

Participation

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IPSA  AISP



POZNAN 2016

Review of the 24th World Congress of Political Science



**Richard
Wilkinson**

The Spirit Level:
Why Greater
Equality
Makes Societies
Stronger



**Peter Anyang'
Nyong'o**

When Elections
Fail Twice or
More, Can
'Losers' Accept
the 'Victors' as
Legitimate?



**Leszek
Balcerowicz**

Institutional
Systems,
Policies,
Inequalities

Participation

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Participation is the annual publication of the International Political Science Association. IPSA is an international non-profit scientific organization founded in 1949 under the auspices of UNESCO. Its objective is to promote the advancement of political science. It has 4,000 individual members, 105 associate members and 54 national and regional associations members. IPSA is a member of the International Social Science Council and has consultative status with UNESCO and the Global Development Network.

Participation est une publication de l'Association internationale de science politique (AISP) et paraît une fois par année. L'AISP est une organisation scientifique internationale sans but lucratif fondée en 1949 sous les auspices de l'UNESCO. Son objectif est de promouvoir le développement de la science politique. Elle compte 4 000 membres individuels, 105 membres associés et 54 associations nationales et régionales membres. L'AISP est membre du Conseil International des Sciences Sociales et dispose d'un statut consultatif au sein de l'UNESCO et du Global Development Network.

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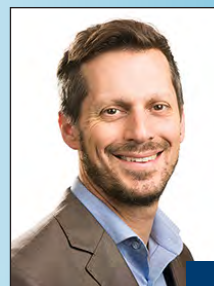


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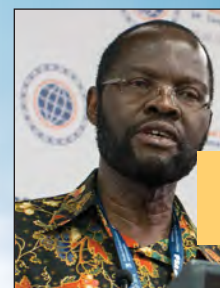


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Congress Features

The Poznań Congress



**Marian
SAWER**

Australian National University
2016 World Congress
Program Co-Chair



**Dianne
PINDERHUGHES**

University of Notre Dame
2016 World Congress
Program Co-Chair

Photos: Dean Tosovic

scientists from 92 countries converged on Poznań—a higher turnout than any previous IPSA World Congress with the exception of Madrid in 2012. There were powerful plenaries, including by epidemiologist Richard Wilkinson on the detrimental effects of inequality, and a more positive view of inequality echoed by Leszek Balcerowicz, the architect of Poland's transition to a market economy. In the presidential plenary organized by Aiji Tanaka, Pippa Norris gave a brilliant presentation on the multidimensional space occupied by today's populist parties. Kenyan Senator Peter Anyang' Nyong'o delivered a powerful, well-received analysis of presidential electoral and post-electoral politics and policy outcomes across the African continent.

On a more sombre note, a travel ban was imposed on Turkish academics just before the World Congress in the wake of an attempted military coup in that country. The ban meant that close to 100 registered Turkish participants were unable to travel to Poznań. It formed the backdrop for the adoption at the IPSA Council meeting of IPSA's formal statement on academic freedom. In the making since 2012, the statement emphasizes the need for political scientists to be able to disseminate freely their ideas and results, both nationally and internationally. Following the World Congress the new IPSA President, İltar Turan, issued a statement on academic freedom in Turkey, reiterating IPSA's belief that political science can only flourish under conditions where academic and democratic freedoms are widely respected.

The World Congress was a success because of the commitment of IPSA networks across the globe. The Poznań Local Organizing

Committee was anchored at Adam Mickiewicz University, where Co-Chair Tadeusz Wallas is Dean of the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, and First Vice-President of the Polish Political Science Association. Professor Wallas worked closely with LOC Co-Chair and PAPS President Roman Bäcker to provide the resources and organi-

zational infrastructure required to host the World Congress. The LOC was made up of former IPSA Executive Committee members, including Teresa Sasinskas-Klas of Krakow's Jagiellonian University, as well as scholars from across Poland. The fact that they were able to manage this within a few months rather than the customary years of planning must be recognized and honoured.

The Turkish LOC headed by Füsun Türkmen had worked hard to bring the World Congress to Istanbul; when the IPSA leadership determined that the event could not be held in Turkey, Türkmen and her committee worked to support Polish planners. The full membership of the World Congress Program Committee, led by Pro-

It was a snowy February day in Montreal when the risks of holding the World Congress in Istanbul finally forced its cancellation. We had delayed the decision for as long as possible, as we were eager to provide support and global recognition to Turkish political science.

Once the decision was made to move the event from Istanbul, the Secretariat sprang into action. A new round of tenders was issued for the Congress, with a closing date of March 25. Of the 12 bids received and reviewed, Poznań emerged as the winner, with strong support from the Polish Association of Political Science (PAPS) and the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Free travel on the varied Poznań trams for those with Congress lanyards became one of the many attractions, along with the record number of student volunteers in this university town.

In an amazingly short time, the World Congress was relocated over 1,500 kilometres to the north, a new Local Organizing Committee came into being, and our Polish hosts put together an outstanding program showcasing Polish political science and culture. The theme of the Congress – “Politics in a World of Inequality” – remained the same, and despite the dislocation over 2,500 political

**Once the decision was
made to move the event
from Istanbul, the
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into action.**



gram Chairs Pinderhughes and Sawyer, included Leonardo Avritzer, Roman Bäcker, Linda Cardinal, Terrell Carver, David Baldwin, Rieko Kage, Mark Kesselman, Marianne Kneuer, Chan Wook Park, and Füsün Türkmen.

