

# **Foreign Affairs Documentation Bulletin**

## **December 2021**

### **AUSTRALIA**

#### **- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT**

##### 1. Narelle Miragliotta

Party think tanks as adaptation to the challenge of party linkage: Lessons from Australia. *Politics*, 41(02), 2021: 240-256.

While parties in established democracies have shown increasing reluctance to forge exclusive ties to organisational mediators, they have not discarded these connections. This article considers one under-explored party organisational mediator, party think tanks. In an in-depth Australian study, this article examines the significance of party think tanks as mechanisms for party linkage. It proposes that such vehicles harness some of the strengths intrinsic to affiliated external organisations and party sub-groups in ways which are more responsive to the challenge of linkage confronting modern parties. The Australia case suggests that party think tanks are used to assist parties to connect to old and new interest constituencies in flexible ways while limiting parties' exposure to electoral and political risk. The adoption of party think tanks speaks to the ongoing value parties place on organisational mediators, but on terms that they can better control.

\*\*Australia - Politics and government ; Australia - Political parties.

**Control No : 45043**

### **BRAZIL**

#### **- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT**

##### 2. Tsung-han Tsai

The influence of the president and government coalition on roll-call voting in Brazil, 2003–2006. *Political Studies Review*, 19(2), 2021: 193-208.

In Brazil's legislative process, political exchanges between the government and legislature is an essential feature. This article focuses on the role of the president and political parties in Brazil's national legislative process. Because nonideological factors influence voting, roll calls do not suffice for estimation of legislators' policy preferences. In this article, we derive a spatial model of voting in which voting behavior is induced by both ideological motivations and coalition dynamics and develop a multilevel ideal-point model implied by the spatial voting model. After the proposed model is applied to the analysis of roll-call votes in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies between 2003 and 2006, coalition dynamics is found to influence the voting behavior of legislators. We also confirm the finding in previous studies that the ideological alignment of political parties in the legislature contrasts with the perceived positions.

\*\*Brazil - Politics and government ; Legislative politics.

**Control No : 45053**

### **BREXIT REFERENDUM**

##### 3. Cees van der Eijk and Jonathan Rose

Winner–loser effects in contentious constitutional referenda: Perceptions of procedural fairness and the Brexit referendum. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(1), 2021: 104-120.

This article addresses a critical gap in the literature on winner–loser effects that consists of the lack of attention for highly contentious constitutional referenda. It uses unique multi-wave panel data of over 13,000 people that is unrivalled in size and richness. We

estimate causal effects of the referendum on rarely studied but crucial public perceptions of the fairness of the way a referendum is conducted. These perceptions pertain to the highly contentious 2016 European Union (Brexit) referendum in the United Kingdom, which is an ideal-type example of a wider class of referenda for which similar outcomes can be expected. We use difference-in-differences methods and find winner-loser effects of a magnitude far greater than ever observed for general elections. Moreover, we find that these effects not only persist, but even grow over time. The findings have profound implications for the use of such referenda.

\*\*Brexit referendum ; United Kingdom ; Fairness of election ; European Union.

**Control No : 45038**

## **CHINA**

### **- DEMOCRACY**

#### 4. Jonas Gamsö

Is China exporting media censorship? China's rise, media freedoms, and democracy. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(3), 2021: 858-883.

This study explores the relationship between China's rise and media censorship around the world, in light of recent suggestions in the Western press and among China experts that Beijing is advancing a global censorship agenda. I argue that the Chinese government occasionally promotes censorship in foreign countries, because it wishes to reduce negative media coverage of China or to silence certain groups abroad (e.g. Falun Gong). More often, China's relative apathy about speech and press freedoms in foreign countries facilitates censorship in countries that can rely on trade with Beijing. Countries that cannot rely on China are less willing to risk alienating Western powers by violating press freedoms at home. Regime type is an important determinant as to whether censorship is facilitated through intensive economic integration with China, as democracies may respond to China's rise differently than authoritarian countries. Analysis of country-level panel data shows higher rates of media censorship in democratic countries that trade intensively with China.

\*\*China - Democracy ; Global trade ; Human rights.

**Control No : 45013**

## **CHINA**

### **- FOREIGN POLICY**

#### 5. Rosemary Foot and Amy King

China's world view in the Xi Jinping Era: Where do Japan, Russia and the USA fit? *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(2), 2021: 210-227.

A 'world view' perspective is deployed to show President Xi Jinping's dominance of China's policy-making environment and the ideas that he and his leadership group have tried to promote. We use this framework to explain China's relations with three major countries that are crucial to manage successfully in order for China to consolidate its global and regional ambitions – Japan, Russia and the United States. The article shows how the degree of alignment between China's and these great powers' world views influences their levels of resistance or acceptance of the policies that flow from Beijing's world view. We find that, while the United States and Russia lie at opposing ends of the resistance-acceptance spectrum, Japan represents an important middle ground along it. This finding encourages movement away from the overly simplistic dyadic depictions of global politics associated with 'new Cold War' or 'authoritarian versus liberal' labelling.

\*\*China - Foreign policy ; China Foreign relations ; Xi Jinping.

**Control No : 45033**

#### 6. Titus C Chen and Chiahao Hsu

China's human rights foreign policy in the Xi Jinping era: normative revisionism shrouded in discursive moderation. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(2),

2021: 228-247.

This article applies mixed methods to examine if PRC leadership change in 2012 – from the Hu Jintao government to the Xi Jinping administration – has led to significant changes in China's international human rights policy. Empirical analyses characterise a discursively moderate China whose international human rights statements in the Xi-era are no more contentious than during Hu Jintao's time. Despite its communicative moderation, Xi's China is found to have pursued an agenda of international human rights policy that is more ambitious and revisionist than before. China under Xi's rule is no longer content with passively defending its human rights governance model but has actively promoted this model internationally. The Xi Jinping administration has undertaken to market its illiberal model of national development as the new universal framework for the international human rights system. By doing so, Xi's China is bound to undermine the liberal foundation of international human rights norms.

\*\*China - Foreign policy ; Human rights ; United Nations.

**Control No : 45034**

#### 7. Xiao Ren

Managing volatile asymmetry: China's emergence from the Korean dilemma. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(2), 2021: 337-352.

Among the most complicated issues in contemporary Chinese foreign policy is that of the Korean Peninsula and North Korea in particular. Critics have long complained, often internally, that China dare not use, and did not know how to use, the leverage it possessed. Why was this the case given that the relationship with North Korea is an asymmetric one with China the much more powerful side? Has China managed this asymmetry better more recently, and why? This article tries to address these questions. The relationship changed significantly in recent years when the Xi Jinping leadership decided to take unprecedented measures. Those actions have been consequential. China has emerged from being embarrassed by North Korea's nuclear and missile development to re-establishing itself as central to Korean and Northeast Asian security.

\*\*China - Foreign policy ; China and North Korea ; Nuclear problem.

