

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

# PS

Political Science & Politics

JULY 2017, VOLUME 50, NUMBER 3

## The Arab Uprisings and International Relations Theory

*Marc Lynch, Curtis R. Ryan, and Morten Valbjørn, guest editors*

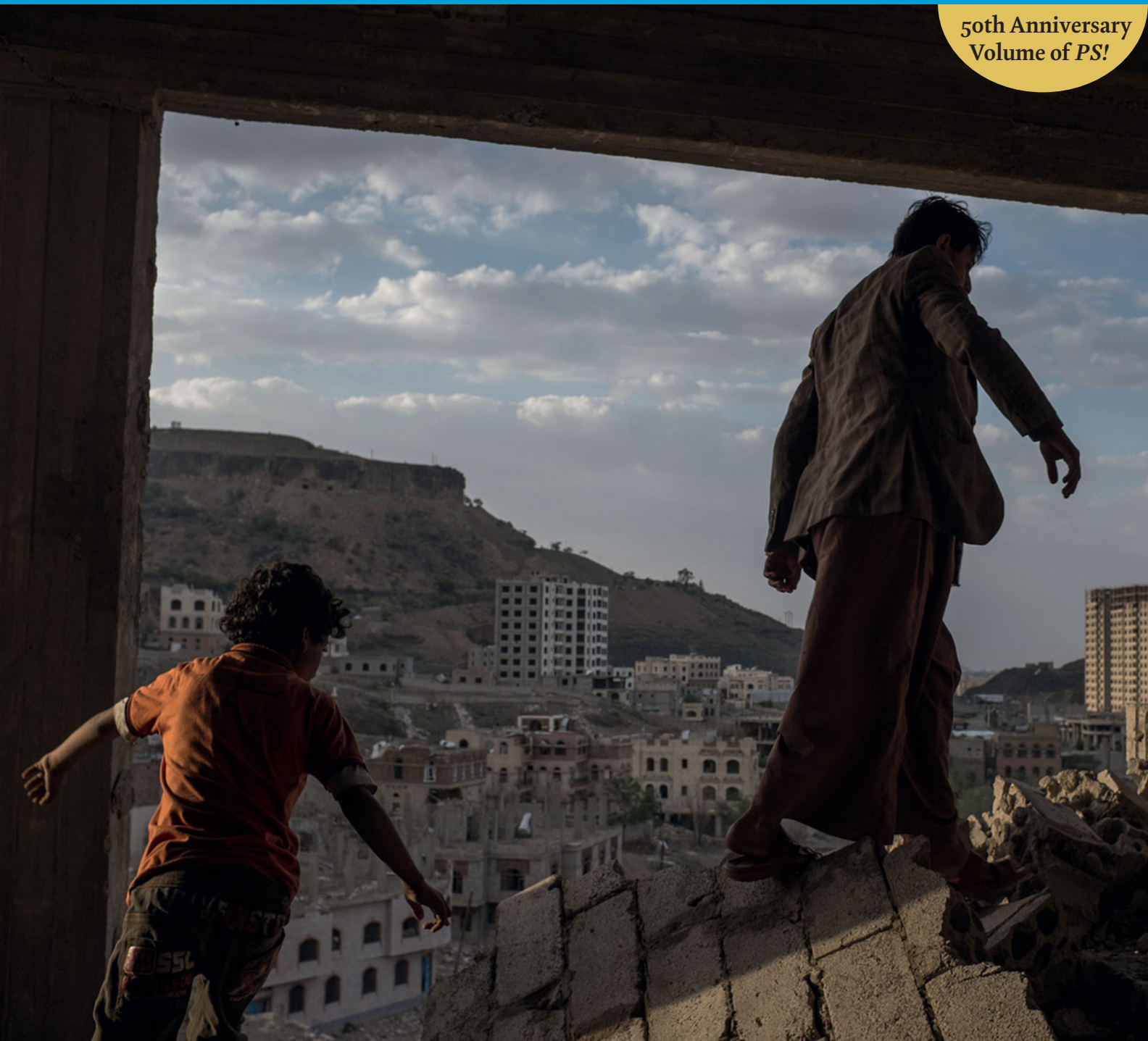
## The “Berkeley School” of Political Theory: A Discussion of its Beginnings, its Development, and the Disagreements over Calling it a “School”

