

# American Political Science Review

SEPTEMBER 1998  
VOLUME 92 NUMBER 3

## 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*  
*University of California, Riverside*  
*Riverside, CA 92521-0118*

## 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  
*Stanford University*  
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  
*The Ohio State University*  
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*  
Kathleen McGraw  
*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*  
Melody Scofield  
*Editor's Assistant*  
Elizabeth Johnston  
*Copy Editor*

Paul S. Wolberg  
*Data Processing Consultant*  
Jamie Carson  
Bernard J. Dobski  
Erik Herron  
Andrew Padon  
Christopher Sprecher  
*APSR Interns*

John Halpin  
Robert R. Lopez  
Eitan Schifman  
*Assistants to the Book  
Review Editor  
(through August 31,  
1998)*

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, \$68; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$84; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$100; \$50,000–\$69,999, \$116; \$70,000 and over, \$131; student members (limited to 7 years), \$32; unemployed members (limited to 2 years), \$32; community college faculty and high school teachers, \$32; retired members (who have been members 25 years) with gross calendar income under \$25,000, \$27; \$25,000 and over, \$47; life members, \$3,000; institutional members: domestic, \$220; foreign, \$245. Dues allocated for a subscription to the *APSR*: \$20 for individual members; \$135 for institutional members. Changes of address sent to Membership Services APSA. Postmaster: Send address changes to APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20036. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, DC, and at additional mailing offices. Copyright © 1998 by the American Political Science Association.

# American Political Science Review

Volume 92, Number 3, September 1998

## Table of Contents

EDITOR'S NOTES ..... viii

### ARTICLES

Individuals, Institutions, and Public Preferences over Public Finance

**John Mark Hansen** ..... 513

A New Approach to the Study of Ticket Splitting

**Barry C. Burden and David C. Kimball** ..... 533

Information Effects in Collective Preferences

**Scott L. Althaus** ..... 545

New Models for New Labour: The Political Economy of Labour Party Support, January 1992–April 1997

**Harold D. Clarke, Marianne C. Stewart, and Paul F. Whiteley** ..... 559

How Does Cabinet Instability Affect Political Performance? Portfolio Volatility and Health Care Cost Containment in Parliamentary Democracies

**John D. Huber** ..... 577

Comparative Dynamics of Parliamentary Governments

**David P. Baron** ..... 593

Cohesion in Legislatures and the Vote of Confidence Procedure

**Daniel Diermeier and Timothy J. Feddersen** ..... 611

International Crises and Domestic Politics

**Alastair Smith** ..... 623

Hugo Grotius on Ethics and War

**Steven Forde** ..... 639

### RESEARCH NOTES

The Political Determinants of International Trade:

The Major Powers, 1907–90

**James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Tressa E. Taberes** ..... 649

Administrative Procedures and Political Control of the Bureaucracy

**Steven J. Balla** ..... 663

### BOOK REVIEWS

Political Theory

Blokland, Hans. *Freedom and Culture in Western Society* ..... Brent L. Pickett 675

Botwinick, Aryeh. *Skepticism, Belief, and the Modern:*

*Maimonides to Nietzsche* ..... Fredrick Appel 675

Calhoun, Craig, and John McGowan, eds. *Hannah Arendt and the Meaning of Politics* ..... Phillip Hansen 676

Conway, Daniel W. *Nietzsche's Dangerous Game: Philosophy in the Twilight of the Idols* ..... Tracy B. Strong 677

