

Foreign Affairs Documentation Bulletin

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AFRICA

- ECONOMY

1. Philip Nel

Why Africans tolerate income inequality. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 59(3), 2021: 343-365.

African attitudes to income inequality have hardly been studied. As a result, we may have been missing a crucial part of the answer to the question why Africa is so unequal. This paper presents evidence that, across all self-identified class categories, African respondents in 16 African states, representative of all the regions of the continent, are on average considerably more tolerant of inequality than respondents from 43 comparable developing and transition countries. The aim of the paper is to try and explain these differences. It concludes that (a) a modified version of Albert Hirschman's notion of the 'tunnel effect' and (b) religious devotedness in the African context provide explanations for the observed variation between African respondents and their counterparts elsewhere. Experienced inequality, in contrast to overall income distribution, influences the tunnel effect more widely than economic growth. Religious belief shapes inequality tolerance in Africa more than the observance of religious practices.

**Africa - Economy ; Africa - Income inequality.

Control No : 44962

AFRICA

- FOREIGN INVESTMENT

2. Arthur A Goldsmith

Political regimes and foreign investment in poor countries: Insights from most similar African cases. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(03), 2021: 779-807.

When foreign investors choose to invest in a poor country, do they favor democracies or autocracies? Despite extensive time-series cross-national empirical work on this question, the answer is unclear. To move the debate forward, I use a novel approach based on a most-similar case design. I observe four African countries before, during, and after democratization, and evaluate whether the change in regime type over time affected their ability to attract foreign investment—both relative to their baseline level of investment and in comparison with the investment patterns of four matching countries that did not experience democratization. I also control for the effects of natural resource scarcity and abundance. My difference-in-differences pairwise case analysis indicates the introduction of competitive political institutions is immaterial for foreign investment, whereas the consolidation of these institutions conveys a small investment advantage.

**Africa - Foreign investment ; Democracy.

Control No : 45007

ARAB WORLD

- UNITED STATES

3. Saskia Glas and Niels Spierings

Connecting contextual and individual drivers of Anti-Americanism in Arab countries. *Political Studies*, 69(3), 2021: 686-708.

Existing studies propose that anti-Americanism in the Arab region is fueled by American interventions, citizens' religion, and relative deprivation. However, these three have not been addressed simultaneously or integrated into one framework. This study does so by

developing and testing a context-dependent framework. Empirically, we apply multilevel regression to 32 Global Attitudes Project and 34 Arab Barometer surveys that cover more than 58,000 respondents. Contrasting dominant understandings, we find that American interventions fuel both political and societal anti-Americanism and that relatively deprived citizens are not more anti-American. Moreover, our results show (highly religious) Muslims are more politically and societally anti-American than (less religious) non-Muslims, particularly in Arab countries with fewer (highly religious) Muslims and American interventions. Altogether, anti-Americanism is context-dependent and shaped by different but interconnected mechanisms.

**Arab world - United States ; Arab Middle East and North Africa.

Control No : 44990

AZERBAIJAN

4. Galib Bashirov

New extractivism and failed development in Azerbaijan. *Third World Quarterly*, 2021, 42(08): 1829-1848.

This article examines the characteristics of the resource-led development project in Azerbaijan, including the policies of the Azerbaijani government and their consequences. It makes three contributions to the literature on critical development studies. First, it fills an empirical lacuna by discussing the case of Azerbaijan. Second, it expands upon the criticisms of statist-developmental models raised in the literature by demonstrating how the patrimonial rent distribution strategy of the Azerbaijani government plundered resource rents through state-owned enterprises and government-connected private companies, and crippled education and healthcare through underfunding and commodification. Third, as part of an examination of the recent attempts of the Azerbaijani government to diversify the economy and move to the post-oil era, it sheds light on some of the economic development challenges faced by a unique case of a resource-rich country with a closing window of energy resources. The arguments are illustrated and supported from sources pertaining to the political and economic situation in Azerbaijan, the activities of the transnational oil corporations, and US and UK foreign policies in the Caspian Sea.

**Azerbaijan ; Azerbaijan - Development studies.

Control No : 44984

BORDER STUDIES

5. Umut Ozguc

Rethinking border walls as fluid meshworks. *Security Dialogue*, 52(04), 2021: 287-305. We tend to see border walls as stable concrete fortifications. This article seeks to offer an alternative understanding of walls by suggesting a shift in border studies from network thinking to meshwork thinking. Despite references to multiplicity, concepts of networks and assemblages in border studies continue to provide neat narratives of walls. This article reimagines the border beyond sovereign-disciplinary-biopolitical networks and assemblages. It argues that border walls are constituted by and constitutive of the ever-shifting transformative movements of lines: colonizing lines, crack lines and lines of flight. By tracing the lines of the Separation Wall in the West Bank, this article reveals that, on the border, all these lines coexist, entangle with one another, and in their entanglements, they alter each other to form a fluid meshwork. Meshwork thinking shows the constant mobility of the border and shifts our attention to the power of molecular movements beneath the state in creating, sustaining and disrupting power politics. By presenting a less state-centric, more complex picture of the Separation Wall, this article aims to highlight the movement of the lines that transform the border into a meshwork.

**Border studies ; Molecular movement.

CAMBODIA

- JUSTICE

6. Adam Kochanski

Framing, truth-telling, and the limits of local transitional justice. *Review of International Studies*, 47(4), 2021: 468-488.

Transitional justice (TJ) is undergoing a legitimacy crisis. While recent critical TJ scholarship has touted the transformative potential of locally rooted mechanisms as a possible means to emancipate TJ, this burgeoning literature rests on shaky assumptions about the purported benefits of local TJ and provides inadequate attention to local-national power dynamics. By taking these factors into consideration, this article contends that local TJ efforts can be used to deflect justice in manners that paradoxically allow ruling parties to avoid human rights accountability and to conceal the truth about wartime violations. It further argues that the principal method by which justice is subverted is not through overt manipulation by abusive governments, but rather, through subtle and indirect 'distortional framing' practices, which ruling parties use to set discursive limits around discussions of conflict-related events and to obfuscate their own serious crimes. After developing this argument theoretically, the case study of Cambodia is considered in detail to reveal and to trace the processes by which distortional framing has been used as a technique to deflect justice.

**Cambodia - Justice ; Transitional justice.

Control No : 44967

CHINA

- FOREIGN RELATIONS - UNITED STATES

7. Jue Zhang and Jin Xu

China-US strategic competition and the descent of a porous curtain. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 14(03), 2021: 321-352.