Finally, the IPSCA Secretariat in Montreal managed the transition from Istanbul to Poznań, taking charge of the complicated adjustments required by the move. The entire Secretariat led by Secretary General Guy Lachapelle and Executive Director Andrea Cestaro organized and reorganized the Congress. Working alongside Haluk

Dag, Jessica Tavares and Désirée Hostettler, Yannick Saint-Germain, Event Project Manager, and Roksolana Bobyk, World Congress and Event Coordinator, responded to the endless complications associated with the Congress Program paper and panel proposals as well as the required changes. Other Secretariat staff members Mathieu St-Laurent, Eric Grève, Claude Berlinguette and Fernand Thériault handled their regular responsibilities, on top of the added duties that go along with staging the biennial World Congress, particularly one that moves!



Front row, from left to right: Jessica Tavares, Dianne Pinderhughes, Marian Sawyer, Andrea Cestaro

Back row: Eric Grève, Guy Lachapelle, Haluk Dag, Yannick Saint-Germain, Mathieu St-Laurent

POZNAN 2016





World Congress of Political Science 2016: Politics in a World of Inequality



**Yannick
SAINT-GERMAIN**
Event Project Manager



**Roksolana
BOBYK**
World Congress
& Event Coordinator

Photos: Danylo Bobyk

The 24th IPSA World Congress of Political Science drew 2,587 participants, the second highest turnout in the history of this event. From July 23 to 28, 2016, participants from 92 countries gathered in Poznań, Poland, to share their research and discuss the main theme of the Congress, “Politics in a World of Inequality.”

Women played a significant role in this year’s event, accounting for 42% of participants. At previous world congresses, this percentage was: 40% (Montréal 2014), 42% (Madrid, 2012), 37% (Santiago 2009), 26% (Fukuoka 2006) and 20% (Durban 2003). Students represented 27% of congress participants.

Relocation of the WC2016

Relocating the 24th World Congress was one of most delicate decisions in IPSA’s history. We remain convinced that it was the best thing to do, however. Within a month, the Secretariat conducted an accelerated bid process, analyzing some 12 European candidacies and adapting all its communication tools based on the new destination.

With support from the Local Organizing Committee, the Secretariat and the Program Committee transferred the World Congress from Istanbul to Poznań in only four months. We thank all the participants for their support and for following us in this adventure. This allowed us to meet the challenge, and we’re proud to have succeeded in doing so.

The Congress Program

Under the leadership of Professors Marian Sawer (Australia) and Dianne Pinderhughes (USA), the program committee played a crucial role in the success of the 24th IPSA World Congress Program. In spite of its relocation from Istanbul to Poznań in March 2016, the event was a great success, with some 633 panels and 2,271 papers presented, along with five plenary sessions, four award sessions, and a full slate of cultural and social events. Research committees (RC) played an active role, forming 393 panels covering their respective areas of research and thus accounting for 62% of the panels presented.

A special word of thanks goes out to all the session chairs who helped make the 2016 IPSA World Congress Program a resounding success. Notably the seven main theme session chairs who put a lot of effort in the reorganization of panels during the transition period from Istanbul to Poznań.

- MT01: Comparative Politics, Democracy and Regime Types - **Marianne Kneuer** (Germany)
- MT02: Identity Politics, National and Social Movements - **Linda Cardinal** (Canada)
- MT03: International Political Economy and Globalisation - **Mark Kesselman** (USA)
- MT04: International Relations - **David A. Baldwin** (USA)
- MT05: Political Institutions and Citizen Engagement - **Rieko Kage** (Japan)
- MT06: Political Theory - **Terrell Carver** (United Kingdom)
- MT07: Public Policy and Administration - **Chan Wook Park** (South Korea)

Full papers presented at the World Congress may be downloaded from IPSA’s permanent Online Paper Room at <http://paperroom.ipsa.org>. Only papers submitted to the IPSA secretariat and presented on site are available.

Research Method Courses

IPSA Research Methods Courses (RMC) were given the day before the World Congress in Poznań for only the second time in IPSA history. The first time, two courses were offered at the Montréal (2014) Congress. Some 51 participants attended the three



Photos: Dominik Kias



one-day courses, which were aimed at bringing together both junior and senior scholars interested in learning more about new developments in the field of research methods. The Research Method Courses as well as the Research Committee Workshops (RCW) and the EIP/IDEA Workshop were graciously hosted by Adam Mickiewicz University's Faculty of Political Science and Journalism (Morasko Campus).

Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) and Fuzzy Sets	Comparative Survey Research Analysis	Process Tracing Methods
Carsten Q. Schneider Central European University (CEU)	Bruno Castrès CRNS-Sciences Po (CEVIPOF)	Rasmus Brun Pedersen University of Aarhus, Denmark

We hope these courses continue to gain in popularity at IPSA World Congress 2018 in Brisbane.

Photos and Videos

2016 World Congress photos, daily video clips and full videos of main events are available at www.ipsa.org/events/congress/Poznan2016/photos-videos

Travel Grants

IPSA offered a number of travel grants to researchers and young scholars from the Global South and developing countries in order to cover part of the cost of attending the World Congress. Forty-two IPSA travel grant recipients from 39 countries across the world received a grant at the 24th IPSA World Congress of Political Science in Poznań, with the grants ranging from US\$500 to US\$1,000.

Qualified candidates from developing economies were selected on the basis of IPSA's traditional point system – which ensures that younger scholars, women, participants with more than one role in the program and new applicants are favoured – and were able to take part in the congress program.

