APSA-COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association

Newsletter

Volume 22, Issue I, Winter 2012

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Letter from the Editors

Comparative Politics Abroad

by Mark Hallerberg and Mark Kayser

Welcome to the Winter 2012 edition of the Comparative Politics Newsletter! We are delighted to assume the editorship and hope to continue the excellent work that the Notre Dame team did under Michael Coppedge and Anthony Messina. This is our first issue, and we are looking forward to working with many of you over the next three years.

Some sections remain much as before. The Newsletter will serve as a note of record for the awards our section has made. Like our predecessors, we very much encourage brief articles on interesting comparative politics datasets. We are also delighted to receive announcements we should make available to the section's membership.

We are also introducing a new section entitled "Heard at the Conference." It could be that a particular perspective emerged from a joint consideration of papers that bears some reflection. There may be a finding that should not wait for the long review process to be repeated and discussed. Both Caitlin Milazzo and Francesco Stolfi have made inaugural contributions. We would very much like to encourage you to submit a brief report on a panel you thought was particularly of interest at a recent conference.

Each issue will also have a common theme. In this case, several authors reflect on the state of comparative politics as practiced, researched, and taught outside of the United States. While American-trained and holding American passports, we believe that we are nevertheless the first editors of this Newsletter not based at an American institution. The US-centric nature of the Newsletter may have made sense in the 1960s; as Gabriel Almond claimed in the American Political Science Review 45 years ago, "nine out of every ten political scientists in the world today are American (1966, p. 869)." This is certainly not the case today--as Raymond Duch notes in his contribution for this issue, when thinking about all social science and humanities researchers, there are more in Europe alone today than in the United States.

This issue suggests that, when considering comparative politics in particular, the field is thriving in Asia, Australia, Latin America, and Europe.

Soo Yeon Kim discusses the internationalization of political science in Asia. She concludes that there is very much a two-way street between Asia and the US--while US scholars bring methods training, Asian-based scholars stress that the US is simply one case among many.

Anna Gauja suggests that Australian political scientists use multiple methods and take inspiration from multiple sources, be they other federations or other countries that are in nearby Asia.

Moving to Latin America, Allyson Lucinda Benton notes that there has been a qualitative bias in Mexico. Increasingly, however, more theoretical work from Mexico goes to American journals while more empirical work stays inside Mexico.

Lucio Renno considers the development of comparative politics as a field in Brazil. While political science departments generally do not offer it as a sub-field, he finds in an original survey of published articles in the country that many do in fact use the comparative method, and that comparative politics is more vibrant than one may at first think.

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Two authors discuss the study of European integration. Thomas König describes the move from treating the European Union (EU) as essentially unique to the growing realization that the EU serves as a case to test broader theories. Similarly, European scholars are moving from mostly small-n work to large-n work. As David Andrews' documentation of attendance at the European Union Studies Association conference documents, there is a shift in the last decade from Americans to Europeans in terms of who is conducting the study of this body.

Thomas Plümper generalizes some of these comments to European political science more generally. More scholars are doing large-n instead of small-n studies, and they are leaving behind one of the legacies of Arend Lijphart.

Finally, Raymond Duch discusses the growth of the institutional structure to support these developments in the form of a new organization, the European Political Science Association. It held its first conference last June in Dublin and will have the follow-up this June in Berlin. This organization is a direct response to the increasing internationalization of comparative politics, and our guess is that there will be demand for more such organizations outside of the United States in the future.

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Doing Comparative Politics Elsewhere

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The Internationalization of Political Science:

A View from Asia

by Soo Yeon Kim

The Asia of the 21st century is a most exciting destination, academic and otherwise. The rise of China, and of Asia more broadly, has encouraged the establishment of research programs across the globe, including in Asia itself, devoted to investigating the implications of the global shift in power and influence. Asia is, so to speak, where the action is at this historical moment, and for those of us based here in the region, the dynamism that attends "the rise of Asia" is palpable, whether amongst the students we teach or the colleagues we encounter in our research. The discipline of political science and its scholars have much to contribute and to gain with an active presence in Asia's universities, especially at a time when universities in Asia are increasingly seeking a global profile and a more international experience for their students.

The halls of Asian universities are well-populated by US-trained academics of both local and foreign persuasions. They exemplify the advantages of living and working in the country or region of one's research. Physical proximity does matter. Especially in the case of Asia specialists, scholars offer unparalleled local expertise based on excellent social science training and, equally important, access to a strong and extensive local network that reaches other universities, research institutions, and high levels of government. They give new meaning to the word "fieldwork," and there is no question that their physical presence has benefits, especially in countries where there still are close links between the academic community and the "real" world of politics.

Political scientists who are based in the region are also an important contact point for colleagues around the globe. They are able to provide on-the-ground information regarding the availability of data for research in a way that facilitates and promotes research and the exchange of academic dialogue. Thus the "internationalization" of political science intensifies the advantages of having colleagues on the ground in the countries and regions of one's research.

... the study of comparative politics outside of the United States means treating the United States as one of many cases rather than as a basis for comparison.

Living and working in Asia is also a sobering experience. There is definitely a self-selection process at work for political scientists making the courageous (and often personally contentious) choice to uproot their professional and personal lives to move across the world to a non-Western country and, in some cases, a country outside the advanced industrial world.

Doing so yields two important insights. First, among the important first lessons I learned in my first months here is the realization of a strong US-centric perspective on my part, whether in research or teaching. As a colleague recently reminded me, the study of comparative politics outside the United States means treating the United States as one of many cases rather than as a basis for comparison. Second, while to a large extent embracing the American model of academic training, there is also much skepticism regarding the United States and its viability as a model of economic governance, especially during these "hard times." In some cases, this sentiment takes the form of anti-Americanism that is plainly observable in student attitudes or conversations with colleagues and others in the course of research.