**Control No : 45037**

## CHINA

### - FOREIGN RELATIONS

#### 8. Karl Yan

The railroad economic belt: grand strategy, economic statecraft, and a new type of international relations. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(2), 2021: 262-279.

China's grand strategy is evolving towards greater activism under Xi Jinping – from 'keeping a low profile' to 'striving for achievement'. New initiatives such as forging 'a new type of international relations', 'a community with a shared future for mankind', and the Belt and Road Initiative have become marked features of the 'Xi-change' in China's grand strategy. From an economic statecraft perspective, this article hypothesises that the Xi-change led to a power centralisation in the implementation of the Belt and Road Initiative and the Railroad Economic Belt. To support its geopolitical and geoeconomic objectives, the Chinese state has replicated the domestic state-industrial complex. In the context of the Jakarta-Bandung High-speed Rail Corridor, the domestic roles of the National Development and Reform Commission and the China Railway Corporation have been internationalised to ensure the globalisation of China's high-speed rail industry could be conducted in a concerted and choreographed fashion.

\*\*China - Foreign relations ; Belt and Road Initiative.

**Control No : 45036**

## 9. Zha Daojiong and Lina Gong

China and Southeast Asia in the 2000s: Tension management in the maritime space. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(2), 2021: 248-261.

Viewed through the standard prisms of international politics, escalation of security tensions is the definitive feature in the evolution of relations between China and Southeast Asia over the last decade. Disagreements over territorial ownership of and rights to the South China Sea sharpened and arguably became the defining feature of regional geopolitics. Yet, China and Southeast Asia have also managed to prove predictions of fateful conflict to be premature. In this article, we study Chinese and Southeast Asian strands of security discourse, which provide political and diplomatic cover for cooperative interaction in parallel with little or no compromise on security principles. Then we select interactions between China and the Philippines and China and Vietnam as cases to illustrate our observations. We conclude by postulating that, at least in the maritime space, tension management rather than conflict resolution is more likely to be the continuing feature into the future.

\*\*China - Foreign relations ; China - Foreign policy ; China - Southeast Asia relations.

**Control No : 45035**

## CHINA

### - FOREIGN RELATIONS - RUSSIA

## 10. Christopher Weidacher Hsiung

China's technology cooperation with Russia: geopolitics, economics, and regime security. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 14(03), 2021: 447-479.

Technology cooperation has long constituted an important part in China's bilateral engagement with Russia. In recent years, however, Sino-Russian technology cooperation has seen a remarkable increase and both sides now view such interaction as a core dimension in the current and future development of the strategic partnership. This article examines the two countries' technological collaboration, focusing in particular on China's engagement with Russia in emerging technologies and strategic domains. The article argues that three explanations account to explain closer engagement from China: (i) intensified strategic competition with the USA, (ii) broader efforts to expand the overall trade and economic relationship with Russia, and (iii) domestic regime security incentives. Overall, while there exist several challenges and obstacles, increased technology cooperation will continue to expand and also enhance the Sino-Russian strategic partnership. This does not mean that China and Russia will form a formal alliance, but technology cooperation will constitute a critical component in their bilateral relationship, as it reduces their dependence on Western technology, and further consolidates an already well-grounded bilateral relationship.

\*\*China - Foreign relations - Russia ; Russia - Foreign relations - China ; International relations.

**Control No : 45011**

## CHINA

### - INFRASTRUCTURE FINANCE

## 11. Muyang Chen

Infrastructure finance, late development, and China's reshaping of international credit governance. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(3), 2021: 830-857.

How is the rise of China affecting international governance? This paper examines the domain of infrastructure finance by focusing on China's two policy banks, which are the main creditors of China's overseas infrastructure projects. While the incumbent international credit regimes led by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) distinguish development-oriented aid from commercially oriented export credits, emerging late-developed economies blur this dichotomy by largely funding development projects with state-backed export credits. The way China alters the OECD's

credit governance, this paper argues, demonstrates both the generality of late development and the peculiarity of “Chinese” development. Rather than directly subsidizing firms’ international business with the state’s fiscal revenue, policy banks financialized host country’s state-owned and state-coordinated assets using various market instruments. By doing so, they gave Chinese firms a comparative advantage in the markets of less developed regions, allowing them to undertake projects that firms from advanced industrial countries cannot. This financing mechanism has reshaped the international development regime by transforming the dominant means of credit allocation from state-led aid-giving to market-based exchange, and rewritten the liberal rules of the international export credit regime by financing the developing world in a both statist and liberalist manner. As a result, China has built a paralleled regime in regions insufficiently covered by the existing financial schemes of incumbent credit regimes.

\*\*China - Infrastructure finance ; International governance.

**Control No : 45012**

## **CHINA**

### **- SECURITY POLICY**

#### 12. Jinghan Zeng

Securitization of artificial intelligence in China. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 14(03), 2021: 417–445.

This article studies the security politics of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in China. Using securitization as an analytical framework, it examines the official Chinese AI discourse and how AI is becoming a security matter. The article argues that the Chinese central government is securitizing AI to mobilize local states, market actors, intellectuals, and the general public. China’s historical anxieties about its technology and regime security needs are conducive to the rise of a security discourse in China’s AI politics, a trend also fuelled by tensions arising from great power competition. Although helpful in convincing domestic actors, this securitization trend could undermine Chinese key AI objectives by heading in an inward-looking, techno-nationalistic direction that may be seriously detrimental to China’s AI industry and leadership ambitions.

\*\*China - Security policy ; Artificial Intelligence.

**Control No : 45010**

## **CLIMATE CHANGE**

#### 13. Gizem Arıkan and Defne Gunay

Public attitudes towards climate change: a cross-country analysis. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(1), 2021: 158-174.

Addressing climate change requires international effort from both governments and the public. Climate change concern is a crucial variable influencing public support for measures to address climate change. Combining country-level data with data from the Pew Research Center Spring 2015 Global Attitudes Survey, we test whether perceived threats from climate change influence climate change concern. We distinguish between personal threat and planetary threat and we find that both threats have substantive effects on climate change concern, with personal threat exerting a greater influence on climate change concern than planetary threat. The effects of both types of threats are also moderated by Gross Domestic Product per capita, such that threats have stronger effects on climate change concern in high-income countries than in low-income countries. Our findings contribute to the existing literature and open up new debates concerning the role of threats in climate change concern and have implications for climate change communication.

\*\*Climate change ; Comparative analysis.

**Control No : 45039**

## **EUROPE**

### **- CITIZENSHIP**

#### 14. Izhak Berkovich

Defensive citizenship in Europe: definition and measurement. *Political Studies Review*, 19(1), 2021: 148-156.

In this article, I define and measure the new phenomenon of defensive citizenship in Europe. The literature suggests that defensive citizenship engagement is related to attempts by entitled citizens to preserve their threatened interests. It has been on the rise worldwide, especially in Europe. Based on studies and reports on the phenomenon, I argue that defensive citizenship can be assessed among entitled citizens (those born in the country, whose both parents were born in the country) based on mistrust towards political institutions, anti-immigration attitudes and a challenging personal situation. The analysis, based on European Social Survey data, ranks European countries and uncovers concentrations of countries with high levels of defensive citizenship in Eastern Europe. I contend that this phenomenon has significant implications for the democratic functioning of European countries and the stability of the continent.