Of the 580 applications submitted, some 62 candidates were offered a grant and 71% were women. 42 recipients made it to Poznań, with 21 attending the photo session (photo below).

Region	Selected	Recipients	Grant	Sum of Grants
Africa	17	12	\$ 800	\$ 9,600
Asia	16	9	\$ 800	\$ 7,200
Eastern Europe	15	10	\$ 500	\$ 5,000
Latin America	15	11	\$ 1,000	\$ 11,000
Grand Total	62	42		\$ 32,800



Photo: Dominik Kłos

2016 Travel Grant Winners with IPSA Secretary General Guy Lachapelle

Front row, left to right: Souguir Afef (Tunisia), Maria Victoria Teran Silvestri (Uruguay), Melba Nyabereka (Zimbabwe), Amarilla Kiss (Hungary), Asha Gupta, (India), Guy Lachapelle (IPSA Secretary General), Fathima Badurdeen (Sri Lanka), David Miranda (Chile), Jelena Vidojević (Serbia), Nirmal Riaz (Pakistan), Odette Murara (Rwanda).

Back row, left to right: Jarosław Filip Czub (Poland), Tetiana Kostuchenko (Ukraine), Magdalena Wetzel (Argentina), Jo-Ansie van Wyk (South Africa), Valeriya Korablyova (Ukraine), Clayton Cunha Filho (Brazil), Manuel De La Fuente (Bolivia), Eduardo Fernández (Guatemala), Christabel Mwango (Zambia), Nemanja Dzuverovic (Serbia), Carmen Diaz Alba (Mexico).

What You Thought of the Event...

At the conclusion of the event, a satisfaction survey was posted online to help us learn more about our participants and their experience at this year's event. Some 21% of attendees completed the online survey and provided IPSA with important feedback and suggestions that will help the Secretariat improve the planning of future IPSA events.

We learned that 64% of participants were attending the World Congress for the first time, with 83% stating that their main reason for attending was to present a paper or take part in the congress program. Some 92.5% of survey participants were satisfied with the overall organization of the event, while 96% were satisfied with the online registration process and 96.5% were satisfied with the onsite registration process.

There was a high level of satisfaction (93%) with the fantastic volunteers in blue shirts who provided cheerful assistance throughout the World Congress. The overall satisfaction rate for the printed congress program was 90% (compared to 85% in Montréal 2014 and 76% in Madrid 2012); however only 52% of attendees registered to receive the printed program on site. A mobile application

was available to participants throughout the World Congress, and though 45% of survey respondents used it, 86% of users expressed satisfaction and contributed valuable feedback on how to enhance it; however, we realize that some aspects of the Mobile application will need to be improved.

As for the World Congress facilities, participants expressed a high level of satisfaction overall. The highest dissatisfaction was with the food services (20% unsatisfied). We will take into account the recommendations received with the objective of improving the next mobile version of the program and providing adequate facilities.

Brisbane 2018 - Lucky Winners!

By completing the survey, participants entered a draw for a chance to receive one of three (3) free registrations to the 25th IPSA World Congress in Brisbane, from 21 to 26 July, 2018. We are pleased to announce that the randomly selected winners of the draw are:

- Rostislav Turovsky (Russia)
- Kyung Woong Koh (South Korea)
- Simon Scholz (Germany)

See you at the 2018 World Congress in Brisbane!



Photo: Dominik Klos

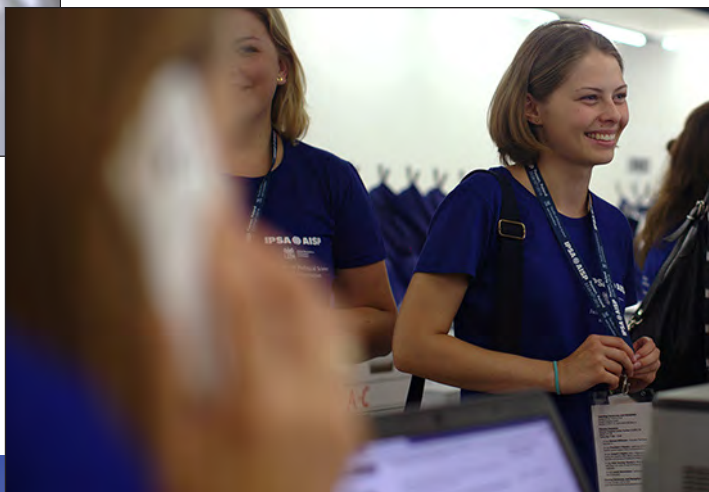


Photo: Dominik Klos



Night Skyline of Poznań Market Square - © Ints Vikmanis

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* Eastern energy, Western style

THANK YOU TO OUR AMAZING VOLUNTEERS



Photos: Dominik Kłos

24th World Congress Recap

Richard Wilkinson - The Enemy Between Us

A variety of interesting sessions and events were held on the first day of the 24th IPSA World Congress. Among the most popular was Richard Wilkinson's plenary lecture titled "The Enemy Between Us," which focused on inequality and its impact on people and societies. Mr. Wilkinson is co-author of the groundbreaking book *The Spirit Level*.



According to Prof. Wilkinson, societies with wider income disparities tend to be marked by greater health and social problems, including higher death rates, higher incidences of mental illness and violence, and lower child welfare levels. In his plenary lecture, Prof. Wilkinson cited the chief reasons behind these disparities and their resulting impacts on societies, supporting his presentation with data and analyses showing variations between several countries. He also delved into differing perceptions of inequality in the United States and Scandinavian countries.

Read the full text of his lecture on page 9.

