter's Perspective on Electoral Competition **Paper**

We find that electoral competition affects voter perceptions of how close a race is, but that experiencing a competitive election increases negative perceptions of Congress.

Todd Donovan, Western Washington University

todd.donovan@wwu.edu

Shaun Bowler, University of California, Riverside

shaunb@ucr.edu

The Voter's Perspective on Electoral Competition Paper

In this study, we show how (or if) voters come to perceive actual competition, and test hypotheses about voters perceive that competition affects how members of Congress behave.

Todd Donovan, Western Washington University

donovan@wwu.edu

Shaun Bowler, University of California, Riverside

shaun.bowler@ucr.edu

Christopher B. Mann, Yale University Disc.

christopher.mann@yale.edu

23-101 Roundtable: Understanding the 2008 Election from the **Ground Up in Five Battleground States**

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

We examine the type and amount of candidate, interest group, and political party activity in the 2008 elections in five battleground states. The scope of the papers includes voter mobilization, campaign finance, and campaign communications.

Panelist David B. Magleby, Brigham Young University

David Magleby@byu.edu

Robert Duffy, Colorado State University

Robert.duffy@colostate.edu

Dante J. Scala, University of New Hampshire

dante.scala@unh.edu

Michael S. Rocca, University of New Mexico

msrocca@unm.edu

Eric Heberlig, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Eric.S.Heberlig@uncc.edu John Green, University of Akron

Green@uakron.edu

24-3 **Party Nationalization**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Shawn H. Williams, University of Texas, Dallas Chair

shw061000@utdallas.edu

Political Party Nationalization in Central America, 1990-2007 Paper

Increasing the homogeneity of a party's support across the nation -party nationalization—is a key concern to new democracies. This paper tests the impact of electoral and institutional variables in explaining party nationalization in Central America.

Ronald Alfaro, University of Costa Rica

ralfaro@estadonacion.or.cr

Party Nationalization and Budget Process in Latin America: A **Positive Political Economy Perspective**

I examine and model the consequences of static and dynamic party nationalization on political bugdet cycles in Latin America. The model predicts that where party systems are weakly nationalized there are larger fiscal deficits and increasing spending

Nestor Camilo Castaneda-Angarita, University of Pittsburgh ncc12@pitt.edu

The Progressive Regionalization of Political Parties in Latin Paper **America**

Conventional wisdom, based exclusively on European experiences, says that electoral support for political parties tends to become more homogenous over time. By introducing data from the developing world, I show that this is not always the case.

John Polga-Hecimovich, University of Pittsburgh jpolga@gmail.com

Party System Inflation in Parliamentary PR Democracies Paper

In PR systems, what causes the national vote share of parties to resemble district votes? I find that this resemblance is high when (a) both political and fiscal centralization levels are high (b) prime ministerial power is high.

Eitan Tzelgov, Pennsylvania State University eut113@psu.edu

Disc. Mark Jones, Rice University

mpjones@rice.edu

Martin Ejnar Hansen, University of Vienna

martin.hansen@univie.ac.at

25-4 Race, Gender and Public Opinion

Chicago on the 5th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Victoria R. Wilson, University of California, Irvine Chair

vwilson@uci.edu

The Gendered Basis of American Party and Candidate **Paper Impressions**

Using NES data I explore citizens' symbolically gendered party associations and the distinct strategic challenges these association create for presidential candidates from each party.

Nicholas J.G. Winter, University of Virginia

nwinter@virginia.edu

Paper **Gender and Deliberative Civic Education**

The paper relies on an experimental design to assess female students' reactions to deliberative civic education interventions.

J. Cherie Strachan, Central Michigan University strac1jc@cmich.edu

Public Opinion on Gender and Racial Policy: The Politics of **Paper**

Rights and Roles, Rights and Separation

How do Americans come to their views about gender, race, and public policy? We characterize the policy spaces and specify the predispositions that Americans draw upon to form their opinions on gender and racial policy.

Nancy Burns, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

nburns@umich.edu

Donald R.. Kinder, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

drkinder@umich.edu

Hockey Moms and Soccer Moms: The Transformative Effect of **Paper Becoming a Mother**

From Eisenhower to McCain, presidential candidates have appealed to female voters by highlighting motherhood. This paper assesses if this is an appropriate strategy. Does becoming a mother transform women's political attitudes?

Jill Greenlee, Brandeis University

greenlee@brandeis.edu

Disc. Victoria R. Wilson, University of California, Irvine

vwilson@uci.edu

26-23 Social Context and Voter Behavior (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-31)

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Charlotte Ridge, University of Iowa Chair

charlotte-ridge@uiowa.edu

Risk Sensitivity and Political Discussion: How Individual **Paper** Characteristics Affect Discussion and Disagreement

Some citizens demonstrate more sensitivity to risk than others. How does this influence how likely a citizen is to engage in political discussion and disagreement?

Michael Raymond Wolf, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne

wolfm@ipfw.edu

Lawrence Kuznar, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne

kuznar@ipfw.edu

Perceiving Network Heterogeneity and Claiming Political **Independence: An Inspection of Panel Data**

This study employs a panel data and confirms a hypothesis that a higher level of perceived network heterogeneity increases the likelihood of claiming political independence.

Frank C. S. Liu, National Sun Yat-Sen University, Taiwan frankcsliu@gmail.com

Laura C. Lucas, Boston University

ljoyce@lumanconsultants.com

Second Hand Deliberation: Deliberative Sessions and Social Paper **Networks**

Using a field experiment in which constituents attended a deliberative session with a U.S. Senator, we examine participants and their named discussants to gauge how such encounters both diffuse through and affect social networks.

David MJ Lazer, Harvard University

david lazer@harvard.edu

Michael A. Neblo, Ohio State University

neblo.1@osu.edu

Kevin Esterling, University of California, Riverside

kevin.esterling@ucr.edu

Anand E. Sokhey, Ohio State University

sokhey.2@osu.edu

Paper **Does Context Matter? Is There a Place-Based Effect on Vote Choice and Attitude Formation?**

This paper examines the magnitude of place-based contextual effect on vote choice and attitude formation.

Iris Hui, University of California, Berkeley

iris hui@berkeley.edu

Gender, Networking and Small Town Political Participation Paper

In this paper I examine the gender dynamics of community participation and the relationship of that participation to city council representation in rural communities.

Charlotte Ridge, University of Iowa

charlotte-ridge@uiowa.edu

Disc. James W. Endersby, University of Missouri

endersby@missouri.edu

27-13 Media Coverage of the 2008 Elections (Co-sponsored with Electoral Campaigns, see 23-27)

Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Corwin Donald Smidt, Michigan State University Chair

smidtc@msu.edu

Paper Media Coverage of the 2008 Democratic Presidential Nomination

I examine the frequency with which candidate image frames appeared in media coverage of the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination and find media coverage and public perception of the most important candidate quality are significantly correlated.

Rebekah E. Liscio, Syracuse University

reliscio@maxwell.syr.edu

Mixed Signals? Examining the Dimensions of Media Coverage Paper of the 2008 Vice Presidential Candidates

How did media coverage of the 2008 vice presidential candidates differ with respect to volume, perspective, and medium? We speak to this by content analyzing the coverage of the two candidates in major newspapers, TV news broadcasts, and blogs.

Leticia Bode, University of Wisconsin, Madison

lbode@wisc.edu

Valerie M. Hennings, University of Wisconsin, Madison

vhennings@wisc.edu

Paper The Audacity of Hope vs The Maverick: A Content Analysis of 2008 Presidential Debate Rhetoric

This study examines Barack Obama's and John McCain's 2008 debate rhetoric. Using content analysis on the three Presidential debate transcripts, the purpose of the research is to find the selfprescribed and other-prescribed candidate stereotypes.

Ashley Elizabeth Kirzinger, Louisiana State University akirzi1@lsu.edu

German Aldofo Alvarez, Louisiana State University galvar@lsu.edu

Presidential Debates 2008: How Our Leaders Avoid the Health Paper **Care Debate**

This study analyzes the 2008 presidential campaign primary debate transcripts. The transcripts are evaluated in an effort to identify the presence/absences of health care as a topic of debate and the relevance emotional/value appeals.

Jerry Lee Miller, Ohio University

Jerry.Miller.1@ohio.edu

Jarrod Pollard, Ohio University

jp133505@ohio.edu

Disc. Melissa Kary Miller, Bowling Green State University

melissm@bgsu.edu

Jan P. Vermeer, Nebraska Wesleyan University

jpv@nebrwesleyan.edu

27-23 Popular Culture as Political Discourse: Images of Politics and Political Dissent

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Joseph J. Foy, University of Wisconsin, Waukesha

joseph.foy@uwc.edu

It's Not Funny 'Cause It's True: The Mainstream Media's **Paper**

Response to Media Satire the Bush Years

This paper looks at several instances during the Bush years where prominent satirists -- including Jon Stewart, Stephen Colbert, and Tina Fey -- targeted the mainstream news media and assesses the media's response.

Carl Thomas Bergetz, John Marshall Law School

cbergetz@earthlink.net

Mr. Smith Goes to the Movies: Images of Dissent in American **Cinema**

This research investigates the proliferation of government in American film, different types of government characteristics being shown on film and the correlation of government depictions compared to trends in public trust in government.

Beth Wielde-Heidelberg, Minnesota State University, Mankato

beth.heidelberg@mnsu.edu

David A. Schultz, Hamline University

dscultz@gw.hamline.edu

Paper The President as Hero: Don't Blame Me, I Voted for Bartlet

This essay examines executive politics, leadership, and the creation of 'president-as-hero' politics as portrayed in The West Wing.

Jennifer J. Hora, Valparaiso University

jennifer.hora@valpo.edu

Paper Political Discourse in Popular Culture: Expanding a View of the **Public Sphere**

Elements popular culture can offer alternative avenues for political expression, especially for messages that may not have easy access to traditional modes of political discourse. This makes necessary an expansive view of the public sphere.

Timothy Dale, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay dalet@uwgb.edu

Disc. Margaret H Hankenson, University of Wisconsin, Waukesha

margaret.hankenson@uwc.edu

28-9 Gender, Candidates, and Campaigns

Room Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Curt Ziniel, University of California, Riverside Chair

curtis.ziniel@email.ucr.edu

Presidential Women and National Legislative Women: Gender in the 2008 Election

This paper explores the campaigns of men and women for the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate in the context of a gendered election for president.

Barbara Burrell, Northern Illinois University

bburrell@niu.edu

Running with Emily and Susan: How Abortion Shapes Paper **Women's Candidacies to Congress**

This paper examines the role played by women's PACs in recruiting and funding women congressional candidates. I examine the fundraising activity of women candidates and six women's PACs in congressional elections from 2002 to 2008.

Rosalyn Cooperman, University of Mary Washington rcooperm@umw.edu

Paper Gender and Candidate Qualifications for the U.S. Congress

Is there a measurable difference in qualifications between men and women Congressional candidates? This research evaluates the qualifications of all women candidates for US Congress between 2000 and 2008, and that of their opponents.

Carly Hayden Foster, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville cahavde@siue.edu

Kenneth W. Moffett, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville kmoffet@siue.edu

Paper **Targets of Opportunity or Targets of Discrimination? Emale Incumbents and Challenger Emergence**

What do we know about women and challenger emergence? Are female incumbents more likely than males to be challenged? If so, what are the causal mechanisms driving this result? Are women targets of opportunity or targets of discrimination?

Sarah Andrea Fulton, Texas A&M University safulton@polisci.tamu.edu

The Politics of Parenthood: How Motherhood and Fatherhood Paper **Influence Congressional Campaigns**

Sarah Palin's candidacy has ignited debate over how the roles of mother and officeholder can and should relate to each other. This paper investigates the role gender and parenthood play in shaping congressional candidate image and electoral success.

Margaret Carne, Rhodes College carnem@rhodes.edu

Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, University of Rochester Disc. vsc@ur.rochester.edu

> Rebecca J. Hannagan, Northern Illinois University rhannaga@niu.edu

29-17 **Black Representation**

Room Medinah on the 6th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Teri Fair, Suffolk University Chair

tfair@suffolk.edu

Paper **Black Caucuses, Descriptive Representation and Political**

Engagement

I argue that blacks who live in states with influential black caucuses will have higher levels of political engagement.

Christopher Jude Clark, University of Iowa

christopher-clark@uiowa.edu

Electoral Structure and Representation: Changes in African Paper American Education Politics Between 1986 and 2001

This paper explores how political and demographic changes have affected African American representation on school boards between 1986 and 2001. The analysis is then extended to the recruitment of African American teachers and administrators.

Amanda E. McCree, Texas A&M University

amccree@politics.tamu.edu

Defining "The Black Agenda": An Examination of Black Public Paper Paper **Opinion and Agenda Setting**

I argue that Black elected elites should not be the sole contributors to "The Black Agenda." Black elected elites cope with numerous limitations on their power. To define "The Black Agenda" the opinions of the Black masses need to be included.

Chryl Laird, Ohio State University

laird.40@osu.edu

Disc. Matthew Bartholomew Platt, Harvard University

mplatt@gov.harvard.edu

31-11 Mixed Bodies and Mixed Metaphors in Machiavelli

Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room Chair

William B. Parsons, Carroll College

wparsons@carroll.edu

Paper Machiavelli's Multilateralism: Body Politic Theory in the Prince

Focusing on Machiavelli's body politic theory, this paper argues that the Prince is not a monodrama of the prince, rather a multiple character play by the people, the nobility, and the prince.

Kyung-Hee Kim, Seoul National University

tugend87@hanmail.net

Feeding Faction: Savonarola and Machiavelli's Views on the Causes and Consequences of Public Discord

This paper compares and contrasts Savonarola and Machiavelli's views on faction and argues that their divergent conceptions are deeply rooted in their different views of the interplay between politics and morality.

Rebecca Jean McCumbers, University of Notre Dame rmccumbe@nd.edu

Paper Between Fear and Longing: Niccolo Machiavelli and the Apocalyptic Imaginary

This paper analyzes Niccolo Machiavelli's engagement with the apocalyptic imaginary and makes a case for the importance of his thought in responding to contemporary uses of apocalyptic rhetoric.

Alison McQueen, Cornell University

aem54@cornell.edu

Disc. Randal Hendrickson, Harvard University

rhendrickson@gov.harvard.edu

32-2 **Rethinking Rawls**

LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Chair Margaret Jenkins, University of Toronto

margaret.jenkins@utoronto.ca

Paper **Rethinking the Normative Conception of Persons in Political** Liberalism

This paper analyzes the ideals of personhood implicit in Rawlsian political liberalism. I draw on these ideals to generate a more adequate account of the reasonable social bases of recognition and self-respect in an ideally just society.

Gerald D. Doppelt, University of California, San Diego jdoppelt@ucsd.edu

The Terminal Position: Completing Rawls' Argument for **Paper Political Liberal Stability**

This paper considers the sustainability of a Rawlsian overlapping consensus by means of a hypothetical thought experiment: the terminal position. It addresses a lacunae in Rawls' position, as he does not show that such a consensus is sustainable.

Benjamin Richard Hertzberg, Duke University

benjamin.hertzberg@duke.edu

A Full Account of Rawls's Public Reason

I provide a full account of Rawls's public reason by extending it to subordinate political questions. This full account is useful because it helps maintain the legitimacy of the political system and the integrity of public reason itself.

Johnny Goldfinger, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis jgoldfin@iupui.edu

The Limits of Cosmopolitanism: The Problem of Moral and Cultural Agency in Kant and Rawls

The concept around which the paper will revolve is that of agency. I am interested in examining two manifestations of human agency: moral and cultural. In order to do so, I propose a comparison of the philosophies of Immanuel Kant and John Rawls.

Jeffrey N. Bercuson, University of Toronto

jeff.bercuson@utoronto.ca

J. Joseph Miller, University of Pennsylvania Disc.

joe.miller@factcheck.org

33-20 The Family as a Political Institution

Room Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Chair Rachel L. Seher, DePaul University

rseher@depaul.edu

Paper The Marriage Institution: Status or Contract?

This paper argues that there is nothing paradoxical in the fact that the marriage institution is both a status and a contract, because these two legal concepts, although conceptually distinct, are not mutually exclusive.

Mara Gabriela Marin, *University of Chicago* mara@uchicago.edu

Paper Child Maltreatment and Licensing Parents

I examine why child abuse should be eliminated. I evaluate assumptions that ground opposition to licensing parents. I explore the issues of parental rights and prior restraint. This essay will make the argument for licensing parents more powerful.

Michael McFall, Stanford University

mmcfall@stanford.edu

Paper Women and Civic Identity: Political Complementarity

The way women conceive of their involvement in the public realm is key in the project of educating children toward their role as citizens. I argue for the relevance of gender difference to politics, working off of Edith Stein's complementarity.

Lorraine Elizabeth Krall, Georgetown University lorrainekrall@gmail.com

Paper Democratic Education: A Critique

"Democratic Education" is the most powerful political theory of education in decades. But Gutmann's focus on democracy undercuts many legitimate interests of children and parents. This paper shows tensions and errors in DE and explores alternatives.

Chaim Katz, University of Virginia

ck5s@virginia.edu

Disc. Michael Clifford, Mississippi State University

mrc4@ra.msstate.edu

Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, *University of California, Irvine* twilloug@uci.edu

33-21 Perspectives on Leo Strauss

Room LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Bryan McGraw, Wheaton College

bryan.mcgraw@wheaton.edu

Paper Leo Strauss and the Neoconservatives: History and Skepticism

What is fact and what is fiction in Leo Strauss's influence on neoconservatism?

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \bf Adam \ L. \ Fuller, \it Claremont \it Graduate \it University \it adam.fuller@cgu.edu \end{tabular}$

Paper Leo Strauss, Max Weber and Egalitarian Natural Right

This paper examines Leo Strauss's account of Max Weber's thought. Strauss perceptively elucidates egalitarian aspects of Weber's outlook, but arguably goes astray in descrying a conflict between Weber's ideals and apprehensions of the "last man."

Regina Fidelia Titunik, *University of Hawaii, Hilo* titunik@hawaii.edu

Paper Strauss, Heidegger, and Rhetoric

I read Heidegger's 1924 lecture on Aristotle's Rhetoric as the key to understanding his influence on Strauss. Heidegger's ontology of the passions radicalizes Hobbes' reading of the Rhetoric. Strauss responds to both in his early studies of Hobbes.

Rodrigo Chacon, New School for Social Research ChacR167@newschool.edu

Paper The Political Philosophy of Leo Straus in the Light of Heidegger 's Philosophical Existentialism

In this essay I will show how the work of Leo Strauss developed in response to Heidegger's theoretical challenges.