The "internationalization" of political science, at least in Asia, is very much a two-way street. US-trained scholars bring a set of analytical tools that brings Asia and its politics into mainstream political science. At the same time, a view from Asia puts the United States and its role in international politics into perspective as we teach and conduct research in our respective locales. In doing so, we do our part in the globalization of ideas in an era of rapid and fundamental change in global politics.

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A View from the Middle
An American in Mexico

by Allyson Lucinda Benton

In a recent revealing study, Rivera and Salazar-Elena (2011) examine how Mexican political science compares to its US counterpart. Analyzing a sample of articles published in Mexico's top three political science journals (*Foro Internacional, Política y Gobierno,* and *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*) between 1990 and 2007, they find that research converges in topic but diverges in approach. The distribution of articles across subject matter tends to be similar to that in the United States with 77.9% of the articles falling into four groups: political economy (26%), political parties and elections (19%), political regime and government (17.7%), and civil society and public opinion (15.2%). This was similar to what Schedler and Mudde (2010) found for comparative politics articles published in the United States (23.9%, 18.2%, 18.2%, and 16.5%, respectively).

Rivera and Salazar-Elena also find that the approach used in Mexican publications tends to be inductive rather than deductive, that is, more descriptive and qualitative rather than theoretical and quantitative. Specifically, they report that 68.8% of the articles were descriptive rather than causal, while 91.8% were qualitative rather than quantitative. This contrasts starkly with comparative politics articles published in the United States, where Schedler and Mudde find that 56.1% of articles were quantitative in approach. (The authors note that this figure changes depending on the number and types of journals included, other studies find different percentages of quantitative articles in the United States. However, none of the US-based data comes near to the qualitative/quantitative distribution observed in Mexico.)

Mexican political science's qualitative bias does not imply that Mexican-based academics are isolated from disciplinary trends in the United States, nor does it imply that US political science is cut off from Mexican research. Much of the empirically-oriented research published in Mexico in Spanish finds its widest audience among academics in Mexico and other Latin American nations, while much of the highly theoretical and/or quantitative research published in the United States finds its widest audience in the United States and other English-speaking nations. One need only look at the article bibliographies to note the low level of communication between these two extremes.

However, there are a growing number of scholars whose work communicates with work located at these two ends of what might be described as an inductive/qualitative – deductive/quantitative continuum. (I do not mean to imply here that deductive work is necessarily quantitative, just that this somewhat artificial continuum best describes differences between comparative politics research published in Mexico and the United States.) Many US-trained, US-based scholars (be they Mexican or not) who publish (here, on Mexican politics) in both US and Mexican journals place their more theoretical work in the United States and their more empirical work in Mexico. And, a rising number of Mexican-based scholars (be they Mexican or not) — who are often but not always trained in the United States — do the same. This could also be said for scholars working on or working in other countries in Latin America as well, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela.

Interestingly, it is just this growing and increasingly internationalized academic community whose work straddles the inductive/qualitative – deductive/quantitative divide that I suspect will make the most noteworthy contributions to the study of Mexican as well as Latin American politics and comparative politics more generally. (I allude here to some recent books, for example, on Mexican politics by American and Mexican scholars fitting into this community that have recently won prizes.) In-depth knowledge about the countries they study combined with access to the most relevant and recent theoretical and methodological tools stands to put new empirical puzzles with important theoretical implications on the research map.

This growing community will have two important effects on political science. First, it will affect research produced at the extremes of the continuum mentioned above. Scholars publishing in both the United States and Mexico (and Latin America more generally) are slowly but surely becoming reviewers for a wide array of journals abroad. The presence, for example, of Mexican-based reviewers for articles on Mexico submitted to US journals will force highly theoretical and methodologically sophisticated research to demonstrate its empirical worth, thus giving it an important reality check. A rising number of US-based reviewers for manuscripts submitted to Mexican journals will force these authors to address some of the larger theoretical debates that their work touches and to justify their methodological choices.

Second, it will have important implications for US PhD programs. It may, over time, become more difficult to publish at the extremes of the continuum, given the first point mentioned above, which means that students in US PhD programs may be forced to supplement their strong theoretical and methodological training with much more fieldwork overseas than has been the case in recent years. This implies a further evolution in US graduate student education and, importantly, financing, lest the field produce students unable to publish in their area of study, something that could eventually lead to a shrinking number of students willing to undertake such a risk. Put another way, we are in the midst of what could be described as the globalization of comparative politics, something that should naturally be the case.

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Comparative Politics from an Australian Perspective

by Anika Gauja

How an outside observer might view the study of comparative politics in Australia will inherently depend on the observer's own conception of the field – in particular, the parameters of what constitutes comparative politics and the most appropriate methods by which to undertake political inquiry.

Even accounting for the fact that Australian political scientists are not terribly good at reflecting on their own discipline, evidenced by the relatively few publications on the topic, very little has been written on the state of comparative politics, and in many instances it has been omitted altogether from those volumes that do exist on the social sciences in Australia. A notable exception is Leslie Holmes' chapter on comparative government and politics in Rod Rhodes' edited collection, *The Australian Study of Politics* (2009), which readers might like to consult if they are interested in the subject.

As Holmes argues, if we take the study of comparative politics to mean studies that concern the methodology of comparison, or large-scale predominantly quantitative studies of political systems, then this omission might be justified. However, if we take a broader view of what it means to study comparative politics (as Australian scholars tend to do), then the vibrancy of the sub-discipline becomes far more apparent. What currently characterizes comparative politics in Australia is the pluralistic and inclusive nature of the field, which embraces both small and large-N case studies and mixed methods approaches.

Australian scholars have made significant contributions to comparative political inquiry in numerous areas, including communist and post-communist studies, democratization and transition politics, studies of China and South East Asian polities, federalism, elite politics, civil society, public policy, and theories of democratic legitimacy.

The way in which the study of comparative politics is approached in Australia is in very large part a product of the distinctive characteristics and history of the profession. These include the relatively small size of the political science community of scholars, Australia's geographic location, cultural and political heritage, higher education and research funding priorities, a traditional concern for good public administration and the practical applications of political science research, the methodological preferences and ideological orientations of individual researchers, and a traditional aversion to highly quantitative methodologies.