Since the onset of the Coronavirus Disease 2019(COVID-19) global pandemic, Sino-US strategic rivalry has dramatically heightened to a pitch where there is a mounting discussion over whether or not China and the United States have embarked on a "new Cold War." There are three main views in this regard. The first is that China and the United States have indeed entered a new Cold War; the second is that China and the United States are heading for a new Cold War; and the third is that China and the United States will not descend into a new Cold War. Different views reflect different scholarly understandings of the essential properties of the Cold War concept. Fundamentally, the two core features of the Cold War were ideological confrontation and proxy war. Considering that current US-China strategic competition is in the technological rather than ideological domain, and that neither side has instigated any proxy war; however, the phrase "new Cold War" is inappropriate; that of "Porous Curtain" is more apt. The ever-narrowing power gap between China and the United States has undoubtedly prompted the US government's adoption of a policy of blockade and containment to curb China's rising power. However, the deep integration of the international system and historical inertia of US-China interaction preclude the US's complete isolation from China. This has resulted in bilateral relations of a more porous nature. Although the future may not be promising, competition does not necessarily lead to conflict. For this reason, managing the bilateral competitive relationship and striving towards coexistence under competition should be the key task of both countries.

**China - Foreign relations - United States ; United States - Foreign relations - China ; COVID-19.

Control No : 45008

CIVIL WAR

8. Juan Masullo

Civilian contention in civil war: how ideational factors shape community responses to armed groups. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(10), 2021: 1849-1884.

Why do some communities overtly declare their opposition to violent groups, while others disguise it by engaging in seemingly unrelated activities? Why do some communities manifest their dissent using nonviolent methods instead of organizing violence of their own? I argue that ideational factors are crucial to answering these questions: normative commitments can restrict civilian contention to nonviolent forms of action, while exposure to oppositional ideologies can push civilians toward more confrontational forms of noncooperation with armed groups. Furthermore, I contend that the role of political entrepreneurs activating and mobilizing this ideational content is crucial for it to shape contention. I support this argument with a wealth of microlevel evidence collected in various warzones in Colombia, analyzed within a purposively designed comparative structure. My findings support the growing conflict scholarship that stresses that ideology matters in war, but extends its application beyond armed actors' behavior to that of civilian communities.

**Civil war ; Civilian agency.

Control No : 45000

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

9. Dina Bishara

The generative power of protest: time and space in contentious politics. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(10), 2021: 1722-1756.

How do social movements sustain themselves under authoritarian rule? This remains a crucial puzzle for scholars of comparative politics. This article gains traction on this puzzle by foregrounding the generative power of protest, namely the power of protest experiences themselves to deepen and broaden movements. Some studies have started to draw attention to those questions without yet systematically examining how the form of protest differentially affects those outcomes. I argue that different forms of protest have varying effects on movements depending on their duration and geographic scope. While short, multiple-site actions, such as marches, can broaden movements by expanding their base, extended, single-site actions, such as sit-ins, are more likely to deepen movements by fostering collective identities and building organizational capacities. This article is based on field research in Egypt, Tunisia, Jordan, and Morocco and interviews with more than 100 movement participants and civil society activists.

**Comparative politics ; Social movements ; Middle East.

Control No : 44996

COVID-19

10. Stefan Elbe

Bioinformational diplomacy: global health emergencies, data sharing and sequential life. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(03), 2021: 657-681.

Global health emergencies – like COVID-19 – pose major and recurring threats in the 21st century. Now societies can be better protected against such harrowing outbreaks by analysing the detailed genetic sequence data of new pathogens. Why, then, is this valuable epistemic resource frequently withheld by stakeholders – hamstringing the international response and potentially putting lives at risk? This article initiates the social scientific study of bioinformational diplomacy, that is, the emerging field of tensions, sensitivities, practices

and enabling instruments surrounding the timely international exchange of bioinformation about global health emergencies. The article genealogically locates this nascent field at the intersection of molecularised life, informationalised biology and securitised health. It investigates the deeper political, economic and scientific problematisations that are engendering this burgeoning field. It finally analyses the emergent international instruments developed by governments, scientists and industry to facilitate more rapid global sharing of bioinformation through novel practices of data passporting. Overall, the in-depth study of bioinformational diplomacy reveals just how deeply, and even constitutively, international relations are entangled with the life sciences – by carefully tracing how laboratory practices of sequencing life at molecular scale also end up recontouring the play of sovereignty, power and security in international relations.

**COVID19 ; Global health emergencies ; Informational diplomacy.

Control No : 45002

DEMOCRACY

11. Lala Muradova

Seeing the other side? perspective-taking and reflective political judgements in interpersonal deliberation. *Political Studies*, 69(3), 2021: 644-664.

A healthy democracy needs citizens to make reflective political judgements. Sceptics argue that reflective opinions are either nonexistent or rare. Proponents of deliberative democracy suggest that democratic deliberation is capable of prompting reflective political reasoning among people. Yet, little is known about the mechanisms underlying this relationship. This article offers a bridge between psychology and political theory and proposes a theory of perspective-taking in deliberation. It argues that under the right conditions, deliberation induces more reflective judgements by eliciting the process of perspective-taking – actively imagining others' experiences, perspectives and feelings – in citizen deliberators. Two institutional features of deliberative forums are emphasized: the presence of a diversity of viewpoints and the interplay of fact-based rational argumentation and storytelling. I test the plausibility of this theory using a case study – the Irish Citizens' Assembly – thereby, relying on qualitative in-depth interview data and quantitative survey data. I further substantiate my findings with a laboratory experiment.

**Democracy ; Political psychology.

Control No : 44988

DEMOCRACY AND ELECTIONS

12. Kristin Eichhorn and Eric Linhart

Estimating the effect of competitiveness on turnout across regime types. *Political Studies*, 69(3), 2021: 602-622.

Electoral turnout as an indicator of political participation, political equality and, thus, democratic performance is one of the most important variables in the study of elections. While numerous studies have contributed to the explanation of electoral turnout, the picture is still incomplete. Notably, a variable which pertains to the core of elections, the competitiveness of electoral races, is not fully understood yet. We contribute to filling this gap by accounting for different effects of competitiveness in democracies and autocracies, as well as against the background of varying institutional settings. Our analyses suggest that vote margins are a suitable measure of competitiveness, but only in democracies with plurality or majority electoral systems. Ex ante measures of competitiveness capture the concept of competitiveness more comprehensively and are applicable across electoral systems and regime types.

**Democracy and elections.

Control No : 44978

13. Matthew Loveless

When you win, nothing hurts: the durability of electoral salience on individuals' satisfaction with democracy. *Political Studies*, 69(3), 2021: 538-558.

There is a substantial literature on the impact of having voted for an electorally victorious party on individual voters' satisfaction with democracy. Yet, there have been few evaluations as to temporally salient elections and the satisfaction levels for those who voted for a "winning" party and those who voted for a "losing" party. Using rounds 1–8 of the European Social Surveys, I find evidence from 92 elections in 27 European countries that both the levels of and the difference between satisfaction levels of "winners" and "losers" do not attenuate quickly but rather last almost 5 years. That is, it appears that "winners" are more satisfied with democracy and stay that way. While this confirms earlier, smaller studies, the absence of a causal connection between the time from election and satisfaction levels poses a significant challenge to the current literature about the electoral mechanism of this relationship.