*Emily Hauptmann and Dean Mathiowetz, guest editors*

## Women Also Know Stuff: Meta-Level Mentoring to Battle Gender Bias in Political Science

*Emily Beaulieu, Amber E. Boydston, Nadia E. Brown, Kim Yi Dionne, Andra Gillespie, Samara Klar, Yanna Krupnikov, Melissa R. Michelson, Kathleen Searles, and Christina Wolbrecht*

50th Anniversary  
Volume of PS!



# Teaching Civic Engagement Across the Disciplines

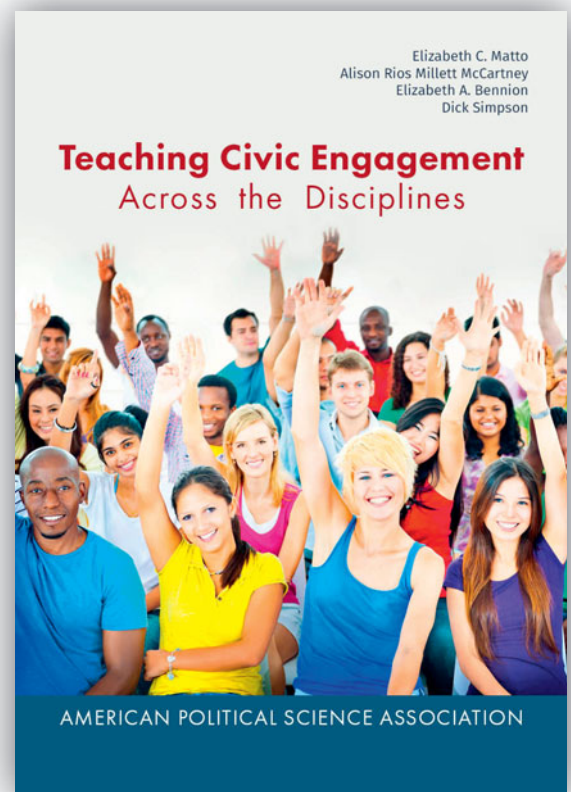
Coming Soon  
as an eBook!

**A new wave of civic instruction** is moving through American education. As numerous national groups and institutions are joining this effort, political science is uniquely equipped to advance teaching civic engagement. The discipline should lead the movement for high quality civic education across the curriculum and across the disciplines.

To focus on this wave of civic engagement education, APSA is publishing the ebook *Teaching Civic Engagement Across the Disciplines*, edited by Elizabeth C. Matto, Rutgers University; Alison Rios Millett McCartney, Towson University; Elizabeth A. Bennion, Indiana University; and Dick Simpson, University of Illinois at Chicago.

The book redirects the focus from teaching better political science courses to teaching civic engagement across the disciplines. This movement involves university-wide coordinated civic engagement programs and action plans as well as a new nation-wide action plan across high schools, community colleges, four-year colleges, and research universities to consolidate the gains that have been made and provide the resources for the next leap forward. Building on the 2013 book *Teaching Civic Engagement: From Student to Active Citizen*, this book advances the conversation on civic engagement and provides critical scholarly insight into where to go next.

Learn more at <http://web.apsanet.org/teachingcivicengagement>.



---

# CONTENTS

July 2017, Volume 50, Number 3

---

- 641** Editors' Corner  
*Phillip Ardoin and Paul Gronke*

## POLITICS

---

### SYMPOSIUM

#### The Arab Uprisings and International Relations Theory *Guest Editors: Marc Lynch, Curtis R. Ryan, and Morten Valbjørn*

