

Special Issue: Gender and Equality in Public Life

1. Representative Bureaucracy — What, Why and How? Evidence from the European Commission by Anne Stevens Aston University, UK,

Abstract : Issues of representation have become increasingly salient in European countries with attempts to find mechanisms to increase the representation of women, including various types of quota and parity legislation. This article examines the extension of the idea to bureaucracies. It looks at two arguments about this extension: should bureaucracies be regarded as places where representation can and should occur, and, even if representation in bureaucracies is regarded as possible, is it desirable. Having concluded that it is both possible and desirable, the article then examines the outworking of the notion of representation within one bureaucracy, the European Commission, on the basis of the considerations applied by feminists to elected representation. The example of the EC illuminates aspects of representative bureaucracy, and supports a normative argument for representation on the basis of symbolic, justice and deliberative arguments even if the agency argument must be nuanced by the need to avoid partiality.

2. Gender Still Matters and Impacts on Public Value and Innovation and the Public Reform Process by Su Maddock University of Manchester, UK,

Abstract: At present, in England there is little alignment between innovative work and government accountability frameworks. Innovation rarely catches on if it is driven from the top or through a system's approach to change; its flow depends on networking and active relationships, which take time, are less predictable yet provide a much stronger anchor for sustainable institutional reform. In earlier stages of reform the divide was between those leaders who are actively driving change and those were more passive in their leadership role. Most public sector executives are now actively concerned with 'public value' and transforming their organizations rather than merely making them more efficient.

3. Twenty-nine per cent Women Councillors after a Mere 100 Years Isn't it Time to Look Seriously at Electoral Quotas by Chris Game University of Birmingham, UK

Abstract: Just over 100 years ago, 5 pioneering women and 1 quite exceptional one became the first legitimately elected female members of English county and county borough councils. While obviously important, the Qualification of Women Act 1907 that enabled their election was far from the only one to have influenced women's electoral involvement in local government. Their first real opportunity had come in 1870, when the remarkably female-friendly electoral system introduced in Forster's Education Act enabled women to become elected members of school boards — one of the very first being the 'quite exceptional' woman mentioned above, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson. The first part of this article examines the rules governing women's 19th-century voting and

candidacy rights, and concludes that they were a decisive factor in determining both the extent and nature of women's participation in public life. The second part examines the comparable modern-day rules surrounding electoral systems and gender quotas and suggests that they are similarly influential in determining — or limiting — the representational diversity in our elected governmental bodies. With women comprising just 29 per cent of English councillors after more than a century, the time has surely come, the article concludes, to follow other countries in their utilization of electoral quotas.

4. Gender Balance in Scottish Local Authority Councils by Sabina Siebert Glasgow Caledonian University, UK

Abstract: Women make up over 40 per cent of community councillors in Scotland, however, evidence suggests that they are less likely to progress to local authority councils. This article investigates the barriers to wider engagement of women in participative democracy, and based on the analysis of empirical data suggests some ways of promoting a more equitable gender representation in Scottish local authority councils. The barriers identified by respondents include male incumbency, traditional perceptions of gender roles and the bad reputation of local politicians. The adversarial nature of politics, 'political infighting' and 'backstabbing' as well as a considerable level of misogyny were perceived as barriers against women's participation, as well as a lack of confidence and lack of understanding of the role of the local councillor. Greater representation of women in public life is crucial in ensuring that women's interests are represented in decision-making. Despite some views against positive action, the strategies to increase the number of women being selected and standing for local elections are seen as the most effective solution to the problem of under-representation of women on local councils. The presence of women in representative institutions may create role models and this is perceived to potentially lead to an increase of women's participation. Women's networks, within political parties or independent of them, are effective in sharing experience, skills and knowledge, so are mentoring and shadowing as well as other forms of informal learning. A number of practical solutions were identified throughout the project: an increase of the councillors' allowance, availability of childcare facilities in local councils and family-friendly hours of council meetings are seen as potential incentives for women candidates.

5. Valuing Skills Helping Mainstream Gender Equity in the New Zealand State Sector by Anne Junor The University of New South Wales, Australia, Ian Hampson The University of New South Wales, Australia Meg Smith The University of Western Sydney, Australia

Abstract : The state sector has led slow progress towards pay and employment equity in Anglophone countries. Horizontal and vertical job segregation have, however, proved intractable barriers to closing the gap fully. An under-researched element of the solution may involve examining whether skill levels are accurately reflected in the low pay and flat career structures of occupations and part-time jobs where women and ethnic minorities are concentrated. This is a public policy issue, requiring that systemic reviews

of pay and employment equity include skill reassessments. It has so far been mainly a public administration issue, because of the state sector's vanguard role in equity reviews. Against a backdrop of equality initiatives in the UK and other Anglophone countries, we focus on the pay and employment equity review process in Aotearoa-New Zealand between 2004 and 2008. Here a mainstreaming approach has been adopted, 'making gender equity ordinary' by providing tools for reviews of pay and employment opportunity and for remedies such as job re-evaluation. Our focus is on the potential contribution to this agenda of skill reassessments. We outline the research-based development of a toolkit to help classify the under-recognized social and organizational skills required in jobs where women are concentrated, from low-paid 'support' roles to policy advice. This skills taxonomy can also help identify the progressive deepening of these skills through problem-solving practice — an identification that may assist in defining career pathways. We conclude with an equity and business case for 'mainstreaming' its use.

Journal of Modern African Studies Vol.47, No.2, June 2009

1. Complex political perpetrators: reflections on Dominic Ongwen by Erin K. Baines^{al} [cl](#)^{al} Liu Institute for Global Issues, University of British Columbia,

Abstract: Dominic Ongwen is an indicted war criminal and former child soldier in one of the world's most brutal rebel organisations, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Ongwen is at once victim and perpetrator: what justice strategy is relevant? I introduce the concept of complex political perpetrators to describe youth who occupy extremely marginal spaces in settings of chronic crisis, and who use violence as an expression of political agency. Ongwen represents a troupe of young rebels who were 'bred' in the shadows of illiberal war economies. Excluded from the polity, or rather never having been socialised within it, such complex political perpetrators must be recognised in the debate on transitional justice after mass atrocity, lest cycles of exclusion and violence as politics by another means continue.

2. Women and the 2005 election in Liberia by Jacqui Bauer^{al} [cl](#)^{al} Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University,

Abstract: In 2005, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf defeated George Weah to become President of Liberia and the first woman elected to head an African country. Women voters were widely credited with her victory. This paper quantifies this claim by analysing newspaper content during the election period to gauge civil society group activity. It finds that *consistency* in their activities may have allowed women's groups to surpass other civil society groups in impacting the election. Activity levels of women's groups remained stable between the election and run-off periods, unlike other major group types whose activity level dropped by between 37% and 70%. It concludes that the environment surrounding the 2005 election was conducive to participation by women because of their existing, latent power in many spheres; their long experience as peacebuilders; the decimation of conventional social and political structures; Liberian women's experience in leadership positions; the failure of multiple male-dominated efforts; and the presence of a well-qualified female candidate.