Angel Jaramillo, New School for Social Research angeljaramillo@hotmail.com

Disc. Christopher A. McKoy, University of California, Santa Barbara mckoy@polsci.ucsb.edu

34-8 Politics and the Law

Room Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair B. Jeffrey Reno, College of the Holy Cross

jreno@holycross.edu

Paper Law and the Problem of the Exception

The problem of the exception undoes our committment to the rule of law. Rather than admit the exception, while still upholding the rule of law, we abandon the law in the face of the exception. We examine why we do this and why we shouldn't.

Benjamin Adams Kleinerman, Michigan State University craigt@msu.edu

Tobin Craig, *Michigan State University* craigt@msu.edu

Paper Ethical Rationalism and the Philosophy of Law

Morality can be derived from logic by avoiding contradiction not just in actions and norm, but in the higher-order norms that justify these in turn. One role of constitutions and legal precedents is to make visible these higher-order norms.

Scott Forschler, *Northland Community and Technical College* scott.forschler@northlandcollege.edu

Paper Philosophies of Punishment

This paper seeks to explore theories of punishment that can be drawn from the greater bodies of work of Plato, Augustine, Locke, and Marx, with an eye towards using this thinking in analyzing the contemporary American system of punishment.

Wendy Langum Wright, Rutgers University

wlwright@rci.rutgers.edu

Leah Vesonder, Purdue University

leah.vesonder@gmail.com

Paper The Shame Game: A Stirnerian Approach to Restorative Justice

An investigation as to how approaching restorative justice from the perspective of Max Stirner's philosophical anarchism affects the deliberate use of shaming practices in restorative justice encounters.

Alan Ward, *University of Illinois, Chicago* alan.ward999@gmail.com

Disc. Anna Stilz, Princeton University

astilz@princeton.edu

36-8 Methodological Innovations in the Study of Elections

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Jasjeet Singh Sekhon, University of California, Berkeley

sekhon@berkeley.edu

Paper Comparative Election Fraud Detection

We use data from Russian elections to examine how much methods for diagnosing election fraud agree. The methods include testing for turnout unimodality, for vote counts' second digits being Benford and for counts last digits being uniform.

Walter R. Mebane, University of Michigan

wmebane@umich.edu

Kirill Kalinin, University of Michigan

kkalinin@umich.edu

Paper Incumbency Advantage in Brazil: Evidence from Municipal Mayor Elections

Using a regression discontinuity design to estimate the incumbency advantage of political parties in Brazil's mayor elections, I find a strong negative effect of incumbency on both the vote share and the probability of winning.

Rocio Titiunik, *University of California, Berkeley* titiunik@berkeley.edu

Paper Extending a Statistical Model of Multiparty Elections for Comparative Analysis Across Different Electoral Rules

The paper proposes a statistical model of multiparty elections that accommodates intra-party competition and estimates winning probabilities of candidates to make possible a comparative analysis of elections across a variety of electoral rules.

Kenichi Ariga, University of Michigan

kariga@umich.edu

Paper Forecasting Election Results: Polls, Prediction Markets and the 2007 Australian election.

We test the Efficient Markets Hypothesis by embedding the betting markets price and public opinion polls (for the 2007 Australian Federal Election) in a dynamic linear model; the betting markets are responding to a weighted average of the polls.

Simon Jackman, Stanford University

jackman@stanford.edu

Andrea Astrid Abel, Stanford University

aabel@stanford.edu

Disc. Michael Herron, Dartmouth College michael.herron@dartmouth.edu

Jasjeet Singh Sekhon, University of California, Berkeley

sekhon@berkeley.edu

37-1 The Impact of New Technologies on Social Movements and Political Organization

Room Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Matthew Hindman, Arizona State University

hindman@asu.edu

Paper Surfing Together: A Preliminary Inquiry into the Effects of Internet Use on Social Capital in American Communities

Internet use today is increasing social capital for existing communities while also generating new forms of social connectivity and civic engagement that bridge geographic boundaries and increase the social capital of society as a whole.

Jaclyn Kerr, Georgetown University

jackiekerr@gmail.com

Paper Putting Down New Roots: Grassroots, Netroots, and African American Political Engagement

This paper explores the potential impact on African American political engagement and power that may lie in the intersection between Internet-based political organizing, known as netroots, and community-based grassroots strategies.

Ben Epstein, CUNY Graduate Center

benepstein55@gmail.com

Paper Blogeros, MySpace y El World Wide Web: The Political Implications of Latinos on the Internet

Contrary to initial research that Latinos do not enjoy the civic benefits of internet technology, this paper demonstrates that the Latino community is employing the Internet in innovative and important ways to mobilize political participation.

Corinna A. Reyes, University of California, Santa Barbara creyes@polsci.ucsb.edu

Paper Information Technology, Productivity and the Growth of Interest Groups

The decline over time in the price to performance ratio of information technology should affect the ability of interest groups to form as grass roots efforts become more affordable and technically feasible for interests.

Douglas R. Oxley, *University of Nebraska*, *Lincoln* oxley@inebraska.com

Paper Networked Public Talk: Extending the Analysis of Political Discussion in Online Urban Forums

This study suggests that informal political talk plays a powerful role in online discourse. Rather than engaging in a deliberative ideal of collective decision-making, contributors to urban online forums are engaging in collective meaning-making.

Dana M. Walker, University of Michigan

walkerdm@umich.edu

Disc. David Bradford Conklin. Chelsea School

davidb.conklin@gmail.com

Matthew Hindman, Arizona State University

hindman@asu.edu

39-1 Managing Turnover in the Executive Branch

Room Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Richard Steven Daniels, California State University, Bakersfield

rdaniels@csub.edu

Paper Understanding the Exit Option: How Politics Shapes Federal Executives' Turnover Intentions

Statistical analysis of the political determinants of turnover intention among federal executives

Anthony Bertelli, *University of Georgia/University of Manchester* bertelli@uga.edu

David Lewis, *Vanderbilt University* david.e.lewis@vanderbilt.edu

Paper Vacant Offices: Delays in Filling Top Agency Positions, from Carter to Bush 43

This paper examines vacancies in top federal administrative agency positions from 1977 to 2005, using new data on all Senate-confirmed presidential appointees from the Office of Personnel Management.

Anne Joseph O'Connell, *University of California, Berkeley* aoconnell@law.berkeley.edu

Paper Sound the Alarm or Same as it Ever Was?: A Comparative Study of Executive Branch Nominations in the George W. Bush

This study examines patterns of presidential nominations to subcabinet offices from 1961-2006, and compares the pattern of nominations of political loyalists and bureaucratic experts by the Bush (43) administration to previous administrations.

Kevin James Parsneau, Minnesota State University

kevin.parsneau@mnsu.edu

Paper Determinants of Presidential Staff Retention

This paper examines the role that public approval of the President plays in the retention rates of high-level presidential staff.

Ian Ostrander, Washington University, St. Louis

icostran@artsci.wustl.edu

Matthew Beverlin, University of Kansas

mattbeverlin@yahoo.com

Disc. Karen Hult, Virginia Tech University

khult@vt.edu

40-15 Social Networks in Congress

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Chair Jonathan Winburn, University of Mississippi

jwinburn@olemiss.edu

Paper Social Networks in Congress

This paper contributes to the literature by exploring the holistic importance of social networks to the formulation of policy and ultimately to the institution of Congress itself.

Blair Shaffer Williams, United States Military Academy

blair.williams@us.army.mil

aper Cosponsorship Networks in the German Bundestag

We study the heterogeneity of parliamentary parties by analyzing networks of bill sponsorship and co-sponsorship in the German Bundestag between 1987 and 2002.

Thomas Braeuninger, University of Konstanz thomas.braeuninger@uni-konstanz.de
Martin Brunner, University of Konstanz
martin.brunner@uni-konstanz.de

Partisan Polarization via Term Limits: Political Networks in the 41-2 Paper CA Assembly

Using roll call votes in the California State Assembly from 1975-2006, we record the intensity of similarity between any two legislators. We then use this to evaluate legislative influence via centrality, a network-analysis measurement of power.

Delia Bailey, Washington University

dbailey@wustl.edu

Betsy Sinclair, University of Chicago

betsy@uchicago.edu

The Beltway Network: A Network Analysis of Lobbyists' Paper **Donations to Members of Congress**

We analyze lobbying as a social network, with campaign donations

as a measure of the ties between actors. We measure network polarization, identify subgroups based on issue and region, and identify the most important lobbyists and legislators.

Gregory Koger, University of Miami

gregory.koger@gmail.com

Jennifer Nicoll Victor, University of Pittsburgh

invictor@pitt.edu

Jonathan Winburn, University of Mississippi Disc.

jwinburn@olemiss.edu

40-17 **The Electoral Connection**

Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Matthew M. Schousen, Franklin & Marshall College Chair

Matthew.Schousen@FandM.edu

Paper Voting For It Then Voting Against it: Members of Congress, **Discretionary Dissent and the Iraq War**

An original data set, compiled with regard to the Iraq war, shows that that district competition is the most significant indicator of how a member of the House of Representatives will behave in both an on and off the record capacity

Annika Hagley, University at Buffalo, SUNY ahagley@buffalo.edu

Legislative Party Switching and the Midterm Effect: The **Electoral Connection Revisited**

What induces sitting legislators to change parties and what deters them from doing so? We posit that the electoral constraints on switching are the weakest near midterm, and appraise hypotheses against evidence from established and new democracies.

Olga Shvetsova, Binghamton University

shvetsova@gmail.com

Carol Mershon, University of Virginia

cam6m@virginia.edu

Modeling the Rate of Return on the Time State Legislators Paper **Spend Fundraising**

A legislator's rate of return equals funds raised for their own campaigns divided by time spent fundraising. Rate of return depends on institutional position, on various features of institutional design and on campaign finance regulation.

Lynda Powell, University of Rochester lynda.powell@rochester.edu

Bipartisanship, Polarization and Electoral Responsiveness: Reexamining the Electoral Connection

This paper examines electoral responsiveness and accountability in the United States Congress by looking at members' use of bipartisanship on bill cosponsorship coalitions.

Laurel Harbridge, Stanford University

harbridg@stanford.edu

Disc. DeWayne Lucas, Hobart and William Smith Colleges lucas@hws.edu

> Matthew M. Schousen, Franklin & Marshall College Matthew.Schousen@FandM.edu

Forecasting Elections, Predicting Votes

Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego Chair

gjacobson@ucsd.edu

Do Special Elections Foretell the Results of General Election Paper Outcomes in the U.S. House of Representatives?

The Mass Media routinely portray the results of special elections as reliable indicators of what is to come in the next general election. We investigate this claim and find special elections do have some predictive power for House election results.

Thomas Brunell, University of Texas, Dallas

tbrunell@utdallas.edu

David Smith, University of Texas, Dallas

davidsmith101@gmail.com

Paper Canaries in a Coal Mine: Do Congressional Elections Predict the Presidential Vote?

This paper tests whether congressional special elections, and their closest counterpart, open seat elections, are leading indicators of the presidential vote share in a given district.

Seth Walter Petersen, Georgetown University

swp24@georgetown.edu

Paper The Dynasty Advantage: Political Families in Congressional **Elections**

Examining candidate biographical characteristics, district-level factors, and election returns in open-seat congressional races, we find that candidates with a close relative in elected office enjoy a "dynasty advantage."

Brian D. Feinstein, Harvard University

bdfeinst@fas.harvard.edu

Paper The Impact of Presidential Campaigning on Congressional Support for the President's Agenda

We address the question of the impact of presidential campaign visits on legislative policymaking with new data. We find a strong relationship between presidential visits and future legislative support is significant.

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Irwin Morris, University of Maryland

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John McTague, University of Maryland, College Park

jmctague@gvpt.umd.edu

Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego Disc.

gjacobson@ucsd.edu

42-14 **Decision Making Under Threat: War, Terrorism, Extremism**

Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Chair Lori Hausegger, Boise State University

lorihausegger@boisestate.edu

Paper Civil Liberties and Wartime Judicial Decision Making: A Comparative Analysis of Supreme Court Patterns Found in Canada and the United States

We would expect American and Canadian Supreme Court adjudication of wartime cases when liberties are limited to differ. However, I find remarkable similarities in the ways both states decide such cases, despite the differences in regime type.

Amanda DiPaolo, Middle Tennessee State University dipaolo@mtsu.edu

Paper U.S. Supreme Court Decision Making on Foreign Policy Cases

During Wartime

This paper builds upon the "two presidencies" debate and the young field of judicial decision making during wartime. I will look at the relationship between presidential approval and severity of conflict on decision making in foreign policy cases.

Susanne Schorpp, University of South Carolina schorpp@mailbox.sc.edu

Paper The Judicial Treatment of Anti-Terrorism Cases: A Comparative Study

A comparative examination of the judicial-executive relationship with regard to post-9/11 anti-terrorism measures in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Anna Oldmeadow, University of Oxford anna.oldmeadow@univ.ox.ac.uk

Paper Constitutional Courts as Substitute Players in Party Politics:

Cases of Party Bans in Turkey, Spain and Belgium

This article comparatively investigates of the recent bans on extremist parties in Turkey, Spain and Belgium to see under which conditions constitutional courts act as legitimate players in game of party politics.

Deniz Bulut Ture, Boston University

bulutd@bu.edu

Disc. Lori Hausegger, Boise State University

lorihausegger@boisestate.edu

Brett Curry, Georgia Southern University

bcurry@georgias outhern.edu

42-15 <u>Selection, Tenure and Independence</u>

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Richard L. Vining, University of Georgia

rvining@uga.edu

Paper The Intended Consequences of Appointment Rules: Counter-Majoritarian Decisions on the Romanian Constitutional Court

This paper explores the effects of appointment rules and short judicial terms on the behavior of justices. I analyze the possibility for the appointing party to control its judicial appointees even after they have left office.

Minodora Adriana Buliga-Stoian, University at Binghamton, SUNY

mbuliga1@binghamton.edu

Paper Political Uncertainty and Judicial Reform in American High

In this paper, I examine reform of the selection and retention of state high court judges from 1850-2000. Specifically, I look at state legislative roll call votes on statutes and constitutional amendments to increase judicial independence.

Valerie Jane Hoekstra, Arizona State University valerie.hoekstra@asu.edu

Paper A Science of the Possible: Judicial Tenure and Activism in Colombia and India

Judicial behavior literature holds that judicial activism is unlikely in the absence of judicial independence, traditionally secured by extended judicial tenure. Several social and political factors allow Colombia and India to defy this expectation.

Abby Katharine Blass, *University of Texas*, *Austin* abby.blass@mail.utexas.edu

Paper Policymaking from the Bench: Activist Decisions of State Supreme Courts

What is judicial activism on state Supreme Courts? There are varying judicial selection methods for state Supreme Courts and one would assume this would impact the activism of decisions reached. How does activism differ from state to state?

Carol Walker, Georgia State University cwalker14@gsu.edu

Disc. Richard L. Vining, University of Georgia

rvining@uga.edu

C. Scott Peters, *University of Northern Iowa* scott.peters@uni.edu

43-3 Due Process: Procedural and Substantive Rights

Room Millenium on the 6th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Curtis M. Curtis, University of Portland

curtisw@up.edu

Paper Empty Words: Extraterritoriality and the Right to Remain Silent

This paper examines the Fifth Amendment to determine its application to noncitizens. It also explores the practice of applying Constitutional provisions extraterritorially to determine any limitations based on location that may be applicable.

Dwayne Keith Jones, Kent State University

djones2@kent.edu

Paper Structural Due Process

The due process clause has come to be interpreted as a source of substantive rights. This approach cannot be maintained. Interpreting the due process clause in light of separation of powers - structural due process - offers a principled alternative.

Joseph S. Devaney, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay devaneyj@uwgb.edu

Paper Stigma Plus: Sex Offenders in the Judicial Imaginary

Sex offender laws are unconstitutional because they revoke liberty rights without due process. I hypothesize that courts deny claims of liberty deprivation by appropriating hyperbolic cultural tropes of innocence, recidivism, and perversity.

Joe Fischel, University of Chicago

jjfischel@gmail.com

Paper Arbitrary and Capricious: The Need for a New Standard of Review

We argue that the appellate standard of review for state administrative agency adjudication is constitutionally unsound. Individuals are being denied their right to property (in the form of professional licenses) without due process of law.

Mary McThomas, Mississippi State University

mmcthomas@ps.msstate.edu

Whit Waide, Mississippi State University

wwaide@ps.msstate.edu

Disc. Curtis M. Curtis, University of Portland

curtisw@up.edu

44-4 Global Regimes for War and Human Rights

Room Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Patrice Cole McMahon, University of Nebraska

pmcmahon2@unl.edu

Paper Another Dream Deferred: Economic Rights and the Post Cold War Era

This paper looks at how despite the end of the East-West divide, there has been a political failure at the international to protect of economic and social rights in the post cold war era.

Susan Kang, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY

skang@jjay.cuny.edu

Paper Do International Institutions Punish Heretics More Than Infidels? Evidence From the ICCPR

We ask whether signing key international treaties, such as the convention against torture and the covenant on civil and political rights, reduces or increases the subsequent risk that a human rights violator will be subject to external punishment.

Nikolay Marinov, *Yale University* nikolay.marinov@yale.edu

Disc. Lucrecia Garcia Iommi, University of Notre Dame

lgarciai@nd.edu

45-9 Social Issues and Healthcare at the State Level

Honore on the Lobby Level, Sun at 8:00 am Room Carol S. Weissert, Florida State University Chair

cweissert@fsu.edu

Maximizing Federal Medicaid Dollars: Nursing Home Provider Paper **Tax Adoption, 2000-2004**

This study sought to explain the rapid increase in nursing home provider tax programs, which enable states to maximize federal Medicaid contributions. Nursing home lobbying strength and prevailing programmatic and fiscal conditions are highlighted. Edward Alan Miller, Brown University

edward a miller@brown.edu

The Impact of State Death Penalty Commissions on Legislative Paper **Reform of the Death Penalty**

This paper explores recent death penalty commissions in six states as agenda setting mechanisms that resulted in substantive changes in state death penalty law.

Elizabeth Theiss Smith, University of South Dakota etsmith@usd.edu

Whose Influence (and Money) Matters in State Health Care Paper Reform?

Previously we discovered different patterns of interest group influence on three state health reforms. By linking these groups to state PACs, we now have a complete set of health groups. Our new model includes PACs numbers and contribution levels.