\*\*Europe - Citizenship ; Europe - Politics and government.

**Control No : 45051**

## **EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**

#### 15. Daniela Braun

The Europeanness of the 2019 European Parliament elections and the mobilising power of European issues. *Politics*, 41(04), 2021: 451-466.

Less researched than the second-order character of elections to the European Parliament (EP) is the 'Europeanness' of European elections and its implications for voter participation in these elections. This article aims to fill this gap by studying the Europeanness of the public debate in the run-up to the 2019 EP elections and the mobilising power of European issues in these electoral contests. In doing this, we draw on a new data set covering intriguing aspects of the 2019 EP elections. The findings of the empirical analysis of media and survey data indicate that the elections to the EP were more European contests than ever before in the history of these elections – yet this is not true in the same way for all of the countries under consideration. Moreover, the Europeanness of electorates, measured as genuine orientations towards EU politics, matters for electoral participation and thus has the power to mobilise citizens. Nonetheless, national factors still play an important role in these elections. These findings are insightful for the future assessment of EP elections and the scholarly debate over multi-level electoral politics in Europe.

\*\*European Parliament ; Europe - Political participation.

**Control No : 45017**

#### 16. Irene Palacios and Christine Arnold

Do Spitzenkandidaten debates matter? Effects on voters' cognitions and evaluations of candidates and issues. *Politics*, 41(04), 2021: 486-503.

The Lisbon Treaty introduced key institutional changes to increase the relevance of elections to the European Parliament (EP). Among these was the 'Spitzenkandidaten process', which was introduced with the aim to increase the visibility of the EP elections and mobilise more citizens to turnout to vote. This article investigates the effect that the debates among the Lead Candidates had on voters' perceptions about candidates and policy issues. To do this, we administered a two-wave panel online survey to a sample of students from different European universities prior to the Spitzenkandidaten debates and directly after them, following the logic of a quasi-experimental research design. Following a difference-in-differences approach, we gauge the extent to which those respondents who were exposed to the debates increased their degree of information about the candidates and

changed their perceptions about the candidates and their policy positions. The findings reveal that respondents who followed the debate felt significantly more informed to make up their minds about the candidates as well as to make their vote decisions, and show that the debate slightly improved their perceptions of the policy positions of those candidates who they had intended to vote for.

\*\*European Parliament ; Europe - Campaign debates.

**Control No : 45019**

## **EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS**

### 17. Constantin Schafer

Indifferent and Eurosceptic: The motivations of EU-only abstainers in the 2019 European Parliament election. *Politics*, 41(04), 2021: 522-536.

Despite the dramatic voter turnout increase in 2019, the participation level in European Parliament elections is still considerably lower than in national elections. How can we explain this persistent 'Euro gap'? This article analyses the motivations of citizens who participate in national but not in European electoral contests, the so-called 'EU-only abstainers'. The empirical analysis based on the EES 2019 voter study reveals that EU-only abstention is driven by low levels of general political interest and EU-specific political sophistication, as well as by distrust towards EU institutions. Therefore, the Euro gap results from the widespread perception that there is 'less at stake' during EP elections, but it is also an aggregate-level consequence of individual Eurosceptic attitudes. These findings have important implications for our understanding of present-day European elections and the debate between the two most common theoretical approaches in EP election research.

\*\*European Parliament elections ; Political awareness.

**Control No : 45020**

### 18. Piret Ehin and Liisa Talving

Still second-order? European elections in the era of populism, extremism, and Euroscepticism. *Politics*, 41(04), 2021: 467-485.

The continued relevance of the second-order elections (SOE) theory is one of the most widely debated issues in the study of European Parliament (EP) elections. While the theory has been criticised from many angles, the recent success of populist, extremist, and Eurosceptic parties raises additional questions about the applicability of a model that depicts EP elections as a low-stakes affair revolving around national issues. This article tests the SOE model with party-level data from all 175 EP elections held between 1979 and 2019. While turnout in EP elections remains well below participation rates in national elections, the 2019 EP elections were marked by a significant reduction in the average turnout gap. Across all election years, party size is the most potent predictor of electoral gains and losses in EP elections. Incumbency is associated with electoral losses in most EP election years. These effects are moderated by the electoral cycle and the electoral system in some but not all years. The expectation that the SOE model performs worse in countries with fragmented party systems was not confirmed. All in all, the SOE model continues to wield significant explanatory power in both the West and the East.

\*\*European Parliament elections ; Europe - Voting behaviour.

**Control No : 45018**

## **EUROPEAN SECURITY**

### 19. Nele Marianne Ewers-Peters

Brexit's implications for EU-NATO cooperation: transatlantic bridge no more? *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(4), 2021: 576-592.

Since its accession to the European Union, the United Kingdom has played an important role

in the design and development of the European Union's foreign, security and defence policy. While it is among the founding members of North Atlantic Treaty Organization, it is also one of the main contributors to European security and played an active part in developing the relationship between both organisations. With the United Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union, questions concerning the implications of Brexit on European Union–North Atlantic Treaty Organization cooperation arise. As the transatlantic bridge between the two organisations, Britain also faces an uncertain position within the European security architecture. It therefore needs to redefine its relations with the European Union and its own position among other member states. Taking into account the development of national security interests and recent political events, this article develops three possible scenarios that may occur for the European Union–North Atlantic Treaty Organization relationship depending on the outcome of the Brexit negotiations.

\*\*European security ; European Union–North Atlantic Treaty Organization ; Brexit ; United Kingdom.

**Control No : 45025**

## EUROPEAN UNION

### 20. Andrew Glencross

Managing differentiated disintegration: Insights from comparative federalism on post-Brexit EU–UK relations. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(4), 2021: 593-608.

This article applies insights from comparative federalism to analyse different models for managing future EU–UK relations. The argument is that the stability of the EU–UK relationship before as well as after Brexit is best understood by examining the presence of federal safeguards. Drawing on Kelemen, four types of safeguards are identified as the means for balancing centrifugal and centripetal forces. During the United Kingdom's European Union membership, the strong glue provided by structural and judicial safeguards was undone by the weakness of partisan and socio-cultural ones. However, each post-Brexit scenario is characterised by weaker structural and judicial safeguards. The most stable outcome is an indeterminate Brexit that limits the incentive to politicise sovereignty and identity concerns by ending free movement of people and reducing the saliency of European Union rules. Such stability is nevertheless relative in that, from a comparative perspective, federal-type safeguards were stronger when the United Kingdom was still in the European Union.

\*\*European Union ; European Union - Foreign relations - United Kingdom ; Brexit ; United Kingdom.