3. Property rights conflict, customary institutions and the state: the case of agropastoralists in Mieso district, eastern Ethiopia by Fekadu Beyene^{a1} [cl](#)^{a1} Department of Rural Development and Agricultural Extension, Haramaya University, Ethiopia

Abstract: This paper examines inter-ethnic conflict over grazing land previously accessed as common property. It presents results of a study undertaken in Mieso district of eastern Ethiopia where two ethnic groups maintain different production systems – pastoral and agropastoral. The historical change in land use by one of the ethnic groups, resource scarcity, violation of customary norms, power asymmetry and livestock raids are among the factors that have contributed to the recurrence of conflict. Particularly important is the role of raids in triggering conflict and restricting access to grazing areas. Socio-economic and political factors are responsible for power asymmetry and the increasing scale of raids. An increase in the frequency of violence and a decline in the capacity of customary authority in conflict management advance the role of the state in establishing enforceable property rights institutions. This will succeed only if policies and interventions are redirected at suppressing incentives for violence, establishing new institutional structures in consultation with clan elders of both parties, and building internal capacity to monitor conflict-triggering events.

4. Remarkable returns: the influence of a labour-led socio-economic rights movement on legislative reasoning, process and action in Nigeria, 1999–2007 by Obiora Chinedu Okafor^{a1} [cl](#)^{a1} Osgoode Hall Law School and the Harriett Tubman Institute for the Study of the African Diaspora, York University,

Abstract: During 1999–2007, a labour-led but broad-based socio-economic rights movement, which focused on a pro-poor (and therefore highly popular) anti-fuel price hike message, persuaded and/or pressured Nigeria's federal legislature, the National Assembly, to: mediate between it and the Executive Branch of Government; take it seriously enough to lobby it repeatedly; re-orient its legislative processes; explicitly oppose virtually all of the Executive Branch's fuel price hikes; and reject key anti-labour provisions in a government bill. Yet the movement did not always succeed in its efforts to influence the National Assembly. This article maps, discusses, contextualises and analyses these generally remarkable developments. It also argues that while many factors combined to facilitate or militate against the movement's impact on legislative reasoning, process and action during the relevant period, this movement's 'mass social movement' character was the pivotal factor that afforded it the necessary leverage to exert considerable, if limited, influence on the National Assembly.

5. The story of a tragedy: how people in Haut-Katanga interpret the post-colonial history of Congo by Benjamin Rubbers^{a1} [cl](#)^{a1} Laboratoire d' Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle, Université de Liège, 7 boulevard du rectorat, 4000 Liège, and Laboratoire d'Anthropologie des Mondes Contemporains, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 44 avenue Jeanne, 1050 Bruxelles, Belgium

Abstract: In order to give an account of the Congolese tragedy since independence, the inhabitants of Haut-Katanga often resort to four different narratives: the abandonment by

Belgium; the biblical curse on Africans; the conspiracy of Western capitalism; or the alienation of life powers by Whites. Though these four stories offer different scenarios, they are all constructed with two types of actors – Whites and Congolese people. This article suggests that this racial/national frame finds its origins in colonial and national ideologies, which have left their mark on Haut-Katanga, and that it continues today to structure the narratives through which people remember their post-colonial history. Collective memory and racial/national identity are reciprocally constituted in these stories, but in different terms. They offer, accordingly, different ways of influencing the present.

American Politics Research Vol.37, No.3, May 2009

1.Partisan Strength and Nonpartisanship Among Asian Americans by N. Kim Nguyen Louisiana State University Baton Rouge; James C. Garand Louisiana State University Baton Rouge

Abstract: Relatively little is known about partisan identification among immigrant-dominated ethnic groups in the United States. In this article we build on the work of Lien, Conway, and Wong (2004) to explore patterns of partisan strength and nonpartisanship among Asian Americans. We note that more than one third of Asian Americans do not identify themselves on the standard seven-point partisan identification scale, indicating that they either have no party attachment (denoted *no-party nonpartisans*) or are not sure of their partisanship (denoted *unsure nonpartisans*). Using data from the 2000-2001 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey, we estimate separate models of (a) partisan acquisition (i.e., partisan vs. nonpartisan), (b) strength of partisanship, and (c) type of nonpartisanship. As expected, we find significant differences in this Asian American sample between partisans and nonpartisans and among strong partisans, weak or independent-leaning partisans, and pure independents. In our nonpartisanship model, we also find discernible differences among pure independents, no-party nonpartisans, and unsure nonpartisans. Our findings address questions about how one should test models of party strength in Asian American samples, particularly given the relatively large percentage of nonpartisans among Asian Americans in comparison to samples drawn from the general population.

2.Gender Stereotypes and Attitudes Toward Gender Balance in Government by Kathleen Dolan University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; Kira Sanbonmatsu Rutgers University

Abstract: The desire to elect more women to public office is likely to affect a range of political behaviors and may explain the relatively low levels of women's descriptive representation overall. Yet, little is known about the public's view of the ideal gender composition of government. We find that the public expresses a preference for higher levels of women's representation than the country has experienced. Women are more likely than men to express a view, though men and women do not differ in their

preferences on the ideal percentage of male officeholders. We examine the role of gender stereotypes and the experience of being represented by women officeholders in shaping support for women's representation.

3. Put to the Test Understanding Differences in Support for High-Stakes Testing by J. Celeste Lay Tulane University, Atiya Kai Stokes-Brown, Bucknell University

Abstract: Despite the importance of high-stakes tests in education policy, relatively little is known about opinion on this issue. We examine racial and socioeconomic differences in support for high-stakes testing. Given the achievement gaps between racial minorities and Whites and between the lower and higher status, it would be reasonable to expect that those whose children are most likely to do well on high-stakes tests would support the policy, whereas their counterparts would oppose them. However, these groups have different histories with and optimism about the public education system as well as different perceptions about how high-stakes tests will affect their children. We find that Latinos strongly support these measures, whereas African Americans and Whites oppose them primarily because African Americans are pessimistic about improving public schools and Whites are concerned about how resources will be redistributed. We also find that those of higher status are more likely to oppose high-stakes testing.

4. Ambition and Party Loyalty in the U.S. Senate by Sarah A. Treul University of Minnesota, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,

Abstract: This article examines the role progressive ambition plays in the U.S. Senate. I analyze the effect ambition has on party loyalty in the upper chamber. The theoretical argument is that senators with ambition for higher office are more loyal to the party than their colleagues who never make a bid for higher office because of their need to appeal to the party base to secure the party's nomination. I posit the following hypothesis to test this theory: A senator who seeks higher office will be more likely to vote with the party on party votes than those senators who never run for the presidency. My findings indicate that ambitious senators are more loyal to the party than their colleagues who never make a bid for higher office. That is, senators who run for higher office recognize the importance of the party when it comes to successfully navigating the primary season.