Virginia H. Gray, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill vagray@email.unc.edu

Jennifer Benz, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill jbenz@email.unc.edu

David Lowery, University of Leiden DLowery@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Paper **Influences on Reinvention in GLBT Policy**

This study examines policy reinvention in areas of law that effect the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender population. Brian DiSarro, California State University, Sacramento

disarrob@saclink.csus.edu Jami Taylor, Ohio University jamitaylorva@yahoo.com

Disc. Daniel C. Lewis, University of New Orleans dclewis1@uno.edu

46-17 Prisons, Media and Crime Policy: Three Local Case

Monroe on the 6th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

David Randall Roediger, University of Illinois Chair

droedige@illinois.edu

Local Coverage of Prisons and Crime Policy Paper

This paper examines the ideological subtext and political biases of the mainstream Chicago media's reporting on prisons and crime policy, using coverage of the new Kane County Adult Corrections facility as a case study.

Steve Macek, North Central College shmacek@noctrl.edu

Imagining Youngstown from Mafia Haven to Prison Economy: Neoliberalism, Policing, and Representations of Race and Crime

This paper explores the role of race in coverage of crime in Youngstown, OH, from the 1950s through 2000. It also examines race and incarceration in the neoliberal social and economic policies that took shape and became dominant in the same period.

Thomas Sabatini, Youngstown State University sabby@lazlow.com

The Common Enemy is the Boss and the Inmate: New York **Paper** State's Corrections Officers Union and the War on Crime in the 1970s-1980s

An historical analysis of the role of New York State prison guards' union activists in shaping public perception and legislative action on crime and prison policy in New York during the 1970s.

Rebecca N. Hill, Borough of Manhattan Community College, CUNY rebhillbmcc@gmail.com

David Randall Roediger, University of Illinois Disc.

droedige@illinois.edu

47-7 Federal Education Reform in the United States

Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room Chair Juliet F. Gainsborough, Bentley University

jgainsborough@bentley.edu

Paper

A Response to Failed Implementation: Why No Child Left **Behind Has Not Been Reauthorized**

Since the passage of No Child Left Behind, 28 states have shown opposition through legislation, judicial action, & symbolic resolutions. State opposition to NCLB helps explain why NCLB failed to be reauthorized & the implementation process.

Marissa Anne Silber, University of Florida silber@ufl.edu

Paper Intergovernmental Policy Dynamics: Lessons From Education Reform

This study examines the nature of intergovernmental policy dynamics with attention to their potential to disrupt and destabilize stable policy arenas.

Ashley E. Jochim, University of Washington aew9@u.washington.edu

Paper The Domestic Policy Agenda and Foreign Policy Crises

This paper explores the agenda-setting dynamics involved in legislating domestic policy issues when the government is absorbed in foreign policy crises. How do significant domestic policies get made when all attention is on foreign matters?

Natalie M. Jackson, University of Oklahoma nataliemjackson@ou.edu

Disc. Juliet F. Gainsborough, Bentley University

jgainsborough@bentley.edu

47-17 **How National and Cultural Differences Affect Health**

Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Mitzi L. Mahoney, Sam Houston State University Chair pol mlm@shsu.edu

Privies Are Cheaper Than Coffins: Hookworm, Science, and **Paper** Local Knowledge in the American South

This paper deals with the problems that confront public health interventions at the nexus between scientific knowledge and local knowledge. Combatting hookworm disease, public health workers deployed ideas about race and southern economic growth.

Daniel Davis Sledge, Cornell University

dds28@cornell.edu

Home Health Care in Puerto Rico and Indiana: A Qualitative **Paper** and Quantitative Analysis

This paper will analyze the quantitative and qualitative findings of a fieldwork study of home health care programs in Puerto Rico and Indiana, two settings with distinct cultural traditions.

Minerva Cruz, Kentucky State University minerva.cruz@kysu.edu

Pharmaceutical Benefits in Time: Comparing Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom

Canada is the only country with widespread public health benefits but without similar pharmaceutical benefits. I address this overlooked policy puzzle by comparing Canada to two otherwise similar welfare states (Australia and the UK).

Katherine Boothe, University of British Columbia

kboothe@interchange.ubc.ca

Disc. Mitzi L. Mahoney, Sam Houston State University

pol mlm@shsu.edu

48-4 **Social Welfare and Education Spending**

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor. Sun at 8:00 am Jamus Jerome Lim. The World Bank Chair

ilim@worldbank.org

Paper **Institutions, Education, and Economic Performance**

This paper considers the interactions between governance, educational outcomes, and economic performance. We establish links where institutional quality affects growth via its mediating impact on education, taking into account endogeneity issues.

Jamus Jerome Lim, The World Bank

ilim@worldbank.org

Jonathon Adams-Kane, University of California, Santa Cruz

jonathonak@gmail.com

Paper Institutional Factors in the Growth and Divergence of Health

Care Spending Across U.S. States: A Multiple Time Series **Analysis**

Institutional determinants of regional variation in the costs of US medical care are studied using new advances in multiple time-series analysis.

Marcus Alexander, Harvard University

malexand@fas.harvard.edu

Matthew C. Harding, Stanford University

mch@stanford.edu

Paper Child Care Policies in the American States: An Empirical

> This paper examines child care policies adopted by the American states in an effort to explain differences across the 50 states. Consideration is given to dominant economic activity, politics, and

socio-economic conditions.

Marvin Hoffman, Appalachian State University

hoffmanmk@appstate.edu

Ethnicity and Social Spending in the Developed and Developing Paper

Worlds

This paper uses theory and data from the ethnic fractionalization literature, the OECD welfare state literature, and developing countries welfare state literature to test whether ethnic fractionalization has an effect on welfare expenditures.

Andrew Stephen Pennock, University of North Carolina, Chapel

Hill

andrew.pennock@gmail.com

Disc. Marcus Alexander, Harvard University

malexand@fas.harvard.edu

49-9 Media and Environmental Politics

Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Thomas A. Birkland, North Carolina State University Chair

tom birkland@ncsu.edu

Paper Media Coverage of Climate Change Litigation

Examines media coverage of state climate change litigation.

Sarah Pralle, Syracuse University

sbpralle@maxwell.syr.edu

Paper Mass Media and Policy Entrepreneurs: Policy Transparency and Change

> In the case of non-consumptive recreational water rights in Colorado, water issue experts were the most influential policy actors. Their influence, combined with a lack of media coverage and citizen involvement, successfully promoted policy change.

Deserai Anderson Crow, University of Colorado, Boulder

deserai.crow@colorado.edu

The Politics of Attention for Environmental Issues: **Paper**

Social Dynamics, Agenda Setting, and Priorities of Dutch

Environmental Policy

Climate change is a multi-level problem. Popular attention for it only increases if it is translated into national "back-yard problems".

Climate change framed as a European problem does not increase attention, nationalization of the problem does.

Gerard Breeman, Wageningen University

gerard.breeman@wur.nl

Arco Timmermans, Leiden University

atimmermans@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Disc. David Konisky, University of Missouri

koniskyd@missouri.edu

50-11 **Legal and Judicial Issues in Public Administration**

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Claudia A. Petrescu, Eastern Michigan University

cpetrescu@emich.edu

Ramps, Ladders, and Leadership: Career Paths and the **Paper**

Emergence of Transformational Personality in the Bureaucracy

Analysis of career paths and personalities of police chiefs shows that public administration professions and career paths create patterns of executive personality and political leadership in the

bureaucracy.

Manny Teodoro, Colgate University

mteodoro@mail.colgate.edu

The Old Salt: When Professional and Bureaucratic **Paper Accountability Streams Meet in Local Law Enforcement**

Management

This paper explores how county sheriffs and municipal police chiefs make management decisions regarding the proper balance between professional discretion and adherence to their agencies' standard operating procedures.

T. Casey LaFrance, Northern Illinois University

tlafranc@niu.edu

Paper Navigating Law, Politics, and Administration: The Case of the

Office of the Solicitor General

Using Svara's notion of complementarity, this paper examines the law and politics and law and administration dichotomies. We hypothesize that the behavior of the SG will vary as a function of the issue, the type of participation, and the period.

Richard L. Pacelle, Georgia Southern University

rpacelle@georgiasouthern.edu

Trenton J. Davis, Georgia Southern University

tjdavis@georgiasouthern.edu

F. Erik Brooks, Georgia Southern University

febrooks@georgiasouthern.edu

Paper The Public Administrator in the Legal Setting: Understanding

What Happens and How the Legal Setting Fits in the

Administrator's World

This paper details one or two case studies focused on how public administrators bring the processes and outcomes of judicial activities into the management of their organizations and how that incorporation may be more easily accomplished.

Heidi O. Koenig, Northern Illinois University

hkoenig@niu.edu

Heidi O. Koenig, Northern Illinois University Disc.

hkoenig@niu.edu

Holona LeAnne Ochs, Howard University

hlochs@gmail.com

50-18 **International Perspectives in Public Management**

Clark 5 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Maria Veronica Elias, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Chair

Wavne

eliasm@ipfw.edu

Diffusion of the BSC in the Swedish Municipality Sector Paper

The paper examines the introduction of the Balanced Scorecard among municipalities in Sweden from a diffusion perspective and is based on a survey of 190 municipalities and their adoption and use of the BSC.

Ulf Ramberg, Lund University

ulf.ramberg@fek.lu.se

Mikael Hellström, Lund University

mikael.hellstrom@fek.lu.se

Peter Jönsson, Stockholm School of Economics

Peter.Jonsson@hhs.se

Jointly Owned Local Government Organizations is Governance Paper **Enough as Substitute for Sole Ownership?**

Swedish municipalities tend to create jointly owned organisations to secure efficient service delivery. Based on a longitudinal case study, the question raised here is if this is a good strategy or not: can governance substitute for sole ownership?

Hans Knutsson, Lund University Hans.Knutsson@fek.lu.se Ola Mattisson, Lund University Ola.mattisson@fek.lu.se

Impacts of the Unexpected: Learning and Reform in the Wake Paper of Crisis

The relationship between crisis and organizational learning has received considerable academic attention, but little systematic research. This paper develops a typology the impacts of crisis on learning based on new empirical case data.

Lina Svedin Maria Svedin, University of Utah

lina.svedin@poli-sci.utah.edu

Daniel Nohrstedt, Swedish National Defense College

daniel.nohrstedt@fhs.se

Disc. Yael Shomer, Washington University, St. Louis yshomer@gmail.com

51-9 War, Empire, and the State in Historical Perspective

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Deborah Boucoyannis, Harvard University Chair

boucoyan@fas.harvard.edu

Conscription, Monopoly of Violence, and Consolidation of Paper Private Patriarchies: First World War France and the United **States**

The modern state's monopoly of violence is shown to have reproduced private patriarchy through conscription exemptions for fathers in First World War France and the United States. Max Weber's view of the family/state nexus is thus reexamined.

Dorith Geva, University of Chicago geva@uchicago.edu

Paper The Irrelevance of War for State and Regime Formation

War is assumed a key independent variable for state and regime formation. Cases where it is found not to be are termed deviations from the norm. I show that the historical record shows war was not to the causal force in Europe it is assumed to be.

Deborah Boucoyannis, Harvard University

boucoyan@fas.harvard.edu

Race, Imperialism and Nation-Building: National Integration in Paper the 19th Century United States

This Paper examines imperial governance and political incorporation of different sets of populations by the federal government in the 19th century and seeks to explain stable patterns as well as variation.

Stefan Heumann, University of Pennsylvania

heumann@sas.upenn.edu

Delegated Empire: Information, Networks, and Political Paper Control of the American Colonial State in the Philippines, 1900-1913

How strong is political control of the bureaucracy outside the domestic state? Drawing on original archival and quantitative data, this paper examines the colonial state established to govern the

Philippines after the Spanish-American War. Colin D Moore, Yale University

colin.moore@yale.edu

Disc. Richard Valelly, Swarthmore College

rvalell1@swarthmore.edu

David A. Selby, University of California, San Diego

daselby@weber.ucsd.edu

53-8 **The Determination of Group Sociocultural Traits**

Room Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Chair

Benjamin N. Judkins, University of Utah

benjamin.judkins@poli-sci.utah.edu

Paper **Explaining Generalized Trust Among Immigrants in Europe:**

The Role of Culture and Institutions

This paper examines the relative role of culture and institutions in determining generalized trust by analyzing whether trust-level of the home country or institutional quality of the destination country determines trust among immigrants in Europe.

Peter Thisted Dinesen, University of Aarhus

petertd@ps.au.dk

Paper The River of Consensus: Popular Participation and Exclusion in the Narmada Dam Movement

This paper investigates the conditions under which participatory social movements can undermine democratic politics by examining the Narmada dam movement in the Indian state of Gujarat.

Mona Gaurang Mehta, University of Chicago mgmehta@uchicago.edu

Paper Not in My Backyard: Ideas and Institutions in Contentious

Using episodes of contention in Ecuador and Italy, I demonstrate how the interaction between ideational and institutional factors shape social movement outcomes.

Andrew Yeo, Catholic University

yeo@cua.edu

Disc. Filipe Carreira da Silva, University of Chicago

lipe083@yahoo.com

54-17 Representation and Belonging among Religious **Minorities**

Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Nandini Deo, Lehigh University Chair

ndd208@lehigh.edu

Religious Minorities, Who Cares Best: Politicians or People? **Paper**

The aim of this paper is to examine whether religious minorities fare better at the polls or in the parliamentary process. This question will be addressed by analyzing popular votes and parliamentary decisions in Switzerland.

Anna Christmann, University of Zurich

christmann@ipz.uzh.ch

Deniz Danaci, University of Zurich

danaci@ipz.uzh.ch

Paper Church-State Relations in Mainland China after 1949

This paper describes the relationship between religion and state in Mainland China after 1949, trying to explore its experiences in the past, and to tell the possible development tendency in the future.

Xiaheng Xie, Baylor University

xiaheng_xie@baylor.edu

Being Husayn: Identity Construction and Its Effects on the Paper Political Dispositions of Shi'a Muslims in the United States

Drawing on surveys of individuals, interviews, and ethnography, this research utilizes the framing literature to explain how the Shi'a in the U.S. inform particular political dispositions through identity construction.

Cyrus Ali Contractor, University of Oklahoma cyrus@ou.edu

Paper From Denial to Re-Conceptualization: Comparative Study of the Relations Between Religious Minorities and National **Identities in Russia and Turkey**

This paper analyzes comparatively dynamics in the relations between religious or denominational minorities and national identities in Russia and Turkey throughout their history until nowadays with focus on recent developments

Laman Tasch, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb laman.tasch@comcast.net

Disc. Nandini Deo, Lehigh University ndd208@lehigh.edu

56-8 **Leveraging Campaign 2008: Impact on Political Engagement**

Room Empire on the Lobby Level, Sun at 8:00 am Jean Wahl Harris, University of Scranton Chair iean.harris@scranton.edu

Getting High School Students Involved in Politics: Students Paper Working as Illinois Election Judges and Campaign Workers

Does serving as an election judge or working in political campaigns encourage secondary students to be more political active? This study discusses findings from a survey of student judges and campaign workers from the 2006 and 2008 elections.

Elizabeth O'Shaughnessy, Loyola Academy

bettybosh@sbcglobal.net

Deliberative Polling: The Art of Responsible Thinking Paper

The researchers provide an overview of Deliberative Polling and compare "uninformed" to "informed" opinion. The methodology is an effective tool for creating a "neutral" learning environment that facilitates the leveling of deep seated cleavages.

Melanie J. Blumberg, California University of Pennsylvania blumberg@cup.edu

David G. Argent, California University of Pennsylvania argent@cup.edu

Susan A. Jasko, California University of Pennsylvania jasko@cup.edu

Elizabeth A. Jones, California University of Pennsylvania jones ea@cup.edu

Mary A. O'Connor, California University of Pennsylvania oconnor@cup.edu

Simulating 2008: A Mock Presidential Election's Impact on Paper **Student Civic Engagement**

We analyze results of a pre- and post- mock election simulation survey of college students to determine its overall efficacy in influencing student political behavior, knowledge and attitudes during the 2008 presidential election.

Janna L. Deitz, Western Illinois University

JL-Deitz@wiu.edu

Keith Boeckelman, Western Illinois University

KA-Boeckelman@wiu.edu

Practice Makes Perfect: Engaging Citizen-Students in Theory Paper and Practice with Political Action

With the recruitment of college students as election judges we study the relationship between theory and politics, in order to begin to address this issue of political science education and the democratic engagement of our students.

Karen Csajko, Winona State University

kcsajko@winona.edu

Kara Lindaman, Winona State University

klindaman@winona.edu

Disc. Jean Wahl Harris, University of Scranton

jean.harris@scranton.edu

Jeffrey Fred Kraus, Wagner College

ikraus@wagner.edu

61-3 Case Studies in Leadership

Hancock on the 6th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Room

Chair Sonia Alianak, University of Texas, Pan American

alianak@utpa.edu

Leadership and the Psychological Interaction Between Vladimir **Paper** Putin and the Russian People

This article applies a psychodynamic framework to delineate psychological interaction between Putin and the Russian people. Author concludes that Russians may be warming up to capitalism, but are not particularly interested in furthering democracy.

Otis Grant, Indiana University, South Bend

ogrant@iusb.edu

Organized Leadership as a Necessary Resource for the Success **Paper** and Sustainability of a Social Movement

An effective and organized leadership is a necessary resource in the success and sustainability of a movement. Comparing the leadership characteristics and behaviors of the successful Cuban Revolution and the struggling Sendero Luminoso in Peru.

Jay Thomas Murphy, University of Alabama murph009@bama.ua.edu

The Pendulum Model, Islam and Kuwait's Leaders **Paper**

The paper applies the Pendulum Model, a dynamic interactive model of both leaders and society, where leaders use Islam to attempt to achieve equilibrium and stability of rule, to Kuwait's leaders in the post-September 11 era and during the Iraq War. Sonia Alianak, University of Texas, Pan American alianak@utpa.edu

Weltanshauung and Leadership of King Sejong in the Creation **Paper** of Hangul: For a New Readership on the Leadership of King Sejong the Great

This study will show, with the True Record of Chosun Dynasty, that King Sejong's sense of balance and humane initiative in the making of Hangul, Korean letter, originated from the international cultural relations of the 15th century's Northeast Asia.

Young Suk Lee, Korea University

yslgl@korea.ac.kr

Paper A Few Good Women: Case Studies in Judicial Leadership

My contention is that certain eminent women judges, through their personal leadership, have influenced the development of law in ways that go beyond their decisional output. I build a composite profile of what a woman judicial leader looks like.

Elaine Martin, Eastern Michigan University felainemartin@yahoo.com

Disc.

