



American Political Science Review

MARCH 1998
VOLUME 92 NUMBER 1

EDITOR

Ada W. Finifter
Department of Political Science
303 South Kedzie Hall
Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI 48824-1032

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

Mark I. Lichbach
Department of Political Science
Campus Box 333
University of Colorado at Boulder
Boulder, CO 80309-0333

EDITORIAL BOARD

Paul R. Abramson
Michigan State University
David Austen-Smith
Northwestern University
Lawrence Baum
Ohio State University
Nathaniel Beck
*University of California,
San Diego*
Jonathan Bendor
Stanford University
W. James Booth
Vanderbilt University
Paul Brace
Rice University
Bruce Bueno de Mesquita
Stanford University
Robert Erikson
University of Houston
James D. Fearon
University of Chicago
William Galston
University of Maryland
Barbara Geddes
*University of California at
Los Angeles*

Micheal W. Giles
Emory University
Robert W. Jackman
*University of California,
Davis*
Gary King
Harvard University
Richard Ned Lebow
The Mershon Center
Ohio State University
Robert Luskin
*University of Texas at
Austin*
Stephen Macedo
Syracuse University
Paula D. McClain
University of Virginia
Kathleen McGraw
SUNY, Stony Brook
Walter Mebane, Jr.
Cornell University
Karen Remmer
University of New Mexico
Frances M. Rosenbluth
Yale University

Virginia Sapiro
*University of Wisconsin-
Madison*
Arlene Saxonhouse
University of Michigan
Theda Skocpol
Harvard University
Steven B. Smith
Yale University
Laura Stoker
*University of California at
Berkeley*
John L. Sullivan
University of Minnesota
Kaare Strøm
*University of California at
San Diego*
University of Bergen
Michael Ward
University of Washington
Susan Welch
*Pennsylvania State
University*
John R. Zaller
*University of California at
Los Angeles*

EDITORIAL STAFF

Harriett Posner
*Director of Manuscript
Processing and Production*
Elizabeth Johnston
Copy Editor
Paul S. Wolberg
Data Processing Consultant

Jamie Carson
Bernard J. Dobski
Erik Herron
Matthew Kleiman
Andrew Padon
Lisa Shoichet
Christopher Sprecher
APSR Interns

John Halpin
Robert R. Lopez
Eitan Schiffman
*Assistants to the Book
Review Editor*

The *American Political Science Review* (ISSN-0003-0554) appears quarterly. It is published by the American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20036, and sent to all members. Dues: Regular Members with gross calendar income: under \$30,000, \$65; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$80; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$95; \$50,000–\$69,999, \$110; \$70,000 and over, \$125; Student Members (limited to 5 years), \$30; Unemployed members, \$30; Retired Members (who have been members 25 years) with gross calendar income under \$25,000, \$25; \$25,000 and over, \$45; Life Members, \$3,000; Institutional Members: Domestic, \$200; Foreign, \$220. Dues allocated for a subscription to the *APSR*: \$17 for individual members; \$128 for institutional members. Changes of address sent to Membership Services APSA. Postmaster: Send address changes to *APSR*, 1527 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20036. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, DC, and at additional mailing offices.

American Political Science Review

Volume 92, Number 1, March 1998

Table of Contents

EDITOR'S NOTES viii

ARTICLES

A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of
Collective Action
Elinor Ostrom 1

Convicting the Innocent: The Inferiority of Unanimous Jury
Verdicts under Strategic Voting
Timothy Feddersen and Wolfgang Pesendorfer 23

Rational Choice and the Dynamics of Political Action:
Evaluating Alternative Models with Panel Data
Steven E. Finkel and Edward N. Muller 37

Democratizing for Peace
Michael D. Ward and Kristian S. Gleditsch 51

Constructing a Supranational Constitution: Dispute
Resolution and Governance in the European Community
Alec Stone Sweet and Thomas L. Brunell 63

Liberal Theory and the Idea of Communist Justice
Arthur DiQuattro 83

Political Liberalism, Deliberative Democracy, and the
Public Sphere
Evan Charney 97

Partisan Cues and the Media: Information Flows in the
1992 Presidential Election
Russell J. Dalton, Paul A. Beck, and Robert Huckfeldt 111