**Control No : 45026**

### 21. Marta Iniguez de Heredia

EU peacebuilding's new khaki: exceptionalist militarism in the trading of good governed for military-capable states. *Politics*, 41(03), 2021: 296-315.

This article explores how European Union (EU) peacebuilding is being reconfigured. Whereas the EU was once a bulwark of liberal peacebuilding, promoting a rule of law-based international order, it is now downplaying the goal of good governance and placing military capacity as central for international peace and security. Several works have analysed these changes but have not theorised militarism, despite war-waging and war-preparation have marked EU peacebuilding's direction. The article argues that EU peacebuilding continues to expose elements of liberal militarism since its origins but is now changing from what Mabee and Vucetic call a nation-statist to an exceptionalist militarism. This shift implies that peace has ceased to be served by the intervention of sovereignty with a discourse based on the link between order, good governance, and human rights and is now premised on the upholding of sovereignty, even if that means the suspension of rights. The research draws on thematic



analysis of EU documents and interviews undertaken with EU and G5 Sahel officials and managers of EU-funded peacebuilding programmes. It also briefly analyses the case of the Sahel as an example of how the build-up of states' military capacity is strengthening states' capacity to override human rights and repressing dissent.

\*\*European Union ; European Union - Peacebuilding ; Liberal peace.

**Control No : 45028**

## 22. Sergiu Buscaneanu

Tertium datur: multi-attribute reference points and integration choices between the European Union and Eurasian Economic Union. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(4), 2021: 627-644.

The article imports insights from prospect theory into the study of integration choices of ruling elites from Eastern Partnership countries. It introduces the notion of multi-attribute reference points and provides an example of identifying their coordinates, against which ruling elites from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine are expected to consider distinct integration choices: the European Union or Eurasian Economic Union. The research finds that ruling elites from Eastern Partnership countries with the lowest levels of affluence, with medium to high intensity conflicts with Russia and with lower, but still non-trivial costs of domestic transformation have tended to be risk-seeking and opted for the European Union as an integration choice. However, ruling elites from Eastern Partnership countries with low and medium levels of affluence, with no conflict with Russia and with medium to high costs of domestic transformation have tended to be risk-averse and selected the Eurasian Economic Union as an integration option.

\*\*European Union ; Eurasian Economic Union.

**Control No : 45027**

## 23. Thomas Prosser

European insiders and outsiders? assessing the reaction of German and French trade unions to EU austerity. *Political Studies Review*, 19(4), 2021: 624-636.

Though the existence of a European insider-outsider division has previously been theorised, a robust link between the actions of certain workers and the existence of such divisions has yet to be demonstrated. In this article, I examine differing reactions of German and French trade unions to austerity in Southern Europe. German and French unions reacted to austerity in a lukewarm manner, contributing to the emergence of European divides. This was particularly the case in Germany, in which the stronger position within Economic and Monetary Union meant that there were fewer incentives for solidarity. I link this development with the nature of the contemporary EU, contending that the division is related to the propensity of Economic and Monetary Union to initiate competition between national labour markets and an upturn in nationalism.

\*\*European Union ; European works councils.

**Control No : 45024**

## 24. Wouter van der Brug, et. at.

Illiberal democratic attitudes and support for the EU. *Politics*, 41(04), 2021: 537-561.

Are those who support the core values of liberal democracy also more likely to support the European Union? In this article, we study the relationship between EU support and support for the principles of liberal democracy among citizens in the 28 EU member states, using data from the European Election Studies 2019. Our findings demonstrate that supporters of liberal principles of democracy tend to be more supportive of the EU, while supporters of more direct forms of citizen influence are more Eurosceptic. We argue that this may be in part due to the design of the EU with strong institutional checks-and-balances, but a weak link to citizens. Attitudes towards liberal democracy are less structured than previous research suggests. Yet, the structuration of attitudes towards liberal democracy and the

association between these attitudes and EU support is stronger in contexts where the role of the institutions of liberal democracy is more contested. This reconfirms that elite cues are essential for the formation of structured mass attitudes.

\*\*European Union ; Liberal democracy.

**Control No : 45021**

## **FINLAND**

### **- ELECTIONS**

#### 25. Hilde Coffe and Asa von Schoultz

How candidate characteristics matter: candidate profiles, political sophistication, and vote choice. *Politics*, 41(02), 2021: 137-155.

Our study examines the influence of various candidate characteristics (sociodemographic profile, competence and experience, issue positions, and party affiliation) on voters' preference for a candidate, and investigates the impact of voters' levels of political sophistication on their likelihood of considering various candidate characteristics when deciding whom to support. Using data from the 2015 Finnish National Election Study, this study is situated within the complex Finnish open list system with many candidates at display and mandatory preference voting. We find that voters mostly argue to make their choice based on candidate characteristics with direct politically relevant information such as candidate party affiliation and issue positions. Candidate sociodemographic profile has relatively little stated impact. Overall, voters with higher levels of political sophistication tend to be more likely to consider a broad range of candidate characteristics. When investigating the relative impact of each candidate characteristic (that is, their impact relative to the other candidate characteristics) on voting behaviour, political sophistication increases the likelihood of saying to rely on candidate characteristics that are more demanding in terms of information processing such as competence and experience, and issue positions. Our analyses also show how different measures of political sophistication have distinct effects.

\*\*Finland - Elections ; Finland - Political sophistication.

**Control No : 45040**

## **FOREIGN POLICY**

#### 26. Rahime Suleymanoglu-Kurum

The sociology of diplomats and foreign policy sector: the role of cliques on the policy-making process. *Political Studies Review*, 19(4), 2021: 558-573.

This paper studies the sociology of elites and the role of cliques on the foreign policy-making process through an exploratory case study of Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It identifies elite sociology as the independent variable triggering a policy-making process in the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs in line with organisational process or governmental politic approaches. It shows that until the 1980s, the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs was marked by strong hierarchical tradition triggered by a certain career path and cliqueism leading to the homogeneity in the sociology of elites. This in turn triggered a foreign policy-making process based on organisational process. The role of cliqueism weakened along with the incremental circulation of elites in the post-1980s and particularly in the post-2005 period as the elite structure in the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs became even more heterogeneous, foreign policy-making process moved towards governmental politics which allowed taking into account diverse schools of thought. Nevertheless, newly emerging programmatic elites employed deliberate efforts for elite circulation by altering the dominant career path and relying on political appointments. The resulting outcome was the emergence of a new clique of ruling elites subordinate to political elites which led to the politicisation of the foreign policy decision-making process in the post-2011 period.

\*\*Foreign Policy ; Sociology of elites.

## **HUMAN RIGHTS**

### 27. Daniel Thym

The end of human rights dynamism? judgments of the ECtHR on 'hot returns' and humanitarian visas as a focal point of contemporary European asylum law and policy. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 32(04), 2021: 569–596.