Australian political sciences's strong contribution to studies of the South East Asian states and those of the Pacific, particularly China, Fiji, Indonesia, Singapore, Japan, and South Korea is reflective of its location in the world and the nation's changing economic and diplomatic ties.

Australian scholars have typically approached comparative politics in several main ways: through what could be classified as area studies and the in-depth analysis of particular political systems, the analysis of regions or sub-groupings of states, and the comparison of specific aspects of a political system across states (for example, institutions such as parliaments and executives).

The states and groupings that have tended to interest Australian scholars the most are reflective of these disciplinary characteristics. For example, comparative analyses with federated democracies such as Canada and the United States, and those with shared political traditions (the United Kingdom, New Zealand and other Commonwealth nations) have been driven by professional concerns for optimum institutional design, citizen engagement, and effective public policy. The focus on communist and post-communist systems and democratization can be originally traced back to the ideological orientations of its founding scholars. Australian political science's strong contribution to studies of the South East Asian states and those of the Pacific, particularly China, Fiji, Indonesia, Singapore, Japan, and South Korea is reflective of its location in the world and the nation's changing economic and diplomatic ties.

Comparative political science in Australia will continue to be shaped by the evolving nature of the discipline. As global hiring practices change and we observe a much greater 'internationalization' of faculty staff, postgraduate training and teaching, global mobility will foster (and is already contributing to) the dissemination and uptake of more methodological approaches in Australia (including more large scale quantitative studies) and an interest in a wider range of nation states that reflect individual researchers' previous research, training, and even their own personal backgrounds. However, the origins of the discipline in Australia and its developmental trajectory over time will ensure that diversity and pluralism remain the key characteristics of the study of comparative politics Down Under.

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Comparative Politics in Brazil:

The State of the Art

by Lucio Rennó

Comparative politics should not be a major area of concentration for Brazilian political scientists. None of the major graduate programs in the country offers comparative politics as a field of study, no specific courses on comparative methods have been offered in the recent past, there are no manuals in Portuguese explaining the comparative method, and there is absolutely no funding for graduate students to do fieldwork abroad and little or none for researchers with PhDs. Surprisingly, as will be shown below, there is more published research in comparative politics in Brazil than one would expect, given the grim scenario painted above. What, then, is the state of the art in the study of comparative politics in Brazil?

To answer this question, it is necessary to define what comprises comparative politics and what the criteria are to analyze the political science production on the topic in Brazil. The latter is an easier task: this analysis will focus on empirically oriented articles and books published in the last five years in Brazil.

Regarding articles, the analysis will quantify comparative politics production in top peer-reviewed journals in Brazil: *Dados, Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, *Brazilian Political Science Review*, *Revista de Opinião Pública* and the *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política*. Of these, the first two are interdisciplinary, publishing anthropological and sociological articles as well. Still, they are very important venues for the dissemination of political science studies.

The count of articles will be based on the title and abstract, so there is some space for error in coding. In this sense, the count may underestimate the number of comparative studies if the abstract and title do not clearly indicate the methodological approach adopted. The analysis of books is a bit harder. It will be based on a less systematic search on the catalogues of key publishers (FGV Press, UFMG Press, Edusp, Elsevier, Anablume). In all of these, the analysis will focus on indicating the frequency in which Brazil-based political scientists publish comparative pieces and on what topics.

But first, it is necessary to define the object of the search: research on comparative politics. A starting point to define comparative politics is Lijphart's seminal 1971 article in which he defines comparative politics as the empirically-oriented test and proposition of valid generalizations about the relationship between variables, focusing on analyzing the behavior of qualitative variables in a small number of cases. Therefore, the comparative method is different from the experimental, statistical, and case study methods. It focuses on the analysis of a small number of cases, necessarily including more than one (otherwise it is a case study) and less than what is considered sufficient to apply the statistical method, which is based on the analysis of large samples or populations. What exactly the upper bound for the number of cases to differentiate between comparative politics and statistical work is, is hard to define and yet unclear in the literature.

Comparative politics should not be a major concentration for Brazilian political scientists.

This issue, in fact, is related to the problem of the units of analysis in the study of comparative politics. Ragin argues that the comparative method is the study of large macrosocial units, which should be identified by name, concretizing them, and studied qualitatively, focusing on identifying the constellations, configurations, and conjunctures of explanations for given phenomenon (1987, 2008). He disagrees with Przeworksi and Teune's (1970) multilevel definition of comparative politics, in which comparisons include analysis between and within political systems and the goal is to substitute country names by variables. These authors include the statistical analysis of many cases as part of the comparative method when more than one system or subsystem are included in the analysis. This strategy is associated with the most-different system design approach to comparison.

Given the lack of agreement on the above issues, this study will define comparative politics as studies that involve two or more cases, quantitatively or qualitatively analyzed, necessarily incorporating some aggregate unit of analysis (a composition of individual level variables). Hence, a large-N, cross-national empirical study will be considered comparative politics here, as will the study of subnational aggregate units, such as states or municipalities within a single country. Following Przeworksi and Teune's multilevel proposition, the study of individuals, embedded in more than one political system and context measured at a more aggregate level of analysis, will also be considered a comparative study.

Granted: This is a very broad definition. Therefore, it might be necessary to delineate what is not a comparative study. For instance, the analysis of political behavior at the individual level within a single aggregate unit, such as voting behavior studies of a single country or the analysis of a single institution (Congress, for instance) within a single country without consideration of comparison with other countries is not considered a comparative politics study by the standards established here. A study of a single case is also excluded from the definition, even if it is theoretically related and contrasted with other cases. In this way, the proposed approach is much stricter than the broad definition of comparative politics proposed by Peters (1998), which, under certain conditions, includes single case studies as part of the comparative method .