- 643** Introduction  
*Marc Lynch and Curtis R. Ryan*
- 647** Strategies for Reviving the International Relations/Middle East Nexus after the Arab Uprisings  
*Morten Valbjørn*
- 652** Inquiring into Others' Conceptions of the International and Security  
*Pinar Bilgin*
- 656** The Politics of Insecurity in the Arab World: A View from Beirut  
*Waleed Hazbun*
- 660** Overlapping Contests and Middle East International Relations: The Return of the Weak Arab State  
*Bassel F. Salloukh*
- 664** International Political Economy and the New Middle East  
*Erin A. Snider*
- 668** Varieties of International Influence and the Middle East  
*Sarah Sunn Bush*
- 672** Ideologies, Alignments, and Underbalancing in the New Middle East Cold War  
*F. Gregory Gause, III*
- 676** Ideological Codependency and Regional Order: Iran, Syria, and the Axis of Refusal  
*Ewan Stein*

### SYMPOSIUM

#### Forecasting the 2017 German Elections *Guest Editor: Bruno Jérôme*

- 681** Introduction  
*Bruno Jérôme*
- 683** The Grand Coalition Reappointed but Angela Merkel on Borrowed Time  
*Bruno Jérôme, Véronique Jérôme-Speziari, and Michael S. Lewis-Beck*
- 686** Chancellor Model Predicts a Change of the Guards  
*Helmut Norpoth and Thomas Gschwend*
- 689** A *Länder*-based Forecast of the 2017 German Bundestag Election  
*Mark A. Kayser and Arndt Leininger*
- 693** The PollyVote's Long-Term Forecast for the 2017 German Federal Election  
*Andreas Graefe*

### SYMPOSIUM

#### Canadian Politics at the 150th Anniversary of Confederation *Guest Editor: David L. Leal*

- 697** Blame Canada! An Occasionally Serious Overview of US-Canada Relations  
*David L. Leal*

- 701** Like Father, Like Son: Justin Trudeau and Valence Voting in Canada's 2015 Federal Election  
*Harold D. Clarke, Timothy B. Gravelle, Thomas J. Scotto, Marianne C. Stewart, and Jason Reifler*
- 708** Canadian Ethnocultural Diversity and Federal Party Support: The Dynamics of Liberal Partisanship in Immigrant Communities  
*Stephen E. White*
- 712** Why Both the Left and the Right Are Wrong: Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada  
*Randall Hansen*
- 717** Ideas and Intergovernmental Relations in Canada  
*Jennifer Wallner*
- 723** The Expansion of the Canadian Federation: Terms of Territorial Growth  
*Bartholomew Sparrow and Diane Sun*
- 728** Digging into Dissatisfaction with Democracy: The Case of Quebec  
*Mebs Kanji and Kerry Tannahill*
- 735** Stronger Together? Support for Political Cooperation in Canada and the United States, 2005–2016  
*Munroe Eagles and Nik Nanos*

**SYMPOSIUM**

**Civic Engagement and Civic Technology**

*Guest Editor: Hollie Russon Gilman*

- 741** Introduction  
*Hollie Russon Gilman*
- 744** Civic Tech for Urban Collaborative Governance  
*Hollie Russon Gilman*
- 751** From Civic Tech to Civic Capacity: The Case of Citizen Audits  
*K. Sabeel Rahman*
- 758** Embracing Digital Democracy: A Call for Building an Online Civic Commons  
*John Gastil and Robert C. Richards, Jr.*
- 764** Civic Tech and Public Policy Decision Making  
*Carolyn J. Lukensmeyer*
- 772** The Failure to Examine Failures in Democratic Innovation  
*Paolo Spada and Matt Ryan*

**THE PROFESSION**

**REFLECTION**

- 779** Women Also Know Stuff: Meta-Level Mentoring to Battle Gender Bias in Political Science  
*Emily Beaulieu, Amber E. Boydstun, Nadia E. Brown, Kim Yi Dionne, Andra Gillespie, Samara Klar, Yanna Krupnikov, Melissa R. Michelson, Kathleen Searles, and Christina Wolbrecht*
- 784** Political Science and American Political Thought  
*Justin Buckley Dyer*

**SYMPOSIUM**

**The “Berkeley School” of Political Theory: A Discussion of its Beginnings, its Development, and the Disagreements over Calling it a “School”**