Two controversial rulings of the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) deserve global attention, since they declined to scrutinize on human rights grounds the prevalent move towards enhanced border controls and externalization practices that define European asylum law and policy at this juncture. In ND and NT, judges deemed the Spanish policy of 'hot returns', without access to basic procedural guarantees, of those climbing border fences to be compatible with human rights. A few weeks later, the Grand Chamber thwarted enduring hopes for judicial innovation in MN when it reasserted a 'primarily territorial' understanding of State jurisdiction and declared inadmissible the claim of a Syrian family from the war-torn town of Aleppo to a humanitarian visa. While the decision on humanitarian visas means that 'non-arrival' policies cannot usually be challenged, critical inspection of the ND and NT judgment displays a confounding combination of restrictive arguments and dynamic elements beneath the surface of a seemingly clear-cut outcome. This lack of judicial precision, which was bound to cause heated debate about the practical implications of the judgment, reflects the basic tension between the prohibition of refoulement and the absence of a right to asylum in classic accounts of international refugee law. It will be argued that the judicial vindication of the Spanish 'hot returns' policy does not call into question non-refoulement obligations; it aims at identifying graded procedural standards for different categories of refugees and migrants. By contrast, the novel insistence on the abstract availability of legal channels of entry presents itself as a humanitarian fig leaf for the acceptance of strict control practices. At an intermediate level of abstraction, the two rulings mark a watershed moment, indicating the provisional endpoint of an impressive period of interpretative dynamism on the part of the ECtHR, which has played a critical role in the progressive evolution of international refugee and human rights law over the past three decades. Experts in asylum law who have become accustomed to supranational courts advancing the position of individuals will benefit from the insights of constitutional theory and the social sciences to rationalize why the former vigour has given way to a period of hesitation and potential standstill, at least in Europe. This analysis employs the perspective of strategic litigation to discuss contextual factors hindering the continued dynamism of human rights jurisprudence in Europe at this juncture.

\*\*Human Rights ; Asylum law ; European Union.

**Control No : 45016**

## **HUMAN RIGHTS DIPLOMACY**

### 28. Anna Tan

A critical assessment of human rights diplomacy by western states in Myanmar (Burma) from 2007 to 2020. *Asian Affairs*, 52(3), 2021: 655-687.

Myanmar (Burma) from 2007 to 2020 observed a short-lived détente with major Western governments after decades of ostracism. Armed conflict and mass atrocities worsened despite significant democratisation. The article outlines Myanmar's short-lived democratic rule from beginning to end, before its coup d'etat in early 2021 and acceleration to state failure by the time of writing. This article assesses the strengths and limitations of Western human rights diplomacy vis-à-vis Myanmar during this 14-year frame, using in-depth interviews with former/working diplomats and experts as primary sources, in addition to

secondary sources. Ostracism dominated Western bilateralism pre-2011, followed by the principled engagement of Australia, Norway and the UNSG's good offices, the latter based on Articles 98 and 99 of the UN Charter. Myanmar's military democratised with the aim of counterbalancing overdependence on China and seeking legitimacy as reformers. A reverse trend was observed after the 2016 Rohingya crisis. It demonstrates the dangers of neglecting the law of diminishing returns through advocacy, and of conflating domestic democracy and human rights advocates as principled practitioners. It concludes that it is in the pragmatic interests of Western governments to coordinate and institutionalise human rights principles in longer-term foreign policymaking, and that democratisation before peacebuilding increases state fragility.

\*\*Human rights diplomacy ; China - Foreign policy ; Fragile states.

**Control No : 45058**

## **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

### 29. Kamal Sadiq and Gerasimos Tsourapas

The postcolonial migration state. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(3), 2021: 884-912.

The evolution of migration policymaking across the Global South is of growing interest to International Relations. Yet, the impact of colonial and imperial legacies on states' migration management regimes outside Europe and North America remains under-theorised. How does postcolonial state formation shape policies of cross-border mobility management in the Global South? By bringing James F. Hollifield's framework of the contemporary 'migration state' in conversation with critical scholarship on postcolonialism, we identify the existence of a 'postcolonial paradox,' namely two sets of tensions faced by newly independent states of the Global South: first, the need to construct a modern sovereign nation-state with a well-defined national identity contrasts with weak institutional capacity to do so; second, territorial realities of sovereignty conflict with the imperatives of nation-building seeking to establish exclusive citizenship norms towards populations residing both inside and outside the boundaries of the postcolonial state. We argue that the use of cross-border mobility control policies to reconcile such tensions transforms the 'postcolonial state' into the 'postcolonial migration state,' which shows distinct continuities with pre-independence practices. In fact, postcolonial migration states reproduce colonial-era tropes via the surveillance and control of segmented migration streams that redistribute labour for the global economy. We demonstrate this via a comparative study of post-independence migration management in India and Egypt, which also aims to merge a problematic regional divide between scholarship on the Middle East and South Asia. We urge further critical interventions on the international politics of migration that prioritise interregional perspectives from the broader Global South.

\*\*International relations ; International migration ; South Asia ; Middle East ; Global South.

**Control No : 45014**

### 30. Ludvig Norman

Rethinking causal explanation in interpretive international studies. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(3), 2021: 936-959.

This article develops a model for causal explanations amenable to interpretive International Relations (IR) research. A growing field of scholars has turned toward causal inquiry while stressing the importance of shared understandings, identities, and social practices for their explanations. This move has considerable potential to strengthen the contributions of interpretive approaches to IR. However, the article identifies shortcomings in the causal models on which this research is based which work to limit this potential. The article provides a detailed discussion of these limitations and offers an alternative model of causal explanations for interpretive IR. The proposed model builds on a clear differentiation

between constitutive and causal analysis and supplies an explicit argument for how they can be combined to generate causal explanations. This paves the way for a more well-defined notion of causal explanation than has commonly been the case in interpretive IR. In doing so, it also offers a more coherent and detailed account of the points at which interpretive explanations intersect with more mainstream approaches and where they differ. Finally, the paper outlines an application of the model through a discussion on an updated form of interpretive process tracing (IPT).

\*\*International relations ; International studies.

**Control No : 45015**

## **KYRGYZSTAN**

### **-TAJIKISTAN - CONFLICT**

31. Charles J. Sullivan

Battle at the border: an analysis of the 2021 Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan conflict. *Asian Affairs*, 52(3), 2021: 529-535.

The deadly skirmishes along the disputed border of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in late April 2021 stand out in comparison to other recent clashes between residents of this remote area. This article analyzes the 2021 border conflict. Furthermore, it stands to reason that the current political climate serves to hinder any resolution to this interstate dispute. Lastly, since skirmishes between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan (both members of the Collective Security Treaty Organization) serve as a source of potential embarrassment for the Russian Federation, Moscow will seek to assert its leverage, in the hopes of avoiding future clashes and maintaining its hegemony over Central Asia.

\*\*Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan - Conflict ; Political violence.

**Control No : 45055**

## **LATIN AMERICA**

### **- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT**

32. Adrian Albala

When do coalitions form under presidentialism, and why does it matter? A configurational analysis from Latin America. *Politics*, 41(03), 2021: 351-370.