Minority Representation in Multimember Districts
**Elisabeth Gerber, Rebecca B. Morton, and Thomas A.
Rietz** 127

Structure, Behavior, and Voter Turnout in the United
States
Richard J. Timpone 145

Strategy and Background in Congressional Campaigns
Patrick J. Sellers 159

RESEARCH NOTE

The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Agenda Setting
B. Dan Wood and Jeffrey S. Peake 173

BOOK REVIEW ESSAYS

Comparing European Politics
Paul R. Abramson and Ronald Inglehart 185

Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs, eds. *Beliefs
in Government, Volume One: Citizens and the State*

| | |
|---|------------|
| Oskar Niedermayer and Richard Sinnott, eds. <i>Beliefs in Government, Volume Two: Public Opinion and Internationalized Governance</i> | |
| Ole Borre and Elinor Scarbrough, eds. <i>Beliefs in Government, Volume Three: The Scope of Government</i> | |
| Jan W. van Deth and Elinor Scarbrough, eds. <i>Beliefs in Government, Volume Four: The Impact of Values</i> | |
| Max Kaase and Kenneth Newton, eds. <i>Beliefs in Government, Volume Five: Beliefs in Government</i> | |
| The Doleful Dance of Politics and Policy: Can Historical Institutionalism Make a Difference? | |
| Ira Katznelson | 191 |
| Kenneth Finegold and Theda Skocpol. <i>State and Party in America's New Deal</i> | |
| Joel F. Handler. <i>The Poverty of Welfare Reform</i> | |
| Michael B. Katz. <i>Improving Poor People: The Welfare State, the "Underclass," and Urban Schools as History</i> | |
| Donald F. Norris and Lyke Thompson, eds. <i>The Politics of Welfare Reform</i> | |
| Sanford F. Schram. <i>Words of Welfare: The Poverty of Social Science and the Social Science of Poverty</i> | |
| Theda Skocpol. <i>Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective</i> | |

BOOK REVIEWS

Political Theory

| | | |
|--|---------------------------|-----|
| Bobbio, Norberto. <i>Left and Right: The Significance of a Political Distinction</i> | Thomas W. Gold | 199 |
| Dienstag, Joshua F. <i>Dancing in Chains: Narrative and Memory in Political Theory</i> | Jonathan N. Badger | 199 |
| Grant, Ruth W. <i>Hypocrisy and Integrity: Machiavelli, Rousseau, and the Ethics of Politics</i> | Ronald J. Terchek | 201 |
| Gray, John. <i>Endgames: Questions in Late Modern Political Thought</i> | Harlan Wilson | 202 |
| Hall, Mark David. <i>The Political and Legal Philosophy of James Wilson, 1742–1798</i> | George W. Carey | 203 |
| Hoffman, Daniel N. <i>Our Elusive Constitution: Silences, Paradoxes, Priorities</i> | Austin Sarat | 204 |
| Mashaw, Jerry L. <i>Greed, Chaos, and Governance: Using Public Choice to Improve Public Law</i> | Lee Epstein | 205 |
| Masters, Roger D. <i>Machiavelli, Leonardo, and the Science of Power</i> | Albert Somit | 206 |
| Miller, Joshua. <i>Democratic Temperament: The Legacy of William James</i> | Timothy V. Kaufman-Osborn | 207 |
| Nagel, Thomas. <i>The Last Word</i> | Ruth Lessl Shively | 208 |
| Ransom, John S. <i>Foucault's Discipline: The Politics of Subjectivity</i> | Michael Mahon | 209 |
| Roberts, Edwin A. <i>The Anglo-Marxists: A Study in Ideology and Culture</i> | Bradley J. Macdonald | 209 |
| Shapiro, Ian, and Russell Hardin, eds. <i>Nomos XXXVIII: Political Order</i> | Brian Barry | 211 |
| Steger, Manfred B. <i>The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy</i> | Edwin A. Roberts | 211 |
| Sunstein, Cass R. <i>Free Markets and Social Justice</i> | Peter Berkowitz | 213 |
| Taylor, Bob Pepperman. <i>America's Bachelor Uncle: Thoreau and the American Polity</i> | Michael A. Mosher | 214 |
| Terchek, Ronald J. <i>Republican Paradoxes and Liberal Anxieties: Retrieving Neglected Fragments of Political Theory</i> | Joseph M. Knippenberg | 215 |