Doyle, Michael W. <i>Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism</i> . . . . .	Steven Forde	678
Drury, Shadia B. <i>Leo Strauss and the American Right</i> . . . . .	James F. Ward	679
Etzioni, Amitai. <i>The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society</i> . . . . .	Jeff Spinner-Halev	680
Euben, J. Peter. <i>Corrupting Youth: Political Education, Democratic Culture, and Political Theory</i> . . . . .	Susan D. Collins	681
Gyekye, Kwame. <i>Tradition and Modernity: Philosophic Reflections on the African Experience</i> . . . . .	Crawford Young	682
Hyde, Alan. <i>Bodies of Law</i> . . . . .	Thomas F. Tierney	683
Kaufman-Osborn, Timothy V. <i>Creatures of Prometheus: Gender and the Politics of Technology</i> . . . . .	Ruth Abbey	684
Kramer, Matthew H. <i>John Locke and the Origins of Private Property: Philosophical Explorations of Individualism, Community, and Equality</i> . . . . .	Eduardo A. Velásquez	685
Kries, Douglas, ed. <i>Piety and Humanity: Essays on Religion and Early Modern Political Philosophy</i> . . . . .	Peter Augustine Lawler	686
Laursen, John Christian, and Cary J. Nederman, eds. <i>Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration before the Enlightenment</i> . Nederman, Cary J., and John Christian Laursen, eds. <i>Difference and Dissent: Theories of Tolerance in Medieval and Early Modern Europe</i> . . . . .	Maryanne Cline Horowitz	687
Lee, Theresa Man Ling. <i>Politics and Truth: Political Theory and the Postmodern Challenge</i> . . . . .	Louis Herman	688
Luke, Timothy W. <i>Ecocritique: Contesting the Politics of Nature, Economy, and Culture</i> . . . . .	Leslie Paul Thiele	689
Mills, Charles W. <i>The Racial Contract</i> . . . . .	Andrew Valls	691
Neal, Patrick. <i>Liberalism and Its Discontents</i> . . . . .	Emily R. Gill	692
Nederman, Cary J., and John Christian Laursen, eds. <i>Difference and Dissent: Theories of Tolerance in Medieval and Early Modern Europe</i> . See Laursen, John Christian, and Cary J. Nederman above.		
Reinhardt, Mark. <i>The Art of Being Free: Taking Liberties with Tocqueville, Marx, and Arendt</i> . . . . .	Michael Janover	693
Ring, Jennifer. <i>The Political Consequences of Thinking: Gender and Judaism in the Work of Hannah Arendt</i> . . . . .	Lisa Disch	694
Smith, Steven B. <i>Spinoza, Liberalism, and the Question of Jewish Identity</i> . . . . .	George M. Gross	695
Sullivan, Vickie B. <i>Machiavelli's Three Romes: Religion, Liberty, and Politics Reformed</i> . . . . .	Benedetto Fontana	696
Weithman, Paul J., ed. <i>Religion and Contemporary Liberalism</i> . . . . .	Robert Lowry Clinton	697
American Politics		
Beckett, Katherine. <i>Making Crime Pay</i> . . . . .	William E. Kelly	698
Blakely, Edward J., and Mary Gail Snyder. <i>Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States</i> . . . . .	John McGeady	699
Borrelli, MaryAnne, and Janet M. Martin, eds. <i>The Other Elites: Women, Politics, and Power in the Executive Branch</i> . . . . .	Susan J. Carroll	700
Brisbin, Richard A., Jr., <i>Justice Antonin Scalia and the Conservative Revival</i> . . . . .	Sue Davis	701
Broz, J. Lawrence. <i>The International Origins of the Federal Reserve System</i> . . . . .	Andrew J. Taylor	702
Dickinson, Matthew J. <i>Bitter Harvest: FDR, Presidential Power and the Growth of the Presidential Branch</i> . . . . .	Joseph A. Pika	703
Goldfield, Michael. <i>The Color of Politics: Race and the Mainsprings of American Politics</i> . . . . .	Mamie E. Locke	704
Gordon, Ann D., ed., with Bettye Collier-Thomas, John H. Bracey, Arlene Voski Avakian, and Joyce Avrech Berkman. <i>African American Women and the Vote, 1837–1965</i> . Robnett, Belinda. <i>How Long? How Long? African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights</i> . . . . .	Carol Nackenoff	705
Guth, James L., John C. Green, Corwin E. Smidt, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Margaret M. Poloma. <i>The Bully Pulpit: The Politics of Protestant Clergy</i> . . . . .	Laura R. Olson	707
Hunter, Susan, and Richard W. Waterman. <i>Enforcing the Law: The Case of the Clean Water Acts</i> . . . . .	James P. Lester	708