This article proposes a new approach to the study of coalition formation in presidential regimes. Drawing on a dataset covering 33 Latin American governments, the article shows that coalition cabinets are, mostly, the product of pre-electoral agreements. I present a six-stage timing of coalition agreements, including four degrees of earliness. Then, I challenge this consideration with the most common – institutional – arguments from the literature about the survival of coalitions in presidential regimes. The findings are quite interesting since they point out that earlier agreements are relevant conditions for enduring coalitions. Moreover, and surprisingly, I show that the institutional argument seems to have been overrated by the literature.

\*\*Latin America - Politics and government ; Latin America - Coalition cabinets ; Presidentialism.

**Control No : 45029**

## **MACROECONOMIC POLICIES**

33. Yeon Kyung Grace Park

Let it float: Inflation and states' priority on monetary independence over exchange rate stability. *Politics*, 41(03), 2021: 371-387.

Monetary policy autonomy and exchange rate stability are desirable macroeconomic policies that cannot be attained jointly under internationally mobile capital. In this article, I explore what happens to state choices between the two policies when a key domestic economic challenge rises. Among many factors, increasing inflation directly affects citizens'

daily lives through rising living costs and decreasing purchasing power. Because dissatisfied citizens become more likely to threaten leaders' tenure in both democracies and nondemocracies, I argue that leaders will pay closer attention to domestically oriented citizens' interest rather than that of internationally/export-oriented actors when the inflation rate increases. In other words, to effectively tackle inflation and appease citizens' discontent, leaders will prioritize their ability to utilize monetary policy over stable exchange rates that promote international trade and investment. As a result, states become more likely to relax exchange rates as the inflation rate increases. Interestingly, empirical results indicate stronger support for hypotheses regarding nondemocratic states.

\*\*Macroeconomic policies ; International political economy ; Monetary policy.

**Control No : 45030**

## **MEXICO**

### **- CONSTITUTION-MAKING**

#### 34. Ernesto Cruz Ruiz

Underrepresented groups and constitution-making: the Mexico City case. *Political Studies Review*, 19(2), 2021: 164-170.

Citizen calls and opportunities for more inclusion in democratic processes are on the rise, triggering the creation of innovative mechanisms to include more demands and stakeholders in decision-making. This article shows how political determination opened up the 2016 Constitution-making of Mexico City and examines the extent to which technology helped add and manage citizen inputs to their constitution. Empirically, it shows the stages and stakeholder deliberations and how collaborative writing, online petitions, and extensive surveys facilitated the inclusion of otherwise underrepresented groups' agendas in a constitutional text. In general, the central argument of this symposium paper is that the combination of actor decisions and use of technology contribute positively to crafting participative, inclusive and informed constitutions.

\*\*Mexico - Constitution-making ; Mexico - Citizen participation ; Democratic innovations.

**Control No : 45052**

## **MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA**

#### 35. Berna Oney

The Ideological dimensionality in the Middle Eastern and North African constitutions: a new era in the evolution of Islamic constitutionalism. *Political Studies Review*, 19(2), 2021: 209-226.

The popular movements in 2011 led to many regime changes that resulted in amended or new constitutions in the Middle East and North Africa region. The constitutional debates concentrated mainly on the functions of the constitutions in authoritarian regimes, constitution-making processes, and the role of Islam during and after the uprisings. However, no research has analyzed the ideological dimensionality of the Middle Eastern and North African constitutions. By analyzing 19 newly enacted, drafted, and amended constitutions before and after the popular movements in the region, this article shows that the single ideological dimension in the constitutions can be defined by the openness of a state for liberal and modern values. This ideological dimension encompasses all the regional political debates on the political regime dynamics, the inclusion of rights and liberties, and the role of Islam. Besides offering an alternative typology for the constitutions in the region, this article also provides evidence for the beginning of the fourth phase of Islamic constitutionalism that merges the ideas of rule of law, which originates from democratic notions, and Islamic norms.

\*\*Middle East and North Africa ; Islamic constitutionalism.

**Control No : 45054**

## **NORTHERN IRELAND**

### 36. Laurence Cooley

Census politics in Northern Ireland from the good Friday agreement to Brexit: beyond the 'sectarian headcount'? *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(3), 2021: 451-470.

While ethno-national demography has featured significantly in political and scholarly debates about Northern Ireland, little attention has been paid to the politics of the Northern Ireland census itself. This article addresses this gap by exploring census politics since the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. It demonstrates that the border poll provision of the Good Friday Agreement and Brexit have increased the political salience of census results, with the 2021 census now being anticipated by many as a potential referendum trigger. Against this background, I argue that new census questions – on religious background and national identity – have had significant consequences for debates about the constitutional future. Introduced in order to satisfy requirements stemming partly from equalities legislation, an unintended consequence of the religious background question has been to reinforce 'two communities' narratives in constitutional debates, whereas the national identity question has served to problematise assumptions about relationships between identity and constitutional preferences.

\*\*Northern Ireland ; Brexit ; Northern Ireland - Demography.

**Control No : 45032**

## **POLITICAL COMMUNICATION**

### 37. Ruben Sanchez Medero

Democratization in political communication. *Political Studies Review*, 19(4), 2021: 607-623.

Disintermediation allows citizens to directly access political communication. The greater diversity of interactions between political actors results in increased flow of information. This causes decreased effectiveness for gatekeepers and agenda-setters (old media), and makes way for the creation of a deregulated, non-hierarchical, and borderless space, resulting in the empowerment of citizens and the democratization of political communication. This is a modernizing time that affects the development of political process and the role of different political actors. However, this transformation is shaped by bias and structural factors that limit its universalization and, a priori, encourage the emergence of a citizen elite that is capable of managing and benefiting from change.

\*\*Political communication ; Political actors.

**Control No : 45023**

## **SLOVAKIA**

### **- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT**

### 38. Miroslav Nemcok et al. et. at.

The role of ethnicity in the perception of pork barrel politics: evidence from a survey experiment in Slovakia. *Politics*, 41(02), 2021: 257-275.

In divided societies and new democracies, clientelism (in the form of pork barrel) and ethno-politics appear to go hand in hand. It is apparent that politicians are incentivized to compete for support within their own ethnic groups, but does an ethnic link between voters and decision-makers influence how voters perceive and evaluate pork barrel practices? To address this question, we conducted a survey experiment (n=1200) in ethnically heterogeneous Slovakia. The aim was to examine whether pork barrel politics implemented by a Slovak decision-maker and a Hungarian decision-maker are evaluated differently by Slovaks and Hungarians. The findings suggest that when individuals and decision-makers share the same ethnicity, individuals tend to maintain an equally positive level of trust and

willingness to vote for the responsible decision-maker, even when the decision-maker implements a policy decision that does not benefit them. Nonetheless, shared ethnicity does not prevent individuals from being critical of the implemented policy decision itself.

\*\*Slovakia - Politics and government ; Slovakia - Survey experiment.