5. The Role of Candidate Choice in the California Recall Election by Eric McGhee Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco, Mark Baldassare Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco

Abstract: Many have argued that the reelection and later recall of Governor Gray Davis in California serves as a perfect example of how primaries draw politics to the extremes by nominating candidates too liberal or conservative for the general electorate. Davis defeated a conservative Republican opponent in his reelection campaign, only to lose in the recall just one year later when there were no primaries to prevent a moderate Republican from running. We test this notion with survey data from both elections. We find that the choice of candidates was important to votes in each election, but evaluations

of Davis were far more significant and largely determined the outcome. We conclude with implications for the role of primaries in American politics generally.

6. Departures From the Court The Political Landscape and Institutional Constraints by Kjersten R. Nelson **University of Minnesota**; Eve M. Ringsmuth **University of Minnesota**

Abstract: Previous findings on whether U.S. Supreme Court justices include strategic factors in their decisions to leave the Court have been mixed. We use ideological distance measures to capture the political landscape and retest the hypothesis that justices use strategic political considerations when making the decision to leave the Court. Using a Cox model of proportional hazards, we find that justices do take ideological distance from the Senate into account when making retirement decisions. Thus, the evidence indicates that justices engage in strategic behavior when contemplating retirement.

7. Assessing Presidential Power Signing Statements and Veto Threats as Coordinated Strategies by Christopher S. Kelley **Miami University, Oxford, Ohio**; Bryan W. Marshall **Miami University, Oxford, Ohio**

Abstract: Presidents have a wide array of strategies to influence legislation. One area that has seen less emphasis in the literature is the executive's unilateral ability to issue signing statements and their role in shaping policy. We develop a spatial model illustrating how the president's bargaining power with Congress can be expanded when the veto threat is coordinated with signing statements. The analysis suggests that signing statements, although underappreciated, may potentially be a valuable presidential tool in the veto bargaining process. The analysis also shows that veto threats are a key factor explaining the president's use of the constitutional signing statement. We infer that veto threats and signing statements are linked together as part of a larger coordinated strategy to exert presidential power in the legislative realm.

The American Review of Public Administration Vol.39, No.3, May 2009

1.Ethical Conduct and Public Service Loyalty Intelligently Bestowed by Lawrence Quill **San José State University**

Over the past two decades, a variety of approaches to teaching and encouraging public administration ethics have been advanced. To that end, theories of social justice, citizenship claims, integrity-based approaches, moral leadership, and a renewed emphasis on professionalism have all made significant contributions to the discussion. This article offers a different approach through a reading of Kazuo Ishiguro's *The Remains of the Day*. Ishiguro's characterization of moral conflict, as it appears within this novel, is particularly interesting and relevant for those engaged in public service. What emerges from the analysis provided here is an appraisal of the moral conflicts inherent within public administration, an appreciation of the moral fragility of individual decision

making, and a basis for a new understanding of loyalty within public service that is, or ought to be, *intelligently bestowed*.

2. The Program Assessment Rating Tool and the Government Performance and Results Act Evaluating Conflicts and Disconnections Vassia Gueorguieva **American University**; Jean Accius **American University** ; Carmen Apaza **American University**; Lamar Bennett **American University** ; Clinton Brownley **American University**; Shea Cronin **American University** ; Panote Preechyanud **American University**

Abstract: This article looks at the Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA) and the Program Assessment Rating Tool (PART) and how they assess seven programs. It establishes that the PART does not adequately consider different program types and has characteristics that create a disconnection between this tool and the GPRA: It does not enter into dialogue with the GPRA regarding the choice of performance indicators; it evaluates programs through criteria that conflict with the programs' statutes or intent and penalizes programs for the degree of explicitness in their authorizing statutes; it uses standardized measures that sometimes overlook the intent of statutes or the discretionary nature of implementation; it employs a different level of analysis from the GPRA; it places a contradictory emphasis on the relationship between programs with similar goals; and it emphasizes different external factors influencing program performance. The article concludes with recommendations on how to improve the PART.

3. Bureaucratic Adaptation and the Politics of Multiple Principals in Policy Implementation by M. Ernita Joaquin **University of Nevada-Las Vegas**

Abstract: The phenomenon of competitive sourcing (A-76) recently tested the federal agencies' ability to adapt to a fluid environment. The Bush administration policy of regularized job competitions between government employees and contractors threatened not just agency staffing levels but also the foundation of civil service. As many agencies were neither equipped for competition nor functionally suited to A-76, policy implementation for them became not just a matter of compliance but also management of uncertainties and defending their organizations. Through the lens of organization theory and bureaucratic politics, this article tries to capture the responses of two federal agencies to A-76. Taking the focus away from efficiency of privatization initiatives to the dynamics of agency response to a threatening mandate, this study finds support for previous theories of policy implementation. It likewise contributes to theory by demonstrating the mechanisms of adaptation and compliance given the different organizational attributes and multiple political interests that agencies had to balance in competitive sourcing.

4. Ethnic Conflict in France A Case for Representative Bureaucracy by Kenneth J. Meier **Texas A&M University, College Station** **Cardiff University, Wales**; Daniel P. Hawes **Texas A&M University, College Station**,

Abstract: In the last 3 years, France has seen a series of violent protests by ethnic minorities in regard to jobs, legal discrimination, and access to positions in the public

bureaucracy. Because France as a nation rejects the concepts of race and ethnicity, it has also failed to consider any possible benefits that might accrue from a representative bureaucracy. This article examines whether French ethnic protests are linked to bureaucratic access issues and how a policy seeking a more representative bureaucracy might benefit the French Republic.

5. Implementing Full and Partial Work Sanctions The Case of Texas by Vicki Lens
Columbia University

Abstract: This study examines the implementation of work sanctions in Texas, a state that switched from partial to full benefit sanctions. A qualitative research design is used consisting of 255 individual case studies obtained from administrative fair hearing data under Texas's full and partial sanction regimes. Recipients' explanations for not complying with the work rules and how workers assessed these explanations and whether sanctions were appropriate are examined. This study found that recipients' reasons for not complying with work rules were similar for both full and partial sanctions. The primary reasons for their noncompliance were family obstacles and situational challenges or lack of notice. Workers responses under both regimes were also very similar, with workers using their discretion to apply sanctions punitively. Workers focused on the paper-processing tasks of sanctioning rather than the larger goal of encouraging self-sufficiency, with workers failing to distinguish between procedural and substantive violations of the work rules.

