

# WORLD POLITICS

*A Quarterly Journal of  
International Relations*

**Volume 60  
October 2007–July 2008**

UNDER THE EDITORIAL SPONSORSHIP OF  
PRINCETON INSTITUTE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL STUDIES

KATHERINE S. NEWMAN, *Director*

PUBLISHED BY THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY PRESS

*EDITORIAL BOARD*

ATUL KOHLI, *Chair*

LISA ANDERSON, NANCY BERMEJO, VALERIE J. BUNCE, MARY GALLAGHER,  
GEOFFREY GARRETT, JEFFREY HERBST, HERBERT KITSCHOLT, LISA L. MARTIN,  
KEVIN O'ROURKE, KAREN L. REMMER, JAMES ROBINSON, KENNETH SCHEVE,  
MARC TRACHTENBERG, ROBERT C. TUCKER, DALI YANG

*Editorial Committee:* JOANNE GOWA, G. JOHN IKENBERRY, HAROLD JAMES,  
ATUL KOHLI, STEPHEN M. KOTKIN, DOUGLAS S. MASSEY, JONAS PONTUSSON,  
DEBORAH J. YASHAR

*Associate Editors:* CHARLES R. BEITZ, CHRISTINA L. DAVIS, AMANEY A. JAMAL,  
EVAN LIEBERMAN, JASON LYALL, GRIGORE POP-ELECHES, KRISTOPHER W. RAMSAY,  
ANDREA VINDIGNI, LYNN T. WHITE III

*Executive Editor:* ILENE P. COHEN *Assistant Editor:* JOY M. SCHARFSTEIN  
*Secretary:* PATRICIA D. ZIMMER

The editors invite submission of articles, research notes, and review articles bearing upon problems in international relations and comparative politics. Manuscripts and notes should be double-spaced and submitted through Manuscript Central, our Web-based submission system, at <http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/wp>. *World Politics* guidelines permit submissions of 11,000 words maximum, including notes and references (excluding tables, figures, and appendices); word count should be indicated. Manuscripts that exceed the limit will not be considered. E-mail: [ipcohen@princeton.edu](mailto:ipcohen@princeton.edu).

The journal strives to render decisions to authors within four months. Procedures for reviewing manuscripts are based on the anonymity of the author and the confidentiality of readers' and editors' reports; author anonymity is preserved, as well, during the editorial decision-making process. Self-references should therefore be removed. Referees are drawn from Princeton and other institutions; published articles have usually been reviewed by at least one editor and two readers from other institutions. Referees for the previous calendar year are acknowledged in the July issue of the journal. *World Politics* does not accept manuscripts that have already been published, are scheduled for publication elsewhere, or have been simultaneously submitted to another journal; this applies to both print and online formats. Statements of fact and opinion appearing in the journal are made on the responsibility of the authors alone and do not imply the endorsement of the editors or publisher. The journal does not publish communications to the editor or rejoinders to specific articles. Scholars who believe they have been challenged are encouraged to submit an article that will advance the scholarly debate. The *World Politics* home page is found at <http://www.princeton.edu/~piirs/publications/index.html> and includes the guidelines for contributors, as well as links to the guidelines for review articles and the guidelines for special issues.

*Reprint permission:* Permissions Department, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2715 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-4319.

*Subscriptions:* WORLD POLITICS, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Journals Publishing Division, 2715 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-4319. Phone: (410) 516-6987; FAX: (410) 516-6968; toll-free (800) 548-1784. Individuals: \$35 per year; institutions: \$140 per year. Single copies: individuals, \$10; institutions, \$36. For postage and handling in Canada and Mexico, add \$6.60 per year; outside of North America, \$13.00.

*Back Issues:* WORLD POLITICS is available in microfilm or xerographic copies from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Two years after publication, complete volumes are available in microfiche form from KTO Microform, Route 100, Millwood, NY 10546. Individual issues in the current and two preceding volumes may be ordered from The Johns Hopkins University Press, Journals Publishing Division, 2715 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-4319.

*Advertising:* Journals Advertising Coordinator, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Journals Publishing Division, 2715 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-4319.

