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Notes from the Editors

In this issue are included several articles that directly relate to the U.S. elections, a timely issue given the contests in November. In particular, several articles directly relate to how representatives present themselves, the nature of the "culture war" in American politics, and the continuing issues of race and voting in the United States. Further, we present articles that ask other important questions such as: Do peacekeepers really make a difference in promoting an end to fighting? How does foreign military presence produce norm changes within a country? Do political entrepreneurs mobilize ethnic and religious cleavages in different ways to attain their political goals? Can humankind form a deliberative, global-scale polity? Taken together, these articles demonstrate that original research in political science can—and frequently does—speak to the important problems confronting the nation and the world.

In This Issue

In the lead article to this issue, a central and fundamentally important question is addressed: How do we best conceptualize what representatives actually do? This is a key concern of democratic theory, and a number of different models have been proposed. In "Shapeshifting Representation," Michael Saward proposes a new way of understanding the phenomenon. Representation doesn't follow any one model, but is instead characterized by "shape-shifting." The roles that representatives play shift from one time period to another, and from one theater to another. Sometimes representatives control shape-shifting to achieve their ends; sometimes new roles are thrust upon them. Moreover, Saward argues, shifting does not occur haphazardly. Rather, there are patterns that it exhibits. Saward's argument promises to open a new and fruitful avenue for the theory of democracy and representation.

In "Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting," Lisa Hultman, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon show that although UN peacekeeping missions may not always stop fighting completely, they do reduce the severity of ongoing civil wars. The authors argue that the capacity (or size) and constitution (or the type of personnel) of each mission account for its ability to reduce violence in ongoing conflicts. They employ new data composed of monthly observations of the actual number and type of troops deployed, rather than the officially mandated number. They find that larger numbers of armed military troops are associated with fewer battle deaths. Hultman, Kathman, and Shannon's study implies that, if properly composed, a UN peacekeeping mission can indeed play a role in reducing civil conflict.

Along with a significant methodological contribution, William G. Jacoby provides major substantive food for thought in his article entitled, "Is There a Culture War? Conflicting Value Structures in American Public Opinion." He develops and tests a geometric model of American political culture composed of individual's rank-ordered value choices using data obtained from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study. By examining the religious and political foundations of variability in value choices, and assessing the sources and magnitude of value conflict, the results of the empirical analysis seemingly contradict any argument that there is a consensus on fundamental principles within the mass public. Americans' value choices are shown to be highly heterogeneous, with many conflicting preferences that tend to vary along social and partisan lines. Thus, the study provides strong evidence for the culture wars hypothesis.

Alexis de Tocqueville's diagnoses of the problems with modern democratic culture are well known. In "Tocqueville on the Modern Moral Situation: Democracy and the Decline of Devotion," Dana Jalbert Stauffer argues that these diagnoses have a somewhat different, and deeper, root than we have thought. Such conspicuous Tocquevillean themes as "individualism" and "materialism" have captured most of our attention, but Stauffer argues that the social state of equality, the deepest of Tocquevillean causes, leads to a decline of devotion, The result is a culture with no notion of a higher or nobler vocation, of the type that traditionally underpinned, and elevated, society. This phenomenon, Stauffer argues, underlies phenomena such as individualism, and leads to the more familiar problems Tocqueville identifies with modern democracy. Grasping the fundamental nature of the lack of devotion leads to a new perspective on key parts of Tocqueville's analysis.

In "Selling Out?: The Politics of Navigating Conflicts between Racial Group Interest and Self-Interest," Ismail K. White, Chryl N. Laird, and Troy D. Allen provide both a new take on and an improved test of the commonly accepted "linked fate" explanation for African American political solidarity. They argue that crystallized and intense in-group norms, as well as processes of racialized social pressure, are central to understanding why black Americans act on racial group interests in exchange for satisfying individual self-interests. They test their model using a series of behavioral experiments that vary both the personal incentives for defecting from, and the amount and kind of peer monitoring of, political behavior well-defined by in-group norms. They find that in the absence of social monitoring, defection is not uncommon, but that racialized social pressure—monitoring signals from other blacks—has a unique ability to rein in defection.