6. Beyond Ideal Types of Municipal Structure Adapted Cities in Michigan by Jered B. Carr Shanthi Karuppusamy
Wayne State University

Abstract: Increasingly, scholars of local governments are calling attention to a new era of municipal reform and to the convergence of the mayor-council and council-manager forms of governments. A major conclusion of this literature is that these two familiar ideal types no longer adequately describe the structure of most American cities. This article contributes to this question by examining the charters of 263 Michigan cities. We use the adapted cities framework advanced by H. George Frederickson, Gary Johnson, and Curtis Wood to examine the patterns of adaptation to Michigan's mayor-council and council-manager cities. We find that the governance structure in most Michigan cities is not accurately described by either of the ideal types. Mayor-council cities are especially likely to use charter provisions that deviate significantly from conventional depictions of the form.

International Studies Quarterly Vol.53, No.1, 2009

1. Interdependent Preferences, Militarism, and Child Gender by R. Urbatsch, Iowa
State University

Abstract: Selection effects make it difficult to determine whether concern for other people genuinely affects individuals' policy preferences. Child gender provides a

conveniently exogenous means of exploring the issue, especially in contexts such as military policy where girls and boys face different risks; in many countries male children are disproportionately likely to become soldiers and thus bear the costs of militarism. This creates divergent effects: those in households with girls generally prefer more hawkish foreign policies than do members of households with boys. Data from the 2004 American National Election Study confirm these intuitions, both in general statements of policy preference and in evaluating the net costs of the Afghanistan and Iraq conflicts.

2. Gender and Negotiation: Some Experimental Findings from an International Negotiation Simulation by Mark A. Boyer, Brian Urlacher, Natalie Florea Hudson, Anat Niv-Solomon, Laura L. Janik, Michael J. Butler, Scott W. Brown and Andri Ioannou

*University of Connecticut ; University of North Dakota ; University of Dayton ; Clark University ; University of Connecticut ; Clark University ; University of Connecticut

Abstract: Increasingly, scholars have taken note of the tendency for women to conceptualize issues such as security, peace, war, and the use of military force in different ways than their male counterparts. These divergent conceptualizations in turn affect the way women interact with the world around them and make decisions. Moreover, research across a variety of fields suggests that providing women a greater voice in international negotiations may bring a fresh outlook to dispute resolution. Using experimental data collected by the GlobalEd Project, this article provides substantial support for hypotheses positing that females generate significantly different processes and outcomes in a negotiation context. These findings occur both in terms of female negotiation behavior and the impact of females as negotiation facilitators/mediators.

3. Sleeping With Your Friends' Enemies: An Explanation of Sanctions-Busting Trade by Bryan R. Early, The University of Georgia

Abstract: Research indicates that if third parties provide assistance to sanctioned states, the sanctions are less likely to be successful. However, the scholarship on the profile of sanctions busters and their motivations remains underdeveloped. Drawing on the realist and liberal paradigms, this piece develops two competing theories to account for third-party sanctions-busting. The hypotheses drawn from these theories build upon existing work on sanctions, the political determinants of international trade, and the effects of indirect interstate relationships. A quantitative analysis develops a new measure to identify sanctions-busting behavior for a dataset covering 77 sanctions cases from 1950 to 1990. The liberal and realist explanations are then tested. The results offer strong support for the liberal theory of sanctions-busting and less support for the realist theory. In particular, the analysis reveals a counter-intuitive finding that a sender's close allies are more likely to sanctions-bust on the target's behalf than are other states.

4. Why Should I Believe You? The Costs and Consequences of Bilateral Investment Treaties by Andrew Kerner, Emory University

Abstract: Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) are the primary legal mechanism protecting foreign direct investment (FDI) around the world. BITs are thought to

encourage FDI by establishing a broad set of investor's rights and by allowing investors to sue a host state in an international tribunal if these rights are violated. Perhaps surprisingly, the empirical literature connecting BITs to FDI flows has produced conflicting results. Some papers have found that BITs attract FDI, while others have found no relationship or even that BITs repel FDI. I suggest in this paper that these results stem from statistical models that do not fully capture the causal mechanisms that link BITs to FDI. Extant literature has often suggested that BITs may encourage investment from both protected and unprotected investors, yet the literature has not allowed for a full evaluation of this claim. This paper explores the theoretical underpinnings and empirical implications of an institution that works in these direct and indirect ways, and offers a statistical test that is capable of distinguishing between the two. The results indicate that: (1) BITs attract significant amounts of investment; (2) BITs attract this investment from protected and unprotected investors; and (3) these results are obscured by endogeneity unless corrected for in the statistical model.

5. Market Rules: The Incidental Relationship between Democratic Compatibility and International Commerce by Horace A. Bartilow* and D. Stephen Voss ;University of Kentucky †University of Kentucky

ABSTRACT

Democracies trade more with other democracies than they trade with closed political systems, but why they do so is unclear. We present a "gravity equation" that disentangles foreign policy from country-specific influences on trade by adding explanatory variables to control for traits of both the mass public and the domestic political system. We apply the resulting model to a data set covering 50 years (1948–1997) and 72 countries. The estimated effect of joint democracy, which appears in the absence of the country-specific variables, drops out when these control variables are added to eliminate omitted variable bias. Democracies do not trade together any more than they would incidentally given the usual social, economic, and political influences on commercial activity, calling into question explanations for their mutual trade activity that rely on foreign-policy favoritism or institutional compatibility.

6. Transnational Terror and Human Rights by James A. Piazza* and James Igoe Walsh University of North Carolina at Charlotte

ABSTRACT

Do terrorist attacks by transnational groups lead governments to restrict human rights? Conventional wisdom holds that governments restrict rights to forestall additional attacks, to more effectively pursue suspected terrorists, and as an excuse to suppress their political opponents. But the logic connecting terrorist attacks to subsequent repression and the empirical research that addresses this issue suffer from important flaws. We analyze pooled data on the human rights behavior of governments from 1981 to 2003. Our key independent variable of interest is transnational terrorist attacks, and the analysis also controls for factors that existing studies have found influence respect for human

rights. Repeated terrorist attacks lead governments to engage in more extrajudicial killings and disappearances, but have no discernable influence on government use of torture and of political imprisonment or on empowerment rights such as freedom of speech, assembly, and religion. This finding has important implications for how we think about the effects of terrorism and the policy responses of states, non-governmental organizations, and international institutions interested in protecting human rights.

7.Domestic Judicial Institutions and Human Rights Treaty Violation by Emilia Justyna Powell* and Jeffrey K. Staton† *Georgia Southern University
†Emory University

ABSTRACT

Democratic and autocratic states routinely violate their international agreements protecting human rights. Scholars typically link ratification and compliance behavior theoretically but test their models separately; however, if the behaviors are jointly determined then we should treat them that way empirically. We consider how domestic judiciaries influence the joint choice to ratify and comply with international human rights regimes. Using data on the ratification status of states under the Convention Against Torture (CAT), states' torture practices, and a series of measures of judicial effectiveness, we examine whether legal institutions are likely to constrain state behavior and by implication raise the costs of ratification.