**Democracy and elections ; European Union.

Control No : 44975

DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS

14. Philip Chen, Scott Pruyssers and Julie Blais

The dark side of politics: participation and the dark triad. *Political Studies*, 69(3), 2021: 577-601.

Personality traits are one piece in the larger puzzle of political participation, but most studies focus on the Five-Factor Model of personality. We argue that the normative implications of the influence of personality on politics are increased when the personality traits being studied correlate with negative social behaviors. We investigate the role of the Dark Triad on political participation as mediated through political beliefs such as interest and knowledge. We find that Psychopathy and Narcissism are positively associated with political interest, but Narcissism is also negatively associated with political knowledge. In addition, both Psychopathy and Narcissism exert a direct, positive influence on participation. Our results imply that individuals exhibiting higher levels of Narcissism are not only less knowledgeable but also more interested in politics and more likely to participate when given the opportunity.

**Democracy and politics.

Control No : 44977

DEMOCRACY AND POPULISM

15. Christian F Rostboll

Second-order political thinking: compromise versus populism. *Political Studies*, 69(3), 2021: 559-576.

The literature often mentions that populism is in conflict with the politics of compromise. However, the opposition remains vague and undertheorized. This article confronts populism and compromise in a novel way by analyzing them as types of second-order political thinking and ideologies of democracy. Second-order political thinking provides a set of ideas and concepts that frames and regulates how we relate to others in politics, and how we make political decisions for, with, or against them. By contrasting populism and compromise as types of second-order political thinking, we will better be able to understand each and normatively compare them. Thus, we see that (1) compromise is inherently most attractive as second-order political thinking, and (2) populism fails as an ideology of democracy, because it cannot explain the meaning and value of the democratic system as a set of authoritative institutions and procedures.

****Democracy and populism.**

Control No : 44976

DIPLOMACY AND SOCIAL BONDING

16. Nicholas J. Wheeler and Marcus Holmes

The strength of weak bonds: substituting bodily copresence in diplomatic social bonding. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(03), 2021: 730-752.

One of the central puzzles in the study of diplomacy is why some interactions between leaders result in positive social bonds, while others are mired in distrust and hostility. Recent research in the field of microsociology, the study of everyday interactions, most notably the pioneering research of American sociologist Randall Collins, suggests several critical ingredients for a successful interaction, including bodily copresence. In this article we interrogate this claim and provide theoretical reasons why textual communication may serve as a proxy for copresence in leader interactions. We demonstrate that while copresence, in the form of face-to-face interaction, is required for strong bond formation, mediated interaction in the form of letters can serve to create weak social bonds. The strength of weak bonds is in the reduction of distrust and the gradual development of trust that can be critical to the de-escalation of crises. Empirically, we explore our argument in two hard cases for social bond formation: the letters exchanged between Nikita Khrushchev and John F. Kennedy during the Cuban Missile Crisis and the interactions, both textual and face-to-face, between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan at the end of the Cold War. We conclude by pointing toward an interdisciplinary research agenda on the determinants of social bond formation in diplomacy.

****Diplomacy and social bonding ; Nuclear diplomacy ; International relations.**

Control No : 45005

EASTERN EUROPE

- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

17. Maria Malksoo

Militant memocracy in international relations: mnemonical status anxiety and memory laws in Eastern Europe. *Review of International Studies*, 47(4), 2021: 489-507.

This article theorises the nexus between mnemonical status anxiety and militant memory laws. Extending the understanding of status-seeking in international relations to the realm of historical memory, I argue that the quest for mnemonical recognition is a status struggle in an international social hierarchy of remembering constitutive events of the past. A typology of mnemopolitical status-seeking is presented on the example of Russia (mnemonical positionalism), Poland (mnemonical revisionism), and Ukraine (mnemonical self-emancipation). Memory laws provide a common instance of securing and/or improving a state's mnemonical standing in the relevant memory order. Drawing on the conceptual analogy of militant democracy, the article develops the notion militant memocracy, or the governance of historical memory through a dense network of prescribing and proscribing memory laws and policies. Similar to its militant democracy counterpart, militant memocracy is in danger of self-inflicted harm to the object of defence in the very effort to defend it: its precautionary and punitive measures resound rather than fix the state's mnemonical anxiety problem.

****Eastern Europe - International relations ; Russia.**

Control No : 44968

ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

18. Arnab Roy Chowdhury and Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt

Extractive capital and multi-scalar environmental politics: interpreting the exit of Rio Tinto from the diamond fields of Central India. *Third World Quarterly*, 2021, 42(08).

Rio Tinto had been developing a diamond mining project in Madhya Pradesh for a decade when in 2017 it hastily abandoned the project. We analyse this counterintuitive exit through an ethnographic approach nested within a qualitative case study framework. We argue that the exit was caused by multi-scalar politics. Local protests over livelihood and labour issues –pre-emptively rearticulated by regional civil society groups through an ecological ‘framing’ – led to litigation. The national forest bureaucracy posed regulatory hurdles, and a change in the national political regime in 2014 brought to power a party that leveraged national capital of a certain variety, which weakened Rio Tinto’s political position. Lastly, a slump in the global diamond market created economic uncertainties, finally leading to its exit. It has not, however, deterred the government from facilitating investment by Indian mega-corporate houses in mining diamonds, once again ignoring local dissent. Under the current regime in India, the space for activism is increasingly restricted, and that restriction, we contend, can lead to the disarray in strategising alliances and goals between ecological and social justice concerns.

**Environmental politics ; India - Diamond mining.

Control No : 44982

EUROPE

- ELECTORAL HISTORY

19. Arndt Leininger and Maurits J Meijers

Do populist parties increase voter turnout? evidence from over 40 years of electoral history in 31 European democracies. *Political Studies*, 69(3), 2021: 665-685.

While some consider populist parties to be a threat to liberal democracy, others have argued that populist parties may positively affect the quality of democracy by increasing political participation of citizens. This supposition, however, has hitherto not been subjected to rigorous empirical tests. The voter turnout literature, moreover, has primarily focused on stable institutional and party system characteristics – ignoring more dynamic determinants of voter turnout related to party competition. To fill this double gap in the literature, we examine the effect of populist parties, both left and right, on aggregate-level turnout in Western and Eastern European parliamentary elections. Based on a dataset on 315 elections in 31 European democracies since 1970s, we find that turnout is higher when populist parties are represented in parliament prior to an election in Eastern Europe, but not in Western Europe. These findings further our understanding of the relationship between populism, political participation and democracy.

**Europe - Electoral History ; Political participation.

Control No : 44989

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

20. Konstantin Vossing

Shaping public opinion about regional integration: the rhetoric of justification and party cues. *Political Studies*, 69(3), 2021: 492-513.