*Guest Editors: Emily Hauptmann and Dean Mathiowetz*

- 789** Was There a Berkeley School of Political Theory?  
*Terence Ball*

- 792** The Evolution of Political Theory in Berkeley in a Climate of Experiment and Secession  
*Emily Hauptmann*
- 797** Scholasticism at Berkeley  
*John G. Gunnell*
- 801** Politics and The Political in the “Berkeley School” of Political Theory  
*Tracy B. Strong*
- 803** “Teaching as if Citizens Would Seek Their Counsel”: Pedagogy in the Berkeley School  
*Brian A. Weiner*
- 807** The Berkeley School of Political Theory as Moment and as Tradition  
*Dean Mathiowetz*
- ARTICLES** **811** Gender, Diversity, and Methods in Political Science: A Theory of Selection and Survival Biases  
*Shauna L. Shames and Tess Wise*
- 824** Presidential Greatness and Political Science: Assessing the 2014 APSA Presidents and Executive Politics Section Presidential Greatness Survey  
*Brandon Rottinghaus and Justin S. Vaughn*
- 831** Merging Graphics and Text to Better Convey Experimental Results: Designing an “Enhanced Bar Graph”  
*William D. Berry and Matthew Hauenstein*

## THE TEACHER

- ARTICLES** **837** Using Alumni Views to Connect the Past, Present, and Future in Political Science  
*Eric D. Raile, Elizabeth A. Shanahan, Michael P. Wallner, Linda M. Young, Marja Avonius, Micaela Young, and Nacer Tayeb*
- 842** Experiential Learning and Pathways to Carbon Neutrality  
*Sara Rinfret*
- 849** 2017 APSA Teaching and Learning Conference and Track Summaries

## THE ASSOCIATION

- PEOPLE** **859** Spotlights
- 861** PS Update
- 862** Political Scientists Receive Guggenheim Fellows
- 863** Books by Our Readers
- 864** In Memoriam
- BUSINESS** **869** The Quest for Legitimacy: Actors, Audiences and Aspirations
- 871** Committee Nominates 2017 Officers and Council Members
- 876** Continuing Council Members
- 880** *Perspectives on Politics* Editor’s Report
- 885** New Editorial Team for *Perspectives on Politics* Announced
- 886** Meet the 2017 APSA RBSI Scholars
- 889** Briefs

## Contents

---

	<b>892</b>	Washington Insider
	<b>893</b>	The Center Page
	<b>894</b>	2016–2017 APSA Congressional Fellowship Program Office Placements
	<b>895</b>	Members of the Month
<b>INTERNATIONAL</b>	<b>897</b>	Expanding Support for Political Science in the Arab Middle East and North Africa: MENA Workshops 2017–2019
<b>GAZETTE</b>	<b>898</b>	Minutes of the August 2016 APSA Council Meeting
	<b>901</b>	APSA Contributors for 2016
	<b>904</b>	Bylaws of the Association of the American Political Science Association
	<b>911</b>	2016 All-Member Business Meeting Minutes
	<b>912</b>	2015 All-Member Business Meeting Minutes

**EDITORS:** Phillip Ardoin,  
*Appalachian State University*  
Paul Gronke,  
*Reed College*

**MANAGING EDITOR:** Celina Szymanski

**EDITORIAL ASSOCIATE:** Drew Meadows

**EDITORIAL BOARD:**

Lindsay Benstead, *Portland State University*; James E. Campbell, *University at Buffalo, SUNY*; R. Scott Crichlow, *West Virginia University*; Jennifer Gandhi, *Emory University*; James C. Garand, *Louisiana State University*; J. Tobin Grant, *Southern Illinois University*; Todd K. Hartman, *University of Sheffield*; Jennifer Jerit, *Stony Brook University*; Alisa Kessel, *University of Puget Sound*; David Kinsella, *Portland State University*; Amber R. Knight, *Saint Louis University*; Ari Kohen, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*; Peter Lindsay, *Georgia State University*; Joanne M. Miller, *University of Minnesota*; James E. Monogan III, *University of Georgia*; Jennifer Nicoll Victor, *George Mason University*; Ismail White, *George Washington University*; Catherine Warrick, *Villanova University*; Jason Windett, *Saint Louis University*; Betina C. Wilkinson, *Wake Forest University*.