Otis Grant, Indiana University, South Bend ogrant@iusb.edu

Sunday, April 5-10:00 am

3-17 Political Mobilization and Participation

Room Dearborn 3 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am
Chair Paula Munoz, University of Texas, Austin

pmunoz@mail.utexas.edu

Paper The Political Activeness of the Poor

We use survey data and cases to test the link between elitist govts and political activeness. We show that perceptions of elite dominance over govt. enable anti-elite political entrepreneurship to resonate, making the poor more politically active.

Jennifer Tobin, Georgetown University

jlt58@georgetown.edu

Stephen Kosack, London School of Economics

Stephen_Kosack@brown.edu

Paper Local Electoral Systems and Voter Participation: Evidence from Brazil and Bolivia

In this project, we use new sub-national data from municipalities in Bolivia and Brazil to explore voter turnout in a novel way, comparing local variation from two countries with very different local electoral systems.

Carew Elizabeth Boulding, University of Colorado, Boulder

boulding@colorado.edu

David S. Brown, University of Colorado, Boulder

David.S.Brown@Colorado.EDU

Paper Who Gets Bought? Vote Buying, Turnout Buying and Other Strategies

In many countries political parties distribute particularistic benefits to individuals in order to win elections. This paper presents a formal model that provides insights into how parties allocate resources across strategies.

Jordan Gans-Morse, University of California, Berkeley g morse@berkeley.edu

Sebastian Mazzuca, Harvard University

smazzuca@wcfia.harvard.edu

Simeon Nichter, University of California, Berkeley

nichter@berkeley.edu

Paper The Political Effects of Party Rallies

How do party bosses make brokers act as their representatives regardless of broker individual preferences? This paper finds that bosses use broker ability to turnout voters at party rallies to solve this question.

Mariela Szwarcberg, Yale University mariela.szwarcberg@yale.edu

Disc. Alfred Patrick Montero, Carleton College amontero@carleton.edu

4-18 Political Economy of Transitions

Room Dearborn 2 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am
Chair Nimish Adhia, University of Illinois, Chicago

nadhia2@uic.edu

Paper The Capitalist Path to Democracy: Theoretical Considerations

I draw on insights from public choice and new institutional economics to explore the relationship between capitalism and democracy, focusing on the dynamics of interaction between a rentseeking state and the firms whose interests it threatens.

Kevin Narizny, Lehigh University

knarizny@lehigh.edu

Paper A Causal Analysis of the Relationship Between Democratization and Economic Growth

The long run relationship between democratization and economic growth has been previously considered by a number of researchers, and yet no clear consensus has emerged. Various econometric techniques are used to analyze the direction of causality.

Myeong Hwan Kim, Indiana University Purdue University, Fort Wayne

kimm@ipfw.edu

Carolyn Fabian Stumph, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne

stumphc@ipfw.edu

Paper A Duration Analysis of Democratic Transitions and Autocratic Backslides

Political scientists have proposed a unified framework for understanding regime transitions and consolidation. Using global data from 1970 to 1999, we test this unified thesis. Our results provide little support for this thesis.

Jose Aleman, Fordham University

aleman@fordham.edu

David Yang, Rand Corporation

dyang@princeton.edu

Paper Why Are Some Countries Immune to the Negative Political Effects of Natural Resource Wealth: An Empirical Analysis

This paper presents an empirical analysis on the question of why natural resource wealth has strong antidemocratic effects in some countries but not in others by introducing a new variable: the level of market-contracting.

Selim Erdem Aytac, *Koc University* selaytac@ku.edu.tr

Paper Dictatorship of the Rich, Dictatorship of the Poor

This paper shows that there are two empirical patterns in authoritarian politics - dictatorship of the rich and dictatorship of the poor - and each corresponds to a different solution to the problem of authoritarian power-sharing.

Milan Svolik, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign msvolik@uiuc.edu

Disc. Monika Nalepa, University of Notre Dame

mnalepa@nd.edu

Daniel Berger, New York University

db1299@nyu.edu

5-1 Representation and Policymaking I

Room Salon 6 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Robert J. Franzese, Jr., University of Michigan

franzese@umich.edu

Paper Economic Geography, Electoral Institutions, and Targeted Transfers

This paper examines the effect of geographic sector concentration on sector spending conditional on a country's electoral institutions.

Stephanie J. Rickard, Dublin City University

stephanie.rickard@dcu.ie

Paper Broadening Minds: Social Structure, Constituency Breadth and Public Goods Provision in Developing Democracies

I examine the interaction of social structure (ethnic fractionalization, ethnic-income cross-cuttingness) & electoral rules on public goods provision utilizing cross-national time-series data in 40-odd developing countries between 1970-2000.

Joel Sawat Selway, University of Michigan jselway@umich.edu

Paper The Political Representation of the Poor: Electoral Politics and Poverty Relief in Contemporary Democratic Societies

How do electoral rules affect the poor? This discussion presents evidence that antipoverty policies reflect legislators' electoral incentives to be responsive to the poor.

Karen Long Jusko, Stanford University

kljusko@stanford.edu

Paper Rainfall and Representation: How Voter Turnout Shapes the Effective Constituency for Legislators

We examine the relationship between political participation and public service provision in developing countries utilizing crossnational time-series data on participation to instrument voter turnout in elections.

Joel W. Simmons, *Stony Brook University* joel.simmons@stonybrook.edu

Disc. Vera Eva Troeger, University of Essex

vtroe@essex.ac.uk

5-20 Institutions and Public Policy

Room Grant on the 6th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

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

Societies bus@mpifg.de

Paper Mapping Autism: Institutions and Autism Policy in Canada and the United States

This study identifies and compares the maps of institutions and actors emerging around autism and public policy in Canada and the United States.

Gertrude Ann Steuernagel, Kent State University

tsteuern@kent.edu

Dana Lee Baker, Washington State University

bakerdl@wsu.edu

Paper Interest Groups, Institutions, and Gun Control Policy: A

Comparative Study of Focusing Events

This paper discusses the importance of firearms related focusing events in impacting agenda setting and formulation in the United States and Canada.

Anthony Kyel Fleming, West Virginia University sjtfadd0@aol.com

Paper (Re?)-Shaping the Political Arena: Democratic Governance and Social Policy Reform in Latin America

Analyzes how institutionally shaped path dependence mechanisms are interrupted by the political articulation of emerging social cleavages through the comparison of changes experienced by Latin American welfare regimes during the last three decades.

Javier Vazquez-D'Elia, *University of Pittsburgh* javiervazquezdelia@gmail.com

Paper Sources of Firm Preferences on Pension Policy

Using a unique survey of firms in 20 countries across 5 continents, this paper tests whether firm and national level factors that shape market risks explain firm support for particular pension reform policies.

Michelle L Dion, Georgia Institute of Technology mdion@gatech.edu

Andrew Roberts, Northwestern University aroberts@northwestern.edu

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

bus@mpifg.de

6-11 Political Behavior in East Asia

Room Montrose 4 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Amy H. Liu, Emory University

ahliu@emory.edu

Paper Macroeconomic Situations, Public Preferences for

Redistributive Policies, and Policy Mood

What determine the preferences for redistributive policies? This paper explores the driving force of the preferences for redistributive policies in South Korea, focusing on macroeconomic situations.

Seung Hee Lee, Korea University

joie525@gmail.com

Paper Public Attitudes Toward the Role of Government in East Asia

The proposed paper is to examine public attitudes toward the role of government in capitalist democracies of East Asia. It examines whether citizens support state expansion or retrenchment and where they demand for more or less state action.

Chong-Min Park, Korea University

cmpark@korea.ac.kr

Jaesun Wang, Ajou University

ajwjs@korea.ac.kr

Paper

The Legislative-Electoral Nexus and the Distributive Politics: Pork-Barrel Targeting in South Korea

On the pork-barrel distribution, there has been conflicting logic and predictions. Targeting core supporters or swing voters? Parties' or individual members' rationality? My research on the South Korean case shows how parties target swing voters.

Sukjae Hur, University of Korea

homework@korea.ac.kr

isc. Frank C. S. Liu, National Sun Yat-Sen University, Taiwan

frankcsliu@gmail.com

7-7 Public Opinion in European Politics

Room Indiana on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Jae-Jae Spoon, University of Iowa

jae-jae-spoon@uiowa.edu

Paper Determinants of Political Patriotism in Europe

Is the discourse of economic patriotism in Europe driven by public opinion? Socio-economic characteristics, political party competition and the universality of the welfare states explain protectionist preferences in European countries.

Alexiadou Despina, University of Pittsburgh

dalexiad@pitt.edu

Paper Trust in European Union Institutions: Informed Consent?

Why do some Europeans distrust European Union institutions? We test the assertion that trust in international institutions is primarily a function of individuals' level of education. We test this using Eurobaomter data and regression analysis.

Karl Kaltenthaler, University of Akron/Case Western Reserve University

kck@uakron.edu

Paper Negotiating the European Constitution: The Role of Public Opinion

In this paper, we aim to demonstrate dynamics of two-level effects and the role of public opinion in recent European negotiations on the Treaty for a European Constitution. Our central argument builds on the notion of involuntary defection.

Christine Arnold, University of Maastricht

c.arnold@politics.unimaas.nl **Han Dorussen**, *University of Essex*

hdorus@essex.ac.uk

Madeleine Hosli, Leiden University

Hosli@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Hartmut Lenz, Oxford University hartmut.lenz@politics.ox.ac.uk

aper British and French Public Opinion and the EU in the Post-

Maastricht Era: EU Policy Preferences and Socio-Economic Model Inclinations

This article empirically investigates whether inclinations towards a socio-economic model structure EU policy preferences of British and French citizens.

Pierre P. Balestrini, University of Surrey

P.Balestrini@surrey.ac.uk

Disc. Jae-Jae Spoon, University of Iowa

jae-jae-spoon@uiowa.edu

Galina Zapryanova, University of Pittsburgh

gmz5@pitt.edu

8-2 <u>Public Opinion and Political Participation in Latin</u> America

Room Crystal on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am
Chair Dinorah R. Azpuru, Wichita State University

dinorah.azpuru@wichita.edu

Paper Religion and Political Participation in Latin America

Using original data from surveys conducted in Honduras, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua, this paper seeks to examine competing theories concerning the relationship between religion and political participation in Latin America.

Douglas Thornton, Texas A&M University at Qatar

douglas.thornton@qatar.tamu.edu

C. Todd Kent, Texas A&M University at Qatar todd.kent@qatar.tamu.edu

Paper A Virtuous Cycle: Public Service Provision and Citizen

Participation in Latin America

This study examines individual participation in politics as a result of citizen satisfaction with local public service provisions using data from the Latin American Public Opinion Project (Vanderbilt).

Ashley Dyan Ross, Texas A&M University

aross@politics.tamu.edu

Paper Internet Use and Political Tolerance in the Developing World

Analysis of the impact internet use has on political tolerance across over 30,000 respondents in 21 Latin American and Caribbean countries.

Jonathan Hiskey, Vanderbilt University

j.hiskey@vanderbilt.edu

Daniel Moreno, Ciudadania, Bolivia

dmorenom@gmail.com

Paper From the PRI Hegemony to the Post-PRI Era: Presidential Approval in the Mexican Transition

Citizens' approval of the president is framed by political institutions. While party identification was the main predictor of approval during the PRI era, after the transition, political issues become relevant when Mexicans evaluate the president.

Ricardo Roman Gomez-Vilchis, University of California, San

Diego

rgomezvilchis@ucsd.edu

Disc. Dinorah R. Azpuru, Wichita State University

dinorah.azpuru@wichita.edu

8-19 The Role of Partisanship and Ethnicity in Vote Choice

Room Clark 10 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair David Hale Richards, Lynchburg College

richards D@lvnchburg.edu

Paper Public Security and the 2006 Colombian Presidential Election

Whether concerns about crime, or political violence, were more responsible for the 2006 re-election of Álvaro Uribe, is crucial to understanding whether conservatives may soon rise elsewhere to place a limit on the rise of the left in Latin America.

Randy Sunwin Uang, University of Texas, Austin uang@mail.utexas.edu

Paper Who Was the Greater Threat to the Concertación Electoral Dominance in Chile?: Lavín in 2000 or Piñera in 2006 in Chile

Public opinion poll data analysis of vote determinantes for right wing candidates in Chile in 1999 and 2005.

Patricio D. Navia, New York University

pdn200@nyu.edu

Mauricio Morales, Universidad Diego Portales

mjmorale@gmail.com

Jose Miguel Izquierdo, Instituto Libertad

jmizquierdo@institutolibertad.cl

Paper How Powerful are Ethnic Platforms? The Determinants of Citizen-Party Linkages in Bolivia and Ecuador

In this paper, I use results from recent legislative elections in Bolivia and Ecuador to evaluate whether indigenous parties form programmatic or personalistic linkages with their electorate.

Karleen Jones West, West Virginia University

KaJones@mail.wvu.edu

Paper Ethnic Voting in Multi-Ethnic Societies: The Case of Suriname and Guyana

We test different theories of ethnic voting by using quantitative election data and qualitative data (in depth interviews & focus group data) to test hypotheses. Both types of data are collected by field research in Suriname and Guyana.

Patrick Vander Weyden, University of Ghent

patrick.vanderweyden@ugent.be

Paper Partisan Cues? The Role of Political Parties in Latin American Referenda

This paper analyzes the role of political parties in referenda in Latin America using a new dataset with information about sub national voting patterns in referenda in 13 countries. I find that parties do have an influence in referenda results.

Angelica Duran Martinez, Brown University

aduranma@brown.edu

Disc. Jana Morgan, University of Tennessee

janamorgan@utk.edu

9-21 IR in Asia

Room Burnham 5 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Sunny Lee, Institute for Korea-U.S. Political Development

ikupd@yahoo.com

Paper Explaining China's Compliance with Intellectual Property Rights Policy Nrom Since the Country's WTO Entry: The Case of Copyright

key words: international norm, compliance, China, copyright

Zhenqing Zhang, University of Minnesota

zhenqingzh@tom.com

Paper Political Realism in Japan

This study examines Japanese political realism which reflects Japanese culture. The study will compel political realism as a school of thought, which has been treated as universally applicable, to be reexamined by provide a new perspective.

Fumiko Sasaki, St. Edwards University

fumikosasaki@aol.com

Paper China's Public Diplomacy and 2008 Beijing Olympic Games

In recent years, China started to focus on the enhancement of soft power. China would like to demonstrate and increase its soft power through the successful sponsorship of the Beijing Olympic Games. Public diplomacy would be used for this purpose.

Yu-Nu Lu, *Ming Chuan University, Taiwan* yunulu2003@hotmail.com

Paper The Case of Taiwanese Sovereignty: 35 Years of Legal Inconsistency Within International Law

This question looks at the concept of sovereignty in international law and politics and looks at the origins of the concept and how the term has (or has not) evolved concerning Taiwan with the advancement of international law and globalization.

M. Dujon Johnson, J.D., National Sun Yat-sen University mdujon@gmail.com

Disc. Tatsuya Nishida, Harvard University

tatsuya_nishida@ksgphd.harvard.edu

9-22 Comparative Political Economy: Views from Asia

Room Burnham 2 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am
Chair Matthew A. Shapiro, Illinois Institute of Technology

matthew.shapiro@iit.edu

Paper Comparing Banking Reforms in Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand: The Asian Financial Crisis Thereafter

This paper explores the political determinants of financial policy reforms in such areas as banking supervision and capital account liberalization in Indonesia, Thailand, and Korea after the graduation of the IMF conditionality programs.

Sawa Omori, *International Christian University* omoris@icu.ac.jp

omons@icu.ac.jj

Paper Politics of Land Reform: Policy Formulation, Implementation, and Evaluation in South Korea and Thailand

The goal of land reform from the UNDP and the World Bank is to eradicate poverty but their policy designs are different, in principle and in practice. The paper analyzes their theoretical frameworks. The case studies are South Korea and Thailand.

Aticha Suebsawangkul, *University of Missouri, St. Louis* aticha69@yahoo.com

Paper The Pathway of Economic Reforms: A Comparative Study on China and India

The paper compares China's and India's economic reforms in different periods, especially the purposes and motivations; the structural factors during the transition process; and the role of the state, institutions, and policy mechanism etc.

Xiaobo Zhang, *University of Georgia* jackyzh@uga.edu

Paper North Korea and China: The Politics of Trade and Investment

This paper uses the most recent available trade data to analyze the effects of major Sino-North Korean political events from 1990 to present upon trade volume, and estimates aid flows from China to North Korea.

Jihyeon Jeong, *University of California, San Diego* jeong8@ucsd.edu

Disc. Matthew A. Shapiro, Illinois Institute of Technology matthew.shapiro@iit.edu

Aticha Suebsawangkul, *University of Missouri, St. Louis* aticha69@yahoo.com

10-9 Africa's International Relations

Room Salon 9 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Chair Iren Omo-Bare, Millsaps College

omobai@millsaps.edu

Paper China and Africa: A New Imperialism?

This essay examines China's relations with Africa and its impact on contemporary political and economic developments on the continent.

Iren Omo-Bare, Millsaps College omobai@millsaps.edu

Paper China in Africa: An African-Centered Strategy for Assessing an Expanding Political and Economic Relationship

How do we understand and approach China's growing influence in Africa?

Osaore Aideyan, *St. Lawrence University* oaideyan@stlawu.edu

Paper Metaphor and Constitutive Language: Africa and the West

This paper examines the use of metaphor in relations between Africa and the West, specifically, colonial metaphors of darkness and a female/infantile other, and how current language of a "Continent in Crisis" adopts portions of these metaphors.

Carolyn E. Holmes, *Indiana University* ceholmes@indiana.edu

Paper The United States' and China's Economic Strategies in Africa: Competition or Convergence?

Africa has become the site of a contest between the state-led Chinese development strategy and American promotion of neoliberal reform. As a result of both local and global pressures, we see some convergence in their foreign economic strategies.

Roshen Hendrickson, College of Staten Island, CUNY hendrickson@mail.csi.cuny.edu

Disc. Raphael Obi Ogom, DePaul University

rogom@depaul.edu

11-3 Palestinian Israeli Conflict: Past, Possibilities and Prospects

Room Sandburg Boardroom 7 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Chair Husam A. Mohamad, University of Central Oklahoma

hmohamad@ucok.edu

Paper Tougher 'Uncle Sam': U.S. Policy Change on Palestine Domestic Conflict Dealt with Palestine Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006

This study deals with such a recent US policy change on Palestine with regard to its domestic conflict. This paper claims that Palestine domestic conflicts gave effect to US foreign policy and this has tensed the condition in the Palestine conflicts.