The article investigates how justifications used by politicians to explain their positions on policies of regional integration shape public opinion about these policies. I argue that support for a policy position increases when politicians tailor their justifications to the expectations of their audience, and I suggest that this happens even when party cues offer a less effortful way of forming opinions. I test my theoretical expectations in laboratory

experiments with diverse samples, which manipulate party cues and justifications for a policy of European integration. I find that citizens use justifications and cues to form opinions. The relative importance of the two factors depends on individual dispositions and political context. In a non-competitive context (study 1), politically invested citizens use cues, while uninvested citizens use justifications. In a competitive context (study 2), the opinions of politically invested citizens are shaped by both factors, while the opinions of uninvested citizens become erratic.

**European integration ; Regional Integration.

Control No : 44973

EUROPEAN UNION

21.

Between Utopianism and realism: the limits of partisanship as an academic methodology. *Political Studies*, 69(3), 2021: 481-491.

Taking debates about democracy in the EU as an example, Fabio Wolkenstein proposes that normative theorists should adopt a 'partisan' approach that engages with 'formative agents' to advocate for transformative political and societal change, such as the creation of a transnational democracy at the EU level. He criticises those he calls 'democratic intergovernmentalists' for adopting a 'first principles' approach that forecloses both contestation and political agency by treating the principles underlying the status quo as universal. This comment disputes both the validity of his criticisms of the work of myself and others, and the coherence of the particular partisan approach motivating them. At its heart lies a dispute as to the relationship between facts and principles, and the possibility of a utopian realism of the Rawlsian kind. It is argued that Rawls' position proves more democratic and plausible and possesses greater critical and political leverage than Wolkenstein's partisanship alternative.

**European Union ; Democracy.

Control No : 44972

22. Iliana Oliviea and Aitor Perez

Whose and what aid securitisation? an analysis of EU aid narratives and flows. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(08), 2021: 1903-1922.

There is a growing perception that arguments favouring security are gaining ground in the aid narrative and that aid allocation is changing accordingly. This work explores the extent and features of such shifts in the particular case of the EU. We observe the evolution of development paradigms (social development, sustainable development and security) and aid motives (solidarity, common interests and self-interest) in the aid discourse. This is done by means of content analysis of strategic aid documents of a selection of European donors (the EU institutions, the Netherlands, the UK, Germany, France, Sweden and Spain). We then explore the eventual shift in the aid budgets of those same donors. In line with previous work on EU aid securitisation, we find evidence of securitisation in both narratives and aid flows. However, this trend is far from homogeneous, showing the complexity and diversity within the Union. There is practically no evidence of securitisation in the EU institutions, Spain or Sweden. We find mixed evidence for the Netherlands, Germany and France (where narratives and flow changes towards securitisation do not necessarily match) and, finally, a significant shift in the UK, where aid narratives and aid flows have been significantly securitised.

**European Union ; European Union - Security.

Control No : 44987

GLOBAL HEALTH INITIATIVES

23. Emma-Louise Anderson, Laura Considine and Amy S. Patterson

The power-trust cycle in global health: trust as belonging in relations of dependency. *Review of International Studies*, 47(4), 2021: 422-442.

Trust between actors is vital to delivering positive health outcomes, while relationships of power determine health agendas, whose voices are heard and who benefits from global health initiatives. However, the relationship between trust and power has been neglected in the literatures on both international politics and global health. We examine this relationship through a study of relations between faith based organisations (FBO) and donors in Malawi and Zambia, drawing on 66 key informant interviews with actors central to delivering health care. From these two cases we develop an understanding of 'trust as belonging', which we define as the exercise of discretion accompanied by the expression of shared identities. Trust as belonging interacts with power in what we term the 'power-trust cycle', in which various forms of power undergird trust, and trust augments these forms of power. The power-trust cycle has a critical bearing on global health outcomes, affecting the space within which both local and international actors jockey to influence the ideologies that underpin global health, and the distribution of crucial resources. We illustrate how the power-trust cycle can work in both positive and negative ways to affect possible cooperation, with significant implications for collective responses to global health challenges.

**Global health initiatives.

Control No : 44965

IMMIGRATION

24. Lauren McLaren, Anja Neundorff and Ian Paterson

Diversity and perceptions of immigration: how the past influences the present. *Political Studies*, 69(3), 2021: 725-747.

The question of whether high immigration produces anti-immigration hostility has vexed researchers across multiple disciplines for decades. And yet, understanding this relationship is crucial for countries dependant on immigrant labour but concerned about its impact on social cohesion. Absent from most of this research are theories about the impact of early-years socialisation conditions on contemporary attitudes. Using the British sample of the European Social Survey (2002–2017) and two innovative approaches to modelling generational differences – generalised additive models and hierarchical age–period–cohort models – this paper shows that rather than producing hostility to immigration, being socialised in a context of high immigrant-origin diversity is likely to result in more positive attitudes to immigration later in life. This implies that through generational replacement, countries like the UK are likely to become increasingly tolerant of immigration over time. Importantly, however, a context of high-income inequality may diminish this effect.

**Immigration ; United Kingdom ; Political socialisation.

Control No : 44991

INDIA

- DATA SECURITY

25. Maximiliano Facundo Vila Seoane

Data securitisation: the challenges of data sovereignty in India. *Third World Quarterly*, 2021, 42(08): 1733-1750.

The rules employed to govern cross-border data flows are in dispute, the outcome of which will certainly affect digitalisation policies in the so-called Global South. Against this backdrop, data localisation has become one of the most prominent and disputed policy

measures for states seeking to regulate cross-border data flows. This article argues that data localisation can be understood as the product of a new type of resource securitisation, namely data securitisation. This process is shaped by a range of state-specific political and economic issues, and by the outcome of the pressure exerted by national and foreign interest groups. Specifically, the article examines the case of India, where a set of policy measures and initiatives introduced in 2018 began a set of strict data securitisation moves; however, their results were ambivalent. On the one hand, economically driven data localisation requirements have been softened by the stark lobby of foreign governments and transnational corporations, in tandem with local actors, illustrating the structural limits faced by Global South states' sovereign digitalisation policies. On the other hand, a geopolitically driven data securitisation move against Chinese firms has been successful. The article concludes by outlining what lessons Global South actors can draw from this case.

**India - Data security.

Control No : 44981

INTERNATIONAL LAW

26. Peter Brett

Revolutionary legality and the Burkinabe insurrection. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 59(3), 2021: 273-294.

Coup leaders often purport to restore constitutional order. During Burkina Faso's 2014 'insurrection', however, Blaise Compaoré's opponents advanced detailed (international) legal arguments that significantly constrained their subsequent conduct. Theirs was to be a legal revolution. This article situates this stance within Burkina Faso's distinctive history of urban protest, whilst emphasising under-analysed international sources for the insurrection. 'Insurgent' lawyers, it argues, used international instruments to reinvigorate longstanding activist attempts to reconcile constitutional rights with a language of popular justice promoted by the revolutionary regime of Thomas Sankara (1983-7). After the insurrection, however, their emphasis on legality was used by Compaoré's supporters to expose the transitional authorities' double-standards. Meanwhile, insurgent lawyers working for the transition had to work hard to reconcile (international) legal justifications for the insurrection with the expedient politics needed to defend the new dispensation.