The Brazilian production of published

articles in peer-reviewed journals using the comparative method as it is understood above varies by periodical. The *Brazilian Political Science Review*, the only Brazilian journal published in English, is a main outlet for comparative politics research in Brazilian academia. Its outward orientation, aiming at dissemination to the international community research on politics conducted in Brazil, may explain the emphasis on comparative studies (which would be more appealing to researchers outside of Brazil who are not necessarily interested in Brazilian politics per se). *Dados*, a very traditional journal in Brazilian social sciences with a significant emphasis on sociology and political science, is the second most important source for comparative studies. Given that *Dados* is not exclusively a political science journal, if one were to consider only politics articles within *Dados*, the proportion of comparative pieces would be even higher. On the other hand, the low concentration of comparative studies in journals exclusively oriented to political science indicates a greater emphasis of these journals on Brazilian politics.

In comparison, in the 2009/2010 *American Political Science Review*, the leading journal in the profession, 38% of the articles were on comparative politics, followed by 24% in American politics, 16% in normative theory and 14% in international relations (Rogowski 2011). Hence, even though there are more publications in comparative politics in Brazil than one expects at first, it still significantly lags behind in comparative perspective with the United States. Not to mention that there are no journals exclusively oriented toward comparative politics in Brazil, whereas abroad one should mention at least the journals *Comparative Political Studies* and *Comparative Politics*.

The articles using the comparative method published in the last five years in Brazil, 55 in all, cover a very wide range of topics, making it hard to classify all of them. However, there is some focus on social capital and political culture, political parties, and public policies. Many of these studies engage in subnational comparisons of macrosocial units, such as states and municipalities, but there is a significant number of cross-national studies.

Table 1: Percentage of Articles Using the Comparative Method by Peer-Reviewed Journal: Brazil 2007-2011

Journal	Comparative Articles
Dados	17 (22)*
Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais	10 (14)
Opinião Pública	9 (8)
Brazilian Political Science Review	20 (8)
Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política	5 (3)

*Source: www.scielo.org, http://www.bpsr.org.br/ and http://rbcp.unb.br/. Table organized by author. *Absolute values in parenthesis.*

Regarding books, it is extremely difficult to evaluate the relevance of comparative studies in the catalogues of publishing houses because there are no specific series on comparative politics and very few exclusively on political science. Hence, the basis for comparison is compromised given the huge diversity of themes published. Still, it is worth mentioning that the topics treated by some of these comparative studies, both cross-nationally and subnationally, include: social capital and political culture as well as political institutions, especially legislative studies and executive-legislative relations.

Even though there are more publications in comparative politics in Brazil than one expects at first, it still significantly lags behind in comparative perspective with the United States.

Given the small investment both in training as well as in funding available for Brazilian researchers, especially graduate students, in comparative methods and politics, the results presented above indicate a significant production of comparative research in Brazil. Probably, this is a recent development in Brazilian political science academia, but further research would be necessary to clearly identify when this wave of interest in comparative politics started. Notwithstanding this fact, it is important to highlight that the use of the comparative method in the study of politics is alive and well in Brazil.

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From Europe's Sui Generis Toward Comparative Research on European and American Politics

by Thomas König

For a long time, research on European integration has been a substantial part of the international relations literature. After World War II, scholars "theorized" about the so-called sui generis project of regional integration among European countries, which were competing and fighting against each other over centuries. Prominent scholars, such as Ernst Haas, Stanley Hoffmann, Karl W. Deutsch, Leon Lindberg, and Stuart Scheingold, followed by Robert Keohane and Andrew Moravcsik dominated the intellectual debate on this reform project until the 1980s when the European Union (EU) moved toward a political system. This system started to apply majority voting on the proposals of the European Commission in the central voting body of the Council of Ministers, whereby the European Parliament became increasingly involved in decision making. This transformed the EU into a bicameral legislature, in which checks-and-balances became typical for the federal organization of politics.

This development also shifted the scholarly focus from theorizing about regional integration to analytical politics of EU policy making (Aspinwall and Schneider 2000). Scholars from both sides of the Atlantic like Geoffrey Garrett, George Tsebelis, Bernard Steunenberg, and Christoph Crombez—employing tools from game theory—started to analyze the implications of procedural reforms, which were introduced by the Maastricht (1993), Amsterdam (1999), and Nice (2003) treaties. They rejected the sui generis view of the EU by specifying the mechanism design of each procedure, which provide drafting, amending, and veto powers among the legislative actors (König and Pöter 2001) respectively, monitoring and sanctioning rights to the European Commission and the European Court of Justice for guaranteeing compliance (Carrubba et al. 2006, König and Mäder 2012). Although these reforms increased the similarities to the federal organization of American politics, the scholarly debate centered around a so-called democratic deficit that points to the weak electoral nexus of the EU (Moravcsik 2002, Follesdal and Hix 2006, König 2008).

By expanding scale and scope of policy making, the EU has become an excellent laboratory for large-N comparative research where a variety of countries ([…]) must adopt and implement the same policy.

The last attempt of international relations scholars to revitalize the sui generis idea on the EU came from the constructivist school of thought, which questioned that the political leaders of the EU choose the structure of the game and pursue their own policy interests. Instead, constructivists claimed that a) *governmental elites choose specific policies, policy ideas, strategies, and concrete interests because they are consistent with more general, deeper, collectively held ideas or discourses,* and that b) *these underlying ideas and discourses change only at rare 'critical junctures,' which arise in response to political crises.* Scholarly contributions could not settle this debate on empirical grounds, but the events around the constitutional treaty—which was proposed to replace the unpopular Nice treaty after deep reform discourses of the EU's political elite in a constitutional convention—call the empirical implications of the constructivist claims into question (Tsebelis and Proksch 2007).