**ASSOCIATION OFFICE ADDRESS AND MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION:**

American Political Science Association individual membership dues are: regular members with income \$200,000+, \$325; \$135,000–199,999, \$276; \$100,000–134,000, \$246; \$80,000–99,999, \$212; \$60,000–79,999, \$191; \$50,000–59,999, \$175; \$40,000–49,999, \$145; under \$40,000, \$98; retired members \$25,000+, \$66; retired under \$25,000, \$40; targeted international member (TIM), \$45; life member, \$4,000; associate member, one journal, \$75; high school teacher (*PS* only), \$50; student member, \$52; unemployed member, \$45. The amount of the dues allocated for a subscription is \$5.75 for an individual membership.

Changes of address for members should be completed online or mailed to the APSA membership office at: APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036-1206.

**SUBSCRIPTION, PUBLISHING, AND ADVERTISING OFFICE ADDRESS:**

Cambridge University Press, One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006; and (outside North America) Cambridge University Press, University Printing House, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, England.

**SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION:** *PS: Political Science & Politics* (ISSN 1049-0965) is published in January, April, July, and October by Cambridge University Press for the American Political Science Association. *PS: Political Science & Politics* is sold only as part of a joint subscription with *American Political Science Review* and *Perspectives on Politics*. Annual institutional electronic-only subscription rate (2017) is US\$1563 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, UK£898 elsewhere. Annual institutional print-and-electronic subscription rate (2017) is US\$1812 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, UK£1028 elsewhere. Periodicals postage rate paid at New York, NY, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Address changes should be sent to: *PS: Political Science & Politics*, Cambridge University Press, One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006.

Copyright © 2017 by the American Political Science Association. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying, or otherwise, without permission in writing from Cambridge University Press. Photocopying information for users in the USA: The Item-Fee Code for the publication (1049-0965/17 \$15.00 + \$.10) indicates that copying for internal or personal use beyond that permitted by Sec. 107 or 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law is authorized for users duly registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transaction Reporting Service, provided that the appropriate remittance of \$15.00 per article is paid directly to CCC, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923. Specific written permission must be obtained for all other copying.

**ADVERTISING:** *PS* has a circulation of 16,000. Please contact our Advertising Sales Team at [USAdSales@cambridge.org](mailto:USAdSales@cambridge.org) for full advertising information including rates and specs.

**COMPOSITION:** TNQ Books and Journals Pvt. Ltd.

**PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION:** The Sheridan Press



**On the Cover**

Yemeni brothers climb the broken stairs of an apartment building damaged by air strikes in the Faj Attan district of Sana'a, Yemen on August 17, 2015.

Copyright Alex Potter.

**Letters to the Editor Welcomed**

Letters via mail or e-mail will be considered for publication in future issues. All submissions should include your name, postal address, daytime telephone number, and e-mail address. Letters will be edited for length and style.

**Contact**

*PS: Political Science & Politics*  
American Political Science Association  
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036-1206  
E-mail: [ps@apsanet.org](mailto:ps@apsanet.org)  
Website: [www.apsanet.org/PS/](http://www.apsanet.org/PS/)

**Submissions**

Guidelines for submitting articles are posted online at [www.apsanet.org/PS/](http://www.apsanet.org/PS/).

**PS Reprint Permissions**

Reprints of *PS* articles for class use are available through the Academic Permissions Service of the Copyright Clearance Center, 2322 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923; phone: (978) 750-8400; fax: (978) 750-4744; or online at [www.copyright.com](http://www.copyright.com).

# About APSA

Founded in 1903, the American Political Science Association is the leading professional organization for the study of political science and serves more than 13,000 members in over 80 countries. With a range of programs and services for individuals, departments, and institutions, APSA brings together political scientists from all fields of inquiry, regions, and occupational endeavors within and outside academe in order to deepen our understanding of politics, democracy, and citizenship throughout the world.

The direct advancement of knowledge is at the core of APSA activities. We promote scholarly communication in political science through a variety of initiatives including publishing four distinguished journals: *American Political Science Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, and *Journal of Political Science Education*.