**International law ; Burkina Faso.

Control No : 44960

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

27. Su-Hyun Lee and Byungwon Woo

IMF = I'M Fired! IMF program participation, political systems, and workers' rights. *Political Studies*, 69(3), 2021: 514-537.

How do International Monetary Fund programs and conditions affect labor rights? Recognizing the diversity of International Monetary Fund conditionality, we argue that the more stringent International Monetary Fund labor market conditionality is, the worse labor rights become. However, this negative effect can be mitigated if there exist domestic political institutions that have incentives and abilities to provide protections over workers: one such case is a closed-list proportional representation system; another case is a leftist government that relies on political supports of workers. Our empirical analysis demonstrates that the more labor conditionality a program includes, the worse labor rights the country sustains. In addition, we report that the negative effect is partially mitigated when domestic political circumstances are favorable to the political representation of workers under a proportional representation system or under a leftist government.

**International Monetary Fund ; Labor rights.

Control No : 44974

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

- DECISION-MAKING

28. Thomas Dorfler and Thomas Gehring

Analogy-based collective decision-making and incremental change in international organizations. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(03), 2021: 753-778.

We examine how analogy-based collective decision-making of member states contributes to the endogenous emergence of informal rules and the incremental change of international organizations (IOs). Decision-making by analogy is an important characteristic of day-to-day decision-making in IOs. Relating current decisions to previous ones through analogies drives incremental change and simultaneously reinforces organizational resilience. Whereas the foreign policy analysis literature shows that analogies can be used as cognitive shortcuts in fuzzy and complex foreign policy situations, we focus on their use to overcome social ambiguity (indeterminacy) of coordination situations in IOs. Drawing on psychological conceptions, we develop two micro-level mechanisms that elucidate the effects of analogy-based collective decision-making in member-driven IOs. Analogy-based collective decisions emphasizing similarity between a current situation and previous ones follow an established problem schema and produce expansive and increasingly well-established informal rules. Collective decisions that are analogy-based but emphasize a crucial difference follow different problem schemas and trigger the emergence of additional informal rules that apply to new classes of cases. The result is an increasingly fine-grained web of distinct organizational solutions for a growing number of problems. Accordingly, an IO can increasingly facilitate collective decision-making and gains resilience. Empirically, we probe these propositions with a documentary analysis of decision-making in the Yugoslavia sanctions committee, established by the United Nations Security Council to deal with a stream of requests for exempting certain goods or services from the comprehensive economic embargo imposed on Yugoslavia in response to the War in the Balkans.

**International organizations - Decision-making ; United Nations Security Council.

Control No : 45006

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

29. Charlie Thame

The economic corridors paradigm as extractivism: four theses for a historical materialist framework. *Review of International Studies*, 47(4), 2021: 549-569.

Economic corridors are under construction across the planet. Trillions of dollars are being spent and they will have significant implications for international politics and, ultimately, world order. However, there has been limited conceptual work on them to date, especially in International Relations. This article contributes to that gap by explaining the dominant rationale before offering a conceptualisation of economic corridors as an essentially extractivist paradigm. This counter-hegemonic proposition revolves around four relational theses: (1) economic corridors are a 'fix' for crises of capitalism; (2) economic corridors exacerbate class struggle; (3) economic corridors are tools for exploitation; (4) economic corridors facilitate financial extraction. In so doing it unmasks the dominant rationale as ideological cover for valorisation and accumulation based on extractive and exploitative relations with human and extra-human nature. Rather than contributing to inclusive and sustainable development as proponents claim, the article contends economic corridors reinforce power asymmetries between states, countries, and classes, thereby extending and entrenching processes of uneven and combined development. The argument is substantiated with empirical reference to mainland Southeast Asia but aims to advance understanding of extractive dynamics integral to the concept of economic corridors and hence operative worldwide.

**International relations ; International politics.

Control No : 44971

30. Colin Hendrickx

Tshombe's secessionist state of Katanga: agency against the odds. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(08), 2021: 1809-1828.

This article discusses the international dimension of the secessionist State of Katanga (1960–1963). It argues in favour of a reassessment of the agency of Katangese political elites. In this regard, it opposes arguments that privilege conceptions of the Katangese state as being constrained by outside forces. Contrary to the latter viewpoint, it is argued, the regime of Moïse Tshombe survived for a relatively long period of time, not least because it succeeded in establishing an international network that mobilised mercenaries to work for the state, and reached out to extensive lobby structures in France, Belgium and the United States. On a theoretical level, the article adds to the growing body of literature that emphasises African agency in international relations, and literature reconsidering the Katangese secession. Finally, it makes an empirical contribution by making use of the hitherto neglected Moïse Tshombe archival collection.

**International relations ; Katanga.

Control No : 44983

31. Kristin Haugevik and Cecilie Basberg Neumann

Reputation crisis management and the state: theorising containment as diplomatic mode. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(03), 2021: 708-729.

This article theorises containment as a diplomatic response mode for states when faced with potentially harmful attacks on their international identity and reputation. Despite widespread agreement in International Relations (IR) scholarship that identities matter in the context of state security, studies of crisis management have paid little attention to ontological security crises. Scholarly literature on public diplomacy has concerned itself mainly with proactive nation branding and reputation building; work on stigma management has privileged the study of how 'transgressive' states respond to identity attacks by recognising, rejecting or countering criticism. Our contribution is two-fold. First, we make the case that states do not perform as uniform entities when faced with ontological security crises – government representatives, bureaucratic officials and diplomats have varying roles and action repertoires available to them. Second, we argue that containment is a key but undertheorised part of the diplomatic toolkit in crisis management. Unpacking containment as a crisis management response mode, we combine insights from IR scholarship on emotions and diplomacy with insights on therapeutic practices from social psychology. We substantiate our argument with a case study of how Norwegian government representatives, bureaucratic officials and diplomats responded to escalating international criticism against Norway's Child Welfare Services following a wave of transnational protests in 2016. A key finding is that whereas the dominant response mode of government ministers and bureaucratic officials was to reject the criticism, diplomats mainly worked to contain the situation, trying to prevent it from escalating further and resulting in long-term damage to bilateral relations.

**International relations ; Public diplomacy ; Ontological security.

Control No : 45004

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

32. Katharine A. M. Wright and Annika Bergman Rosamond

NATO's strategic narratives: Angelina Jolie and the alliance's celebrity and visual turn. *Review of International Studies*, 47(4), 2021: 443-466.