Over more than eight years, the political leaders of the EU finagled a reform of the political system using every insight from Thomas Schelling's strategic literature: they announced an unprecedented number of 11 referendums to ratify the constitutional proposal, sacrificed thereby the set of interstate bargaining solutions, manipulated referendum campaigns for own electoral interests, withdrew or overruled negative referendums and finally signed a new treaty, which removed any reference to a collectively held idea from the original constitutional proposal, including the Charter on Human Rights (Hug and Schulz 2007, König and Finke 2009). Similar to the history of the American founding fathers, this process is a prime example for scholars interested in constitution building, social choice, and strategic reform making in which a large number of actors with veto power and diverse interests finagled a change of the status quo (Finke et al. 2012).

This political development is accompanied by a change of the scientific community in Europe. Typically, the first European comparative studies started with exploring a few cases, but the time series meanwhile include more than agriculture and fishery policies because the EU is gaining more and more power for important policy areas such as trade, internal market, and—last not least in the eurozone—monetary and currency policies (König et al. 2006). By expanding scale and scope of policy making, the EU has become an excellent laboratory for large-N comparative research where a variety of countries (from rich to poor, large to small, unitary to federal, parliamentarian to presidential, minority to oversized coalitions, established to transitory democracies etc.) must adopt and implement the same policy. This means that comparative scholars can investigate Plott's prominent formula, according to which outcomes result from the interaction between preferences and institutions (plus error), without variation in the outcome.

For the evaluation of the empirical

implications of theories, Europe provides a growing arsenal of sources and tools. More and more datasets exist which document the institutional characteristics for the different stages and levels of legislative, implementation, and compliance decision making in Europe. These datasets document the institutional characteristics of policy making at the European and member state level (Brouard et al. 2012). Regarding preferences, scholars can profit from growing archives of public opinion surveys and electoral studies, which regularly document the responses of the constituents to the EU (http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm http://www.ees-homepage.net/), expert surveys (Benoit and Laver 2006, Hooghe et al. 2010) and textual analyses which generate agenda-related preferences—including national and European political parties—for a wide range of policy areas over time (König and Luig 2012).

> ***For the evalution of empirical implications of theories, Europe provides a growing arsenal of sources and tools.***

A current example for applying this new perspective on American and European politics would be the comparative study of governmental liabilities and public debts—a phenomenon well known outside the eurozone not only in countries like Japan and the United Kingdom, but also within the United States. The ongoing worldwide crisis suggests a closer inspection of the reasons for success and failure of reform making within countries. Governments and leaders from highly-indebted eurozone countries such as Greece, Italy, Ireland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Spain have already had to step down and to call for early elections because they were lacking reform credibility. More-solid eurozone countries are demanding further reforms for political federalization before accepting a federalization of governmental liabilities and public debts.

In the end, it is possible that the crisis will establish a closer electoral nexus in Europe between political leaders and their constituents. From this viewpoint, it will be interesting to compare whether and to what extent governmental liabilities and their relationship to the reform credibility of political leaders are of electoral concern in the United States—not only at the federal level but also in US state decision making and elections.

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The Study of the European Union by US Scholars: On the Rise or in Decline?

by David M. Andrews

For some years now, the conventional wisdom has been that the study of the European Union is booming in the United States.[1] In fact, the opposite is true. Fewer US scholars self-identify as EU experts now than a decade ago, and leading US journals of international relations devoted less space to integration topics in the first decade of the 21st century than they did during the 1970s. It is true that EU studies has become more professionalized over the past 30 years, developing its own journals and conferences—as is also true of most other academic subfields.

It is also true that there was a revival of interest in EU studies during the 1990s and early 2000s. But whether counting scholars or scholarship, that resurgence was not nearly as significant as is sometimes depicted—and is now well past its peak.

In a forthcoming article in the *Journal of European Public Policy*, I develop each of these claims more fully.[2] Focusing on EU studies as practiced by political scientists based in the United States, the article employs original data sets examining the number of self-identified EU scholars, the volume of scholarship published in specialized EU studies journals, and various gauges of intellectual influence. Doing justice to the resulting analysis is impossible in this short research note. Instead, here I examine just one of these themes: the declining number of US-based scholars who self-identify as EU experts.

A good indicator of this phenomenon is participation in scholarly conferences organized by the European Union Studies Association of the USA (EUSA-USA). EUSA-USA is the oldest organization of its kind anywhere in the world and the preeminent professional association of EU scholars in the United States. Although open to scholars from multiple disciplines, its membership consists primarily of political scientists. This disciplinary imbalance has not changed significantly over the years, except perhaps to become even more pronounced.

What has changed, however, is both the size of the organization as a whole and the geographic distribution of participants in its conferences. Following the association's formation in the late 1980s, participation in the early meetings of EUSA-USA was dominated by

1 The best exposition of this view remains Keeler, John. 2005. "Mapping EU Studies: The Evolution from Boutique to Boom Field 1960-2001." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43 (3): 551-582.

2 Andrews, David M. 2012. "The Rise and Fall of EU Studies in the USA." *Journal of European Public Policy* 19. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2011.646794..

scholars from the United States. US-based scholars initially outnumbered their European counterparts by more than two to one—which was hardly surprising, since the United States was the organization's host nation. In subsequent years, however, European participation increased disproportionately. In fact, by the time EUSA-USA convened its twentieth anniversary conference in April 2009, twice as many of the participants hailed from Europe as from the United States—the exact opposite of the proportions that had obtained when the organization was born. (See Figure 1.)

Of course, attention to relative participation rates can be deceiving. Since there was more than a four-fold increase in the total number of conference attendees between 1989 and 2011, does this not suggest continuous growth in the number of participants from both the United States and Europe? In fact this is not the case: US participation peaked in 2003 and has been in steady decline since then. As a result, the number of US participants at the most recent EUSA-USA meetings (in 2009 and 2011) is almost exactly the same as it was in 1997 and 1999

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In other words, the higher levels of US participation experienced at EUSA-USA's four conferences between 2001 and 2007, at a time when US scholarly interest in the EU was surging, have now entirely disappeared. Of course the next ten years might find US interest in EU-related topics soaring, in response to some development of widespread interest—the eurozone's woes, for example. Such ebbs and flows of interest have been the recurrent pattern of both this and other fields.