IPSA Past Presidents Discuss the Future of Political Science



The roundtable titled "The Future of Political Science: IPSA Past Presidents Look Over the Evolution of our Discipline" saw IPSA Past Presidents Helen V. Milner, Lourdes Sola, Leonardo Morlino and Jean Leca reflect on the reasons for studying political science and the accompanying challenges faced by those who do.

In brief

- The relationship between the military and democratization was the subject of the session titled "The Politics of Military and Democratization in a World of Inequality."
- The session titled "Turkey, Russia and Equality in the Neoliberal World Order" focused on Turkey and Russia, two leading regional powers that are challenging Western hegemony in the international system.
- The panel "Women's Mobilization for Gender Justice" addressed globalization and its impact on women in the Global South, as well as mobilization and social engagement in the struggle for gender justice.
- ISIL and its impact on the current security situation in North Africa, the Middle East and the Gulf Region was discussed as part of the panel titled "ISIL as a Challenge to Security and Stability in the MENA Region: Origins and Solutions."
- The panel titled "Populism and Political Communication" saw participants discuss the representation of European political parties in traditional and social media.
- The panel titled "Democratic Learning Curve of Islamists" brought its focus to bear on Islamist parties and their ideological diversity in Muslim-majority countries.

Opening Ceremony of the World Congress

More than 1,000 delegates attended the opening ceremony at the Poznań Congress Centre's majestic Earth Hall. Earth Hall is among the largest concert halls in Poland, with acoustics that are considered to be the best in the country.

On hand to welcome IPSA World Congress participants were Aiji Tanaka (IPSA President), Tadeusz Wallas and Roman Bäcker (co-chairs of the Polish Local Organizing Committee), Piotr Bartłomiej Dardziński (Under-Secretary of State of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education), Wojciech Jan-kowiak (Deputy Marshal, Wielkopolska Region), Mariusz Wiśniewski (First Deputy Mayor of the City of Poznań), Jacek Witkoś (Vice-Rector of AMU), Dianne Pinderhughes and



Marian Sawer (WC2016 Program Chairs), Mathieu Denis (Executive Director of ISSC), Marianne Kneuer (IPSA Executive Committee Member and Chair of the Committee on Research and Training), Teh-Kuang Chang (RC18 Chair), and Guy Lachapelle (IPSA Secretary General). Speakers also cited the current situation in Turkey, expressing their solidarity with the Turkish Local Organizing Committee and the Turkish academics who were unable to attend the Congress.

Participants were then treated to a classical music concert featuring the CoOperate Orchestra from Poznań's I. J. Paderewski Academy of Music. The concert was divided into two parts: Polish classical music (part 1) and original motion picture scores (part 2). The concert was followed by a cocktail reception generously offered by the Polish hosts.





The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equality Makes Societies Stronger

Richard Wilkinson*

Emeritus Professor of Social Epidemiology
University of Nottingham
Medical School

*This text was co-written with Kate Pickett

The belief that inequality is divisive and socially corrosive goes back several hundred years. But now we have comparable measures of the scale of income inequality in different societies and we can actually see what effect it has. The new evidence shows that inequality is much the most important explanation of why, despite their extraordinary material success, some of the most affluent societies seem to be social failures.

What greater equality brings

In societies where income differences between rich and poor are smaller, the statistics show that community life is stronger and more people feel they can trust others. There is also less violence – including lower homicide rates; health tends to be better and life expectancy is higher. In fact most of the problems related to relative deprivation are reduced: prison populations are smaller, teenage birth rates are lower, maths and literacy scores tend to be higher, and there is less obesity.

That is a lot to attribute to inequality, but all these relationships have been demonstrated in at least two independent settings: among the richest developed societies, and among the 50 states of the USA. In both cases, places with smaller income differences do better and the relationships cannot be dismissed as chance findings. Some of them have already been shown in large numbers of studies – there are over 200 looking at the tendency for health to be better in more equal societies and something like 40 looking at the relation between violence and inequality. As you might expect, inequality makes a larger contribution to some problems than others, and it is of course far from being the only cause of social ills. But it does look as if the scale of inequality is the most important single explanation for the huge differences in the prevalence of social problems between societies. The relationships tend to be strongest among problems which show the sharpest class differences and are most closely related to relative deprivation.

The most obvious explanation for these patterns is the suggestion that more unequal societies have more social problems because they have more poor people. But this is not the main explanation. Most of the effect of inequality is the result of worse outcomes across the vast majority of the population. In a more unequal society, even middle class people on good incomes are likely to be less healthy, less likely to be involved in community life, more likely to be obese, and more likely to be victims of violence. Similarly, their children are likely to do less well at school, are more likely to use drugs and more likely to become teenage parents.

Redistribution, not growth

The first thing to recognise is that we are dealing with the effects of relative rather than absolute deprivation and poverty. Violence, poor health or school failure are not problems which can be solved by economic growth. Everyone getting richer without redistribution doesn't help. Although economic growth remains important in poorer countries, across the richest 25 or 30 countries, there is no tendency whatsoever for health to be better among the most affluent rather than the least affluent of these rich countries. The same is also true of levels of violence, teenage pregnancy rates, literacy and maths scores among school children, and even obesity rates. In poorer countries both inequality and economic growth are important to outcomes such as health, but rich countries have reached a level of development beyond which further rises in material living standards do not help reduce health or social problems. While greater equality is important at all levels of economic development, the connection between life expectancy and Gross National Income per head weakens as countries get richer until, among the very richest countries, the connection disappears entirely.