Angelina Jolie's high-profile visit to NATO in 2018 signals a move to brand the alliance's strategic narrative within the language of celebrity through engagement with popular

culture. The partnership represents a significant change in the alliance's approach to global security. It also builds on a shift in NATO's self-narrative through the advocacy of gender justice related to the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. Rather than fading into the background, NATO appears to be pursuing the limelight for the purpose of 'awareness raising' as a tool to implement the WPS agenda. Drawing upon feminist scholarship on the WPS agenda, NATO, and research on celebrity humanitarianism and politics, we provide a critical study of this change in NATO's strategic narrative, through the analysis of visual and textual material related to Jolie's visit to NATO. Our focus is on the significance of this partnership and its contribution to legitimising the alliance's self-defined 'military leadership' in the area of conflict-related sexual violence. While Jolie's visit to NATO opened the alliance to public scrutiny it also symbolised a form of militarism, surrounded by orchestrated visual representations. As such, it only marginally disrupted the militarist logic present in NATO's wider WPS engagement.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization ; Peace and Security.

Control No : 44966

PAKISTAN

- URBAN DEVELOPMENT

33. Aasim Sajjad Akhtar and Ammar Rashid

Dispossession and the militarised developer state: financialisation and class power on the agrarian-urban frontier of Islamabad, Pakistan. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(08), 2021: 1866-1884.

Pakistan's capital Islamabad is one of the country's fastest growing cities, the labouring poor comprising the majority of its residents. Many migrants from rural hinterlands and war-ravaged regions reside in informal squatter settlements on the city's rapidly expanding agrarian-urban frontier. In recent years, violent demolitions of these settlements, known as katchi abadis, have increased in accordance with the growing demand for land as a financial asset in the form of gated housing schemes. Islamabad is a microcosm of contemporary processes of urbanisation across both Global North and South. Dispossession of both rural and urban working-class communities to make way for for-profit real estate development is an increasingly common practice in many countries, reflecting systemic transformation in the logic of global capitalism towards 'financialisation'. Our case study engages the theoretical literature on financialisation and real estate along with recent empirical work on dialectical processes of development and dispossession in the Global South. In Islamabad, a 'militarised developer state' featuring civil and military bureaucracies, private contractors and city development authorities props up the dominant land-use paradigm, which deeply exacerbates urban land inequality and fuels both construction and destruction of katchi abadis which house a large segment of the city's working-class population.

**Pakistan - Urban development ; Militarisation.

Control No : 44985

PHILIPPINES

- COVID-19

34. Jaye de la Cruz Bekema

Pandemics and the punitive regulation of the weak: experiences of COVID-19 survivors from urban poor communities in the Philippines. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(08), 2021: 1679-1695.

Using first-hand data collected from interviews with 21 coronavirus disease (COVID-19)-positive participants in a public quarantine facility in Quezon City, the largest city in the Philippines, this research aims to uncover the ways in which features of the neoliberal agenda shape experiences of resource-poor COVID-19 positive individuals, influence the decisions they make, and mediate their interactions with actors in relative positions of advantage and power. The first part and second part lay the foundation for

neoliberalism as the main lens of analysis and situate this current conjuncture within the Philippine political economy. The third looks at COVID-19 testing, and how testing is accessed and experienced by the participants in public health settings. The fourth part examines quarantine arrangements and explores the experiences of COVID-19 patients in a public quarantine facility from the point of entry until they are allowed to go home. The last part – drawing on the data of the first and second parts – reflects on the aspects of neoliberalism that impede an inclusive, pro-poor and humane response to the pandemic.

**Philippines - COVID-19 ; Neoliberalism.

Control No : 44980

POLITICAL ETHNOGRAPH

35. Diana Fu and Erica S. Simmons

Ethnographic approaches to contentious politics: the what, how, and why. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(10), 2021: 1695-1721.

How should we study contentious politics in an era rife with new forms of contention, both in the United States and abroad? The introduction to this special issue draws attention to one particularly crucial methodological tool in the study of contention: political ethnography. It showcases the ways in which ethnographic approaches can contribute to the study of contentious politics. Specifically, it argues that “what,” “how,” and “why” questions are central to the study of contention and that ethnographic methods are particularly well-suited to answering them. It also demonstrates how ethnographic methods push scholars to both expand the objects of inquiry and rethink what the relevant units of analysis might be. By uncovering hidden processes, exploring social meanings, and giving voice to unheard stories, ethnography and “ethnography-plus” approaches contribute to the study of contention and to comparative politics, writ large.

**Political ethnograph ; Comparative politics.

Control No : 44995

RUSSIA

- FOREIGN RELATIONS - AFRICA

36. Tereza Nemeckova, Lea Melnikovova and Natalia Piskunova

Russia's return to Africa: a comparative study of Egypt, Algeria and Morocco. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 59(3), 2021: 367-390.

The article analyses Russia's recent return to Africa. It attempts to answer the question to what extent Russia has abandoned its traditional tools of cooperation such as nuclear energy and military cooperation and engaged in new ‘smart’ ones as indicated by former Foreign Minister Ivanov in 2011. The paper builds on three case studies of African countries having the largest trade volume with Russia in 2018, i.e. Egypt, Algeria and Morocco, and analyses their changing relationship with Russia over the last decade. The results show that Russia has not abandoned its traditional tools but has intensified the use of new ones. The North African region as such has regained significance in Russia's foreign policy. Bilateral relations with all three North African countries have increased at both political and economic levels recently.

**Russia - Foreign relations - Africa ; Russia - Foreign policy ; North Africa.

Control No : 44963

RUSSIA

- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

37.

The co-optation of dissent in hybrid states: Post-Soviet graffiti in Moscow. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(10), 2021: 1757-1785.

Hybrid leaders seek job security. To stay in power, it may be intuitive that they respond to

dissent with a heavy hand. However, these leaders are subject to accountability and concerned with legitimacy and therefore must consider the optics of their decisions. By co-opting a previously independent avenue of communication and its leadership, the state eliminates challengers, curates its public image through trusted social leaders, and reinforces control without resorting to repressive methods that may backfire. Based on a decade of fieldwork, data collection, and expert interviews, I evidence the co-optation of dissent via thematic, spatial, and material shifts in political public art, crafted between the 2012 and 2018 Russian presidential elections. As it consolidated power during this time, the Putin administration co-opted critical graffiti artists and flooded out those unwilling to cooperate, replacing subversive and anonymous anti-regime graffiti with Kremlin-curated murals, particularly in the city center.

**Russia - Politics and government ; Vladimir Putin ; Moscow.

Control No : 44997

38. Sidney Tarrow

Progress outside of paradise: old and new comparative approaches to contentious politics. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(10), 2021: 1885-1901.

Descriptive or ethnographic studies were once the stock-in-trade of the comparative politics of non-Western areas and illiberal states. The last few decades have seen a dramatic growth in quantitative—or at least systematic—studies of these systems. This marks real progress, but, in the process, some of the advantages of ethnographic and “unit-contextual” studies have been lost. The contributors to this symposium have used ethnographic methods—often in combination with other methods—to examine and compare episodes of contentious politics in a number of these countries. Drawing on some of the “classics” of comparative politics, this article emphasizes both the continuities and the departures of the new generation of “ethnography plus” research efforts represented in this symposium.