**Control No : 45044**

## **SOUTH AFRICA**

### **- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT**

39. Jacob S Lewis

Signals, strongholds, and support: political party protests in South Africa. *Politics*, 41(02), 2021: 189-206.

South African politics are in a period of transition: the dominant African National Congress (ANC) is in decline, support for opposition parties has been rising, and voters have been disengaging rapidly from the electoral process. As protest movements have become more common and more powerful, established political parties have increasingly led their own protests, often addressing the same issues that citizens rise up about. This phenomenon has been understudied but has important ramifications for the future of South African politics. This article addresses this gap in the literature, arguing that party-led protests can be interpreted as costly signals of credible commitments to address the very issues that citizens are upset about. In a time when established parties are losing support, they may turn to these costly protests to demonstrate their commitment to addressing the needs of the people. Using counts of party-led protests and riots as well as election outcomes in the 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2019 national elections, this article demonstrates that party-led protests primarily target stronghold municipalities. In doing so, they positively correlate with vote-shares during elections. This boon accrues primarily to the opposition parties, but not the incumbent ANC.

\*\*South Africa - Politics and government ; South Africa - Election and protest.

**Control No : 45042**

## **UNITED KINGDOM**

### **- ELECTRONICS**

40. Peter Sloman

Where's the money coming from? Manifesto costings and the politics of fiscal credibility in UK general elections, 1955–2019. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(3), 2021: 355-373.

Tax and spending are central to democratic politics in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, but psephologists have paid surprisingly little attention to the practice of manifesto costings or the ways in which fiscal promises shape voting behaviour. This article uses qualitative research to trace how British parties have used manifesto costings to frame prospective choices for voters since the 1950s and develops a theoretical framework for understanding why warnings about 'tax bombshells' and 'black holes' in parties' spending plans seem to be so powerful in Britain. The article suggests that the emphasis which governments have placed on budgetary constraints since the 1976 International Monetary Fund (IMF) crisis may help explain the long electoral cycles the United Kingdom has experienced in recent decades. Whereas retrospective economic evaluations can be difficult for governments to control, forward-looking fiscal debates are structurally weighed towards incumbent parties and offer a powerful way for incumbents to offset the 'costs of governing'.

\*\*United Kingdom - Electronics ; United Kingdom - Politics and government ; United Kingdom - Electoral behaviour.

**Control No : 45031**



## **UNITED KINGDOM**

### **- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT**

#### 41. Ron Johnston

Electoral reform or not: party interests defeated principled arguments in the late nineteenth century and have characterised the UK's electoral system since. *Political Studies Review*, 19(1), 2021: 128-136.

Conti's *Parliament the Mirror of the Nation* is an excellent, thorough exploration and explication of nineteenth-century debates over electoral reform as members of Britain's intellectual elite wrestled with the issue of how to create a system that would ensure that all opinions were advanced in the country's Parliament without an expansion of the franchise, meaning that the House of Commons was overwhelmed by the working class. A superb contribution to intellectual history, however, it makes little contact with the 'real world' of politics, where the short-term interests of the dominant political parties led to pragmatic rather than idealistic resolution to that issue. That resolution, negotiated by leading politicians from the two main parties, led to an electoral reform in 1885 based on single-member, territorially based constituencies that, with modifications only, remains in place today, generating general election results that are both disproportional and biased as a consequence of the system's geographical construction.

\*\*United Kingdom ; Electoral reform.

**Control No : 45050**

## **UNITED NATIONS**

### **- RAPID DEPLOYMENT**

#### 42. Katharina P Coleman, Magnus Lundgren and Kseniya Oksamytna

Slow progress on UN rapid deployment: the pitfalls of policy paradigms in international organizations. *International Studies Review*, 23(3), 2021: 455-483.

When reform negotiations in international organizations (IOs) produce limited substantive progress, the diagnosis is typically a lack of political will. We identify a different dynamic: in protracted negotiations, international policy paradigms can emerge that enshrine a politically realistic but incomplete issue definition and thereby focus the debate on a subset of policy instruments that do not fully address the underlying problem. We draw on the multilateral negotiations literature to show how policy paradigms—which are widely explored in *Comparative Politics*, but largely neglected in *International Relations*—can emerge even in heterogeneous IOs, where deep cognitive cohesion is unlikely. The risk of negotiation failure incentivizes negotiators to adopt and maintain “achievable” issue and goal definitions, which over time are accepted as axiomatic by diplomats, IO officials, and policy experts. The resulting international policy paradigms help avoid institutional paralysis, but can also impede more ambitious reforms. To establish the empirical plausibility of this argument, we highlight the contemporary international policy paradigm of rapid deployment in UN peacekeeping, which focuses more on establishing an initial brigade-sized presence than on rapid deployment of the full peacekeeping force. Drawing on primary documents and interviews, we identify the roots of this First Brigade policy paradigm in reactions to the UN's failure to respond to the 1994 Rwandan genocide and trace its consolidation during UN reform negotiations in the 2000s and early 2010s. We also demonstrate that an alternative explanation of the paradigm as reflecting operational lessons-learned does not hold: a brigade-sized initial presence is rarely sufficient for mandate implementation, does not reliably speed up full deployment, and creates risks for peacekeepers. By highlighting the existence and impact of international policy paradigms, our study adds to scholarship on the role of ideas in *International Relations* and provides a novel perspective on reform negotiations in IOs.

\*\*United Nations - Rapid deployment ; International organizations ; Policy paradigm.

**Control No : 45059**

## UNITED STATES

### - FOREIGN POLICY

#### 43. Corina Lacatus and Gustav Meibauer

Introduction to the special issue: elections, rhetoric and American foreign policy in the age of Donald Trump. *Politics*, 41(01), 2021: 3-14.

This introduction presents the special issue's conceptual and empirical starting points and situates the special issue's intended contributions. It does so by reviewing extant scholarship on electoral rhetoric and foreign policy and by teasing out several possible linkages between elections, rhetoric and foreign policy. It also discusses how each contribution to the special issue seeks to illuminate causal mechanisms at work in these linkages. Finally, it posits that these linkages are crucial to examining the changes brought about by Trump's election and his foreign policy rhetoric.

\*\*United States - Foreign policy ; Donald Trump ; United States - Elections.

**Control No : 45045**

#### 44. Corina Lacatus

Populism and President Trump's approach to foreign policy: an analysis of tweets and rally speeches. *Politics*, 41(01), 2021: 31-47.

Much like his candidacy, Donald Trump's presidency has been described as populist par excellence and as fundamentally breaking with the liberal internationalist tradition of American foreign policy. Despite a growing interest in populism and the role it has played in shaping Donald Trump's appeal to the public at election time in 2016, we lack an understanding of how populist rhetoric after his electoral victory shaped his approach to foreign policy. This article proposes a study of President Trump's official campaign communication through rally speeches and Twitter during the 2 months prior to the mid-term election in November 2018 as well as tweets published in the official personal account @realDonaldTrump from September to November 2018. The analysis finds that resurgent Jacksonian populism promoted by the Tea Party shapes President Trump's approach to foreign policy. Fundamentally anti-elitist, Trump's populism opposes migration, multilateralism, and is deeply sceptical of the United States' capacity to support a liberal global order that he perceives as detrimental to the economic interest of the American people. In addition, the analysis finds inconsistencies between his campaign discourse of non-intervention in military conflicts abroad and his foreign policy action.