However, *within* each country, ill health and social problems are closely associated with income. The more deprived areas in our societies have more of most problems. So what does it mean if the differences in income within rich societies matter, but income differences between them do not? It tells us that what matters is where we stand in relation to others in our own society. The issue is social status and relative income. So for example, why the USA has the highest homicide rates, the highest teenage pregnancy rates, the highest rates of imprisonment, and comes about 28th in the international league table of life expectancy, is *because* it also has the biggest income differences. In contrast, countries like Japan, Sweden and Norway, although not as rich as the US, all have smaller income differences and do well on all these measures. Even among the 50 states of the USA, those with smaller income differences perform as well as more egalitarian countries on most of these measures.



Photos: Dominik Klos





Chronic stress

But how can social status differences affect health? There is a health gradient running right across society, from the bottom to the top. Even the comfortably off middle classes tend to have shorter lives than those who are very well off. Having a house with a smaller lawn to mow, or one less car, is not plausible explanations for these differences. Research has now shown the importance to health of psychological and social factors. Friendship, sense of control, and good early childhood experience are all highly protective of health, while things like hostility, anxiety, and major difficulties, are damaging. The many pathways through which chronic stress makes us more vulnerable to disease are becoming clearer. Stress compromises the immune and cardiovascular systems and increases our vulnerability to so many diseases that it has been likened to more rapid ageing.

We now know that a major contribution to health inequalities comes from the psychological and emotional impact of people's social status. This picture received powerful confirmation from studies of non-human primates. Although among humans you cannot unambiguously separate out the effects of social status from better material conditions, among animals you can. Studies in which social status among macaque monkeys was experimentally manipulated by moving animals between groups, while ensuring material conditions and diets were kept the same, showed that the stress of low social status can produce physiological effects similar to those associated with low status in humans. Since then, studies of other non-human primates species have shown that the stress effects of social status vary according to the nature of the dominance hierarchy and the quality of social relations.

Social relations and hierarchy

The growing awareness of the importance of the social environment to health raised the question of whether the quality of social relations differed between more, and less, equal societies. The data left no room for doubt: people in more unequal societies trust each other less, they are less likely to be involved in community life, and rates of violence are higher. All suggest that inequality damages the quality of social relations. Indeed, this must be one of the most important ways inequality affects the quality of life. In the most unequal of the 50 states of the USA, 35 or 40 percent of the population feel they cannot trust other people, compared to perhaps only 10 percent in the more equal states. The international differences are at least as large. Measures of "social capital" and the extent to which people are involved in local community life also confirm the socially corrosive effects of inequality.

Americans often ask whether these patterns reflect ethnic divisions. The answer is that they do and they don't. The same patterns are found in international analyses and within other countries where they cannot be explained by ethnic divisions. In addition, some analyses have controlled for the proportion of minorities in different societies. However, insofar as skin colour or, in different contexts, language or religious group membership, become markers of social status, then they are stigmatised like any other marker of low class or social status.

These issues are centrally about social status differentiation: its effects explain why people in lower classes feel they are treated as a different race and people in a different race feel they are treated as second class citizens. But the effects of inequality are far too large to be attributed to any minority at the bottom of society. Inequality is associated with worse outcomes among the vast majority of the population and are seen as clearly in analyses which compare just the white populations in more and less equal countries.

Income inequality tells us something about how hierarchical societies are and about the scale of class differentiation within them. The limited comparable data on social mobility in different countries suggests that more unequal countries have less social mobility. Rather than being the "land of opportunity", the United States has unusually low rates of social mobility which seem to match its unusually large income difference. And it also looks as if increased income inequality has led, in both Britain and the US, to greater residential segregation of rich and poor. Bigger differences seem to mean less mixing – both socially and geographically.

With such profound effects on society and health, it would be surprising if inequality did not also exacerbate most of the problems associated with relative deprivation, so giving rise to the relationships we found between greater inequality and higher rates of imprisonment, poorer literacy and maths scores, increased obesity, more violence, higher teenage pregnancies rates and poorer mental health. It seems likely that the bigger the income and status differences, the more important

social position and social status competition becomes.

Inequality and social anxiety

But why are we so sensitive to inequality? Why does it affect us so much? Some pointers to the mechanisms involved are provided by the psychosocial risk factors for poor health. Foremost amongst these, as we saw earlier, are three intensely social factors: low social status, weak friendship networks, and poor quality of early childhood experience. Given that we know these work through chronic stress, the research seems to be telling us that these are the most pervasive sources of chronic stress in affluent societies.

Thinking more about these three sources of chronic stress, we can see that they may all be indicators of underlying social anxieties. The insecurities we may carry with us from a difficult early childhood are not unlike the insecurities associated with low social status, and one may make us more vulnerable to the other. Friendship fits into this picture because friends





provide positive feedback: they enjoy your company, laugh at your jokes, seek your advice, etc.: you feel valued. In contrast, not having friends, feeling excluded, people choosing not to sit next to you, fills most of us with self-doubt. We worry about being unattractive, boring, unintelligent, socially inept, and so on.

There is now a large body of experimental evidence which shows that the kinds of stress which

have the greatest effect on people's levels of stress hormones are "social evaluative threats", such as threats to self-esteem or social status, in which others can negatively judge performance.

It seems then that the most widespread and potent kind of stress in modern societies centres on our anxieties about how others see us, on our self-doubts and social insecurities. As social beings, we monitor how others respond to us, so much so that it is sometimes as if we experienced ourselves through each other's eyes. Shame and embarrassment have been called *the* social emotions: they shape our behaviour so that we conform to acceptable norms and spare us from the stomach-tightening we feel when we have made fools of ourselves in front of others. Several of the great sociological thinkers have suggested that this is the gateway through which we are socialised, and it now looks as if it is also how society gets under the skin to affect health.