**Russia - Politics and government ; Middle Eastern politics ; Latin American politics.

Control No : 45001

SECURITY STUDIES

39. Simone Tulumello

Agonistic security: transcending (de/re)constructive divides in critical security studies. *Security Dialogue*, 52(04), 2021: 325-342.

This article aims to contribute toward transcending the dichotomy between deconstruction and reconstruction in critical security studies. In the first part, I review dominant (Western/liberal) logics of security and the main strands of critical security studies to argue that there is a need to overcome the liberal framework of the balance between rights and freedom, with its inherent imbrication with the fantasy of absolute security; and, contra the ultimate conclusions of deconstructive critique, at the same time to take the desire for security seriously. By advocating in favor of embracing the tensions that surface at the intersection of these two conclusions, I then move to my reconstructive endeavor. I set out a meta-theory – that of agonistic security – that is both analytical and normative in nature and inspired by the political theory developed by Mouffe and Laclau. Building on the opposition between antagonism and agonism, I argue that security belongs to the ‘political’ and that it constitutes a field of struggle for politicization. I then argue for three conceptual shifts that concretely define agonistic security: (i) from an absolute/static to a relational/dynamic understanding of security; (ii) from universalism to pluralism at a world scale; and (iii) from the dominance of individual rights in Western/liberal thinking toward an understanding of security as a collective endeavor. In conclusion, I take a step back and discuss the implications of agonistic security for the role of critique in security studies.

**Security studies ; Human rights.

Control No : 44994

SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION

40. Shiping Tang

Regionalism in the shadow of extraregional great powers: a game theoretical explanation of Central Asia and beyond. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 14(03), 2021: 381-416.

The article develops a game theoretical model for the evolution of various regionalism projects. It contends that regionalism in the post-World War II (WWII) world has almost always evolved in the shadow of extraregional great powers (EGPs), with the United States being the principal, but not the only, EGP. As such, how regional great powers (RGPs) and small-to-medium states (SMSs) within a region interact with each other in the shadow of EGPs are critical to the evolution of different regionalism projects. This setup leads to a game theoretical framework. Among the various regionalism projects, regionalism in Central Asia is an intriguing case. The model developed in this article implies that the sometimes competitive and sometimes cooperative interaction among SMSs, EGPs, and RGPs can best explain the historical dynamics of the regionalism project in Central Asia. In particular, the model explains why the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the regionalism project that has been proclaimed to be dead or close to be dead by many pundits, has become the more resilient and visible among the many regionalism projects within the region. The model also applies to other regionalism projects.

**Shanghai Cooperation Organization ; Regionalism ; Central Asia.

Control No : 45009

SOCIAL MOVEMENT

41. Erica S. Simmons

Targets, grievances, and social movement trajectories. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(10), 2021: 1818-1848.

Why do targets of social movement activities respond to movements in the ways they do? Many factors play a role in shaping targets' responses to social movement activities. This article focuses on one particular factor: targets' perceptions of social movement claims. The article argues that a target's understanding of a social movement's claims helps shape its response, which, in turn, shapes the evolution of the social movement. Two cases of social mobilization, one in response to water privatization in Bolivia and the other in response to rising corn prices in Mexico, serve as a lens through which to explore these issues. In each case, differences in how public authorities understood the movements' claims help explain why they reacted in starkly different ways to the emerging movements. Where officials appreciated the symbolic value of the good at stake, they acted quickly to curtail resistance. Where officials failed to grasp those meanings, they dismissed the potential for widespread mobilization and inadvertently accelerated movement growth.

**Social movement ; Latin American politics.

Control No : 44999

SOUTH AMERICA

- HEALTH GOVERNANCE

42. Giovanni Agostinis and Kevin Parthenay

Exploring the determinants of regional health governance modes in the Global South: a comparative analysis of Central and South America. *Review of International Studies*, 47(4), 2021: 399-421.

What explains the variation in how states collectively deal with public health challenges across different regions? We tackle this puzzle by comparing the regional health governance efforts pursued within the Central American Integration System (SICA) and the Union of

South American Nations (UNASUR). We show that Central America's health governance has been driven by external actors, whereas South America's was driven by states within the region, and remained insulated from external actors' influence. We argue that the explanation for such variation lies in the interplay of state capacity and regional leadership. In Central America, weak state capacity combined with the absence of a regional leader willing to provide governance resources. This opened up space for external actors to contribute actively to regional health governance, complementing the governance of Central American governments. In South America, Brazil's regional leadership mobilised neighbouring states' capacities by promoting a South-South cooperation agenda based on intra-regional exchanges among national health bureaucracies, which, however, proved vulnerable to intergovernmental conflicts. Through the comparison of Central and South America, the article bridges the gap between global health governance scholarship and comparative regionalism, providing new insights on the determinants and effects of regional health governance modes in the Global South.

**South America - Health governance ; South-South cooperation ; Central America.

Control No : 44964

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

43. Nicola de Jager

Sub-Saharan Africa's desire for liberal democracy: civil society to the rescue? *Third World Quarterly*, 42(08), 2021: 1885-1902.

In the context of the global recession of democracy, this article engages with sub-Saharan Africa's so-called 'democratic' deficit. Three arguments are presented. First, sub-Saharan Africa's challenge is less a democratic deficit than it is a liberal deficit. The political elite are content to use the electoral mechanism to gain access to power but are thereafter resistant to restraints on that power. Second, organised civil society can contribute to addressing this deficit by contending for civil liberties and holding political authority accountable. Third, sub-Saharan Africa's deeply religious society can contribute towards the development of such a civil society. The study engages with secondary data analysis using survey data from Afrobarometer to determine sub-Saharan Africa's 'deficit' and whether religion can contribute to the development of civil society in the region. From the survey data it was found that citizens of sub-Saharan African countries understand democracy in its liberal form – ensuring civil liberties and personal freedoms. Furthermore, it was noted that those who are religious are more likely to be civically engaged than those who are unaffiliated, and in time, this can contribute to addressing the liberal deficit.

**Sub-Saharan Africa ; Liberal democracy.

Control No : 44986

SWEDEN

- NATIONAL SECURITY

44. Oscar L Larsson

The connections between crisis and war preparedness in Sweden. *Security Dialogue*, 52(04), 2021: 306-324.

Contemporary liberal and democratic states have 'securitized' a growing number of issues by advancing the notion of societal security. This is coupled with a proactive stance and the conception of building societal resilience in order to withstand future crises and disturbances. The preemptive logic of contemporary security and crisis management calls for a new type of resilient neoliberal subject who is willing to accept uncertainty and shoulder greater individual responsibility for her own security. This article offers a genealogical analysis of this development in Sweden since the end of the Cold War, highlighting the role now assigned to citizens within social and national security planning. I argue that seeking a return to a more traditional notion of 'total defence' blurs the previously important war/peace and crisis/security distinctions. While war preparedness in

previous eras was an exceptional aspect of human life and citizenship, the conceptions of security now evolving bind together societal and national security such that civil and war preparedness are merged into an ever-present dimension of everyday existence. The analysis also reveals that the responsabilization of individuals introduces a moral dimension into security and generates new forms of citizen-citizen relations. These extricate the sovereign powers of the state and the liberalist social contract between the state and its citizens.