Liebschutz, Sarah F., with Robert W. Bailey, Jeffrey M. Stonecash, Jane Shapiro Zacek, and Joseph F. Zimmerman. <i>New York Politics and Government: Competition and Compassion</i> .....	Robert F. Pecorella	709
Lloyd, Brian. <i>Left Out: Pragmatism, Exceptionalism, and the Poverty of American Marxism, 1890–1922</i> .....	Clyde W. Barrow	710
Noble, Charles. <i>Welfare as We Knew It: A Political History of the American Welfare State</i> .....	Gretchen Ritter	710
Norris, Pippa, ed. <i>Women, Media, and Politics</i> .....	Laurie A. Rhodebeck	712
Perry, Huey L., ed. <i>Race, Politics, and Governance in the United States</i> .....	Georgia A. Persons	713
Robnett, Belinda. <i>How Long? How Long? African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights</i> . See Gordon, Ann D., with Bettye Collier-Thomas, John H. Bracey, Arlene Voski Avakian, and Joyce Avrech Berkman above.		
Rozell, Mark J., and Clyde Wilcox, eds. <i>God at the Grass Roots: The Christian Right in the 1996 Election</i> . Watson, Justin. <i>The Christian Coalition: Dreams of Restoration, Demands for Recognition</i> .....	Stuart A. Lilie	714
Sarat, Austin, ed. <i>Race, Law and Culture: Reflections on Brown v. Board of Education</i> .....	Elliot E. Slotnick	715
Slessarev, Helene. <i>The Betrayal of the Urban Poor</i> .....	Michele Hoyman	716
Stokes, Donald E. <i>Pasteur's Quadrant: Basic Science and Technological Innovation</i> .....	James A. Desveaux	718
Tobias, Sheila. <i>Faces of Feminism: An Activist's Reflections on the Women's Movement</i> .....	Martha A. Ackelsberg	719
Watson, Justin. <i>The Christian Coalition: Dreams of Restoration, Demands for Recognition</i> . See Rozell, Mark J., and Clyde Wilcox above.		
White, John Kenneth. <i>Still Seeing Red: How the Cold War Shapes the New American Politics</i> .....	Howard L. Reiter	720
Zimmerman, Joseph F. <i>The Recall: Tribunal of the People</i> .....	Charles Press	720
Comparative Politics		
Beckett, Paul A., and Crawford Young, eds. <i>Dilemmas of Democracy in Nigeria</i> .....	John A. Wiseman	721
Belin, Laura, and Robert W. Orttung. <i>The Russian Parliamentary Elections of 1995: The Battle for the Duma</i> . McFaul, Michael. <i>Russia's 1996 Presidential Election: The End of Polarized Politics</i> .....	Steven L. Solnick	722
Brass, Paul R. <i>Theft of an Idol: Text and Context in the Representation of Collective Violence</i> .....	Sumit Ganguly	724
Bruneau, Thomas C., ed. <i>Political Parties and Democracy in Portugal: Organizations, Elections, and Public Opinion</i> . Magone, José M. <i>European Portugal: The Difficult Road to Sustainable Democracy</i> .....	Howard J. Wiarda	725
Conca, Ken. <i>Manufacturing Insecurity: The Rise and Fall of Brazil's Military-Industrial Complex</i> .....	Wendy Hunter	726
Cox, Gary. <i>Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems</i> .....	Melvin J. Hinich	727
Ekiert, Grzegorz. <i>The State against Society: Political Crises and Their Aftermath in East Central Europe</i> .....	Michael Bernhard	728
Fleet, Michael, and Brian H. Smith. <i>The Catholic Church and Democracy in Chile and Peru</i> . Sabia, Debra. <i>Contradiction and Conflict: The Popular Church in Nicaragua</i> .....	Philip J. Williams	729
Forbes, H. D. <i>Ethnic Conflict: Commerce, Culture, and the Contact Hypothesis</i> .....	Milton J. Esman	730
Herspring, Dale R. <i>Russian Civil-Military Relations</i> .....	Mark Kramer	731
Landé, Carl H. <i>Post-Marcos Politics: A Geographical and Statistical Analysis of the 1992 Presidential Election</i> .....	Jeffrey M. Riedinger	732
Loriaux, Michael, Meredith Woo-Cumings, Kent E. Calder, Sylvia Maxfield, and Sofia Perez. <i>Capital Ungoverned: Liberalizing Finance in Interventionist States</i> .....	Ethan B. Kapstein	732
Magone, José M. <i>The Difficult Road to Sustainable Democracy</i> . See Bruneau, Thomas C., above.		
McAuley, Mary. <i>Russia's Politics of Uncertainty</i> .....	Alfred B. Evans, Jr.	733