If there were a resurgence of interest, the number of US-based scholars attending the meetings of EUSA-USA might similarly soar—as would other indicators of scholars identifying themselves as EU experts. In the meantime, however, EUSA-USA has primarily become a gathering place for European-based scholars of the EU: A useful function but probably not the one its founders originally had in mind.

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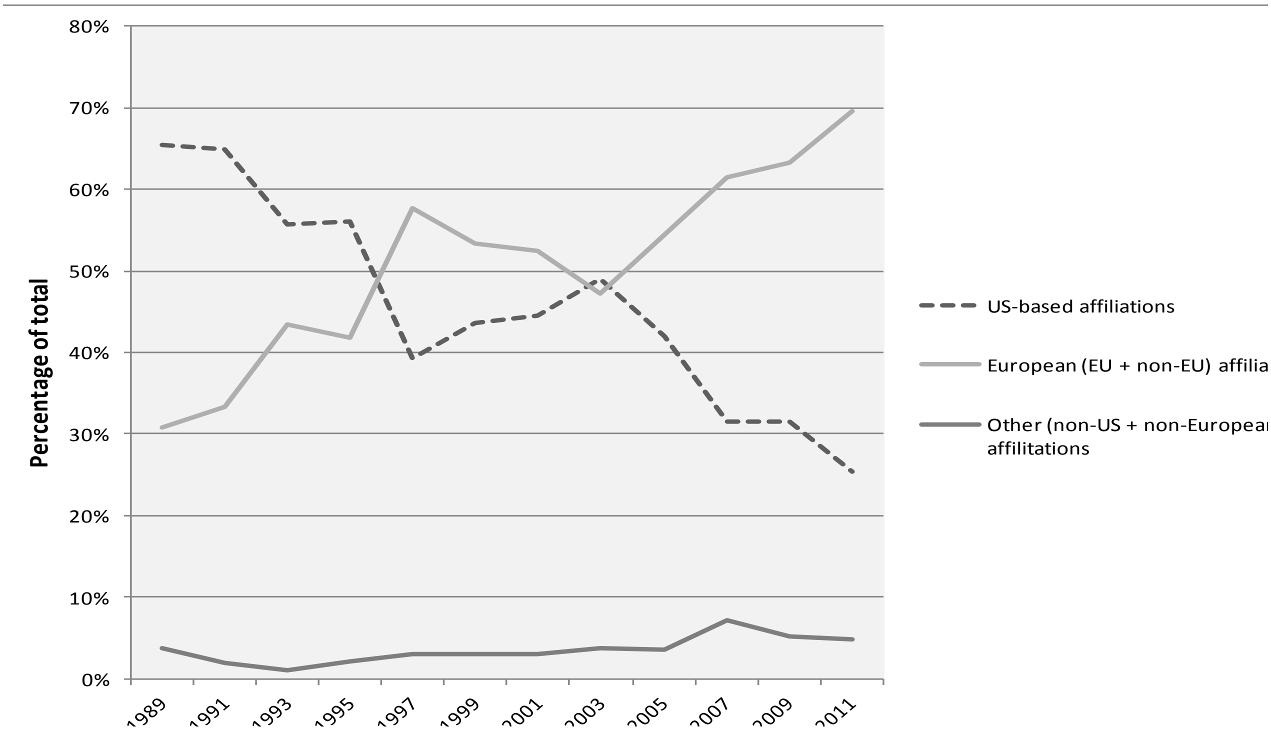
Figure 1: Participation in EUSA--USA conferences by institutional affiliation, 1989--2011



Comparative Politics in Europe

by Thomas Plümper

'Comparative politics' is a genuinely European invention. The sub-discipline was shaped by the attempt of political scientists to come to grips with the simultaneity of Western Europe's political particularism on the one hand and its (at least relative) cultural homogeneity on the other. Given the political fragmentation of Europe, European political scientists tried to explain the obvious puzzles: the diversity of political institutions across Europe; the apparent dissimilarity between continental welfare states, Scandinavian welfare states, and liberal market economies; and the important differences between economic, social, and regulatory policies across Western Europe. Still today, the comparative perspective comes naturally to European political scientists.

Yet, for many decades European political science was held back by an awkward methodological distinction that Arend Lijphart—a European by birth but an American by training—

In Europe, the comparative case study and the antagonistic interpretation of the "comparative method" and "statistical method" maintained its popularity [...] because of the lack of quantitative training and ideological (rather than merit-based) selection committees.

introduced. In an unfortunately influential paper published in the *American Political Science Review*, Lijphart distinguished three methodological traditions, that he dubs the experimental, the comparative, and the statistical methodology. Contrasting the latter two categories he claims that "the comparative method resembles the statistical method in all respects except one. The crucial difference is that the number of cases it deals with is too small to permit systematic control by means of partial correlation." (Lijphart 1971: 684) Lijphart's view was widely shared amongst European political scientists. The dominant research design of European comparative political scientists became the small-N comparison between, say, France and Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium, or the United Kingdom, France, and Germany if scholars became overly advantageous. Lijphart's methodological misbelief found far less support among American political scientists, who believed that the idea of an independent comparative method was redundant. In their view, the scientific approach is "unavoidably comparative" (Lasswell 1968: 3): "If it is a science, it goes without saying that it is comparative in its approach" (Almond 1966: 878). And increasingly, American comparativists choose quantitative methods.

Meanwhile in Europe, the comparative case study and the antagonistic interpretation of the "comparative method" and the "statistical method" maintained its popularity not because small-N comparisons proved successful, but because of the lack of quantitative training and ideological (rather than merit-based) selection committees. As a career choice, becoming quantitative was pretty dangerous as only a handful of European departments were open for methodological diversity. And this equilibrium proved to be stable.