Young-nan Seo, *Ewha Womans University* tjdudsks@gmail.com

Paper Palestinian Violence: Consequences of Ancient Hatreds or Consequences of Conflict

This paper examines the "ancient hatred" assumption in the mainstream media's coverage of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and shows by an analysis of public-opinion data the applicability of this assumption is considerably weak.

Cody Brown, University of Kansas codymcclain@gmail.com

Paper The Israeli Collective Memory of the Israeli-Arab/Palestinian Conflict: Determinants, Content and Consequences

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Rafi Nets-Zehngut, Tel Aviv University/Columbia University rafi.nets@gmail.com

Daniel Bar-Tal, *Tel Aviv University* daniel@post.tau.ac.il

Disc. Karam Dana, University of Washington

karam@u.washington.edu

13-13 Georgia on My Mind: Papers on Russian Foreign Policy

Room Ashland on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am
Chair Rebecca JoAnn Cruise, University of Oklahoma

rebeccajcruise@ou.edu

Paper Russian Elites in 2008: Factors Affecting Their Perception of Russia's National Interests

This research is focused on building the structure of factors affecting the perception foreign policy interests by Russian elites, among such factors are Russian patriotism, nationalism, militarism and authoritarianism.

Kirill Kalinin, University of Michigan

kkalinin@umich.edu

Paper The Politics of Diplomatic Service Reform in Post-Soviet Russia

Drawing on new and original survey data on Russia's first post-Soviet generation of foreign policy elite, I examine the major factors that have weakened and transformed Russia's central foreign policy institution

Yelena Biberman, *Brown University* Yelena Biberman@brown.edu

Paper Understanding Russian Foreign Policy Toward the Former Soviet Region: Efforts to Extend Spheres of Influence

This paper demonstrates that the changes in Russian foreign policy after 2003 toward former Soviet Region reflected her effort to extend her spheres of influence by comparing countries such as Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan.

Yeo Jung Yoon, Seoul National University yeojung.yoon@gmail.com

Paper Policy Implications of Russian Strategic Aviation

Russia recently re-commenced long-range bomber patrols, raising concerns over the possible resumption of Cold War hostilities. This paper will look at the meaning and intent of these patrols and its implication for Russia's foreign policy objectives.

Levon Arthur Bond, *Royal Military College Canada* levonbond@hotmail.com

Paper Russian Civil-Military Reforms and Strategic Changes to Russian Military Doctrine and Foreign Policy Formation

Contemporary Russian politics are mainly based on personal allegiance to the Kremlin. This paper seeks to analyze to what extent the Kremlin maintains control over its military and the implications of its military reforms adopted in mid-October.

Zacchary R. Ritter, Georgetown University zritter@gmail.com

Disc. Levon Arthur Bond, Royal Military College Canada

levonbond@hotmail.com
Scott Nissen, Indiana University

snissen@indiana.edu

Ora John Reuter, Emory University

oreuter@emory.edu

13-21 The Last Panel: Four Good Papers that are Either Related to Legal Issues, Soft Power, or EU Accession in Post-Communist Countries

Room Kimball on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Jim Seroka, Auburn University jseroka@auburn.edu

Paper Targeting Protection: Preferential Treatment in Russia's Regional Courts

Why does the protection of legal rights vary across groups of economic actors? I find that state actors' changing fiscal constraints affect whether legal rights are upheld uniformly or else provided selectively to firms in specific industries.

Quintin H. Beazer, *Ohio State University* beazer.1@osu.edu

Paper Soft Power and Universities in the Muslim World: Preliminary Results from the First Wave of the Central Asian Student Survey in Afghanistan and Kyrgyzstan

I report on my trip to Afghanistan and Kyrgyzstan to set up a panel survey of university students in those countries. The universities are supported by different foreign powers in an effort to promote soft power. Preliminary results are discussed.

Michael Robert Reinhard, *Millsaps College* reinhmr@millsaps.edu

Paper Journalistic Freedoms and Judicial Behavior in the Post- Soviet World

Relying on the original fieldwork, conducted between August 2007 and February 2008, this paper presents analysis of the factors behind judicial support for journalistic freedoms in the courts of the post-Soviet world.

Sophia Voitanik Wilson, *University of Washington* sophiaw@u.washington.edu

Paper Normative Change or Political Conditionality? Reform and the EU Accession Process in Southeastern Europe

This paper addresses mechanisms of reform in the EU accession process in order to determine if conditionality is enough to promote tangible reform in Southeastern Europe or if norm transfer is an essential condition.

Andrea Aldrich, Georgia State University aaldrich1@student.gsu.edu

Disc. Jim Seroka, Auburn University

jseroka@auburn.edu

14-22 Issues on Bilateral and Multilateral Trade Institutions

Room Salon 4 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Sema Hacer Kalaycioglu, Dogus University, Istanbul

selaycioglu@dogus.edu.tr

Paper Whither Multilateralism? International Trade in East Asia after the Cold War

This paper assesses the extent to which East Asia's trade patterns have shifted away from multilateralism in favor of greater regionalism and bilateralism. The analysis also investigates the economic and political factors that explain these trends.

SooYeon Kim, University of Maryland

skim@gvpt.umd.edu

Paper The Dangers of Bilateralism in Agricultural Negotiations

We present a collective action based model that suggests bilateral trade may weaken coalitions seeking tariff and subsidy reduction. This reduces the negotiating power of developing countries and facilitates agricultural protectionism.

Shawn H. Williams, *University of Texas*, *Dallas* shw061000@utd.edu

Kristina M.W. Mitchell, *University of Texas, Dallas* kristinamitchell182@yahoo.com

Paper Getting There is Half the Fun: The Impact of WTO Accession on Trade

We argue that many of the trade-increasing effects of WTO membership should be felt during the later stages of the accession process instead of post-membership, since this is when most governments begin to liberalize their trade policies.

Todd Allee, University of Illinois

tallee@uiuc.edu

Jamie Scalera, University of Illinois

jscaler2@illinois.edu

Paper A Bird in Hand is Worth Two in the Bush? Overlapping Trade Agreements in Sub-Saharan Africa

The paper seeks to explain why states join multiple trade agreements in sub-Saharan Africa even though research has shown that being a member of overlapping trade agreements inhibits trade creation and deepening of cooperation.

Mwita Chacha, *University of Georgia* mcchacha@uga.edu

Paper All Audiences Are Not Alike: Understanding Third Party Influence on Compliance with World Trade Organization

Dispute Settlement Decisions

I argue that third parties to a World Trade Organization dispute are key in explaining compliance with decisions of the Dispute Settlement Body because of the audience costs they create.

Jennifer Ann Laks, *University of Pittsburgh* jenlaks212@gmail.com

Disc. Yoram Z. Haftel, University of Illinois, Chicago

yhaftel@uic.edu

14-23 Foreign Direct Investment: Bilateral Investment

Treaties, Foreign Aid, and Food Security

Clark 9 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Chair Sonal S. Pandya, University of Virginia

spandya@virginia.edu

Foreign Aid as Signal to Investors: Predicting FDI in Post-Paper

Conflict Countries

Room

We argue that post-conflict international aid operates as a signal that attracts foreign investors. This effect is independent from aid's indirect and long-term effect on FDI through other channels such as economic growth or democratization.

Ana Carolina Garriga, University of Pittsburgh

carogarriga@gmail.com

Brian John Phillips, University of Pittsburgh

brianjphillips@gmail.com

Bilateral Investment Treaties in the 1970s and 1980s: The

Appeal of Private Standing

This paper analyzes the incentives underlying home state decisions to grant private actors standing in early BITs. It proposes that home state leaders used these provisions to avoid becoming trapped in domestic investor-foreign government disputes.

Suzanne Katzenstein, Columbia University

sk2409@columbia.edu

Paper Rape and Reap: Mulitnational Corporations and the Politics of **Food Security**

This study examines the rise of multinational corporations that have a monopoly over seeds. Due to strict patent rights, local producers are forced to buy seeds that can only be used once, thereby fostering a feudalistic relationship.

Ali M. Nizamuddin, University of Illinois, Springfield aniza2@uis.edu

Domestic Determinants of International Institutional Design: Paper **Explaining the Level of Constraint in Bilateral Investment**

The paper argues that while international institutions can help

governments credibly commit to economic policies, domestic institutions shape leaders' preferences over the degree of constraint that international institutions should exert over policy.

Daniel J. Blake, Ohio State University

blake.165@polisci.osu.edu

Disc. Feng Sun, Troy University

fsun2004@yahoo.com

15-6 Leaders, Leadership Turnover, and Foreign Policy

Clark 5 on the 7th Floor. Sun at 10:00 am Room

Nikolay Marinov, Yale University Chair

nikolay.marinov@yale.edu

A General Model of Cabinet Reshuffles Paper

This model formally examines how leaders strategically appoint and Disc. remove cabinet members in order to increase their tenure in office.

Alejandro Quiroz Flores, New York University

aqf200@nyu.edu

Alastair Smith, New York University

alastair.smith@nyu.edu

Paper Do Leader Backgrounds Matter? The Relationship Between Military Service, Education, and International Conflict

Does how leaders behave once in office depend on if they served in the military or other background experiences? We present a new dataset on background leader experiences and empirical tests related to military experience and education.

Michael Horowitz, University of Pennsylvania

horom@sas.upenn.edu

Allan Stam, University of Michigan

stam@umich.edu

Rose McDermott, Brown University rmcdermott@polsci.ucsb.edu

Is Leadership Instability Contagious? An Examination of **Paper** Cultural, Trade, and Alliance Ties

We estimate a series of competing risks models to examine the determinants of leadership survival in non-democratic countries. Building on research investigating spatial diffusion, we examine

diffusion through cultural, trade, and alliance ties.

Timothy Carter, Wayne State University

timothyallen.carter@gmail.com

Naunihal Singh, University of Notre Dame

Naunihal.Singh.16@nd.edu

Disc. Nikolay Marinov, Yale University

nikolay.marinov@yale.edu

15-32 **The National Interest and Cognitive Change**

Room Cresthill on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Mariya Y. Omelicheva, University of Kansas

omeliche@ku.edu

Paper Cognitive Change Theory: An Effective Bridge-Building Approach?

This paper will examine the failure of mainstream international theories by providing a survey of literature drawn from both theoretical approaches, in order to bring about a bridge-building approach.

Aylin Gunay Gurzel, Bilkent University

aygurzel@yahoo.com

Paper To Order the Minds of Scholars: The Discourse of the Peace of Westphalia in International Relations Literature

The paper discusses the historical use of the Peace of Westphalia in international relations literature and, through its transformation into an analytic tool, its impact on scholarly thought regarding change in the international system.

Sebastian Michael Schmidt, University of Chicago

schmidts@uchicago.edu

Defining American Foreign Policy: The Balance Between Moral **Paper Authority and National Interest**

The national interest and the moral authority of the United States have challenged one another since it entered the international arena and the balance between the two has become increasingly skewed by U.S. foreign policy in recent decades.

Martin Edward Knapp, Webster University

martin@knapponthejob.com

Paper National Interest or Power Interest? Realists Approach to **International Relations and its Impact On Human Rights**

Though war causes grievous atrocities, realists deem it a moral tool in the pursuit of a nation's interest in the international system. This paper assesses the viability of the war thesis in global relations.

Timothy Addai-Balag'kutu Adivilah, West Virginia University tadivila@mix.wvu.edu

Jason Petrucci, University of Maryland

jpetrucc@gmail.com

16-17 **Military Force Structures**

Room Salon 8 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Jonathan Edward Czarnecki, Naval War College, Monterey

jczarne@nps.edu

Market Failure: The Moral Hazards of Private Military **Paper Corporations (PMCs)**

This paper critiques the use of PMCs in four parts: (1) definitions of non-state military entities, (2) potential ethical pitfalls, (3) mitigation strategies, and (4) mitigation strategy costs and remaining ethical problems.

Edward Barrett, United States Naval Academy

ebarrett@usna.edu

Modeling Information Disadvantages in Counterinsurgency: Paper Deployment and Redeployment of American Forces in Iraq

Information plays a pivotal role in the success of counterinsurgency operations. This paper examines the effect of troop rotations in worsening the information disadvantages already faced by counterinsurgent forces.

Donn Diego Gladish, University of Texas, Austin

donn.gladish@gmail.com

Jonathan Lee, University of Texas, Austin jil229@mail.utexas.edu

Why Armed Forces Win or Lose: An Empirical Investigation Paper into the Fog of War

This paper uses organization theory to develop and test a statistical model that explains why armed forces win or lose in major combat operations. The model is found to be both reliable and valid. Jonathan Edward Czarnecki, Naval War College, Monterey jczarne@nps.edu

Doing it the Hard Way: The Royal Navy and the Recapture of Paper the Falkland Islands, 1982

This paper analyzes the effect of innovation on war outcomes by examining how militaries adapt to innovation. Argentine forces presented the Royal Navy with a unique challenge and inflicted serious damage. How did the RN emerge victorious?

Matthew Alan Tattar, Brandeis University mtattar@brandeis.edu

Edward Barrett, United States Naval Academy Disc. ebarrett@usna.edu

17-18 Political Repression, Human Rights, and Civil Liberties

Millenium on the 6th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Room

Chair Katharine M. Floros, University of Missouri, Columbia florosk@missouri.edu

An Endogenous Theory of Human Rights Violations Under Paper **Institutional Executive Constraint**

Under what conditions do states repress their citizens? I formally consider how repression and dissent outcomes are strategically determined and derive conditions under which veto players constitute genuine constraints on dissent-repression dynamics.

Emily Hencken Ritter, Emory University emily.ritter@emory.edu

Exit Costs, Repression and Internal Cohesiveness of Resistance Paper Movements

We argue that cohesiveness of resistance groups depends on the ability to impose exit costs on members. We show that groups vary in their ability to do so and that such costs are key to an individual's decision to join and remain in a group.

Lucie Spanihelova, Binghamton University, SUNY lspanih1@binghamton.edu

Aparna Kher, Binghamton University, SUNY akher1@binghamton.edu

Repressing the Variation? An Event-Data Study of Human **Rights Violations**

Our paper explores the theoretical differences and overlap between the concepts of repression and human rights violations. The empirical contribution is in a new, more accurate set of interval measures for these concepts based on events data.

Tavishi Bhasin, Kennesaw State University tbhasin@kennesaw.edu

David R. Davis, Emory University poldd@emory.edu

A Cross-National Analysis of the Impact of Terrorist Attacks on **Paper** Civil Liberties and Political Rights

This paper uses time-series analysis to assess the relationship between terrorist attacks and encroachment on civil liberties and political rights cross-nationally. Combined data from Freedom House and the Global Terrorism Database are utilized.

Jeffrey Ryan, University of Arkansas

jeffr@uark.edu

Stephanie Lampinen, University of Arkansas

slampin@uark.edu

Disc.

Paper

Katharine M. Floros, University of Missouri, Columbia

florosk@missouri.edu

17-33 **Exploring the Facets of Global Security**

Room Sandburg Boardroom 4 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Shawn Ling Ramirez, University of Rochester

sramire2@mail.rochester.edu

American Military Bases and Status of Forces Agreement: How They Contribute to Increase of Terrorism in the Middle East

The build up of military bases and the Status of Forces Agreement have contributed to a general discontent against the U.S. and have increased popular sympathy with the opposition forces and terrorist organizations in Iraq and the Middle East.

Abdy Javadzadeh, Florida International University abdyjavadzadeh@yahoo.com

Volatile Breeding Grounds: The Radicalization of Euzkadi ta Paper Askatasuna (ETA)

Under what conditions did the ETA resort to the use of terrorist tactics? ETA began as the social movement Ekin in Spain in 1952 and eventually transformed into a terrorist organization. Three factors help explain this radicalization.

Christine Sixta Rinehart, Francis Marion University CSixta@fmarion.edu

Mine Your Own Business: Discourses of Environment, **Paper Development and Transnationalism in Local Gold Mining Community Conflicts**

By using protest event analysis for the analysis of gold mining conflicts in Romania and Turkey we account for the effects of transnational influences on national discourses regarding sustainability issues in these countries.

Aron Buzogany, Yale University/Freie Universitat Berlin cab25@pantheon.yale.edu

Irem Kök, Yale University/Bogazici University irem.kok@yale.edu

Proxy Warfare and Uncertain Sovereignty Paper

This paper demonstrates how sovereignty norms have permissive effects that determine different types of proxy warfare between states. We examine the cases of Sudan and Chad. Pakistan and India, and Syria and Iran's involvement in Lebanon.

Christopher Richard Day, Northwestern University ChristopherDay2011@u.northwestern.edu

Disc. Shawn Ling Ramirez, University of Rochester

sramire2@mail.rochester.edu

18-13 War, Conflict Processes, and Foreign Policy

Sandburg Boardroom 6 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Room

Chair Amanda A. Licht, University of Iowa

amanda-licht@uiowa.edu

Paper Taking Stock: The Study of Enemy Images Today

The paper takes stock of current literature on enemy images and their dynamics. Empirical results about enemy images in current U.S foreign policy are included, combining a qualitative content analysis, interviews and a social constructivist lens.

Sybille Reinke de Buitrago, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy

sybille.rdeb@gmail.com

Paper Aid and Comfort to the Enemy: Public Opinion, Cost Sensitivity and Interstate War 21-5

Do internationally published opinion polls affect democracies' performance in interstate war? I revisit Bennett and Stam (1998), adding novel variables: emergence of international news media since 1823 and scientific polling since 1936.

Arthur Maxwell, University of Pittsburgh

aam26@pitt.edu

Paper The Distributional Effects of War in the United States: An Event Study Approach

Do wars have distributional effects in the United States? If so, are there enduring winners and losers from war? I address these questions with event studies of the U.S. stock market during international crises in different regions and eras.

Samuel Sierra Seljan, *University of California, San Diego* sseljan@ucsd.edu

Disc. Troy Schnack, United States Military Academy troy.schnack@usma.edu

19-18 Multilateralism and Convergence of State Behavior

Room LaSalle 1 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am **Chair** Chad Rector, George Washington University

rector@gwu.edu

Paper The Conditional Effects of State Attributes on Interest

Convergence of IGO Member States

This paper puts forth and tests a theory of how state attributes affect the degree to which two states' interests converge as a result of interaction within intergovernmental organizations (IGOs).