\*\*United States - Foreign policy ; Donald Trump ; United States - Foreign relations.

**Control No : 45047**

#### 45. David M McCourt

Domestic contestation over foreign policy, role-based and otherwise: Three cautionary cases. *Politics*, 41(02), 2021: 173-188.

Foreign policy role theorists have recently placed domestic role contestation central to their accounts of foreign policy continuity and change. Yet, contestation over national role conceptions is only one aspect of domestic competition over political power that can impact the roles states play in world politics. Frequently, foreign policies are an outgrowth of political struggle over matters only indirectly related to a state's international role. In this article, I draw role theorists' attention to cases where non-role-based political competition affects role performance, urging them to trace empirically the connections between role contestation, non-role-based political competition with role implications, and role performance. To make this case, I develop three plausibility probes: America's embrace of the hegemon role after 1945, Britain's 2016 Brexit vote, and the United States' recent turn towards a more transactional foreign policy. Highlighting non-role political competition with role implications offers a productive challenge that promises to enrich role theory in foreign policy analysis (FPA) by bringing it a step closer to domestic political competition.

\*\*United States - Foreign policy ; Brexit.

**Control No : 45041**

46. Gustav Meibauer

Ambiguous specificity: the production of foreign policy bullshit in electoral contexts. *Politics*, 41(01), 2021: 15-30.

This article conceptualises the production of foreign policy bullshit in electoral contexts as a result of contending incentives towards ambiguity and specificity. Candidates must speak to widely divergent, even contradictory, policy ideas to maximise voter share in primaries and elections. At the same time, overly broad rhetoric or evasion risks signalling incompetence and unsuitability for office. Candidates are thus incentivized to hide the compromise character of their suggestions behind hyper-specific rhetoric. Following literature from philosophy and linguistics, this is a form of deception best captured by 'bullshit', that is, when the candidate simply does not care too much whether what they are saying matches with objective reality but does care that this inattention to truth is not known to the audience. This dynamic is illustrated in a case study on the 2015/2016 elections. Specifically, bipartisan support for a US-enforced no-fly zone in Syria cannot be explained by the tool's likely utility and effectiveness. Instead, the tool's value for many candidates lay in its effective communication of contradictory policy ideas. The tool allowed presidential hopefuls to appear resolute yet responsible, purposive yet pragmatic, idealist, and realist, while also signalling specificity and thus foreign policy expertise.

\*\*United States - Foreign policy ; Syria.

**Control No : 45046**

47. Jonny Hall

In search of enemies: Donald Trump's populist foreign policy rhetoric. *Politics*, 41(01), 2021: 48-63.

This article asks how Donald Trump's foreign policy rhetoric during his presidential campaign and presidency has affected US foreign policy in the area of overseas counterterrorism campaigns. Looking at two case studies – the May 2017 Arab Islamic American Summit and the US role in the counter Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) campaign, it is argued that Trump's foreign policy rhetoric has failed to accurately describe or legitimate his administration's counterterrorism strategy, as per the conventional wisdom. Instead, Trump's foreign policy rhetoric has largely been aimed at creating a sense of crisis (as populism requires) to mobilise his domestic base. In making this argument about the purpose of Trump's foreign policy rhetoric, not only does the article contribute a new perspective to the extant literature on elections, rhetoric, and US foreign policy, but also to the burgeoning scholarship on governing populists and their foreign policies. Although these findings could be unique to Trump, the article's novel framework – combining International Relations and populism scholarship to elaborate on how the foreign arena can be used to generate a state of perpetual crisis – can hopefully be applied in other contexts.

\*\*United States - Foreign policy ; International Relations.

**Control No : 45048**

**UNITED STATES**

**- NATIONAL POLICY**

48. Jack Holland and Ben Fermor

The discursive hegemony of Trump's Jacksonian populism: race, class, and gender in constructions and contestations of US national identity, 2016–2018. *Politics*, 41(01), 2021: 64-79.

Contributing to burgeoning studies of populism, this article conceptualises and contextualises Trump's language as 'Jacksonian populism'. We explore how this style of populist discourse influenced political debates before and after Trump's election. Ours is the first article to analyse opposition and media responses to Trump's construction of 'real

America' as that of a Jacksonian, White, and male working class. To do so, the article analyses 1165 texts, from the government, opposition, newspapers, television coverage, and social media. In addition to locating Trump's reification of a mythologised White working class within a broader Jacksonian tradition, we find that the Democratic opposition and mainstream media initially reproduced this construction, furthering Trump's cause. Even where discursive challenges were subsequently developed, they often served to reproduce a distinct – and hitherto unspoken for – White (male) working-class America. In short, early resistance actively reinforced Trump's discursive hegemony, which centred on reclaiming the primacy of working, White America in the national identity.

\*\*United States - National policy ; Jacksonian populism.

**Control No : 45049**

## **UNITED STATES**

### **- NORTH KOREA RELATIONS**

49. Niv Farago and John Merrill

The North Korean card in US-China relations: how should it be played? *Asian Affairs*, 52(3), 2021: 563-582.

For two decades, successive US administrations have overplayed the importance of pressure tactics and Chinese support for denuclearizing North Korea. However, the continued development of North Korea's nuclear and missile programs reflects not only gridlock in US-North Korea relations, but also Pyongyang's growing suspicions over China's commitment to the Kim regime. By supporting and enforcing tougher sanctions, Beijing has only reinforced North Korean distrust and concern. At the same time, realizing that excessive pressure on a nuclear North Korea might result in a cataclysmic regional crisis, China has been careful not to push the Kim regime into a corner. Apparently, China is not as valuable an asset to the United States on North Korea, as some believe. Instead, the Biden administration should engage the Kim regime, focus on trust building, and aim for a step-by-step nuclear deal in which freezing and gradual disarmament are commensurate with sanctions relief and eventual normalization.

\*\*United States - North Korea relations ; United States - China relations.

**Control No : 45057**

## **UZBEKISTAN**

### **- FOREIGN POLICY**

50. Akram Umarov

The "Afghan factor" in Uzbekistan's foreign policy: evolution and the contemporary situation. *Asian Affairs*, 52(3), 2021: 536-553.

This article examines the historical development of Uzbekistan's stance on the situation in Afghanistan, outlines its main stages, achievements and challenges, investigates the major initiatives of Tashkent on solving conflict in the neighbouring country before and after 2016, the major priorities of its contemporary foreign policy towards the Afghan conflict, and the Uzbek government's expectations from the upcoming developments in Afghanistan.

\*\*Uzbekistan - Foreign policy ; Afghanistan - Diplomatic relations ; Taliban.

**Control No : 45056**