Given that the social hierarchy is seen as a hierarchy from the most valued at the top, to the least valued at the bottom, it is easy to see how bigger status differences increase the evaluative threat and add to status competition and status insecurity. This perspective also explains why violence increases with greater inequality. The literature on violence points out how often issues of respect, loss of face, and humiliation, are the triggers to violence. Violence is more common where there is more inequality not only because inequality increases status competition, but also because people deprived of the markers of status (incomes, jobs, houses, cars, etc) become particularly sensitive to how they are seen. What hurts about having second rate possessions is being seen as a second rate person.

Similar processes are involved in the social gradient in children's educational performance. A recent study for the World Bank showed that while high and low caste children in rural India were unaware of the caste differences between them, they performed equally well when asked to solve a series of puzzles; but when made aware of the differences, the performance of children from low castes was substantially reduced.

Increased social hierarchy and inequality substantially raises the stakes and anxieties about personal worth throughout society. We all want to feel valued and appreciated, but a society which makes

large numbers of people feel they are looked down on, regarded as inferior, stupid and failures, not only causes suffering and wastage, but also incurs the costs of antisocial reactions to the structures which demean them.

Inequality, consumption, and the environment

For thousands of years the best way of improving the quality of human life has been to raise material living standards. We are the first generation to have got to the end of that process. No longer does economic growth improve health, happiness, or wellbeing. If we are to improve the real quality of life further, we have to direct our attention to the social environment and the quality of social relations. But rather than continuing to tackle each problem separately, by spending more on medical care, more on police, social workers and drug rehabilitation units, we now know that it is possible to improve the psychosocial wellbeing and social functioning of whole societies. The quality of social relations is built on material foundations – on the scale of the material inequalities between us.

During the next few decades politics is likely to be dominated by the necessity of reducing carbon emissions. There are three ways in which greater equality is crucial to achieving sustainability. The greatest threat to reining in carbon emissions is consumerism. Several economists (see for instance Robert Frank, 1999) have shown

If we are to improve the real quality of life further, we have to direct our attention to the social environment and the quality of social relations.

that consumerism is driven by status competition. Status competition is, in turn, intensified by greater inequality. Consumerism reflects social neuroses and insecurities fanned by inequality and increased competition for status. Advertisers play on these insecurities suggesting their products enhance attractiveness, sophistication and exclusivity. Rather than a sign of our innate materialism, consumerism is an indication of

our need for emotional comfort – as in "retail therapy" or "eating for comfort" – to provide a sense of wellbeing which we fail to get from society. By improving the quality of social relations, narrow income differences make us less vulnerable to these pressures.

The second important contribution which greater equality can make to achieving sustainability is that it increases public spirit- edness. Less exposed to status competition, people in more equal societies are less out for themselves. Higher levels of trust and involvement in community life mean that people are more likely to think in terms of the greater good. Confirming this we found that more equal societies give more in overseas aid and score better on the Global Peace Index. An international survey of business leaders showed that those in more equal countries think it more important that their governments abide by international environmental agreements. Reducing carbon emissions and achieving sustainability depend, like nothing else, on our ability to act for the common good.

Finally the changes needed if we cope with global warming are unlikely to command public support unless they are seen to be fair. If people are to cooperate in the effort to reduce carbon emissions, the burden must be fairly shared. Policies which penalise the poor while allowing the rich to continue with much more environmentally damaging lifestyles will not be acceptable.

Reference

Frank R. (1999) *Luxury Fever: Why money fails to satisfy in an era of success*. Free Press, N.Y.



The President's Plenary



Outgoing IPSA President, Prof. Aiji Tanaka, chaired the plenary session titled "Legitimacy of the Political System: System Support from a Comparative Perspective." Participants included Pippa Norris, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Yilmaz Esmer, Doh Chull Shin and Carolien Van

Ham, and the discussion revolved around notions of political legitimacy. According to Prof. Tanaka, systemic legitimacy is a multidimensional concept that exists along at least three dimensions: (1) Community; (2) political actors (or authorities); and (3) regime.

Brendan O'Leary - Juan Linz Award Lecture

In this special tribute session, Prof. Brendan O'Leary – the 2014 Juan Linz Award Winner – delivered his prize-winning lecture titled "Federalism and Kurdish Questions in Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran." Prof. O'Leary has carried out extensive constitutional and policy advisory work, notably in Northern Ireland, Somalia, Nepal, Sudan and the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, and the European Union and the United Nations have drawn on his expertise on power-sharing, federalism and minority rights. The session was chaired by Juan Rodriguez Teruel, Secretary General of the Spanish Association of Political and Administrative Science.



Roundtable: The IPSA-APSA Summer School Experience - Prospects for Cooperation



Panel members Dirk Berg-Schlosser, Alina Vladimirova, Andrew Stinson and Irma Mendez de Hoyos discussed the annual IPSA Summer Schools on concepts, methods and techniques in political science held at the University of Sao Paulo, the National University of Singapore, the Middle East Technical University at Ankara, and FLACSO in Mexico, comparing the experience with the APSA workshops abroad and exploring the potential for further cooperation in this regard.