 ${\bf Stacy\ Bondanella},\ {\it University\ of\ Pittsburgh}$

bondi35@gmail.com

Paper Measuring Multilateralism: Ideal Point Estimates of State Preferences

This paper uses multi-dimensional scaling to estimate state ideal points with respect to multilateral treaties. I then test several hypotheses regarding the dimensionality of treaty-signing decisions. **Yonatan Lupu**, *University of California*, *San Diego* ylupu@ucsd.edu

Paper International Antitrust Regime, TRIPs and Different Paths to Regulatory Convergence

The paper explains why the TRIPs Agreement was successfully concluded and why antitrust negotiations failed in the WTO, and offers a general theory on the possibilities and limits of cooperation within the WTO.

Anu Hannele Bradford, University of Chicago Law School abardford@uchicago.edu

Paper The Soaring Ironies of the Paradox of Absolute Individuation in an Era of Globalization: Three Examples of the Spread of Supranationality from Latin America

The paradox of absolute individuation increased by globalization, triggered the incorporation of supranationality in states' identity, following the EU lead. I study this in Brazil, Argentina and Colombia integration and participation in the ICC.

Lucrecia Garcia Iommi, University of Notre Dame lgarciai@nd.edu

Disc. Chad Rector, George Washington University rector@gwu.edu

21-5 Emotions and Policy Opinions

Room Sandburg Boardroom 2 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am
Chair Jonathan Curtis Young, West Virginia University

Jonathan.Young@mail.wvu.edu

Paper The Impact of Negative Political Emotions on Policy Support: A Focus on Global Warming

We explore differential impact of personal emotions (related to personal life events) and political emotions (related to political events) on judgments and policy opinions about global warming. We specifically examine anger, anxiety and sadness.

Jacob Sohlberg, Stony Brook University

jacobsohlberg@gmail.com

Brad Verhulst, Stony Brook University

bverhuls@ic.sunysb.edu

Paper Emotion and Public Responses to Immigration, Globalization, and Terrorism

We examine how voters' identities, attributions, and emotions interact to shape attitudes and behavior on trade, outsourcing, immigration, terrorism, and other issues. We test predictions using a nationally representative 2008 election panel survey.

Ted Brader, University of Michigan

tbrader@umich.edu

Nicholas A. Valentino, University of Texas, Austin

nvalenti@austin.utexas.edu

Krysha Gregorowicz, University of Michigan

Kryshag@umich.edu

Paper Investigating Frame Strength: The Case of Episodic and Thematic Frames

This paper investigates the dynamics of frame strength. Specifically, I examine how the intensity of citizens' emotional reactions conditions the relative capacity of episodic and thematic frames to influence policy evaluations

Lene Aaroe, University of Aarhus

leneaaroe@ps.au.dk

Paper Public Reactions to Use of Coercive Interrogation: Instrumental, Moral and Emotive Influences in an

Experimental Analysis

This paper examines the relative weights of instrumental, moral, and emotional factors influencing public reaction towards coercive interrogation.

Catarina P. Thomson, Texas A&M University catarinathomson@polisci.tamu.edu

Disc. Erin Cassese, West Virginia University

erin.cassese@mail.wvu.edu

22-17 <u>Voting in Elections: Issues and Representation</u>

Room Spire on the 6th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am **Chair Stephen Voss**, *University of Kentucky*

dsvoss@email.uky.edu

Paper Racism, Descriptive Voting and the 2008 Presidential Election

The 2008 presidential election offers political scientists an unparalleled opportunity to assess descriptive representation and racist voting. This study will explore how candidate race and gender influence voting behavior in presidential elections.

Joseph Bafumi, Dartmouth College

jbafumi@gmail.com

Michael Herron, *Dartmouth College* Michael.C.Herron@Dartmouth.edu

Paper The Effects of Race-Based Perceptions of Candidate Ideologies on Vote Choice in U.S. House Elections

I explore how the effects of race on perceptions of candidate ideologies affect citizens' voting decisions. Using a simultaneous equations approach, I contribute a large-n analysis of election survey data to a literature that is largely experimental.

Matthew L. Jacobsmeier, *University of New Orleans* mjacobsm@uno.edu

The Contextual Effects of Race and Racial Representation on Paper **Voter Preference**

We examine the impact of African American representation and contextual effects on how voters view African American candidates. We show the varying impact of this relationship based on candidate party and region.

Thomas Carsey, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill carsey@email.unc.edy

Jason Harold Windett, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill jwindett@email.unc.edu

Stephen Voss, University of Kentucky Disc.

dsvoss@email.uky.edu

23-12 **Cyber Campaigning**

Room LaSalle 2 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Todd Donovan, Western Washington University Chair

donovan@wwu.edu Paper **Every Little Helps. Cyber Campaigning in the 2007 Irish**

General Election We investigate whether, at the aggregate level, candidates' cybercampaigning activity was related to their electoral performance,

controlling for a range of relevant variables Maria Laura Sudulich, Trinity College, Dublin

sudulicm@tcd.ie

Matthew Thomas Wall, Trinity College, Dublin wallmt@tdc.edu

Timeless Strategy Meets New Medium: Going Negative on Congressional Campaign Websites, 2002-2006

In this paper, we use data from the last four congressional elections to explore how candidates use campaign websites to engage in the timeless strategy of "going negative".

James N. Druckman, Northwestern University

druckman@northwestern.edu

Martin J. Kifer, University of Minnesota

kife0003@umn.edu

Michael Parkin, Oberlin College michael.parkin@oberlin.edu

Paper Use of Campaign Websites by Candidates Running for State and Local Office

An examination of website campaigning by candidates for lower visibility offices (state house and senate, county executives, county administrators and board members, and state judges).

Joe Gaziano, Lewis University

gazianjo@lewisu.edu

Laurette Liesen, Lewis University

liesenla@lewisu.edu

Global Patterns of Virtual Mudslinging: Comparing the Use of Paper **Attacks on German and American Campaign Websites**

This paper compares the use of attacks on German party websites with recent American evidence. The results show that virtual mudslinging is a global phenomenon that yields similar patterns of campaigning in different countries and elections.

Eva Johanna Schweitzer, University of Mainz, Germany eva.schweitzer@web.de

Todd Donovan, Western Washington University Disc.

todd.donovan@wwu.edu

Patrick John McHugh, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill pmchugh@email.unc.edu

24-4 **Electoral Volatility**

Wilson on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Room Chair

Scott J. Morgenstern, University of Pittsburgh

smorgens@pitt.edu

Paper Electoral Volatility, Competition, and Third Party Participation in SMD-P Electoral Systems

We examine the effects of electoral volatility and competition on third-party participation in American, British, and Canadian legislative elections.

Robin E. Best, Leiden University

rbest@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Conor M. Dowling, Yale University conor.dowling@yale.edu

Steve B. Lem, Kutztown University

lem@kutztown.edu

Paper The Institutional Causes of Electoral Volatility

Using our unique dataset of electoral volatility in 46 countries, we demonstrate that electoral institutions directly affect the "supply' of political parties (i.e., the party system) which in turn affects electoral volatility.

Frank Thames, Texas Tech University

frank.thames@ttu.edu

Dennis Patterson, Texas Tech University

dennis.patterson@ttu.edu

Joseph W. Robbins, McMurry University

robbins.joe@mcm.edu

Explaining Patterns of Electoral Volatility in Latin America, **Paper** 1980s-2000

While studies of electoral volatility generally focus at the country level, this paper explores the factors that affect different parties within countries. Hypotheses focus on institutional and economic variables and tests use data from 8 countries.

Yen-Pin Su, University of Pittsburgh yes5@pitt.edu

Paper **Political Impact of Electoral Reform in Yound Democracies: Lesson From Korean Recent Elections**

Electoral reform to mixed system in Korea confirm that political effect of this newly popular electoral system should not be considered independent of political context. In Korean case, this system does not have beneficial impact.

WooJin Kang, Kent State University

nomadwj@gmail.com

Sang-Jung Han, University of Michigan

sangjeong2@gmail.com

Disc. Mark Jones, Rice University

mpjones@rice.edu

25-5 **Public Opinion and Abortion**

Buckingham on the 5th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Room

Greg M. Shaw, Illinois Wesleyan University Chair

gshaw@iwu.edu

Paper What Makes an Issue Easy? The Impact of Party, Group, and Policy Cues on Attitudes Toward Abortion and the

Using experimental data, we examine the impact of cues (including party brand label, group identification, religious cues, and policy appeals) on voters' responses to questions about abortion and the environment.

Anne Cizmar, University of Maryland

acizmar@gvpt.umd.edu

Geoffrey C. Layman, University of Maryland, College Park glayman@gvpt.umd.edu

Paper Reframing the Social Policy Debate: South Dakota as the Abortion Battlefield

We explain the discrepancy between attitude preference and voting behavior by showing how the debate in South Dakota has been reconceptualized not as a rational calculation of preferences about abortion but as a broader vote on family values.

Pamela Carriveau, Black Hills State University

PamelaCarriveau@bhsu.edu

Laura Colmenero-Chilberg, Black Hills State University

LauraColmenero-Chilberg@bhsu.edu

Sandra Marker, Black Hills State University

SandraMarker@bhsu.edu

Paper Regional and Generational Differences in Abortion Attitudes in the Post-Webster Age

This study will examine generational and regional differences in legal restrictions to abortion as a cause of public opinion about abortion, with a focus on post-Webster state legislation and its effect on the youngest cohort.

Joni M. Heineman, University of Akron

jmh150@uakron.edu

Disc. Joseph Daniel Ura, Texas A&M University

jura@politics.tamu.edu

27-25 Market Approaches to the Study of News

Room LaSalle 5 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am
Chair Adam J. Schiffer, Texas Christian University

a.schiffer@tcu.edu

Paper Does Ideology Matter? The Interplay of Influence in the Audience Perceptions of Media and Political Organizations

The study set out to determine: What is the relationship between opinions held by the audience toward political vs. media organizations? Do ideological inclinations of the audience influence the evaluation of news stories offered by different media?

Masudul Biswas, Louisiana State University

masudul.biswas@gmail.com

Olesya Venger, University of Pennsylvania

ovenger@asc.upenn.edu

Paper The Political Economy of Shopping the Market for Information: Downs' Notion of Specialization in Media Reliance

We examine the choices that citizens make between sources when seeking information on issues. Using national data, we define the price structure for media reliance and test for the effects of socioeconomic status on these choices.

Suzanne Lee Parker, Purdue University

parker5@purdue.edu

Glenn Richard Parker, Purdue University

parker 6@purdue.edu

Paper Redistricting and Challenger Costs: The Effect of

Gerrymandering on Congressional District/Television Market Incongruence

Using GIS software, I measure the effect of redistricting on challengers advertising costs. I find evidence that districts are being drawn to increase the cost of advertising to all a district's voters.

Thomas Julian Wood, University of Chicago

tomwood@uchicago.edu

Disc. John T Gasper, University of Pennsylvania

jgasper@sas.upenn.edu

28-8 Gender and the 2008 Election (Co-sponsored with Mass Media and Political Communication, see 27-28)

Room Chicago on the 5th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Barbara Burrell, Northern Illinois University bburrell@niu.edu

Chair

Paper Hockey Mom Governor and Seasoned Senator for Vice -

President in 2008: How the Print Media in the Detroit, MI Area Portraved the Two Candidates

This study is a content analysis of the two major newspapers in the Detroit area regarding their portrayal of the two vice-presidential candidates in the 2008 election. What type of coverage was it: issues or traits? Was there a gender bias?

Pamela Joan Walsh, Eastern Michigan University pwalsh@emich.edu

Paper The Outsider and the Presidency: Framing Clinton and Obama in the 2008 Democratic Presidential Primary Race

This paper utilizes a content analysis of five major media sources to examine the emergent national discourse on descriptive representation and the presidency in the context of the 2008

Democratic presidential primary race. **Tessa Marie Ditonto**, *Rutgers University*

tditonto@eden.rutgers.edu

Paper You've Come a Long Way Baby? Press Coverage of Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign

Newspaper coverage of Hillary Clinton's 2008 presidential campaign is examined to see if theories of women's coverage based on sub-presidential races apply. Findings are based on content-coding of 4,000+ individual articles from papers in 26 states.

Melissa Miller, Bowling Green State University

melissm@bgsu.edu

Jeffrey Peake, Bowling Green State University

jpeake@bgsu.edu

Brittany Boulton, Bowling Green State University

bboulto@bgsu.edu

Paper The Interesection of Race and Gender in the Obama Candidacy

A central question in this election season is the extent to which Obama, a black man, has been advantaged by his sex or disadvantaged by his race. In response to white feminists, I argue that Obama's race and gender must be examined simultaneously.

Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, University of Rochester

vsc@ur.rochester.edu

Disc. Barbara Burrell, Northern Illinois University

bburrell@niu.edu

29-13 <u>Intergroup Perceptions and Relations</u>

Room Dearborn 1 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Paper Can We All Work Together? Diversity and the Effectiveness of Community-Representing Organizations

Changes in the demographic profile of US cities make it crucial for policy making to incorporate diverse voices. The question that needs to be investigated is the relationship between the increased diversity of elite bodies and their effectiveness.

Kyu-Nahm Jun, Wayne State University

kn.jun@wayne.edu

Chris Weare, University of Southern California

weare@usc.edu

Juliet Ann Musso, University of Southern California musso@usc.edu

Paper Multiracial Coalitions and Language Rights in U.S. Elections

This paper explores the relationship between attitudes toward multiracial political coalitions and the issue of language rights in U.S. elections. I examine determinants of public opinion toward English only or multilingual election ballots.

Julie Lee Merseth, University of Chicago

jmerseth@uchicago.edu

Disc. Atiya Kai Stokes-Brown, Bucknell University

a.stokes-brown@bucknell.edu

Major G. Coleman, University at New Paltz, SUNY

colemanm@newpaltz.edu

30-10 Textual Exegesis and the Hermeneutics of Death (Cosponsored with Society for Greek Political Thought, see 59-3)

Room Clark 1 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Edward W. Gimbel, University of Minnesota

gimb0006@umn.edu

Paper Political Society and Cicero's Ideal State

Utilizing a novel form of quantitative discourse analysis to uncover the consistency underlying Cicero's rhetoric, this paper provides a fresh interpretation of the path to Cicero's ideal state through justice, vigilance, and the mixed constitution.

Richard Maass, University of Notre Dame

rmaass@gmail.com

Paper Parmenidean Politics: The Road to Knowledge of all Cities

Most interpretation of Parmenides' "On Nature" emphasizes the Paths of Truth and of Opinion. Less discussed is the Path Through all Cities, which critiques materialism and conditonal deduction.

Jamie Muir, *University of Winnipeg* j.muir@uwinnipeg.ca

Paper Eros and Suicide in Greek Tragedy

This essay analyzes how suicide was a means to fulfill one's desire to express virtue and attain immortal honor in ancient Greek tragedy. Two of Sophocles plays will serve as the primary examples of this phenomenon—Aias (Ajax) and Antigone.

Anthony Kammas, *University of Southern California* kammas@usc.edu

Disc. Edward W. Gimbel, University of Minnesota gimb0006@umn.edu

Nina Valiquette Moreau, McGill University nina.valiquette@mail.mcgill.ca

31-5 Kant You Always Get What You Want?

Room Sandburg Boardroom 5 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Yvonne Chiu, Brown University

yvonne_chiu@brown.edu

Paper Kantian Political Intervention

Kant's emphasis on the importance of moral autonomy and his notion of moral autonomy as self-legislation leave open the possibility of a Kantian argument for coercive regime change by an external instigator.

Yvonne Chiu, Brown University yvonne_chiu@brown.edu

Paper Unnatural? Thinking About Kant on Same-Sex Marriage

This paper makes an argument for same-sex marriage by building upon Kantian notions of ideal and non-ideal conditions. The paper also incorporates Kant's thinking on the moral problem of sex and the solution that marriage offers to that problem.

Ryan Reed, *University of California*, *Davis* rlreed@ucdavis.edu

Paper How Do We Know When We've Found Them? Rights, Human Rights, and Hugo Grotius

The paper examines the work of several leading theorists of human rights, and finds certain systematic flaws in each. Hugo Grotius provides a model for engaging with rights and people that can bring in and weigh correctly many moral factors.

Nicholas Troester, *Duke University* nrt@duke.edu

Paper Kant on the Historical-Material Conditions of Political Immaturity

For Kant, criticism aims not merely at the transcendental, but also at socio-historical conditions of possibility. Kant's thinking thus points towards Marx and Freud, who can help us understand the intransigence of political immaturity.

Jeffrey Martin Jackson, University of Houston

jacksonjef@uhd.edu

Disc. Benjamin Patrick Newton, University of Maryland, College Park

bnewton@umd.edu

32-5 Picturing Politics: Visual Rhetoric and Liberal Democratic Culture

Room Marshfield on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Jeffrey Isaac, Indiana University, Bloomington

isaac@indiana.edu

Paper Inquiry Into Democracy: Visualizing the Public

I bring diverse work on graphic displays to bear on the problem that preoccupied Lippmann and Dewey both of whom focus on the difficulty that average citizens have seeing complex issues.

James Johnson, University of Rochester

jd.johnson@rochester.edu

Paper The Democratic Vision of Homeless Publics

Unconventional photographs of homeless communities cultivate a democratic vision that reformulates poverty as a problem of democratic human relations, rather than inadequate administration and distribution of community resources.

Melanie Loehwing, *Indiana University*, *Bloomington* mloehwin@indiana.edu

Paper Incarceration, (In) Visibility, and the Myth of Liberal Democratic Equality

US liberal democracy attempts to enact equality under the law, framing justice as rationally blind and procedural. Blindness enacted via mandatory minimum sentencing irrationally obscures the contingent realities of judgment, justice, and equality.

Megan G. Bernard, Northwestern University

Megan@northwestern.edu

Paper Reflecting on Citizenship: Photojournalism and the Immigrants' Rights Movement

Critical public engagement with photojournalistic documentation of immigrants' rights protests offers a nonviolent alternative to renegotiating the tension between liberalism and nationalism as it

applies to a consideration of the ideal citizen. **Danielle L. Fernandez**, *Indiana University*, *Bloomington* danferna@indiana.edu

Disc. Jeffrey Isaac, Indiana University, Bloomington isaac@indiana.edu

33-10 Rawlsian Assumptions, Rawlsian Implications

Room Salon 5 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Roberto Alejandro, University of Massachusetts, Amherst ralejand@polsci.umass.edu

Paper John Rawls' "Law of the Peoples": A Challenging Foundation for a Global Theory of Justice

I will defend Rawls' "Law of the Peoples" as foundation for a global theory of justice that develops its principles in accordance with the fundamental conviction of political liberalism, i.e. that is acceptable for liberal and non-liberal societies.