McFaul, Michael. <i>Russia's 1996 Presidential Elections: The End of Polarized Politics</i> . See Belin, Laura, and Robert W. Orttung above.	
McGuire, James W. <i>Peronism without Perón: Unions, Parties, and Democracy in Argentina</i> . . . . .	J. Patrice McSherry 734
Pinkney, Robert. <i>Democracy and Dictatorship in Ghana and Tanzania</i> . . . . .	James R. Scarritt 736
Sabia, Debra. <i>Contradiction and Conflict: The Popular Church in Nicaragua</i> . See Fleet, Michael, and Brian H. Smith above.	
Shi, Tianjian. <i>Political Participation in Beijing</i> . . . . .	Yang Zhong 737
Smith, Kathleen E. <i>Remembering Stalin's Victims: Popular Memory and the End of the USSR</i> . . . . .	Jeffrey W. Hahn 738
Sniderman, Paul M., Joseph F. Fletcher, Peter H. Russell, and Phillip E. Tetlock. <i>The Clash of Rights: Liberty, Equality, and Legitimacy in Pluralist Democracy</i> . . . . .	Patrick Malcolmson 738
Taras, Ray, ed. <i>Post-Communist Presidents</i> . . . . .	Timothy Frye 739
Yashar, Deborah J. <i>Demanding Democracy: Reform and Reaction in Costa Rica and Guatemala, 1870s–1950s</i> . . . . .	Mitchell A. Seligson 740
International Relations	
Beer, Francis A., and Robert Hariman, eds. <i>Post-Realism: The Rhetorical Turn in International Relations</i> . . . . .	Ronald J. Deibert 742
Bennett, Andrew, Joseph Lepgold, and Danny Unger, eds. <i>Friends in Need: Burden Sharing in the Gulf War</i> . . . . .	Gerald Steinberg 743
Blackwill, Robert D., and Michael Sturmer, eds. <i>Allies Divided: Transatlantic Policies for the Greater Middle East</i> . . . . .	Sara Roy 744
Cederman, Lars-Erik. <i>Emergent Actors in World Politics: How States and Nations Develop and Dissolve</i> . . . . .	Miriam Fendius Elman 745
Deng, Yong. <i>Promoting Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation: Perspectives from East Asia</i> . . . . .	Danny Unger 746
Doyle, Michael, Ian Johnstone, and Robert C. Orr, eds. <i>Keeping the Peace: Multidimensional UN Operations in Cambodia and El Salvador</i> . Peou, Sorpong. <i>Conflict Neutralization in the Cambodia War: From Battlefield to Ballot-box</i> . Wesley, Michael. <i>Casualties of the New World Order: The Causes of Failure of UN Missions to Civil Wars</i> . . . . .	Thomas G. Weiss 747
Hickey, Dennis Van Vranken. <i>Taiwan's Security in the Changing International System</i> . . . . .	Wei-chin Lee 749
Kier, Elizabeth. <i>Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine between the Wars</i> . . . . .	Robert A. Doughty 750
Kingston, Paul W. T. <i>Britain and the Politics of Modernization in the Middle East, 1945–1958</i> . . . . .	Robert Vitalis 751
Lake, David A., and Patrick M. Morgan, eds. <i>Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World</i> . . . . .	Benjamin Miller 752
Larson, Deborah Welch. <i>Anatomy of Mistrust: U.S.-Soviet Relations during the Cold War</i> . . . . .	Alexander Dallin 753
Ludlow, N. Piers. <i>Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First UK Application to the EEC</i> . . . . .	Andrew P. Geddes 754
McKay, David. <i>Rush to Union: Understanding the European Federal Bargain</i> . Taylor, Paul. <i>The European Union in the 1990s</i> . . . . .	Alison M. S. Watson 755
Murray, Shoon Kathleen. <i>Anchors against Change: American Opinion Leaders' Beliefs after the Cold War</i> . . . . .	Douglas C. Foyle 756
Peou, Sorpong. <i>Conflict Neutralization in the Cambodia War: From Battlefield to Ballot-box</i> . See Doyle, Michael, Ian Johnstone, and Robert C. Orr above.	
Sigal, Leon. <i>Disarming Strangers: Nuclear Diplomacy with North Korea</i> . . . . .	Daniel Drezner 757
Taylor, Paul. <i>The European Union in the 1990s</i> . See McKay, David, above.	
Wesley, Michael. <i>Casualties of the New World Order: The Causes of Failure of UN Missions to Civil Wars</i> . See Doyle, Michael, Ian Johnstone, and Robert C. Orr above.	