2016 World Social Science Report: "Challenging Inequalities: Pathways to a Just World"

The International Social Science Council and UNESCO recently published the third edition of the "World Social Science Report." The theme of this year's edition was "Challenging Inequalities: Pathways to a Just World." As part of this special session, Mathieu Denis, John Gaventa, and Natalia Grigorieva looked at how political scientists can renew their focus on issues of redistribution and recognition in all their complexity, and the role of research in contributing to transformative pathways to a more equal world.

World Values Survey Association - Welcoming Reception

At the end of the second day, many delegates converged on the Poznań Congress Centre for the welcome reception hosted by the World Values Survey Association.

In brief

- Euroscepticism – a topical issue nowadays – was the subject of a panel discussion titled "Euroscepticism after the 2014 European Parliament Elections."

- Participants in the panel on the "Internet as an Emerging Policy Domain" highlighted the impact of digitization on such policy domains as security, consumer protection and health.

- As part of the panel titled "New Perspectives on International Security: A View from Latin America," scholars focused on Latin American countries diversifying their economic and political relations with high-level powers such as U.S., China, Russia and Iran, with the creation of new international organizations like UNASUR and CELAC.

- In the main theme session chaired by Prof. Brigitte Geissel

("Can Participatory Democratic Reforms Mitigate Inequality?"), participants examined how participatory procedures must be designed to attract citizens from different socio-economic backgrounds.

- The Mediterranean migrant crisis and EU policies were addressed in the panel titled "The EU Management of the Mediterranean Migration Crisis."
- The RC18 panel titled "China at the Crossroads of Nationalism and Regionalism" saw participants debate issues of nationalism and ethnic and religious empowerment in the sovereign state of China, against a background of security concerns and geo-strategic balancing.



Photos: Dominik Kłos



Crooked Medieval Houses Poznań – © neirry



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<http://www.ipsa.org/events/congress/poznan2016/photos-videos>

Joseph Stiglitz - Inequality in the 21st Century: A problem for Politics



During this plenary session, Joseph E. Stiglitz, winner of the 2001 Nobel Prize in Economics, addressed congress delegates via a video presentation titled “Inequality: A Problem of Politics in the 21st Century: A Problem for Politics.” The presentation was followed by a discussion led by Phil Cerny, John Gaventa and Helen Milner.

The Meisel-Laponce Award Ceremony and SAGE Reception

The Meisel-Laponce Award Ceremony honoured recipients Lingling Qi and Doh Chull Shin. The ceremony was followed by a reception hosted by SAGE Publishing.



Polish Evening Hosted by Adam Mickiewicz University

Participants enjoyed a Polish evening hosted by the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism at Adam Mickiewicz University. The event featured a performance by alternative blues band Lord & the Liar, followed by a cocktail party and the “Foreigner’s Guide to Polish Cuisine” that saw participants savour such Polish delicacies as pierogies, Żurek soup, croissants, kielbasa (sausage), bread, and Polish beer.



In brief

- The 2016 Global South Award Winner, Prof. Erica Gorbak, presented an award lecture titled “The Costs of Corruption in Latin America. Why Latin American Countries Cannot Rise.”
- In the special session titled “Roundtable: 30 Years of *Transition from Authoritarian Rule*,” participants looked back on the publication of *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*, the seminal volume series edited by Guillermo O’Donnell, Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead some 30 years ago. The speakers also reviewed the original conceptual framework, adapting it to current circumstances and democratization processes.
- In another special session – “Politics as a Science (With Apologies to Max Weber)” – chaired by Prof. Leonardo Morlino, the discussion addressed the following question: What approach or what basic theoretical framework is needed in today’s comparative politics?
- Presidents and secretaries of national associations met with newly-elected IPSA President Ilter Turan.
- The transition to democracy in Eastern Europe was the subject of the Polish LOC panel titled “Central and Eastern Europe: from Authoritarianism to Democracy.”
- Questions surrounding social inequality and democracy were debated at the main theme session titled “The Political Foundations of Democratic Inequality.”



Election of the 24th IPSA Executive Committee (2016-2018)



New President: İlder Turan

İlder Turan, Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Bilgi University (Istanbul), was elected President of IPSA for 2016-2018 following a unanimous decision by the IPSA Council on July 26, 2016, succeeding Aiji Tanaka.

His research and writing cover the fields of comparative politics as well as Turkish politics and

foreign policy, dealing with such diverse topics as political devel-

opment, democratization, legislative behaviour, political parties, political culture, the politics of water, and aspects of foreign policy.

IPSA is proud to welcome Prof. Turan as its newly elected president, and we wish him the very best in his new duties.

24th Executive Committee

Two days later, the IPSA Council voted for the composition of the 24th IPSA Executive Committee (EC). After a very close vote that necessitated a second round, a 16 persons EC was elected. Then, on the morning of July 29, at the IPSA EC Meeting 122, Prof. Turan appointed officials to the various positions (see picture caption below).