| | | |
|--|------------------------------|-----|
| Tyler, Tom R., Robert J. Boeckmann, Heather J. Smith, and Yuen J. Huo. <i>Social Justice in a Diverse Society</i> | Grant Reeher | 216 |
| Vaughan, Leslie J. <i>Randolph Bourne and the Politics of Cultural Radicalism</i> | Manfred B. Steger | 217 |
| Vernon, Richard. <i>The Career of Toleration: John Locke, Jonas Proast, and After</i> | Barry Alan Shain | 218 |
| American Politics | | |
| Buchanan, Bruce. <i>Renewing Presidential Politics: Campaigns, Media, and the Public Interest</i> | Emmett H. Buell, Jr. | 219 |
| Bussiere, Elizabeth. <i>(Dis)Entitling the Poor: The Warren Court, Welfare Rights, and the American Political Tradition</i> | Wayne D. Moore | 220 |
| Campbell, James E. <i>Cheap Seats: The Democratic Party's Advantage in U.S. House Elections</i> | Mark E. Rush | 221 |
| Clarke, Jeanne Nienaber. <i>Roosevelt's Warrior: Harold L. Ickes and the New Deal</i> | Matthew J. Dickinson | 222 |
| Coleman, John J. <i>Party Decline in America: Policy, Politics, and the Fiscal State</i> . Patterson, Kelly D. <i>Political Parties and the Maintenance of Liberal Democracy</i> | William Crotty | 224 |
| Cook, Brian J. <i>Bureaucracy and Self-Government: Reconsidering the Role of Public Administration in American Politics</i> | Richard T. Green | 225 |
| Danielson, Michael N. <i>Home Team: Professional Sports and the American Metropolis</i> | Charles C. Euchner | 227 |
| DeGregorio, Christine A. <i>Networks of Champions: Leadership, Access, and Advocacy in the U.S. House of Representatives</i> | Robin Kolodny | 227 |
| Donahue, John D. <i>Disunited States: What's at Stake as Washington Fades and the States Take the Lead</i> | Richard Piper | 228 |
| Garcia, F. Chris, ed. <i>Pursuing Power: Latinos and the Political System</i> | José E. Cruz | 229 |
| Green, John C., James L. Guth, Corwin E. Smidt, and Lyman A. Kellstedt. <i>Religion and the Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front</i> | Christopher P. Gilbert | 230 |
| Hacker, Jacob S. <i>The Road to Nowhere: The Genesis of President Clinton's Plan for Health Security</i> | Mary E. Guy | 231 |
| Hibbing, John, and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. <i>Congress as Public Enemy</i> | Stephen C. Craig | 232 |
| Josephson, Jyl J. <i>Gender, Families, and State: Child Support Policy in the United States</i> | Deborah McFarlane | 233 |
| Kurtz, Donn M., II. <i>Kinship and Politics</i> | S. Sidney Ulmer | 234 |
| Lendler, Marc. <i>Crisis and Political Beliefs: The Case of the Colt Firearms Strike</i> | Laura R. Woliver | 235 |
| Patterson, Kelly D. <i>Political Parties and the Maintenance of Liberal Democracy</i> . See Coleman, John J., above. | | |
| Peters, B. Guy. <i>The Future of Governing: Four Emerging Models</i> | John D. Donahue | 236 |
| Piper, J. Richard. <i>Ideologies and Institutions: American Conservative and Liberal Governance since 1933</i> | Nicol C. Rae | 237 |
| Ravitch, Diane, and Joseph P. Viteritti, eds. <i>New Schools for a New Century: The Redesign of Urban Education</i> | Kevin B. Smith | 238 |
| Reeher, Grant. <i>Narratives of Justice: Legislators' Beliefs about Distributive Justice</i> | Paul Schumaker | 239 |
| Rom, Mark Carl. <i>Public Spirit in the Thrift Tragedy</i> | Gary Mucciaroni | 240 |
| Rose, Gary L. <i>The American Presidency under Siege</i> | James P. Pfiffner | 241 |
| Sparer, Michael S. <i>Medicaid and the Limits of State Health Reform</i> | Pauline Vaillancourt Rosenau | 242 |
| Waddan, Alex. <i>The Politics of Social Welfare: The Collapse of the Center and the Rise of the Right</i> | Stathis N. Kalyvas | 243 |
| Walsh, Edward J., Rex Warland, and D. Clayton Smith. <i>Don't Burn It Here: Grassroots Challenges to Trash Incinerators</i> | A. B. Villanueva | 244 |
| Comparative Politics | | |
| Boroujerdi, Mehrzad. <i>Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Triumph of Nativism</i> | Gawdat Bahgat | 245 |
| Boston, Jonathan, John Martin, June Pallot, and Pat Walsh. <i>Public Management: The New Zealand Model</i> . Cheyne, Christine, Mike O'Brien, and Michael Belgrave. <i>Social Policy in Aotearoa/New Zealand: A Critical Introduction</i> | Michael Mintrom | 245 |