## Officers

### PRESIDENT

David Lake  
University of California,  
San Diego

### PRESIDENT-ELECT

Kathleen Thelen  
Massachusetts Institute  
of Technology

### VICE-PRESIDENTS

Janet Box-Steffensmeier  
Ohio State University

Elaine Kamarck  
Brookings Institution

Ian Shapiro  
Yale University

### SECRETARY

Marion Orr  
Brown University

### TREASURER

Taeku Lee  
University of California, Berkeley

### PROGRAM CO-CHAIRS

Amaney Jamal  
Princeton University

Susan Stokes  
University of California, Berkeley

### LEAD EDITOR, *APSR*

Thomas König  
University of Mannheim

### EDITOR, *PERSPECTIVES*

Jeffrey Isaac  
Indiana University

### EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Steven Rathgeb Smith

## Council

### 2015–2017

Roxanne Euben  
Wellesley College

Amaney Jamal  
Princeton University

Brett Ashley Leeds  
Rice University

James Mahoney  
Northwestern University

Byron D'Andra Orey  
Jackson State University

Bo Rothstein  
University of Gothenburg

Cameron Thies  
Arizona State University

Caroline Tolbert  
University of Iowa

### 2016–2018

Matt Barreto  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

Mark Crescenzi  
University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill

Omar Encarnación  
Bard College

Kristian Gleditsch  
University of Essex

Juliet Hooker  
University of Texas, Austin

Colleen Shogan  
Library of Congress

Renée Van Vechten  
University of Redlands

Christina Wolbrecht  
University of Notre Dame

## Former APSA Presidents

Frank J. Goodnow	Charles S. Hyneman
Albert Shaw	Carl J. Friedrich
Frederick N. Judson	C. Herman Pritchett
James Bryce	David B. Truman
A. Lawrence Lowell	Gabriel A. Almond
Woodrow Wilson	Robert A. Dahl
Simeon E. Baldwin	Merle Fainsod
Albert Bushnell Hart	David Easton
W. W. Willoughby	Karl W. Deutsch
John Bassett Moore	Robert E. Lane
Ernst Freund	Heinz Eulau
Jesse Macy	Robert E. Ward
Munroe Smith	Avery Leiserson
Henry Jones Ford	Austin Ranney
Paul S. Reinsch	James MacGregor Burns
Leo S. Rowe	Samuel H. Beer
William A. Dunning	John C. Wahlke
Harry A. Garfield	Leon D. Epstein
James W. Garner	Warren E. Miller
Charles E. Merriam	Charles E. Lindblom
Charles A. Beard	Seymour Martin Lipset
William Bennett Munro	William H. Riker
Jesse S. Reeves	Philip E. Converse
John A. Fairlie	Richard F. Fenno
Benjamin F. Shambaugh	Aaron B. Wildavsky
Edward S. Corwin	Samuel P. Huntington
William F. Willoughby	Kenneth N. Waltz
Isidor Loeb	Lucian W. Pye
Walter Shepard	Judith N. Shklar
Francis W. Coker	Theodore J. Lowi
Arthur N. Holcombe	James Q. Wilson
Thomas Reed Powell	Lucius J. Barker
Clarence A. Dykstra	Charles O. Jones
Charles Grove Haines	Sidney Verba
Robert C. Brooks	Arend Lijphart
Frederic A. Ogg	Elinor Ostrom
William Anderson	M. Kent Jennings
Robert E. Cushman	Matthew Holden, Jr.
Leonard D. White	Robert O. Keohane
John Gaus	Robert Jervis
Walter F. Dodd	Robert D. Putnam
Arthur W. MacMahon	Theda Skocpol
Henry R. Spencer	Susanne Hoerber Rudolph
Quincy Wright	Margaret Levi
James K. Pollock	Ira Katznelson
Peter H. Odegard	Robert Axelrod
Luther Gulick	Dianne M. Pinderhughes
Pendleton Herring	Peter Katzenstein
Ralph J. Bunche	Henry E. Brady
Charles McKinley	Carole Pateman
Harold D. Lasswell	G. Bingham Powell, Jr.
E. E. Schattschneider	Jane Mansbridge
V. O. Key, Jr.	John H. Aldrich
R. Taylor Cole	Rodney E. Hero
Carl B. Swisher	Jennifer Hochschild
Emmette S. Redford	