John F. McCauley in "The Political Mobilization of Ethnic and Religious Identities in Africa" makes a real contribution to our understanding of how policy entrepreneurs mobilize ethnic and religious cleavages in getting political support. As many scholars have noted, ethnicity as an identity is often mobilized at certain

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times but not at others. What McCauley asks is, When do elites mobilize based on religion and when do they mobilize based on ethnicity? Although much of the literature has said that group size matters (the bigger the group the more you mobilize on that line of cleavage), the author argues that the answer lies instead in the distinct individual-level priorities that manifest under different identity conditions—in other words, elites use different strategies depending not on the size of the group, but on the policy end. He shows this by empirically using data from a framing experiment in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. By randomly assigning participants to either a religious or an ethno-linguistic context, he shows that group members primed to ethnicity prioritize club goods, the access to which is a function of where they live. Identical individuals primed to religion prioritize inter-group divisions and international ties.

"Foreign Military Presence and the Changing Practice of Sovereignty: A Pragmatist Explanation of Norm Change," by Sebastian Schmidt, proposes a new way of understanding the evolution of norms in international relations. He argues that the evolution of new informal norms in an under-institutionalized arena like international affairs is best understood by adopting a pragmatist perspective. The evolution of norms is shaped by the residue of previous practice, but also by the pressures of new and unprecedented developments. The responses to these developments are not predictable, but are governed by the same element of groping creativity that according to pragmatism governs the evolution of norms in many areas of life. After laying out the pragmatist model, Schmidt illustrates and confirms it with a case study, the development during the Cold War of "sovereign basing," whereby the military forces of one sovereign nation are based in another. This development, Schmidt argues, was a pragmatic response to the postwar security situation and the declining legitimacy of colonialism, which had previously been the vehicle for global power projection. The pragmatist approach promises to deepen our understanding of the complex dynamics of international relations.

Is there any reasonable prospect of humankind forming a deliberative, global-scale polity? Does Islamic philosophy, with its universalist perspective, offer hope for such a polity? Alexander I. Orwin, in "Can Humankind Deliberate on a Global Scale? Alfarabi and the Politics of the Inhabited World," examines this question in the writings of perhaps the most profound of the medieval Islamic philosophers. Alfarabi appears to take different positions on this key issue in different works, which has left interpreters at an impasse. By carefully tracing Alfarabi's use of key terms across several of his works, Orwin provides a new interpretation that makes sense of Alfarabi's apparently inconsistent usage. He finds that, despite the universalism-in-principle of both Islam and philosophy, Alfarabi finds obstacles to a true universal polity in the irreducible diversity of mankind. Orwin's article concludes with a discussion of the importance of Alfarabi's perspective for global politics today.

For decades, scholars have operationalized political knowledge in different ways and with limited attention

to the variation in the types of knowledge questions. In "The Question(s) of Political Knowledge," Jason Barabas, Jennifer Jerit, William Pollock, and Carlisle Rainey propose a framework for theorizing about how question characteristics influence observed levels of knowledge. They argue that there are two theoretically relevant dimensions when it comes to understanding the variation in knowledge: first, how recently the fact came into being (a "temporal dimension"); and second, whether the question has to do with public policy concerns or the institutions and people/players of government (the "topical dimension"). The resulting typology yields four types of knowledge questions. In an analysis of more than 300 knowledge items from late in the first decade of the 2000s, they convincingly demonstrate that several classic findings regarding the antecedents of knowledge are conditional upon the type of question being asked.

The surge of interest in the thought of Hannah Arendt has enriched our perspective on many aspects of political life. When it comes to the economic, however, Arendt has always been thought to offer little more than a dismissive warning of the de-politicizing, de-humanizing effects of the market. In "Fit to Enter the World": Hannah Arendt on Politics, Economics, and the Welfare State," Steven Klein produces a new interpretation of this side of Arendt's thought. While Arendt clearly decries certain encroachments of market relations on the rich fabric of communal political life, Klein argues that her critique does not extend to modern economic life per se. To the contrary, economic life, or the communal contestation of economic policy, can be a part of a rich communal life, in effect bringing economics back into the political fold. Klein makes the case that welfare politics is one arena where an Arendtian perspective can deepen our understanding of the intersection of politics and economics.

Finally Lorenzo De Sio and Till Weber in "Issue Yield: A Model of Party Strategy in Multidimensional Space" introduce a new, multidimensional model of party strategy in which parties compete by emphasizing policy issues. They argue that the choice regarding which issues to emphasize in a party's strategy is a function, simultaneously, of two goals: mobilizing the party's core voters and broadening the support base. Using multilevel regressions employing both mass surveys and party manifesto scores, they find that issue yield is a primary explanatory variable for the adoption of different party strategies.

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