- Bremmer, Ian, and Ray Taras, eds. *New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations*. Paul Kubicek 247
- Chaudhry, Kiren Aziz. *The Price of Wealth: Economies and Institutions in the Middle East*. Manochehr Dorraj 248
- Cheyne, Christine, Mike O'Brien, and Michael Belgrave. *Social Policy in Aotearoa/New Zealand: A Critical Introduction*. See Boston, Jonathan, et al., above.
- El-Kikhia, Mansour O. *Libya's Qaddafi: The Politics of Contradiction*. Dirk Vandewalle 249
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Kees van Kersbergen 249
- Kitschelt, Herbert. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Ekkart Zimmermann 250
- Kohno, Masaru. *Japan's Postwar Party Politics*.
Wada, Junichiro. *The Japanese Election System: Three Analytical Perspectives*. William W. Grimes 252
- Pereira, Anthony W. *The End of the Peasantry: The Rural Labor Movement in Northeast Brazil, 1961–1988*. Kurt Weyland 253
- Rich, Paul B., and Richard Stubbs, eds. *The Counter-Insurgent State: Guerrilla Warfare and State Building in the Twentieth Century*. Marc V. Simon 254
- Tilton, Mark. *Restrained Trade: Cartels in Japan's Basic Materials Industries*.
Uriu, Robert M. *Troubled Industries: Confronting Economic Change in Japan*.
Woodall, Brian. *Japan under Construction: Corruption, Politics, and Public Works*. H. Richard Friman 255
- Uriu, Robert M. *Troubled Industries; Confronting Economic Change in Japan*. See Tilton, Mark, above.
- Wada, Junichiro. *The Japanese Election System: Three Analytical Perspectives*. See Kohno, Masaru, above.
- White, Stephen, Richard Rose, and Ian McAllister. *How Russia Votes*.
Wyman, Matthew. *Public Opinion in Postcommunist Russia*. John Anderson 257
- Woodall, Brian. *Japan under Construction: Corruption, Politics, and Public Works*. See Tilton, Mark, above.
- Wyman, Matthew. *Public Opinion in Postcommunist Russia*. See White, Stephen, et al., above.
- International Relations
- Drachman, Edward R., and Alan Shank. *Presidents and Foreign Policy: Countdown to Ten Controversial Decisions*. Deborah Welch Larson 259
- Gaddis, John Lewis. *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*. Miroslav Nincic 259
- Inglehart, Ronald F., Neil Nevitte, and Miguel Basañez. *The North American Trajectory: Cultural, Economic and Political Ties among the United States, Canada, and Mexico*.
Lusztig, Michael. *Risking Free Trade: The Politics of Trade in Britain, Canada, Mexico and the United States*. Christopher Sands and Sidney Weintraub 260
- Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. *Tamed Power: Germany in Europe*.
Markovits, Andrei S., and Simon Reich. *The German Predicament: Memory and Power in the New Europe*. Beverly Crawford 261
- Long, William J. *Economic Incentives and Bilateral Cooperation*. Gerald L. Sorokin 263
- Lusztig, Michael. *Risking Free Trade: The Politics of Trade in Britain, Canada, Mexico and the United States*. See Inglehart, Ronald F., et al., above.
- Malcolm, Neil, Alex Pravda, Roy Allison, and Margot Light. *Internal Factors in Russian Foreign Policy*.
Petro, Nicolai N., and Alvin Z. Rubinstein. *Russian Foreign Policy: From Empire to Nation-State*.
Skak, Mette. *From Empire to Anarchy: Postcommunist Foreign Policy and International Relations*. James M. Goldgeier 264
- Markovits, Andrei S., and Simon Reich. *The German Predicament: Memory and Power in the New Europe*. See Katzenstein, Peter J., ed., above.