8.Forms of Civil War Violence and Their Consequences for Future Public Health by Matthew Hoddie* and Jason Matthew Smith†
*Towson University †Texas A&M University

ABSTRACT

Previous research concerning the relationship between conflict and public health finds that countries emerging from war face greater challenges in ensuring the well-being of their populations in comparison with states that have enjoyed political stability. This study seeks to extend this insight by considering how different civil war conflict strategies influence post-conflict public health. Drawing a distinction between deaths attributable to battle and those fatalities resulting from genocide/politicide, we find that the magnitude of genocide/politicide proves the more effective and consistent predictor of future rates of disability and death in the aftermath of civil war. The implications of this research are twofold. First, it lends support to an emerging literature suggesting that important distinctions exist between the forms of violence occurring during civil war. Second, of particular interest to policymakers, it identifies post-civil war states that have experienced the highest rates of genocide/politicide as the countries most in need of assistance in the aftermath of conflict.

9.Charting the Ethics of the English School: What "Good" is There in a Middle-Ground Ethics? By Molly Cochran* *Georgia Institute of Technology

ABSTRACT

This article aims to advance our understanding of the development of English School thinking on international ethics by outlining three phases of ethical inquiry within the British Committee. The article argues that, throughout the life of the Committee, its outlook was conditioned by a pervading moral skepticism, which was reflected in the School's commitment to a "middle-ground ethics"; however, at various times the Committee members' views changed about how maximalist the "good" could be that oriented this ethical position. Awareness of this ebb and flow helps us better understand Hedley Bull's characterization of the ethics of pluralism and solidarism within the School as well as the precise challenge contemporary English School theorists face if they are to move beyond the normative cul-de-sac that British Committee members encountered in each phase of their ethical discussions.

10."Small Peoples": The Existential Uncertainty of Ethnonational Communities by Uriel Abulof Princeton University

ABSTRACT

This exploratory paper attempts to extend the boundaries of research on the "smallness" of polities. It introduces the concept of "small peoples," a term coined by Czech author Milan Kundera to denote communities that lack a "sense of an eternal past and future." The paper posits "small peoples" as ethnic communities characterized by prolonged and deep-rooted uncertainty regarding their own existence. I argue that in modern times, "small peoples" doubt the validity of their past-based ethnic identity and the viability of their future-driven national polity. Empirically, I analyze two distinct "small peoples"—Israeli Jews and French Canadians (Québécois)—and argue that while the former have been more concerned with the future survival of their polity, the latter have been more concerned with insecurity about their identity. The paper suggests that a focus on communities and their intersubjective processes can enrich the study of states and their objective state.

International Studies Review Vol.11, No.1, March 2009

1.Authoritarianism and Islamic Movements in the Middle East: Research and Theory-building in the Twenty-first Century

Oded Haklai* *Queen's University

ABSTRACT

In the previous decade, many scholars with expertise in the politics of the Middle East pointed to an intellectual gulf between Middle East studies and mainstream international and comparative political studies. Common perceptions that the Middle East experience

was too exceptional to be theory-relevant and that area studies work was excessively a-theoretical were said to be responsible for the alleged chasm. If these concerns are taken at face value, a review of research published on authoritarianism and Islamic movements in the first years of the twenty-first century in top academic presses and scholarly journals indicates that a counter trend has emerged. Middle East area experts are increasingly making use of theoretical frameworks produced by non-Middle East specialists. There is, however, variation in how well disciplinary social science analytical tools are applied and in the significance of various works to theory-building. More emphasis on theory-testing and construction (rather than just theory application) as well as cross-regional and cross-cultural comparisons will increase the comparative value of works produced by Middle East area studies specialists and will add to their visibility in the discipline at large.

2. Missing Our Comparative Advantage? Analysis from the Human Rights Frontier
by Paola Cesarini* and Shareen Hertel† *Providence College
†University of Connecticut

ABSTRACT

The ever-widening application of "rights"-based discourse and practice worldwide raises critical research questions which comparative politics scholars are uniquely well-suited to analyze. Yet comparativists often shy away from human rights inquiry. The authors of this article explore the professional deterrents and intellectual challenges that lie behind this paradox. Drawing on their expertise on transitional justice and economic rights, they also indicate concrete ways in which the mass, scope and depth of comparative politics scholarship on human rights could be significantly increased.

3. The Internationalization of Ethnic Conflict: State, Society, and Synthesis by David Carment*, Patrick James† and Zeynep Taydas‡
*Carleton University †University of Southern California ‡Clemson University

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this review is to identify a framework for understanding the internationalization of ethnic conflict. We examine three approaches that purport to explain escalation—namely extension, interaction, and transformation—and emphasize the fact that each theory by itself lacks full explanatory power. Synthesis that focuses on factors from state and society, which shape the decision to become involved in ethnic strife is essential. Examination of the preceding factors reveals that institutional configurations and ethnic composition indeed do limit future options available to states and influence the distribution of capabilities among leaders of groups. The main conclusion of this essay is that ethnic diversity in a society and high constraint on state action are optimal conditions for overcoming insecurity.

4. International Relations as Rhetorical Discipline: Toward (Re-)Newing Horizons
by Markus Kornprobst* Diplomatic Academy of Vienna

ABSTRACT

International Relations takes it all too often for granted that different scholarly sub-communities in the field are incommensurable and, therefore, that the erosion of the community of International Relations scholars is inevitable. I present a three-fold argument against this inevitability: First, International Relations is much better understood as a field of overlapping horizons than a discipline of incommensurable paradigms. Second, the most consequential overlap is epistemological. This overlap is constituted by very specific rhetorical understandings of epistemology that come remarkably close to the Aristotelian Rhetoric and Philosophical Sophistic. International Relations is a rhetorical discipline. Third, dialogue is able to seize the opportunities for communication across different horizons within and beyond International Relations—making it a lively and open discipline instead of a constellation of hermetically sealed and self-referential sub-communities.

5.Global Civil Society and Democratization of World Politics: A Bona Fide Relationship or Illusory Liaison by Mariya Y. Omelicheva, University of Kansas

ABSTRACT

For over a decade, scholars have been studying and debating the role and influence of non-state actors in democratizing global politics. The sheer volume of studies calls for assessing the current state of this area of research. It also invites systematic analysis of differences in the collected evidence on outcomes of the democratizing efforts of global civil society associations. In this review, I (1) expound the concept of global civil society and point to definitional dilemmas surrounding this term; (2) propose a new analytical framework for examining an association between global civil society and democratization; (3) apply the proposed framework for assessing the findings of empirical studies; (4) discuss the nature of differences and the sources of discord in the analysts' conclusions; and (5) make recommendations for advancing our knowledge in this important area of research. A principal theme that runs throughout this essay is that the field of global civil society and democratization has ample avenues for further conceptual, theoretical, and empirical work. Our ability to speak credibly of global civil society as a viable democratizing force would be improved with the development of empirical theory, conceptual elaboration, and more rigorous methodologies of research.