WORLD POLITICS is indexed by *ABC POL SCI*, *Book Review Index*, *Combined Retrospective Index Sets (CRIS)*, *Combined Retrospective Index to Book Reviews in Scholarly Journals, 1886-1974 (RSJ)*, *PAIS Bulletin Social Science Index*, and *Periodica Islamica*; it is abstracted and indexed in *United States Political Science Documents*, *International Bibliography of Periodical Literature (IBZ)*, *International Bibliography of Book Reviews (IBR)*, and *Current Military and Political Literature*. Abstracts of articles also appear in *Book Review Digest*, *Historical Abstracts*, *International Development Abstracts*, *International Political Science Abstracts*, *Political Science Abstracts*, and *Social Sciences Abstracts*.

Copyright © 2007-2008 by The Johns Hopkins University Press

WORLD POLITICS (ISSN 0043-8871). Published quarterly by The Johns Hopkins University Press. Vol. 60, October 2007-July 2008. Periodicals postage paid at Baltimore, MD, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to WORLD POLITICS, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Journals Publishing Division, 2715 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-4319. Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Press.

## CONTENTS

No. 1—OCTOBER 2007

- The State and Coordinated Capitalism:  
Contributions of the Public  
Sector to Social Solidarity in  
Postindustrial Societies *Cathie Jo Martin and  
Kathleen Thelen* 1
- The Observer Effect in International  
Politics: Evidence from a Natural  
Experiment *Susan D. Hyde* 37
- Ideas, Networks, and Islamist Movements:  
Evidence from Central Asia and  
the Caucasus *Kathleen Collins* 64
- Low-Intensity Democracy Revisited:  
The Effects of Economic  
Liberalization on Political Activity  
in Latin America *Moises Arce and  
Paul T. Bellinger, Jr.* 97
- REVIEW ARTICLE  
Courts and Judges in Authoritarian  
Regimes *Peter H. Solomon, Jr.* 122

No. 2—JANUARY 2008

- Bilateral Treaties and the Most-  
Favored-Nation Clause: The Myth  
of Trade Liberalization in the  
Nineteenth Century *Olivier Accominotti  
and Marc Flandreau* 147
- University Challenges: Explaining  
Institutional Change in Higher Education *Ben W. Ansell* 189
- Embedding Neoliberal Reform in  
Latin America *Marcus J. Kurtz and  
Sarah M. Brooks* 231

Toward a New Theory of Institutional  
Change *Kurt Weyland* 281

REVIEW ARTICLE

Faith in Politics: New Trends in the Study  
of Religion and Politics *Eva Bellin* 315

NO. 3—APRIL 2008

Left Government, Policy, and Corporatism:  
Explaining the Influence of  
Partisanship on Inequality *David Rueda* 349

Economic Roots of Civil Wars and  
Revolutions in the Contemporary World *Carles Boix* 390

Capital Mobility and Coalitional Politics:  
Authoritarian Regimes and Economic  
Adjustment in Southeast Asia *Thomas B. Pepinsky* 438

The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin  
America *Raúl L. Madrid* 475

REVIEW ARTICLE

Immigration and Integration Studies in  
Western Europe and the United States:  
The Road Less Traveled and a Path Ahead *Erik Bleich* 509

NO. 4—JULY 2008

The Impact of International  
Trade on Democracy: A  
Long-Run Perspective *J. Ernesto López-Córdova and  
Christopher M. Meissner* 539

The Political Economy of Women's  
Support for Fundamentalist Islam *Lisa Blaydes and  
Drew A. Linzer* 576

Does Landholding Inequality Block  
Democratization? A Test of the “Bread  
and Democracy” Thesis and the Case  
of Prussia

*Daniel Ziblatt* 610

RESEARCH NOTE

Social Stratification and Welfare Regimes  
for the Twenty-first Century: Revisiting  
*The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*

*Lyle A. Scruggs* and  
*James P. Allan* 642

REVIEW ARTICLE

Federalism in Europe and Latin America:  
Conceptualization, Causes, and Consequences

*Kent Eaton* 665

# WORLD POLITICS

Vol. 60

October 2007

No. 1

## CONTENTS

- The State and Coordinated Capitalism:  
Contributions of the Public  
Sector to Social Solidarity in  
Postindustrial Societies *Cathie Jo Martin and  
Kathleen Thelen* 1
- The Observer Effect in International  
Politics: Evidence from a Natural  
Experiment *Susan D. Hyde* 37
- Ideas, Networks, and Islamist Movements:  
Evidence from Central Asia and  
the Caucasus *Kathleen Collins* 64
- Low-Intensity Democracy Revisited:  
The Effects of Economic  
Liberalization on Political Activity  
in Latin America *Moises Arce and  
Paul T. Bellinger, Jr.* 97
- REVIEW ARTICLE  
Courts and Judges in Authoritarian  
Regimes *Peter H. Solomon, Jr.* 122
- The Contributors ii
- Abstracts iii