- Petro, Nicolai N., and Alvin Z. Rubinstein. *Russian Foreign Policy: From Empire to Nation-State*. See Malcolm, Neil, et al., above.
- Roman, Peter J. *Eisenhower and the Missile Gap*.
Winand, Pascaline. *Eisenhower, Kennedy, and the United States of Europe*. Meena Bose 266
- Russett, Bruce, ed. *The Once and Future Security Council*. Paul F. Diehl 267
- Skak, Mette. *From Empire to Anarchy: Postcommunist Foreign Policy and International Relations*. See Malcolm, Neil, et al., above.
- Soroos, Marvin S. *The Endangered Atmosphere: Preserving a Global Commons*. Marian A. L. Miller 268
- Spegele, Roger D. *Political Realism in International Theory*. Robert M. A. Crawford 269
- Sperling, James, and Emi! Kirchner. *Recasting the European Order: Security Architectures and Economic Cooperation*. Carolyn Rhodes 270
- Strange, Susan. *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*. Stephen J. Kobrin 270
- Winand, Pascaline. *Eisenhower, Kennedy, and the United States of Europe*. See Roman, Peter J., above.

FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

- A Political Explanation of Variations in Central Bank Independence **William T. Bernhard**
- Explaining Divided U.S. Senate Delegations, 1788–1996 **Thomas L. Brunell and Bernard Grofman**
- A New Approach to the Study of Ticket-Splitting **Barry Burden and David Kimball**
- On the Legitimacy of National High Courts **Gregory A. Caldiera, James L. Gibson, and Vanessa Baird**
- Macropartisanship: A Replication and Critique **Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler**
- When the Party Breaks Up? Legislative Members' Exit and Voice from Japanese Parties **Junko Kato**
- Attitudes toward Economic Reform in Mexico: The Role of Political Mediations **Robert R. Kaufman and Leo Zuckerman**
- Consequences of the Condorcet Jury Theorem for Beneficial Information Aggregation by Rational Agents **Andrew McLennan**
- The Illusion of Power and the Disruption of Moral Norms: Thucydides' Critique of Periclean Policy **Sara Monoson and Michael Loriaux**
- The Strange Case of Christianity and Republicanism: A Comment on Black Cary **J. Nederman**

CORRECTION: The following authors' note was omitted from Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Progressive Research on Degenerate Alliances," *American Political Science Review* 91(December 1997):919–22. Thomas J. Christensen is Associate Professor of Government, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853. Jack Snyder is Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.



American Political Science Association

1527 New Hampshire Avenue,
Washington, D.C. 20036

PRESIDENT

M. Kent Jennings

University of California, Santa Barbara

PRESIDENT ELECT

Matthew Holden

University of Virginia

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Rodolfo O. De La Garza

University of Texas at Austin

Jennifer Hochschild

Princeton University

Robert Putnam

Harvard University

SECRETARY

Toni-Michelle Travis

George Mason University

TREASURER

Timothy Cook

Williams College

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Catherine E. Rudder

PROGRAM CHAIR

Virginia Sapiro

University of Wisconsin

EDITOR, APSR

Ada W. Finifter

Michigan State University

COUNCIL, 1996–98

Martha Ackelsberg

Smith College

E. J. Dionne

The Washington Post

Kathie Stromlie Golden

Morris Brown College

John E. Jackson

University of Michigan

Michael Laver

Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland

David D. Laitin

University of Chicago

John G. Ruggie

Columbia University

Joseph Stewart, Jr.

University of New Mexico

COUNCIL, 1997–99

Jane Bayes

California State University, Northridge

Gary Cox

University of California, Los Angeles

Charles Hadley

University of New Orleans

Kristin Monroe

University of California, Irvine

Pippa Norris

Harvard University

Beth Simmons

Duke University

Joan Tronto

Hunter College, CUNY

Michael Wallerstein

Northwestern University