6.Mapping Alternative Models of Global Politics by Raffaele Marchetti, Luiss University and John Cabot University

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the principal competing visions of global politics that are currently advanced in the public discourse about globalization in opposition to the traditional state-centered perspective. The first part of the paper develops an analysis of ideal models as cultural resources that grounds the different reading of human bonds. The second part applies the notion of ideal models to the new scenario of globalization, and

identifies four alternative interpretations of the notion of global politics: namely Neoliberalism, Cosmopolitanism, Alter-globalism, and Dialogue among Civilizations. The principal characteristics of these four notions are presented in order to map the current debate on the future of global politics.

Foreign Policy Analysis Vol.5, No.2, April 2009

1. Busting Drugs While Paying With Crime: The Collateral Damage of U.S. Drug Enforcement in Foreign Countries by Horace A. Bartilow¹ and Kihong Eom²
¹ The University of Kentucky ² Kyungpook National University

Abstract: The "Americanization" of the global drug war is now synonymous with the global expansion of the United States (U.S.) Drug Enforcement Administration's (DEA) drug enforcement operations in foreign countries. Recent research posits that the rise in violent crime in Latin America is the "collateral damage" of the "Americanization" of drug enforcement in the region. However, the causal inference of the "collateral damage" thesis is biased because drug enforcement and violent crime in Latin America are endogenously related. This research corrects this bias in two ways. First, we collect data for cases to which the endogenous bias does not apply. Namely, we ask what effect does the operations of the DEA, specifically trafficker immobilization and drug interdiction, have on violent and property crimes in Central American and Caribbean countries where drug producing cartels and narco-insurgent organizations are not indigenous to the political landscape? Second, we estimate the data via a structural equation model. The results lend support to the collateral damage hypothesis. The DEA's coordinated drug enforcement operations contribute to increasing the level of violent and property crimes in the region.

2. The Political Survival of Foreign Ministers Alejandro Quiroz Flores¹
¹ New York University

ABSTRACT

The survival of governments ultimately depends on the survival of its components. These components are politicians whose goal is to stay in office. There has been extensive research on the survival of leaders, but not on the survival of other politicians in government; and even less on how the survival of one affects the survival of the others. The purpose of this article is to take the first step in this direction by analyzing and precisely measuring the impact of the tenure of leaders on the tenure of foreign ministers. This article provides a systematic and formal investigation of the variables that affect the duration in office of foreign ministers. The investigation is based on a new data base on the tenure of more than 7,500 foreign ministers spanning three centuries. Although evidence shows that political institutions have significant impact on the tenure of foreign ministers, internal coalition dynamics such as affinity and loyalty toward a leader, uncertainty, and time dependence are better predictors of their political survival.

3.A Pragmatic Response to an Unexpected Constraint: Problem Representation in a Complex Humanitarian Emergency By Thomas Knecht ¹

¹ University of Denver

ABSTRACT

This paper elaborates a model of problem representation first presented by [Billings and Hermann \(1998\)](#). The foreign policy process begins when decision-makers specify policy goals and identify relevant constraints in response to a perceived problem. Although this initial problem representation often sets the course for subsequent policy, unanticipated constraints can arise that catch decision makers off-guard. Finding themselves in a context they did not anticipate to be in, decision makers may choose to alter their representation of the problem and/or change the course of policy. Billings and Hermann offer one piece of this puzzle by examining how decision makers re-represent problems; this paper provides the second piece by assessing how policies, not representations, change in response to new constraints. A case study of the U.S. response to the Ethiopian famine in the mid 1980s demonstrates that policy does not always follow problem representation.

4. Empathy and Strategic Interaction in Crises: A Poliheuristic Perspective by Jonathan W. Keller ¹ and Yi Edward Yang ^{1 1} James Madison University

Abstract: Empirical evidence supports the poliheuristic (PH) theory of decision making, which states that leaders typically employ a two-stage non-compensatory decision-making process. In stage one leaders reject options that do not meet some minimum criteria of acceptability on one or more dimensions, and in stage two they choose among the remaining options using a more rational utility-maximizing rule. While PH theory has primarily been applied at the monadic level, to explain the process and content of states' decisions, we contend it has important implications for strategic interaction and can help to explain outcomes in world politics. Specifically, we argue that a crucial variable shaping crisis outcomes is the degree to which leaders' non compensatory decision criteria in stage one include options' acceptability to the opponent. When leaders empathize with their opponent and screen out those options the opponent considers unacceptable, crises will be resolved more quickly and with a lower likelihood of escalation. Empathy introduced during the second, utility-maximizing stage, may also dampen conflict but is less effective than stage one empathy. We illustrate this dyadic non compensatory model by examining two cases involving the U.S.–China and U.S.–Iraq bilateral relationships.

5. Filling the Void of Meaning: Identity Construction in U.S. Foreign Policy After September 11, 2001 by Dirk Nabers ^{1 1} German Institute of Global and Area Studies

ABSTRACT

The paper aims to shed light on the conceptual link between international crises such as the one following September 11, 2001, and processes of identity construction through foreign policy. Crisis and identity construction are conceptualized as constant political phenomena. The political process is constituted by meaningful acts of social agents, and can thus only be grasped by analyzing meaning. Meaning is transmitted by language. Meaningful language is never reducible to individual speakers; it is a social act. The sum of articulatory practices in a social field is called discourse. Linking Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with the theory of hegemony developed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, I will be able to show how hegemonic discourses serve as the nexus between the discursive construction of crises and identity change. A number of problems will be acknowledged when linking these two strands of thinking, as CDA and Laclauian theory work with tentatively different conceptions of discourse. The construction of the "war on terror" by the Bush administration between September 2001 and May 2003 is used as a case to illustrate the theoretical argument.

Third World Quarterly Vol.30, No.5, 2009

Remapping Development Studies: contemporary critical perspectives

1.Critical Development Theory: moving out of the twilight zone by Author: **Frans J. Schuurman** ^a Centre for International Development Issues Nijmegen (cidin), Radboud University, Nijmegen, The Netherlands

Abstract

Since the onslaught of neoliberal triumphalism from the 1980s onwards, critical development theory increasingly found itself in a sort of academic twilight zone. With few exceptions development research became characterised by an emphasis on empiricism, quantitative methodologies and policy-oriented project evaluations. Interpreting Third World problems in terms of the inner logic and shifting contradictions of a globalising capitalism was limited to those situated in the critical theory twilight zone. However, a process of rethinking development research set in some time ago. This process has been accelerating since the end of 2008, when neoliberalism started to lose most of its triumphalism because of the globalising financial and economic crisis. The current article focuses specifically on a number of challenges which have to be faced by critical theory when leaving the twilight zone.