Andreas Michael Bock, Geschwister-Scholl-Institute of Political Science

andreas.bock@lrz.uni-muenchen.de

Paper The Relation Between Political Philosophy and Moral Theory: John Rawls' Failed Attempt at Separation

Rawls has tried to disentangle moral from political philosophy. Although he achieves the independence of moral theory from philosophy of mind, semantics, and epistemology, he fails to attain the independence of political philosophy from moral theory.

Carla Yumatle, Harvard University cyumatle@fas.harvard.edu

Paper The Limits of the Rawlsian Conception of Moral Agency and Their Implications to the Current Debate of International Justice

I argue that Rawls' later works, with their politically situated understanding of individuals, imply but do not fully explore the ethical role the state should play in the formation of morally driven individuals both nationally and internationally.

Alessandra Sarquis, University of Brasilia

aless and ras arquis@hotmail.com

Paper Is Rawls a Populist?

After questioning William Riker's view of populism I examine Rawls's Political Liberalism as an example of Rousseauism, though not necessarily the best kind.

Adele Lebano, University of Milan/University of Oregon adele.lebano@unimi.it

Disc. Scott Forschler, Northland Community and Technical College scott.forschler@northlandcollege.edu

33-22 Politics Beyond the Limits of Reason Alone

Room Madison on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Benjamin James Lozano, University of California, Santa Cruz

blozano@ucsc.edu

Paper The Political Economy of Risk and Our Current Crisis

Institutions are means of emotion management. A theory that traces the relation between increasing economic optimism and the political institutions that it engenders and supports from 1982-now is presented.

Michael K. Green, University at Oneonta, SUNY greenmk@hotmail.com

Paper In Praise of Resentiment

Resentiment is much-maligned by both the Left and Right, but I argue that the cultivation and strategic employment of resentiment has been a powerful tool in past liberation struggles, and continues to have enormous potential today.

Stefan Dolgert, Hamilton College

spd5@duke.edu

Paper <u>Utopia and Dystopia: Looking at the Pessimism of Gray and Eagleton</u>

This paper examines the role of pessimism in shaping our outlook for the future of political philosophy and for our conception of the state

Wayne S. LeCheminant, Loyola Marymount University wlecheminant@lmu.edu

Disc. Kathleen Tipler, University of Michigan ktipler@umich.edu

34-18 American Political Development

Room Burnham 4 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Jordon Bryce Barkalow, Bridgewater State College

jbarkalow@bridgew.edu

Paper American Political Thought and American Political

Development

This paper explores the status of American Political Thought in the growing Political Science subfield of American Political Development.

Jason Jividen, *University of Saint Francis* jjividen@sf.edu

Paper The Monroe Doctrine and the Declaration of Independence

An examination of the relationship between the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the geopolitical order envisioned by the Monroe Doctrine.

John W. Grant, University of Dallas

jgrant@udallas.edu

Paper The Rise of Liberal Leviathan and Death of Republican Localism: How the United States has been Transformed from a Federal Union of Multiple Small Republics Into a Liberal

Unitary Regime

The United States has been transformed from a federal union of small republics to a liberal unitary regime. This is the victory of Hobbesianism over Republicanism. Liberal freedom is now secured by curtailing local republican self-rule.

Peter Daniel Haworth, Georgetown University

pdh@georgetown.edu

Disc. Spencer Davis, Peru State College

sdavis@oakmail.peru.edu

35-12 Modeling Behavior in Elections

Room Clark 3 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Oleg Smirnov, Stony Brook University

oleg.smirnov@stonybrook.edu

Political Networks: The Relationship Between Candidate Platform Positions and Constituency Communication

Structures

Paper

The paper presents a formal model of a political network -- a network within a social framework wherein individuals have the opportunity to transmit political information to each other conditional upon being socially connected.

Betsy Sinclair, University of Chicago

betsy@uchicago.edu

Brian Rogers, Northwestern University

b-rogers@northwestern.edu

Paper An Experimental Study of the Efficiency of Unanimity Rule and Majority Rule

We test whether unanimity rule is more capable of producing Pareto efficient outcomes than majority rule in multidimensional spatial voting games with fixed stopping points. This is done using laboratory experiments.

Keith Dougherty, University of Georgia

dougherk@uga.edu

Brian Pitts, University of Georgia

brian@polibyte.com

Justin Moeller, University of Georgia

moeller@uga.edu

Robi Ragan, University of Georgia

robi@uga.edu

Paper A General-Equilibrium Model of Elections with Voting Costs and Non-Zero Turnout

Ledyard (1984) shows that a wide class of general-equilibrium models of elections will predict zero turnout. In this paper, I develop a simple general-equilibrium model of elections with voting costs that predicts positive turnout.

Justin Valasek, Duke University

jsv4@duke.edu

Disc. Oleg Smirnov, Stony

c. Oleg Smirnov, Stony Brook University oleg.smirnov@stonybrook.edu

36-11 Methodological Advances in the Study of Institutions

Room Salon 10 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am
Chair Andrew Martin, Washington University, St. Louis
admartin@wustl.edu

Paper Item Response Models as a Means to Study Presidential Influence

We propose an item response approach for measuring important presidential actions. We implement this methodology with respect to executive orders and analyze whether theoretical insights about presidential influence are empirically confirmed.

Lawrence S. Rothenberg, University of Rochester

lrot@mail.rochester.edu

Fang-Yi Chiou, Academia Sinica

fchiou7@gmail.com

Paper The Vectors of Mind Is a Terrible Thing to Waste: An Algorithm for Inferring the Number of Common Factors in Factor Analytic and Related Models

A factor analytic estimator is presented that revives a key idea from Thurstone (1935) and implements it for the first time in a computationally tractable fashion. The number of factors is inferred from the model output rather than taken as given.

Ben Goodrich, *Harvard University* goodrich@fas.harvard.edu

Paper Voting in Bicameral Legislatures: The U.S. Congress

Using Congress roll call vote data, we estimate, via bayesian latent class analysis, a model of strategic voting with incomplete information in which the vote on one chamber depends statistically on the outcome of the vote in the other chamber.

Matias Iaryczower, California Institute of Technology

miaryc@hss.caltech.edu

Gabriel Katz, California Institute of Technology

gabriel@hss.caltech.edu

Sebastian Saiegh, University of California, San Diego ssaiegh@ucsd.edu

Paper Predicting Strategic Roll Calls with Legislative Text

I apply statistical natural language processing techniques to legislative text to predict the occurrence of roll call votes in the European Parliament.

Daniel Pemstein, *University of Illinois/Harvard University* dbp@uiuc.edu

Disc. Justin Hayward Gross, Carnegie Mellon University

jhgross@andrew.cmu.edu

Arthur Spirling, *Harvard University* aspirling@gov.harvard.edu

38-6 <u>Political Parties and Interest Groups in Comparative Perspective</u>

Room Salon 3 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am **Chair Hans Noel**, *University of Michigan*

hansnoel@umich.edu

Paper Giving to the Party: The Context of Political Contributions in European Democracies

This paper examines how contemporary European parties benefit from cultural patterns of philanthropy, the impact of tax laws, and how parties' fundraising strategies reflect these national patterns of individual giving.

Susan Scarrow, *University of Houston* sscarrow@uh.edu

Paper Cleavage Politics and Party Support in Parliamentary Democracies: A Longitudinal Comparative Analysis

We test the relationship between the maturation of parties and the persistence of political cleavages in parliamentary democracies for the period since 1956 to the present.

Daniel Rubenson, Ryerson University

rubenson@rverson.ca

Marc Andre Bodet, McGill University marcandre.bodet@mail.mcgill.ca

Paper Not Exceptional: The Failure of Socialism in the United States as the Rational Response of Labor Elites to External Constraints

In the context of a broad comparative perspective, and a general theory, the paper explains the failure of social democratic party formation in the United States and the embrace of moderate syndicalism as an alternative.

Konstantin Vossing, Ohio State University

vossing.1@osu.edu

Paper It's the Parties, Stupid! Political Participation, Clientelism, and Remittances in the Dominican Republic

My projects looks at the role of parties in a democracy, and argues that the nature of party-voter relations determines the health of a democracy.

Edward Gonzalez-Acosta, New School for Social Research gonze459@newschool.edu

Paper A Principal-Agent Approach to Party Governance

It is possible to see significant variance in party authoritarianism in a given political system. This study explains this variance across and within four major political parties in Turkey by using the principal-agent approach to party governance.

Pelin Ayan, *Bilkent University* pelinay@bilkent.edu.tr

Disc. Simone R. Bohn, York University, Toronto

sbohn@yorku.ca

Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University k-janda@northwestern.edu

39-13 Post 9-11 Presidency

Room Clark 7 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Laurie L. Rice, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville larice@siue edu

iarice@siue.ed

Paper Security and Freedom After September 11: Institutional Oversight and the Politics of the USA Patriot Act

This proposal seeks to answer the question of how Congress, the executive branch, and the judiciary have provided institutional oversight to mollify critics that the USA PATRIOT ACT remains a threat to civil liberties.

Christopher Banks, Kent State University

cbanks6@kent.edu

Paper Bush on the Bully Pulpit: Studying Presidential Influence on Iraq War Opinion

In this study, we examined whether the public's support for the Iraq War was responsive to President Bush's speechmaking. As hypothesized, we found a small but significant effect among Republicans.

Micah K. Jensen, Georgetown University

mkj5@georgetown.edu

Gregory Fortelny, Georgetown University

gpf6@georgetown.edu

Paper Checks and Balances in the War on Terror: What Role for the Judiciary?

The paper will consist of an empirical review of the roles that the judiciary has played in past wars and then address the normative question of what the role of the judiciary should be in the War on Terror.

Darren A. Wheeler, *University of North Florida* dwheeler@unf.edu

Paper Foreign Nationals and the Constitution

During times of war, it is only natural to question the perceived limits of the Constitution. Looking at the Constitution and recent Supreme Court cases, this paper explores the Constitution's possible extension of protections to foreign nationals.

Micah N. Strait, Utah State University

m.n.strait@aggiemail.usu.edu

Disc. Christopher Banks, Kent State University

cbanks6@kent.edu

40-10 **Interbranch Politics**

Salon 7 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Room Michael L. Mezey, DePaul University Chair

mmezey@depaul.edu

Judicial Review of Legislative Procedure: Determining Who Paper

Determines the Rules of Proceedings

The paper examines the landscape of legislative procedure, focusing on procedures mandated by state constitutions. After exploring the genesis and contents of such procedures, state-court case law concerning legislative compliance is reviewed.

Stephen Raher, Lewis & Clark Law School

sraher@lclark.edu

The Confirmation Process and a Senatorial Norm: Historical Paper Quantification and Analysis of the Senate Blue Slip Process

We catalog & analyze blue slips found in the judicial nomination files from 1953 to 1958 (on a five-point scale) that not only reflects whether the senator was supportive of or objecting to a nominee, but also the amount or strength of that support.

Janet Marie Box-Steffensmeier, Ohio State University

steffensmeier.2@osu.edu

Charles Campisano, Ohio State University

campisano.2@osu.edu

Kevin Scott, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts

kmscott@gmail.com

The Calculus of Confirmation: A Study of the Determinants of Paper

Senate Roll Call Confirmation Voting, 1946-2000

A quantitative analysis of Senate roll call confirmation voting for all types of presidential appointments at the individual senator level. Data covers all roll call Senate confirmation votes from Harry Truman through Bill Clinton.

Stephen R. Routh, California State University, Stanislaus

srouth@csustan.edu

Michael S. Rocca, University of New Mexico

msrocca@unm.edu

Congress and the Politics of Presidential Signing Statements Paper

> This paper examines the role of signing statements in presidentialcongressional relations. Specifically, we examine the types of legislation that lead to signing statements.

Joel A. Sievert, Washington University, St Louis

jasiever@artsci.wustl.edu

Ian Ostrander, Washington University, St Louis

icostran@artsci.wustl.edu

Disc. Michael L. Mezey, DePaul University

mmezey@depaul.edu

40-18 **Formal Theories of Congress**

Sandburg Boardroom 8 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Room

Chair Razvan Vlaicu, University of Maryland

vlaicu@econ.umd.edu

Paper To Write or Review? A Model of Strategic Delegation and

Oversight

I present a formal model of legislative delegation to a bureaucracy that explicitly incorporates both ex ante and ex post instruments. I find that there exists a trade-off between the two and that the choice of one depends on the use of the other.

Robert J. McGrath, University of Iowa

robert-mcgrath@uiowa.edu

Paper A Game Theoretic Model of Bicameral Conference and

Amendment

Observers wonder why the bicameral conference is rarely held after the second chamber's amendment, while using complete information models fail to explain why the conference sometimes occurs. An incomplete information model addresses both questions.

Kentaro Fukumoto, Gakushuin University

Kentaro.Fukumoto@gakushuin.ac.jp

Common Agency Lobbying and Majority Rule Institutions **Paper**

> We develop a model of lobbying in a majority rule body by embedding a simple coalitional bargaining stage into a common agency framework. We characterize the influence of lobbies both on

policy choice and on coalition formation. Alexander Victor Hirsch, Stanford University

ahirsch@stanford.edu

David P Baron, Stanford University Baron_David@gsb.stanford.edu

Disc. John W. Patty, Harvard University

jpatty@gov.harvard.edu

42-22 **Litigant Influence**

Chair

Room Honore on the Lobby Level, Sun at 10:00 am

Herbert Kritzer, William Mitchell College of Law

herbert.kritzer@wmitchell.edu

Paper The Value of Precedent: Attorney Briefs and Judicial Opinions

in the U.S. Courts of Appeals

This project examines the connections between litigant resources. advocacy, and decision making, by examining the precedents used in appellate briefs filed by litigants and comparing them against the court's treatment of precedents.

Laura P. Moyer, Louisiana State University

lmoyer@lsu.edu

Todd A. Collins, Western Carolina University

todd.a.collins@gmail.com

Susan B. Haire, University of Georgia

shaire@nsf.gov

Paper Can Have-Nots Affect Policy?: Legal Services Migrant Farm

Worker Litigation From 1965-2008

In this paper I explore the practice and impact of governmentfunded civil legal services' litigation in shaping Migrant Farm Worker policy.

John Charles Kilwein, West Virginia University

jkilwein@wvu.edu

Paper Lawyer Capability and Litigation Success in State Supreme

Courts

This paper analyzes the effect of lawyer capability on the success of lawyers before state supreme courts in civil cases. This paper argues that lawyer capability has some measurable effect on litigation success in this forum.

Darryn Beckstrom, University of Wisconsin, Madison

dbeckstrom@gmail.com

Herbert Kritzer, William Mitchell College of Law Disc.

herbert.kritzer@wmitchell.edu

43-4 Criminal Law: Doctrine and Practice (Co-sponsored with Judicial Politics, see 42-33)

Montrose 3 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Room

Helen J. Knowles, University at Oswego, SUNY Chair

knowles@oswego.edu

Paper Predictors of Criminal Court Victory: A Five-County Analysis

of Defendant Success Rates

Analyzing five representative counties, I determine which factors influence criminal defendant win rates. Counsel quality, female sex, whiteness, and youth have positive effects. Felon status, violent status, and minority status have negative ones.

Wilfred Reilly, Southern Illinois University

wreilly2003@yahoo.com

Dealing with Hate Crime: Toward an Ideal Judicial Standard

For nearly twenty years the federal government, states, courts, and society have debated the merits and protections of hate crime legislation, yet in spite of several Supreme Court decisions the proper balance has not yet been struck.

David John Olson, University of Wisconsin, Madison

dolson5@wisc.edu

Paper The Bush Administration and the Terrorist Surveillance Program: Constitutional Doctrine and Lower Court Policymaking

This work situates the post-9/11 Terrorist Surveillance Program historically within U.S. judicial rulings on Presidential national security powers. It also examines how lower courts have shaped the law in this field since 2003.

John Patrick Forren, Miami University

forrenjp@muohio.edu

Sean James Wright, Miami University

wrights7@muohio.edu

Paper Curbing Presidential Power in a Post 9/11 World

Does the two-presidencies thesis apply to Supreme Court decision making? This paper develops a theory of Court deference to executive power based on legal and extra-legal factors, empirically testing the theory using simulation of current cases.

Brian P. Levey, University of Georgia

blevey@uga.edu

Disc. Roger Roots, New York Institute of Technology

rogerroots@msn.com

Martha Good, Miami University

martha@current.net

45-1 State Level Policy Diffusion and Innovation

Room Salon 1 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Saundra Kay Schneider, Michigan State University

sks@msu.edu

Paper Rethinking State Policy Diffusion: Examining the Role of Leaders and Laggards within Regional Diffusion

Often thought to be mutually exclusive, this paper examines the role of leaders within geographical regions. This examination results in the development of a hybrid model of diffusion that combines the effects of regional and leader-laggard diffusion

James W. Stoutenborough, University of Kansas

jstout@ku.edu

Matthew Beverlin, University of Kansas

mattbeverlin@ku.edu

Paper Where Does Learning Take Place? The Role of

<u>Intergovernmental Cooperation for Policy Diffusion in Federal States</u>

The paper focuses on institutionalized intergovernmental cooperation and the role they play in the process of policy diffusion in federal states.

Katharina Fuglister, University of Michigan

katfug@umich.edu

Paper Immigrants Across the American Federal Laboratory: Explaining Diffusion of State-Level U.S. Immigration Policies

This paper explores pressures leading to US state immigration policy innovation. It evaluates theories of immigration policy development by exploring cultural, economic and political factors leading to the adoption of immigration integration policy.

Graeme Thomison Boushey, San Francisco State University gboushey@sfsu.edu

Adam Luedtke, *University of Utah* adam.luedtke@poli-sci.utah.edu

Paper Analyzing the Origins and Spread of State "Eminent Scholars" Programs

The results of this event-history analysis suggest that a state's economic conditions interact with political arrangements to prompt state adoption of Eminent-Scholars programs over the past 25 years.

James C. Hearn, University of Georgia

jhearn@uga.edu

Michael K. McLendon, Vanderbilt University

michael.k.mclendon@vanderbilt.edu

Austin Lacy, University of Georgia

tlacy@uga.edu

Maryann Feldman, University of North Carolina

feldmanm@email.unc.edu

Irvna Lendel, Cleveland State University

iryna.lendel@gmail.com

Kevin Bastian, University of North Carolina

feldmanm@email.unc.edu

Disc. Renee J. Johnson, Kent State University

rjohns14@kent.edu

46-13 Race, Ethnicity and Immigration in Local Politics

Room Hancock on the 6th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Amalia Pallares, University of Illinois, Chicago

amalia@uic.edu

Paper The Implosion of Milwaukee Public Schools: An Exploration of What Lies Ahead and the Implications for Politics in a Segregated City

Ailing Milwaukee Public Schools faced a battle call when the school board voted last September to explore dissolving the district. I explore how mayoral control or a continuation of the status quo would effect race relations in a segregated city.