In retrospect, it is difficult to understand why scholars believe that the number of cases determines a research methodology—as if the number of cases was exogenously given and not part of the deliberate research design. Today, political scientists certainly believe that the theory, the research question, and the data-generating process determine the choice of the method and thus eventually the number of cases.

Today, the dominance of small-N case study research in Europe is vanishing. The number of political science departments that offer quantitative training beyond the very introductory level is—though still in clear minority— increasing. The number of junior political scientists that take courses at the Essex Summer School exploded over the last decade. More and more young European political scientists attend conferences in the United States or participate at the various Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models (EITM) summer schools including the one offered in Mannheim. There may still be few, but there are certainly more political science departments than ever that fill chairs based on merit rather than a combination of ideological predispositions and network externalities.

... 30 years after the quantitative turn in comparative politics in the United States, European scholars seem to eventually bury age-old methodological misunderstandings.

In short, there is light at the end of the tunnel. 30 years after the quantitative turn in comparative politics in the United States, European scholars seem to eventually bury age-old methodological misunderstandings. It is possible that new conflict and rivalries are lurking in the dark and may be identified in the near future, but for the time being, let's just do some good work.

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European Political Science Association and the Internationalization of Political Science

by Raymond Duch

The European Political Science Association (EPSA) was formed in 2010 as the result of a workshop meeting held in Dublin on June 18-19, 2010. It held its first conference in June 16-18, 2011 in Dublin and its next two conferences are planned for June 21-23, 2012 in Berlin and June 2013 in Barcelona.

The Association was formed to promote the rigorous scientific study of politics. It encourages in its membership and its journals scientific research on significant contemporary political, economic, and social problems and policies, however controversial these may be.

One of the particularly important factors in the decision to found EPSA was our conviction that the discipline was experiencing a significant global diversification led by the increasing importance of political science in Europe but also in the other regions of the world outside of North America.

Three particular features of this globalization are the catalyst for the EPSA mission.

Firstly, there has been a significant rise in the number of political scientists outside of North America. The number of graduates in Europe in social sciences, business, and law increased by over 50% between 2000 and 2006 to over 1,500,000.[1] Moreover, the number of social science and humanities (SSH) researchers in European higher education is considerable. Estimates by Michael Kahn suggest that there are at least 150,000 full-time equivalent SSH researchers in 22 European countries. This compares with a figure of 111,000 such researchers in the United States, over 50,000 in Japan, and over 17,000 in Australia. This acceleration has contributed to the global geographic diversity of the discipline. EPSA was founded because of a concern that the global diversity of the political science discipline is underserved by existing political science associations. North American members of the discipline are well served by very successful associations such as the American Political Science Association (APSA) and the Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA). EPSA has organized itself on the individual-membership model employed by these associations with the difference that EPSA sees itself as serving a global membership. This was evident at the 2011 EPSA conference in Dublin that attracted a geographically diverse group of attendees. American participants accounted for 32% of the total; followed by Germany with 11%; the United Kingdom with 10%; Ireland with 7%; and Switzerland, Italy and Spain each accounted for about 5%.

EPSA sees itself as serving a global membership.

Secondly, the increase in funding for social science that now occurs outside of North America—particularly in Europe and Asia but also in other regions—creates a couple of challenges for EPSA. First, one of EPSA's important goals is ensuring that funding for political science research is focused on science. EPSA is committed to promoting the funding of scientific research in the political science discipline throughout the world. A related objective of the association is to facilitate access to these funds by its membership.

Thirdly, the marked increase in the productivity of political science scholars outside of North America has significantly increased the global geographic diversity of scientific articles and citations. Nonetheless, North America remains the largest producer of papers in the social sciences, with more than half of the total number of articles produced in North America, and is the only region publishing an average of more than 10,000 articles per year. With other countries' growing contributions, the North American share of the total has declined from 61% to 52% over a 20-year period (ending in 2007). Europe, however, grew its share substantially, from 29% to 38% during the same 20-year period.[2]

Accordingly, EPSA has established a journal committed to promoting the publication of articles by this growing pool of globally diverse authors in the social science field. The new journal is entitled *Political Science Journal* (PSJ). The PSJ will be based at the University of Warwick and will be edited by Vera Troeger (Warwick) and Cameron Thies (University of Iowa). We anticipate that the journal will begin accepting manuscripts by the end of March 2012 and our goal is to publish the first edition in summer 2013.

These developments are of particular concern to members of the Comparative Politics section of APSA because we believe the membership shares the goals and concerns of EPSA. We strongly encourage CP members to join the EPSA association; submit manuscripts to the PSJ that will have a strong comparative perspective and to attend our upcoming conferences in Berlin and Barcelona, which cater to international scholars with interests in comparative politics.

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1 These statistics are from the European Science Foundation Working Paper, "Vital Questions: The Contribution of European Social Science" (November, 2009).

2 These trends are reported in the UNESCO, "World Social Science Report: Knowledge Divides" (2010).

APSA-COMPARATIVE POLITICS
The Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association

Volume 22, Issue I, Winter 2012

Report on the 2011 EPOP Annual Conference

by Caitlin Milazzo

The Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties (EPOP) Annual Conference is the world's largest elections-focused conference. The 2011 conference, held at the University of Exeter on September 9-11, was one of the biggest conferences to date, with more than 120 participants from 54 universities and six non-academic institutions.

EPOP is a specialist group of the Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom. It currently boasts more than 100 members, including media commentators and leading opinion pollsters, as well as academics. As with previous years, the prime focus of the annual conference was British politics. Scholars from across the United Kingdom came together to discuss the latest research on a wide variety of subjects, including public opinion, local and ethnic politics, gender representation, party support, political communication and campaigning, as well as research on recent political events, such as the expenses scandal and the referendum on the alternative vote.