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Political Research Quarterly Vol.62, No.2, June 2009

1.Breaking Bonds? The Iraq War and the Loss of Republican Dominance in National Security By **Hannah Goble** University of Wisconsin-Madison,

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Abstract: For decades, Americans have trusted the Republicans over the Democrats to handle national security issues, by a wide margin. Over the Bush presidency, that gap has disappeared. The authors explore the causes and consequences of this loss and suggest several new avenues for research on issue ownership. Findings indicate that Bush's handling of the Iraq war has played a decisive role in diminishing the Republican Party's reputational advantage on national security. This has had significant electoral repercussions both for the president and his copartisans in Congress.

Key Words: issue ownership • electoral behavior • political parties • policy performance
• Iraq war • George W. Bush

2. Running on Iraq or Running from Iraq? Conditional Issue Ownership in the 2006 Midterm Elections by David A. Dulio **Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan;**
Peter F. Trumbore **Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan,**
ptrumbor@oakland.edu

Abstract: The authors examine the role of Iraq as a campaign issue in the 2006 midterm elections, analyzing more than 400 television advertisements produced by ninety-four candidates in forty-seven competitive races for the U.S. House of Representatives. Generally, the authors find that the issue of the war was not as central an element of candidate appeals as the conventional wisdom and media storyline leading up to Election Day implied. On the issue of Iraq, as well as other issues central to 2006, the authors find evidence that challengers pursued different issue strategies than either incumbents or open-seat candidates of the same party.

3. Pluralism, Relativism, and Liberalism by Matthew J. Moore **Cal Poly State University, San Luis Obispo, California,** mmoore02@calpoly.edu

Abstract: One major focus of recent value-pluralist literature has been the question of what normative consequences follow from pluralism. This essay critically examines three arguments that attempt to show that either liberalism or a bounded modus vivendi is the state of affairs that pluralism makes morally preferable. All three arguments are shown to encounter the same fundamental problem—once we have agreed that values and sets of values are unrankable, any effort to claim that one such set is morally preferable will inevitably contradict value pluralism, either explicitly or implicitly. If this is correct, it seems that pluralism leads to relativism.

4. Diverse Disparities : The Politics and Economics of Wage, Market, and Disposable Income Inequalities by Pablo Beramendi **Duke University;** Thomas R. Cusack, **Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung**

Abstract: It is widely thought that among the countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), income inequality has become more widespread

over the past decades. The authors show that this image is misleading. The OECD countries remain more diverse in their distributions of labor earnings and disposable income than they are in their distributions of market income. The larger and persistent cross-national variation in the distributions of work-related earnings and disposable income is attributable to the role of political actors (such as unions and political parties) as well as economic institutions. The way in which political parties are able to pursue their goals varies across forms of income. Political parties' capacities to shape the distribution of labor earnings is contingent on the degree of wage-bargaining coordination. In turn, political parties directly affect the distribution of disposable income through their choices about fiscal instruments.

5. Relative Extremism and Relative Moderation Strategic Party Positioning in Democratic Systems by Paul V. Warwick **Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C., Canada,**

Abstract: This article investigates the ways in which parties stake out left—right positions that deviate from the mean positions of their supporters. Previous research has shown that parties tend to adopt positions that are more extreme than those of their supporters, but there are at least two arguments that also imply the presence of relative moderation—a tendency for moderate parties to be more moderate than their supporters. Using surveys covering 34 countries compiled by the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, this investigation shows that parties in coalitional systems display both phenomena.

6. Spatial Proximity to the U.S.—Mexico Border and Newspaper Coverage of Immigration Issues by Regina P. Branton **Rice University;** Johanna Dunaway **Louisiana State University**

Abstract: This article examines how geographic proximity to the U.S.—Mexico border influences newspaper coverage of immigration issues. The authors investigate two questions: Do media organizations spatially proximate to the border offer more frequent coverage of Latino immigration than media organizations farther removed from the border? Do media organizations spatially proximate to the border offer more frequent coverage of the negative aspects of immigration than media organizations farther removed from the border? We find that news organizations closer to the border generate a higher volume of articles about Latino immigration, articles featuring the negative aspects of immigration, and articles regarding illegal immigration.

7. New Evidence for the Theory of Groups **Trade Association Lobbying in Washington, D.C** by Jeffrey M. Drope **Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin;** Wendy L. Hansen

Abstract: Group theorists led by Olson have observed that common interests do not produce collective action, except under conditions that overcome the free-rider incentive. While collective action theories have captured the imagination of the discipline, there has been surprisingly little examination of the relationship between business collective action and patterns of market structures. Research has instead focused more on firm-level

political activity. Accordingly, this research addresses the original theoretical propositions by examining industry associations' political activity nationally. Some forty years after the formulation of the theoretical argument, we find evidence supporting the logic of collective action. More concentrated industries are likelier to have politically active associations than more competitive industries.

8. The Contract with America and Conditional Party Government in State Legislatures By Richard A. Clucas Mark O. Hatfield School of Government, Portland State University, Oregon,

Abstract: This study tests two theories of legislative leadership by comparing the power of majority-party leaders in states where the Republican Party adopted a state-level version of "The Contract with America" in 1994, with that of leaders in states where no contract was adopted. Using a nationwide survey of legislators to rank power, the study finds that the lower house leaders in contract states were stronger in 1995, as were those from states in which the public was ideologically polarized along partisan lines. The results provide support for conditional party government theory while expanding our knowledge of state legislative politics.

9. God Talk Religious Cues and Electoral Support By Brian Robert Calfano Missouri State University, Springfield ; Paul A. Djupe Denison University, Granville, Ohio

It was revealed in 2006 that Republican candidates employ a type of religious code in their political speeches. Their intention is to cue the support of religiously conservative voters without alienating other voters who may not share the same social issue agenda. The authors assess the efficacy of this GOP Code on the support of voters in specific religious traditions in an experimental setting. As expected, the code proves to be an effective cue for white evangelical Protestants but has no effect on mainline Protestants and Catholics. The form and function of the code expands our understanding of religious influence and broadens the spectrum of cues the electorate uses.

10. Religious Stereotyping and Voter Support for Evangelical Candidates By Monika L. McDermott Fordham University, mmcdermott@fordham.edu

Abstract: While much important research exists on the topic of religion and politics, very little exists on candidate religious affiliation and its potential effect on voters' behavior. This article addresses the issue of candidate religion from the point of view that it acts as an information cue for voters in elections through trait and belief stereotypes. Using a case study of hypothetical evangelical Christian candidates and an original experimental data set, this analysis demonstrates that voters stereotype evangelicals as more conservative than other candidates, as well as more competent and trustworthy, all else equal. These stereotypes subsequently play a significant role in voters' choices of whom to support.