**Sweden - National security ; Civil preparedness.

Control No : 44993

SYRIA

- POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

45. Wendy Pearlman

Mobilizing from scratch: large-scale collective action without preexisting organization in the Syrian uprising. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(10), 2021: 1786-1817.

Core social movement research argues that large-scale challenges to authority build upon preexisting organization and civil society resources. How do dissenters mobilize masses in repressive settings where, given curtailment of civil society, autonomous associations scarcely exist and norms discourage trust more than encourage it? Testimonials from the Syrian uprising illustrate how protest can become widespread under such conditions, yet occurs through processes different from what dominant theory expects. Activists get demonstrations off the ground by planning around awareness of their organizational deficits. Once in motion, contention propels both organization and increasing organizational sophistication. To be effective, mobilization sometimes evades or obscures established social relationships, even as it produces new forms of sociability. Bridging literatures on mass and clandestine mobilization, this research reconsiders the assumed sequential logic of movement development from organization to protest, rather than vice versa. It also shifts attention from movement antecedents toward the resourcefulness and strategy that enable mobilizing both from scratch and at grave risk.

**Syria - Politics and government ; Social movements ; Middle East.

Control No : 44998

TURKEY

- ANTARCTIC STRATEGY

46. Lerna K. Yanık and Emrah Karaoguz

Science and flags: deconstructing Turkey's Antarctic strategy. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(08), 2021: 1661-1678.

This article explores Turkey's recent increased interest in the Antarctic by deconstructing how this interest contributes to the making of Antarctic nationalism(s). It makes two arguments. First, Turkey's status-seeking by being present in the Antarctic contributes to Antarctic nationalism(s) by invoking three distinct yet overlapping strands of nationalisms – banal, pragmatic-techno and Kemalist nationalisms, or what we term assemblage nationalism. Second, we argue that it was this nationalist trope that became the mutual language between Turkey's ruling elite and scientists, and one of the factors that prompted a change of strategy in Turkey's Antarctic policy. Turkey's status-seeking combined with this nationalist trope, which highlighted compatibility with the former's broader discourse on technological upgrading and economic development, helped the Turkish ruling elite and scientists frame and make sense of the country's presence in Antarctica. We conclude that when status-seeking involves collaboration with foreigners, a 'more benign' form of nationalism becomes possible.

**Turkey - Antarctic strategy.

Control No : 44979

UNITED KINGDOM

- TELEGRAPHY POLICY

47. Perri 6 and Eva Heims

Why do states in conflict with each other also sustain resilient cooperation in international regulation? Britain and telegraphy, 1860s–1914. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(03), 2021: 682-707.

This article compares the explanatory power of five mainstream theories from International Relations, political science and public management in understanding why – when they are engaged in deepening conflict and tension and even preparations for wars – states might simultaneously sustain deepening cooperation in global regulatory bodies. Analysis of explanatory power focuses on trade-offs among five key methodological virtues, and on buffering as an indicator of state unitariness. The theories are examined against the crucial case of one state's commitment to the first international regulatory regime, the International Telegraph Union (ITU) and the Submarine Cable Convention (SCC) of 1884, from the founding of the ITU in 1865 to the outbreak of the Great War. In this article, we use UK National Archives files to reconstruct Britain's decisions in telegraphy policy as our case of a state's decision-making. We focus on four key clusters of decisions, spanning three sub-periods. The study finds each of the theories can descriptively capture some developments in some sub-periods, but not for the reasons identified in the theory and without generality of application. It therefore provides the basis for future theoretical development work and demonstrates the value of theory comparison by analysis of trade-offs among methodological virtues.

**United Kingdom - Telegraphy policy ; International relations ; British foreign policy.

Control No : 45003

WORLD POLITICS

48. Randall Germain

Nearly modern IPE? Insights from IPE at mid-century. *Review of International Studies*, 47(4), 2021: 528-548.

Disciplinary debates within IPE often leave as an open question how contemporary scholars may build on and incorporate insights from its rich intellectual history. In this article I examine the work of three scholars who are rarely grouped together, but who should be recognised today as engaged in an IPE-inflected debate: Karl Polanyi, E. H. Carr, and David Mitrany. They advanced distinct IPE-centred ways of framing the central problems of the post-1945 world, which are remarkable for how they prefigure important themes in modern IPE scholarship. By assembling and considering their work collectively, I make two arguments: (1) we should recognise their contributions as a precursor to modern IPE; and (2) their work, with certain caveats, provides valuable intellectual resources for contemporary scholars. Their combined work should be considered as part of the common heritage of IPE.

**World politics ; International Political Economy.

Control No : 44970

49. Thomas Linsenmaier, Dennis R. Schmidt and Kilian Spandler

On the meaning(s) of norms: Ambiguity and global governance in a post-hegemonic world. *Review of International Studies*, 47(4), 2021: 508-527.

This article offers a new conceptualisation of the meaning of norms in world politics. It starts from the observation that existing norm scholarship in International Relations has underestimated the role of ambiguity in the constitution of norm meaning. To address this shortcoming, we advance a conceptualisation that sees norm polysemy – the empirically observable plurality of norm meanings-in-use – as resulting from the enactment of inherently ambiguous norms in different contexts. By foregrounding norm ambiguity, this

view offers a radically non-essentialist understanding of norm meaning, one that eschews any attempt to salvage final or 'true' meanings behind the polysemy of norms. Using empirical illustrations from different fields of contemporary global governance, we identify four mechanisms through which actors practically cope with the multiplicity of norm meanings that arises from norm ambiguity (deliberation, adjudication, uni- or multilateral fixation attempts, and ad hoc enactment) and outline their varying effects on the legitimacy and effectiveness of global governance. Based on this discussion, the article points to the normative implications of a radically non-essentialist conception of norms and suggests harnessing the positive potential of norm ambiguity as an ethically desirable condition that promotes human diversity and the plurality of global life.

**World politics ; International relations.

Control No : 44969

ZIMBABWE

- POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENT

50. Chipo Dendere

Financing political parties in Africa: the case of Zimbabwe. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 59(3), 2021: 295-317.

What is the impact of access to political party finance – money that parties use to fund their campaign activities – on politics in Africa? While multiparty elections have become more regular in the developing world, many opposition parties are still failing to win elections. This paper argues that poor access to political finance weakens democratic consolidation and negatively impacts the participation of less-resourced candidates who are unable to self-fund. As a result, opposition parties are forced to rely on weak promises of aid from international donors and unreliable state funding. This in-depth analysis of political finance, based on extensive interviews with politicians and government officials in Zimbabwe, political documents, news reports and a review of court cases, reveals that uneven financing has weakened opposition parties and serves as an extra advantage for incumbents.

**Zimbabwe - Political and government ; Political finance.

Control No : 44961