However, the 2011 conference also highlighted the increasing diversity of the EPOP group. Attendees came from 13 countries across three continents. As a result, there was an increased breadth of focus, with a variety of papers covering even wider territories, including a large number of papers on the United States and the European Parliament. One panel featured cutting-edge research on genetics and politics, with a presentation by conference guest Peter Hatemi (Penn State University). In total, more than 100 papers were presented, and to accommodate the greater interest in the conference, the organizers increased the number of panel streams from three to four. The conference papers can be found on the website at: *http://www.exeter.ac.uk/epop2011/papers/*. This was also the first year the EPOP conference was covered on Twitter. Participants provided regular updates and commentary on papers and conference events.

The conference was a huge success outside of the panels as well. Friday evening's activities began with a wine reception, generously hosted by Parliamentary Affairs and Oxford University Press. The annual trivia quiz was, as usual, a great success, led by Philip Cowley (University of Nottingham) and Justin Fisher (Brunel University). The conference dinner was held at the Clarence Hotel, with pre-dinner drinks overlooking the Exeter Cathedral. After the dinner, those attending the conference spilled out into the Cathedral Square, where the local pubs did good business until the early hours of the morning.

The Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties (EPOP) Annual Conference is the world's largest elections-focused conference.

The 2012 EPOP conference will be hosted by the Department of Sociology at the University of Oxford. Information can be found at www.sociology.ox.ac.uk/EPOP2012. The call for papers was announced in February 2012.

... the 2011 conference also highlighted the increasing diversity of the EPOP group. Attendees came from 13 countries across three continents.

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Heard at the Conference Submissions:

If you have submissions to the Heard at the Conference section of the APSA-CP Newsletter, please email hallerberg@hertie-school.org .

European Consortium for Political Research Report

by Francesco Stolfi

I Section 46 - Mass Politics in the EU: Public Opinion, Elections and Referendums

Panel 78 - Who's to Blame? The Role of Institutions and Economic Context in Allowing Citizens to Punish (and Reward) Governments

Panel Chairs

James TILLEY (james.tilley@politics.ox.ac.uk) - Panel Chair; Institution: OXFORD, University of

Sara HOBOLT (sara.hobolt@politics.ox.ac.uk) - Panel Co-Chair; Institution: OXFORD, University of

Papers:

Sara Hobolt (University of Oxford), James Tilley (University of Oxford) and Susan Banducci (University of Exeter) 'Electoral accountability in context: How political Institutions condition performance voting'.

Timothy Hellwig (Indiana University) 'The world economy, political control and responsibility for economic performance'.

Sandra Leon (Juan March Institute) 'Decentralization, party systems and economic voting'.

Rob Johns (University of Strathclyde) 'Horizontal attributions in a vertical context: The impact of coalition government at Westminster on the 2011 Scottish election'.

The papers in this panel, although at different stages of development, all advance the research on economic voting and more broadly on democratic accountability. They often connect it to other literatures and in the process produce new and significant insights.

The Hobolt et al. paper uses the European Election Studies dataset to reassess the Powell and Whitten (1993) argument on the determinants of clarity of responsibility in democratic systems. Using voters' evaluations of the state of the economy and of performance of the health service and analyzing how institutional factors and government features mediate the connection between these evaluations and voters' attribution of responsibility to incumbent governments, they conclude that it is the nature of the government, for instance its ideological range, rather than institutional features such as federalism or the committee structure of parliament that are crucial for the voters' ability to hold governments accountable.

The papers in this panel , although at different stages of development, all advance the research on economic voting and more broadly on democratic accountability.

With a nod to issues raised by the political economy literature, the Hellwig paper poses a very interesting question, namely whether the openness of a country 's economy affects the extent to which voters attribute the governments responsibility for the state of the economy. This is because voters may recognize that governments, although functionally responsible for the economy, might be relatively powerless in economies that are significantly affected by international economic conditions.

Also showing the benefits that can derive from connecting normally separate literatures, the Leon paper asks whether different levels of decentralization are associated with different levels of economic voting and whether partisanship affects responsibility attribution. It finds partisanship matters for voters' evaluation in federal systems, in that they attribute the bad state of the economy more to the EU or the regional level than to the national level if they support the parties in government.

Finally, the Johns paper is mostly focused on issues of survey methodology. The paper looks at the framing of questions in surveys. As it happens, the paper connects nicely to the issues raised by the Hellwig paper, as it stresses that there is a substantive difference between incumbents' responsibility for policy (functional responsibility) and responsibility for outcomes, and that, while voters recognize that, survey questions often fail to distinguish between the two.

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APSA-COMPARATIVE POLITICS
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News and Notes
Volume 22, Issue I, Winter 2012

Section Awards 2010

LUEBBERT BOOK AWARD

James Mahoney, *Northwestern University*

Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective (Cambridge University Press, 2010)

LUEBBERT ARTICLE AWARD

Stathis Kalyvas, *Yale University* and Laia Balcells, *Institute for Economic Analysis, CSIC*

"International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How The End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict" (American Political Science Review 104: 3, 415-429)

SAGE PAPER AWARD

Giovanni Capoccia, *Oxford University*

"Normative Frameworks, Electoral Interests, and the Boundaries of Legitimate Participation in Post-Fascist Democracies. The Case of Italy"

HONORABLE MENTION

Noam Lupu, *Princeton University* and Jonas Pontusson, *Universite de Geneve*

"The Structure of Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution"

LIJPHART/PRZEWORSKI/VERBA DATA SET AWARD

Peter Wallensteen, *University of Uppsala*

Uppsala Conflict Data Program

About

The Organized Section in Comparative Politics is the largest organized section in the American Political Science Association (APSA). The Section organizes panels for the APSA's annual meetings; awards annual prizes for best paper, best article, best book, and best data set; and oversees and helps finance the publication of this newsletter, APSA-CP.

The section website is:

http://community.apsanet.org/comparativepolitics

Past newsletters can be accessed at:

http://community.apsanet.org/ComparativePolitics/ComparativePolitics-SectionNewsletter/

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Dataset Review Submissions

If you have submissions for the dataset review section of the APSA-CP Newsletter, please email kayser@hertie-school.org .

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