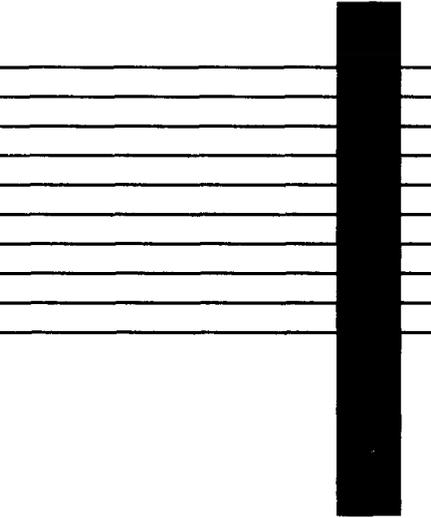
FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

- Christianity and Republicanism: A Response to Nederman **Antony Black**  
Prospecting for Participants: Rational Expectations and the Recruitment of Political Activists,  
**Henry E. Brady, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba**  
From Abe Fortas to Zoe Baird: Explaining Why Some Presidential Nominations Fail in the  
Senate **Richard Fleisher, Jon R. Bond, and Glen S. Krutz**  
Macropartisanship: A Replication and Critique **Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric  
Schickler**  
Organized Interests and the Decision of Whom to Lobby in Congress **Marie E. Hojnacki and  
David Kimball**  
When the Party Breaks Up: Exit and Voice among Japanese Legislators **Junko Kato**  
Critique of 'Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in  
Congress?' by Charles Cameron, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran **David Lublin**  
What Moves Macropartisanship? A Response to Green, Palmquist, and Schickler **Michael B.  
MacKuen, Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson**  
The Strange Case of Christianity and Republicanism: A Comment on Black **Cary J. Nederman**  
Domestic Opposition and Signaling in International Crises **Kenneth A. Schultz**  
Thoreau's Alternative Economics **Brian Walker**

**ERRATA:**

Authorship of the following book, reviewed on pp. 433–34 of the June 1998 issue of the *Review*, was given incorrectly. The correct citation follows.

**The Power of Identity: Politics in a New Key.** By Kenneth Hoover, with James Marcia and Kristen Parris. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1997. 160p. \$19.95.



# American Political Science Association

1527 New Hampshire Avenue,  
Washington, DC 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, San Diego*

**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*