## THE CONTRIBUTORS

CATHIE JO MARTIN is a professor of political science at Boston University and currently holds a fellowship at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. She serves on the strategic advisory council of the Danish National Institute for Social Science Research and holds a visiting scholar position with the Copenhagen Business School. She is the author of *Stuck in Neutral: Business and the Politics of Human Capital Investment Policy* (2000), *Shifting the Burden: The Struggle over Growth and Corporate Taxation* (1991), and articles appearing in numerous journals. She conducts her research in the areas of employers and social policy. She can be reached at [cjmartin@bu.edu](mailto:cjmartin@bu.edu).

KATHLEEN THELEN is a professor of political science at Northwestern University. She is also a permanent external member of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne, Germany, and a senior research fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford University. She is the author of *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States and Japan* (2004). She is also coeditor, with Wolfgang Streeck, of *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies* (2005). She is currently working on two projects: a book on the politics of coordination in coordinated market economies and an edited volume, in collaboration with James Mahoney, on historical-institutional approaches to institutional change. She can be reached at [thelen@northwestern.edu](mailto:thelen@northwestern.edu).

SUSAN D. HYDE is an assistant professor of political science and international and area studies at Yale University. She is currently completing a book manuscript on the causes and consequences of internationally monitored elections. She can be reached at [susan.hyde@yale.edu](mailto:susan.hyde@yale.edu).

KATHLEEN COLLINS is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. She is author of *Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia* (2006). She has been named a Carnegie Scholar and McKnight Land-Grant Professor for her research on political Islam in the former Soviet Union. She can be reached at [colli433@umn.edu](mailto:colli433@umn.edu).

MOISES ARCE is an associate professor in the department of political science at the University of Missouri-Columbia. He is the author of *Market Reform in Society: Post-Crisis Politics and Economic Change in Authoritarian Peru* (2005). His current research examines the changing basis of antigovernment mobilizations against economic liberalization in Latin America. He can be reached at [arcem@missouri.edu](mailto:arcem@missouri.edu).

PAUL T. BELLINGER, JR., is a Ph.D. candidate in the department of political science at the University of Missouri-Columbia. His dissertation examines the effects of market transitions on labor's ability to organize and bargain collectively in Latin America. He can be reached at [ptbhwb@mizzou.edu](mailto:ptbhwb@mizzou.edu).

PETER H. SOLOMON, JR., is a professor of political science, law, and criminology at the University of Toronto. His books include *Soviet Criminal Justice under Stalin* (1996) and *Courts and Transition in Russia: The Challenge of Judicial Reform* with coauthor Todd Foglesong (2000). He has also written numerous articles on legal reform in postcommunist countries. He is an active participant in judicial reform projects, including the Canada-Russia Judicial Partnership and the Canada-Ukraine Judicial Cooperation Project, both funded by the Canadian International Development Agency. He can be reached at [peter.solomon@utoronto.ca](mailto:peter.solomon@utoronto.ca).

## ABSTRACTS

### THE STATE AND COORDINATED CAPITALISM

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR TO SOCIAL SOLIDARITY IN  
POSTINDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

By CATHIE JO MARTIN and KATHLEEN THELEN

This article investigates the politics of change in coordinated market economies, and explores why some countries (well known for their highly cooperative arrangements) manage to sustain coordination when adjusting to economic transformation, while others fail. The authors argue that the broad category of “coordinated market economies” subsumes different types of cooperative engagement: *macrocorporatist* forms of coordination are characterized by national-level institutions for fostering cooperation and feature a strong role for the state, while forms of coordination associated with *enterprise cooperation* more typically occur at the level of sector or regional institutions and are often privately controlled. Although these diverse forms of coordination once appeared quite similar and functioned as structural equivalents, they now have radically different capacities for self-adjustment.

The role of the state is at the heart of the divergence among European coordinated countries. A large public sector affects the political dynamics behind collective outcomes, through its impact both on the state’s construction of its own policy interests and on private actors’ goals. Although a large public sector has typically been written off as an inevitable drag on the economy, it can provide state actors with a crucial political tool for shoring up coordination in a postindustrial economy. The authors use the cases of Denmark and Germany to illustrate how uncontroversially coordinated market economies have evolved along two sharply divergent paths in the past two decades and to reflect on broader questions of stability and change in coordinated market economies. The two countries diverge most acutely with respect to the balance of power between state and society; indeed, the Danish state—far from being a constraint on adjustment (a central truism in neoliberal thought)—plays the role of facilitator in economic adjustment, policy change, and continued coordination.