11. Community Context, Personal Contact, and Support for an Anti—Gay Rights Referendum By Jay Barth Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas; L. Marvin Overby

University of Missouri, Columbia, Scott H. Huffmon Winthrop University, Rock Hill, South Carolina,

Abstract: Using data from an unusual survey, we gauge factors influencing support for a state anti—gay rights referendum. After controlling for other powerful predictors of attitudes, we find personal contact (especially relevant and voluntary contact) has an important impact on public support, although community context does not. These findings support an integrated notion of interactions with "out" groups, grounded in social categorization theory, that sees community context and interpersonal contact as concentric circles, moving from abstract, detached forms of contact to more pronounced, personal forms. However, even among those with substantial interpersonal contact, support for the referendum was still widespread.

12.The Federalist Society's Influence on the Federal Judiciary by Nancy Scherer, Wellesley College and Banks Miller, The Ohio State University, miller.3676@polisci.osu.edu

Only twenty-five years after its founding, the Federalist Society today boasts a nationwide membership including renowned attorneys, politicians, policy makers, and jurists. Although the Society maintains that it is not a political organization, liberal political activists claim the Society has long pursued an ambitious—and extremely conservative—political agenda. In this article we ask: do members of the Federalist Society decide cases in a more conservative manner than other nonmember jurists? Using data on decision making in the U.S. Courts of Appeals, we find Federalist Society members are significantly more conservative than nonmembers and examine the long-term implications of our study.

International Political Sociology Vol.03, No.1, March 2009

1.Security Beyond the State: Global Security Assemblages in International Politics by Rita Abrahamsen* and Michael C. Williams, University of Ottawa

ABSTRACT

To date, most discussion of security privatization in international politics has been focused on the role of private military companies and mercenaries. This article seeks to shift the focus away from the battlefields and toward the less spectacular privatization and globalization of commercial private security. Drawing on Saskia Sassen's notion of state "disassembly," we situate the growth of private security within broader shifts in global governance. Pointing to the weakness of seeing the rise of private security as an erosion of state power and authority, we show instead a re-articulation of the public/private and global/local distinctions and relationships into what we term "global security assemblages." Analyzing the role of private security in two such assemblages in

Sierra Leone and Nigeria, we show how a range of different security agents and normativities interact, cooperate and compete, to produce new institutions, practices and forms of security governance. Global security assemblages thus mark important developments in the relationship between security and the sovereign state, structures of political power and authority, and the operations of global capital.

2.A Heterotopian Analysis of Maritime Refugee Incidents by Michele Budz,
University of California

ABSTRACT

Given the persistent significance of states in the determination of legal identities of people on the move, a consideration of the construction of people as legal (or illegal) migrants, refugees, or asylum-seekers must also recognize that these determinations take place in conjunction with the simultaneous processes through which spaces such as sovereign states or ships carrying asylum-seekers are constructed. A heterotopian analysis of the Tampa and the SIEVX of 2001 allows for a consideration of the ways in which notions of sovereignty, territory and governmentality work to stabilize ambiguous situations produced by the conflictual discourses of human rights and state power.

3.The Child Soldier in North-South Relations/ by Lorraine Macmillan, University of Cambridge

ABSTRACT

This paper critiques the hegemonic constructions of child soldiers to be found in civil society and Anglophone media accounts. Close examination of these texts reveals that the discourse mirrors Anglophone imaginaries and preoccupations over childhood rather than the distinctive concerns of child soldiers themselves. It claims that the discourse accomplishes considerable political work in buttressing the international order between the global North and South. Furthermore, it asserts that the discourse operates as a site where wider Anglophone fears over the functioning of its personal, "private" sphere can be rehearsed and disciplined.

4. Critiquing Liberal Cosmopolitanism? The Limits of the Biopolitical Approach by David Chandler University of Westminster

ABSTRACT

Today there is a widespread recognition of the erosion of political community on the territorial basis of the nation-state. Instead, alternative framings of "being" political or of engaging in politics have argued for a more radical post-territorial space of political possibilities, of what it means to be political, and of how we envision political community. Through focusing on the two dominant articulations of post-territorial political community, liberal cosmopolitan and radical poststructuralist approaches, this article seeks to analyze the possibilities and limitations inherent in the search for political

community beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. The aspiration to engage in, construct, or recognize the existence of a post-territorial political community, a community of broader humanity, has been articulated in liberal terms as cosmopolitanism, driven by global civil society, and in poststructuralist terms as "political cosmopolitanism," "cosmopolitanism-to-come" or the "solidarity of the governed," given its force by the creativity of the resistance to liberal universalism of the "multitude." This article seeks to draw out the similarities between these two contrasting approaches, ostensibly based upon either the extension of or the critique of liberal political ontologies.

5. From Process to Politics by Xavier Guillaume, University of Geneva

ABSTRACT

Many international relations (IR) theories examining the identity/alterity nexus share a dichotomized vision of the social and political reality sustaining their approach to "identity" by dividing the latter into either its "corporate" or its "social" dimension. This dichotomized conception of the social and political falls into what Norbert Elias termed "process-reduction," a fallacy leading to an isolation and essentialization of certain aspects of processes and bracketing the inherent eventness of the "international." This paper will theoretically identify the shortcomings of this dichotomized vision and then provide an empirical narration of what a non-dichotomized conception can look like and consider how it provides us with a more acute rendering of the social and political dimensions of collective political identity formation and politics of representation. To do so, a dialogical understanding of the variety of constellations of collective political identities that have informed questions regarding multiculturalism ranging from the Tokugawa (1603–1867) to the Taishō (1912–1926) eras in Japan will be developed.

6. Toward a Sociology of the International? International Relations between Anarchy and World Society by Oliver Kessler, University of Bielefeld

ABSTRACT

To develop a sociology of the international, it is common in international relations (IR) to use a notion of inter-subjectivity defined as the space "in-between" individual actors. This approach is based on a parts/whole systems theory where common norms and values inscribed in international law not only create a "world society" but also provide for its social cohesion. Rooted in a parts/whole distinction, the very term of inter-subjectivity takes on a rather positivist meaning as the social quality of the international is then "measurable" and possibly even falsifiable by observing states' behavior. In the end, the inter-subjective quality of rules and norms is then ultimately reduced to the individual level. This article proposes a different avenue that breaks with the parts/whole distinction to emphasize the connectivity of communications. From this perspective, the notion of inter-subjectivity appears to be part of the problem rather than part of the solution and is thus replaced by the distinction between system and environment. The changing contours

of international law are then decoupled from states' interests to emphasize the "relative autonomy" of the legal discourse as represented in its shifting paradox and programs.