Mary Ryan, Marquette University mary k ryan@hotmail.com

Paper Examining the Demographic and Political Determinants of Latino Mayoralties in the Southwest

In this paper I examine about 830 cities (1984-2008) in the Southwestern U.S. to determine whether the factors that have been associated with the incidence of an African American mayor are also associated with the incidence of a Latino mayor.

Carlos Cuellar, Rice University

ccuellar@rice.edu

Paper The Spatial Politics of Black Empowerment

The neoliberal turn in black politics has been understudied. In this paper I examine this turn with a focus on its implications for black nationalism and black empowerment, using late nineties Detroit as a

Lester Kenyatta Spence, *Johns Hopkins University* unbowed@gmail.com

aper Sanctuary Cities, Enforcement Cities, Neutral Cities, and Immigration: The Conundrum for Local Municipalities

The paper looks at the impact of immigration on local governments and describes sanctuary cities, enforcement cities and neutral cities. These three reactions highlight the failure of the federal government to legislate and enforce immigration policy.

Abraham David Benavides, University of North Texas benavides@unt.edu

Disc. Ramla M. Bandele, Indiana University-Purdue University

Indianapolis

rbandele@iupui.edu

47-22 <u>DisUnited States: Explaining and Evaluating State Policy</u> Paper Choices

Room Monroe on the 6th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am
Chair Jacqueline DeLaat, Marietta College

delaatj@marietta.edu

Paper An Analysis of the Determinants of State Reproductive Health
Care Policies: Ideology, Social Control, and Political Culture

This paper examines explanations for state policy decisions on women's reproductive health issues. We test three explanations of state policy choices: citizen and legislator ideology, social control (from Soss, et al 2001), and political culture.

John Charles Morris, Old Dominion University

jcmorris@odu.edu

John R. Lombard, Old Dominion University

jlombard@odu.edu

Vivian Walker Greentree, Old Dominion University

vgreen00@gmail.com

Paper If the Feds Won't Do It, We Will: Legislating Immigration in the U.S States

Does racial diversity affect the introduction and passage of antiimmigrant legislation? This paper looks at the relationship between immigration rates, residential context, and state policy outcomes.

Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, *University of Maryland* shannapm@gmail.com

Paper The Politics of Child Welfare: Explaining State Variation

Do the factors that explain variation in TANF policy across states also explain variation in child welfare policy? I develop a quantitative model to explain variation in state child welfare policy in the aftermath of new federal legislation in 1997.

Juliet F. Gainsborough, Bentley University jgainsborough@bentley.edu

Disc. Jacqueline DeLaat, Marietta College

delaatj@marietta.edu

Richard Elliott Chard, Social Security Administration

richard.chard@ssa.gov

47-24 Focusing on Migrants: The Effects of Immigration Policies

Room Burnham 1 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am Chair Samuel Harvey Clovis, Morningside College

clovis@morningside.edu

Paper Analyzing the Satisfaction Rates of Foreign-Born Scholars in Science and Engineering by Citizenship Status

This study examines the factors that impact job satisfaction of foreign-born faculty in three different citizenship categories (temporary, naturalized, and permanent) using data from the most recent Survey of Doctorate Recipients.

Meghna Sabharwal, City College of New York

msabharwal@ccny.cuny.edu

Paper Caught in the Crosshairs: Migrants, Illegal Hiring Patterns, and the Conflict Between State Sovereignty and Human Rights

Based on a field research experience from Guatemala to Texas, this paper examines how the paradigms of state sovereignty and individual human rights come into conflict over the process of migration and illegal hiring practices.

Bradley E. Hentschel, *Tulane University* bradleyeh@gmail.com

Paper The Changing Politics of Temporary Migration in the United States: Are Non-Immigrant Visas the New Ticket to Legal Permanent Residency?

We use newly collected non-immigrant visa data to examine differences in determinants of temporary worker programs and the degree to which workers entering the United States on temporary worker visas adjust to legal permanent residency status.

B. Lindsay Lowell, Georgetown University

lowellbl@georgetown.edu

Mary E. Breeding, Georgetown University

meb235@georgetown.edu

Not Part of the Family Yet: U.S. Immigration Policy and Foreign Students

Should the U.S. government stop recruiting foreign students to ensure a secure border? Or should the policy take a liberal stance to attract and retain the intellectuals? This paper argues the current

regulatory framework is essentially paradoxical

Meng Lu, Purdue University

mlv@purdue.edu

Disc. Valerie F. Hunt, University of Washington

vfhunt@gmail.com

Samuel Harvey Clovis, Morningside College

clovis@morningside.edu

48-5 **Political Economic Cycles**

Room Salon 2 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Brandice Canes-Wrone, Princeton University

bcwrone@princeton.edu

Paper Delegation, Credible Policymaking Institutions, and Partisan

Fiscal Cycles in the American States

I test whether institutional structure (i.e., delegation choices) and institutional rules (i.e., fiscal limits set by insitutions) affect politicians' capacity to create partisan fiscal cycles in the American states from 1987-2004.

George A. Krause, University of Pittsburgh

gkrause@pitt.edu

Paper Electoral and Partisan Cycles in Fuel Prices

This paper examines whether and how U.S. partisan and electoral cycles relate to changes in retail motor gasoline prices.

Valerie A. Frey, Yale University

valerie.frey@yale.edu

Paper Bubbling Under: Political Preferences During the Housing Boom and Bust

This paper examines citizen and partisan preferences over social policies including tax rates, social insurance, and education spending, during periods of housing booms and busts.

Ben Ansell, University of Minnesota

ansell@umn.edu

Paper Electoral Uncertainty and House Market Dynamics

This project examines the impact of electoral uncertainty on dynamics of the housing market.

Brandice Canes-Wrone, Princeton University

bcwrone@princeton.edu

Disc. Erik Snowberg, California Institute of Technology

snowberg@hss.caltech.edu

50-21 Management, Leadership, and Decision-Making

Room Wabash on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Jason Gainous, University of Louisville

jason.gainous@louisville.edu

Paper Institutional Capacity in Ireland and Quebec: A Comparative
Analysis

Why was economic development less successful in Quebec than in Ireland although the odds were comparable? What particular state structures are most conducive to policy learning and effective implementation? Lessons could be drawn from comparing them.

Luc Bernier, University of Quebec

luc.bernier@enap.ca

Frank Barry, Trinity College, Dublin

frank.barry@tcd.ie

Paper Can Elephants Gallop: Assessing the Impact of Mission Attachment on Employee Motivation in Federal Agencies

The purpose of the study is to test the relationship between perceived mission attachment and employee motivation in the US federal agencies.

Seok-Eun Kim, *University of Arkansas, Fayetteville* seokeun@uark.edu

Jung-Wook Lee, University of Illinois, Springfield ilee265@uis.edu

Paper Analyzing Federal Management Reform: PARTing the PART

OMB implemented the Program Assessment Rating Tool (PART) to improve the accountability, transparency and results of federal programs. This paper applies the results-based approach used by the PART to the OMB's PART effort.

Howard A. Smith, *Florida Gulf Coast University* hsmith@fgcu.edu

Paper The Road to a Leadership Position in the Nonprofit Sector: Nonprofit Executive Transitions

This paper provides an understanding of executive transitions, the road to a leadership position, the challenges, both from the organization's perspective as well as from the candidate perspective, of getting a new CEO in a nonprofit organization.

Claudia A. Petrescu, *Eastern Michigan University* cpetrescu@emich.edu

David Clifford, Eastern Michigan University david.clifford@emich.edu

Disc. Otis Grant, Indiana University, South Bend ogrant@iusb.edu

51-8 Theoretical Approaches to Politics and History

Room Price on the 5th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Michael Callaghan Pisapia, University of Wisconsin, Madison pisapia@wisc.edu

Paper A Liberal Beat with Illiberal Palpitations

Is the American conception of citizenship as defined by the Fourteenth Amendment a liberal one or a republican one? The primary notion of citizenship is liberal, understood through natural right. In the end, it subsumes republicanism.

Robert William Garrow, Claremont Graduate University robert.garrow@cgu.edu

Paper What is a Historical Legacy?

This paper offers a conceptual analysis of historical legacies: what they are, how to distinguish among them, and how to make "legacies" arguments.

Jason Wittenberg, *University of California*, *Berkeley* witty@berkeley.edu

Paper Parties as Political Institutions in American Political Development

This paper treats parties as political institutions with identifiable mechanisms of reproduction and change.

Daniel Galvin, *Northwestern University* galvin@northwestern.edu

Disc. Valerie Morkevicius, DePaul University vmorkevi@depaul.edu

53-5 Political Support

Room Logan on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Farshad Malek, Naugatuck Valley Community College fmalek@nvcc.commnet.edu

Paper The Continued Effects of Southern Culture in an Era of Republican Decline

This is an effort to generate and test hypotheses of southern electoral uniqueness.

Wayne Parent, Louisiana State University

popare@lsu.edu
Peter Alan Petrakis, Southeastern Louisiana University

ppetrakis@selu.edu

Matt Fowler, Louisiana State University pofowler@lsu.edu

Paper Clenched Fists: Frustrated Expectations, Group Consciousness, and the Black Power Movement

This research addresses the phenomenon of the Black Power movement, more specifically, what causal factors produced the change in organized black resistance from the desire for inclusion in the American political system to the Black Power movement.

Jeffrey P. Nytes, University of Wisconsin, Madison nytes@wisc.edu

Paper Crime as a Source of Presidential Partisan Support

This paper uses aggregate data and OLS regression to test the effects of violent crime on partisan support. Results suggest violent crime is a significant predictor of partisan support in presidential elections

Andrew Pierce, University of Georgia apierce@uga.edu

Paper Black Voters and Machine Politics in Chicago: The Social Capital Effect

This paper examines a shift in the late 1940s of black voter support from the Republican to the Democratic machine in Chicago through the lens of a novel social capital approach that is grounded in an economically rigorous, individualistic framework.

Laura Ann Locker, Johns Hopkins University

lauralocker@gmail.com

Disc. Paul Burstein, University of Washington

burstein@u.washington.edu

54-4 Conceptualizing and Measuring Religion

Room Salon 12 on the 3rd Floor, Sun at 10:00 am
Chair David E. Campbell, University of Notre Dame

dave_campbell@nd.edu

Chair Juhem Navarro-Rivera, Trinity College juhem.navarro-rivera@uconn.edu

Paper What God has Commanded: The Political and Social Consequences of Differing Religious Interpretation

This paper examines the various interpretations of Christianity in the American public and their effects on social and political attitudes

Eric L. McDaniel, *University of California, Berkeley* emcdaniel@berkeley.edu

Paper Aggregate Religiosity and American Politics, 1952-2005

I measure aggregate religiosity of the U.S. population from 1952 through 2005. I show how this new measure is related to changes in ideology, turnout, inequality, and public opinion during this time period.

J. Tobin Grant, Southern Illinois University grant@siu.edu

Paper Beyond the God Gap: Religion and Electoral Politics in America

This paper presents a more complete understanding of religious influence than the standard "God Gap" explanation by demonstrating the importance of social and communal religious factors.

Stephen T. Mockabee, *University of Cincinnati* stephen.mockabee@uc.edu

Paper The Structural Conditions of the Catholic Church in Latin America: A Subnational Approach

I develop a regional index that measures the Catholic Church structure using dioceses for each Latin American country since 1946, based on the Pontifical Yearbook, in order to test hypothesis

related to democratization and economic development **Alejandro Diaz-Dominguez**, *Vanderbilt University* alejandro.diaz-dominguez@vanderbilt.edu

Disc. Juhem Navarro-Rivera, Trinity College

juhem.navarro-rivera@uconn.edu

54-6 Catholic Thought

 $\textbf{Room} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{Empire on the Lobby Level, Sun at } 10:00 \text{ am}$

Chair Amy L. Cavender, Saint Mary's College

acavende@saintmarys.edu

Paper The Catholicity of American Politics: Secularism, Pluralism, and the Natural Law Tradition

This study assesses the debt of the Catholic Church's social and political teachings to American influences by tracing the Church's halting recognition that natural law inspired the freedoms enjoyed under the Constitution.

Steven P. Millies, University of South Carolina, Aiken stevenm@usca.edu

Paper Interpretations of the Common Good: Contemporary Challenges to Catholic Political Thought

This paper examines the challenges faced by contemporary Catholic political thought with special emphasis on Catholic voters, interpretations of Thomas Aquinas's political theory, and the philosophical relationship of faith to the political realm.

Aaron D. Hoffman, Bellarmine University ahoffman@bellarmine.edu

Paper Jurgen Habermas and Pope John Paul II on Faith, Reason, and Politics in the Modern World

I argue that a dialogue between Pope John Paul II and Jurgen Habermas illuminates the degree to which a believer and an atheist can share substantive conclusions about key themes within the discourse of modernity with respect to faith and reason.

Celestino Perez, United States Army Command and General Staff

College

celestino.perez@us.army.mil

Paper The Feminist Protest Within the Spanish Catholic Church

The combination of internationalization, religion, and gender identities characterizes collective mobilization not only in current societies but also in historical societies, such as the Spanish society under Franco

Celia Valiente, *Universidad Carlos III* valiente@polsoc.uc3m.es

Paper Abortion and the Declining Influence of the U.S. Bishops in American Politics, 1980 - 2008

This study assesses the effect of the U.S. bishops 1980 decision to make abortion a litmus test in electoral politics and public policy for Roman Catholics, and asserts that this decision has limited the public influence of the bishops.

Eugene J. Halus, *Immaculata University* ehalus@immaculata.edu

Disc. Amy L. Cavender, Saint Mary's College acavende@saintmarys.edu

56-7 Campaign 2008: Engagement Within the Classroom

Room Adams on the 6th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Melanie J. Blumberg, California University of Pennsylvania blumberg@cup.edu

biumberg@cup.edu

Paper A Congressional Election Simulation for a Small Class

Discusses role-playing game including staff for two congressional campaigns as well as reporters

Bruce F. Nesmith, Coe College

bnesmith@coe.edu

Paper Mapping Voters' Social Networks: Differences in Students' Learning Outcomes

Using a series of surveys and field notes, this study analyzes the lessons students learned in response to an intensive required field experience.

Elizabeth Anne Bennion, Indiana University, South Bend ebennion@iusb.edu

Paper On the Presidential Campaign Trail: The Impact of an Off-Campus Course in Campaign Politics

This paper will study the impact of an off-campus course in which students interned with presidential campaigns in New Hampshire and South Carolina in January 2008. Data include a survey, student papers, and a comparison with an on campus course.

Daniel Hofrenning, St. Olaf College

dhofrenn@stolaf.edu

Disc. Brian D. Posler, University of Southern Indiana

bposler@usi.edu

Melanie J. Blumberg. California University of Pennsylvania blumberg@cup.edu

58-102 Roundtable: Acclimating to the Classroom Environment: Excelling in Teaching While on the Tenure-Track

Room Watertower on the 6th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

This roundtable is geared toward new professors and graduate students who will obtain jobs in the near future.

Panelist Candice Ortbals, Pepperdine University

Candice.Ortbals@pepperdine.edu

Lauren Morris Maclean, Indiana University, Bloomington mcleanl@indiana.edu

Rebecca J. Hannagan, Northern Illinois University

rhannaga@niu.edu

Eileen Hunt Botting, University of Notre Dame

ehunt@nd.edu

62-2 <u>Comparative Social Action</u>

Room Medinah on the 6th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Craig Curtis, Bradley University

rcc@bumail.bradley.edu

Paper Changing Motivations: The 'Pro-Secular' Movement in Turkey

The study argues that in some cases (i.e. the Turkish case) people's motivation in participating in a social movement needs to be explained by different theoretical tools for each moment of the movement.

A. Mert Kartal, University of Wisconsin, Madison kartal@wisc.edu

Paper The Trick of Carl Schmitt: An Intellectual Complex

There is a complex in Carl Schmitt's political thinking and revealed itself in two different ways. They are the ambivalence between recognizing formalism and creating content of political life and that between juristic study and universal philosophy.

Yun-Chan Wu, New School University

b90302247@ntu.edu.tw

Paper Toward Transnationalism: Comparative Insights on Organized Labor's Strategic Responses to Offshore Outsourcing in the Telecommunications Industry

This paper offers a comparative historical explanation for the variation in unions' responses to offshoring in Australia, the US, and the UK. I explain why some unions pursue transnational partnerships, while others act only within national borders.

Marissa Brookes, Northwestern University

mbrookes@u.northwestern.edu

Disc. Craig Curtis, Bradley University

rcc@bumail.bradley.edu

65-6 Pacific Theater: Literature, Film and Media

Room LaSalle 3 on the 7th Floor, Sun at 10:00 am

Chair Roger Green, Florida Gulf Coast University

rgreen@fgcu.edu

Paper Postmodernist Film and Politics of Aesthetics: Wang Chao's "The Orphan Of Anyang", Lou Ye's "Suzhou River", and the Sixth Generation of Chinese Film

Postmodernist films in the social context of post-Tiananmen China in the 1990s, corresponded for Deleuze's micro political philosophy to the aesthetics of disintegration in these cinemas.

Shan Lan, University of Hawaii, Manoa

shanlan@hawaii.edu

Paper Evolving Fictional Depiction of the Middleman in Pacific Island Polities

Depiction in fiction of contemporary life in the Pacific suggest evolving concepts of the function and morality of the political "Middleman" that, in turn, reflect growing appreciation of the pivotal role of the Middleman in political transactions.

Michael Jon Stoil, University of Guam

mstoil@uguam.uog.edu

Mary Therese Cruz, University of Hawaii/University of Guam marycruz@hawaii.edu

Paper Republik Mimpi: Parody and Political Engagement in Indonesia

The use of parody to measure political engagement in Indonesia.

Liana Adi Rahmawati, West Virginia University

lrahmawa@mix.wvu.edu

Paper Aerial Sublime vs Wired Sublime: Gender Politics in the Chinese Martial Arts Film

The paper examines closely the heroines in the Chinese martial arts films, who are the seemingly powerful yet secretly confined female figures embodying a male anxiety of emasculation in contestation and negotiation with the femininity.

Kuo-I Chou, Binghamton University

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Disc. Roger Green, Florida Gulf Coast University

rgreen@fgcu.edu

Lilly J. Goren, Carroll University

lgoren@cc.edu