### THE OBSERVER EFFECT IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

EVIDENCE FROM A NATURAL EXPERIMENT

By SUSAN D. HYDE

By pressuring governments to hold democratic elections and by becoming directly involved in the electoral process through technical assistance and funding or as election monitors, international actors now play a visible role in domestic elections and other democratic processes throughout the developing world. Although scholars have documented several macrolevel relationships between international-level variables and movement toward democracy, there has been little attention paid to the microlevel effects of international involvement in the democratization process. This article examines the effects of international election observation as a prominent form of international involvement in domestic elections and exploits a natural experiment in order to test whether international observers reduce election fraud. Using data from the 2003 presidential elections in Armenia, the article demonstrates that although observers may not eliminate election fraud, they can reduce election-day fraud at the polling stations they visit. The unusual advantage of experiment-like conditions for this study offers unique causal evidence that international actors can have direct, measurable effects on the level of election-day fraud and, by extension, on the democratization process.

### IDEAS, NETWORKS, AND ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS

EVIDENCE FROM CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS

By KATHLEEN COLLINS

Two major questions are seldom addressed in the literature on Islamism and opposition social movements more generally: (1) what explains the relative success or failure of Islamist groups in



mobilizing a social base and (2) what role do Islamist ideas play in attracting support. Islamist movements vary significantly in their origins, leadership, ideas, and strategies. In answering these important questions, this article offers three main propositions: that under certain conditions, Islamism can emerge as a powerful idea that generates social appeal; that to be successful, Islamist organizations must develop a local Islamist ideology that suits the local social base, rather than tie themselves to a global Islamist agenda; and that in authoritarian contexts, especially where open mobilization is forbidden, inclusive informal social networks are an essential mechanism for spreading Islamist ideas and protecting group members. Nonetheless, there are limitations to an Islamist movement's ability to grow and bring about political change. The article contributes to an understanding of Islamism and, more broadly, to an understanding of why and how opposition movements emerge and mobilize under authoritarian regimes. The article develops these propositions in a comparative examination of three Islamist groups active in the Central Asian and south Caucasus regions of the former Soviet Union (FSU): *Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami* (HT), the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRP), and the Islamic Party of Azerbaijan (IPA).

## LOW-INTENSITY DEMOCRACY REVISITED

THE EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN LATIN AMERICA

By MOISES ARCE and PAUL T. BELLINGER, JR.

Existing literature emphasizes the disorganizing or weakening effects of economic liberalization on civil society, whereby free-market policies are said to demobilize and depoliticize collective actors. The article evaluates the effects of economic liberalization on large-scale societal mobilizations across seventeen Latin American countries for the period 1970–2000. The article further tests the effects of economic liberalization on individual political participation across sixteen Latin American countries for the period 1980–2000. In contrast to the atomization literature, this article provides strong evidence that economic liberalization leads to greater levels of societal mobilization in the context of free-market democratization. The article also demonstrates that economic liberalization does not induce a decline in political participation. Collectively, these results cast doubt on the theoretical underpinnings and empirical findings presented in Kurtz (2004).

## COURTS AND JUDGES IN AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

By PETER H. SOLOMON, JR.

The establishment of constitutional review in transitional and nondemocratic regimes has drawn attention to courts in nondemocratic states. Typically, authoritarian leaders treat law and courts in an instrumental fashion and try to keep judges dependent and responsive to their desires. The three books under review reveal the sophisticated ways that this is achieved, including the development of judicial bureaucracies and the cultivation of apolitical judges, and how the empowerment of judges tends to produce power that is contingent and easily withdrawn. The leaders of established authoritarian regimes do empower judges, if only to gain legitimacy for the regime and keep its officials accountable, but sometimes at a cost to judicial independence. The mixture of independence, power, and accountability of judges in authoritarian states differs from what is found in democratic ones, and informal practices often determine the meaning of judicial power. These patterns have serious consequences for legal transition.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use, or the internal or personal use of specific clients, is granted by The Johns Hopkins University Press for libraries and other users registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transactional Reporting Service, provided that the fee of \$3.25 per article is paid directly to CCC, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923. 0043-88 71/94 \$03.25