Photo: Dominik Klos

Front row, left to right:

Marianne Kneuer (Germany, First Vice-President & Chair of the Committee on Research and Training), Aiji Tanaka (Japan, Past President & Chair of the Budget Committee), İlder Turan (Turkey, President), Guy Lachapelle (Canada, Secretary General)

Back Row (standing):

Theresa Reidy (Ireland, Editor of the *International Political Science Review*), Marian Sawyer (Australia, Editor of the *International Political Science Review*), Romain Pasquier (France, Chair of the Committee on Membership and Participation), Yasmeen Abu-Laban (Canada), Yuko Kasuya (Japan), Daniel Buquet (Uruguay, Vice-President - External Relations), Chan Wook Park (South Korea, Vice-President - External Relations), Agnieszka Kasinska-Metryka (Poland), Jørgen Elklit (Denmark, Chair of the Committee on Organization and Awards), Dianne Pinderhughes (United States, ex-EC member), Füsün Türkmen (Turkey, Co-Chair of the Committee on the Congress Program), Paul Godt (United States, Editor of the *International Political Science Abstracts*), Rodney Hero (United States), Katharine Gelber (Australia), Carlo Guarnieri (Italy, Chair of the Committee on Publication), Shirin M. Rai (United Kingdom), Stephen Sawyer (United States, Contributing Editor of the *International Political Science Abstracts*), Jesus Tovar (Mexico), Christian Haerpfer (Germany, RC Liaison Representative), Vladimíra Dvořáková (Czech Republic, Editor of *World Political Science*) and Mauro Calise (Italy, Editor of the *IPSA Portal/IPSAMOOC*).

Absent:

Christopher Isike (South Africa), Maryam Ben Salem (Tunisia), Terrell Carver (United Kingdom, Co-Chair of the Committee on the Congress Program), Linda Cardinal (Canada, Editor of *World Political Science*), Mark Kesselman (United States, Editor of the *International Political Science Review*) and Serge Hurtig (France, Co-Editor of the *International Political Science Abstracts*).



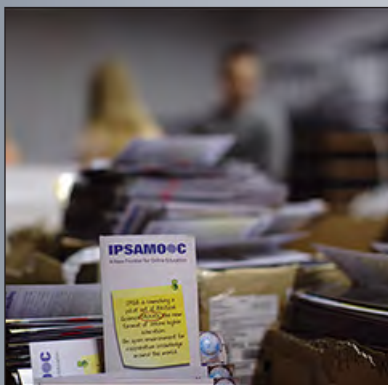
Peter Anyang' Nyong'o - When Democracy Fails Twice: Can Losers Accept the Victors as Legitimate?

In his Plenary lecture (When Democracy Fails Twice: Can Losers Accept the Victors as Legitimate?), Senator Peter Anyang' Nyong'o raised questions concerning the elections and the legitimacy of the government.

Read the full text of his lecture on page 18.



IPSA MOOCs: A New Frontier for Online Education



In collaboration with Federica Weblearning and the Centre of the University of Naples Federico II, IPSA launched a pilot set of 300 e-learning courses in political science.

During the special session chaired by Prof. Mauro Calise ("Roundtable: IPSA MOOC's: A New

Frontier for Online Education"), panelists discussed the Web learning model used for IPSAMOOC and presented the first set of courses, from Research Designs and Methods to Comparative Political Systems.

The Political Science Community in Russia: 60 Years of Development (1955-2015)

This special session marked the 60th anniversary of the formation of Russia's political science community, starting from the Soviet delegation's participation in the 1955 IPSA World Congress in Stockholm. Topics of discussion included the historical development of political studies in the Soviet era, traditions of cooperation with IPSA as the basis for the creation and development of the Russian Political Science Association, and the current state of political science in Russia.

Piano Recital by GRAMMY® Winning Pianist Angelin Chang

To celebrate the 40th Anniversary of RC18 - Asian and Pacific Studies, Angelin Chang presented a recital featuring works from the classical piano repertoire. This special event was held at the beautiful Neo-Renaissance Concert Hall (Aula) at Adam Mickiewicz University, known for its excellent acoustics. Angelin Chang is the first pianist of Asian heritage to win a GRAMMY®.



In brief

- Getting women into government and keeping them there remains a formidable challenge for countries in the Global South. Paper presenters taking part in the panel titled "The Politics of Representation in the Global South" examined special mechanisms for promoting representation among women, including reserved seats, quotas and party mechanisms.
- Drawing on research from the Media, Conflict and Democratization (MECODEM) project, the panel titled "Media, Conflict and Polarized Politics" focused on how media can reflect and further exacerbate conflicts in democratizing states.
- In the panel titled "Post-Conflict Peace Building as Comprehensive Task: Complementary Perspectives from the Ground," participants drew on the groundbreaking 1992 report by Boutros Boutros-Ghali titled "An Agenda for Peace" to debate perspectives on post-conflict peace-building framed against today's challenges.



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Photos: Dominik Klos



When Elections Fail Twice or More, Can 'Losers' Accept the 'Victors' as Legitimate?

Peter ANYANG' NYONG'O

Senator for Kisumu County, Parliament of Kenya
Director, African Research and Resource Forum

Elections have largely been accepted in Africa as means of putting into power legitimate leaders since they are the only means by which democratic political choices can be made. Elections, as it were—to quote Pippa Norris—are a barometer of how well a democracy is functioning.¹ On the face of it, we tend to assume that a democracy is functioning when, following the conclusion of an electoral contest, *the losers accept the results as legitimate while the winners celebrate their victory*. But this dictum only holds as long as we are content with “majoritarian rule” as the acceptable norm for democratic governance. In Africa, *inclusiveness and the effective representation of all players in government* after the elections are much more important values for legitimacy than the sheer winning by the majority. John Stuart Mill was perhaps arguing in the same direction: he asserted that democracy is *not majority victory* but a celebration of minority rights by the victors. Nelson Mandela, though convinced ahead of the elections in 1994 that the ANC would get an overwhelming majority, cautioned against the dangers of this majority to the survival and sustainability of democracy in South Africa. According to Mandela, it was vital that the ANC gets no more than 67% of the votes in that election in order to respect and protect minority rights. Like John Stuart Mill, Mandela feared “the tyranny of the majority”.

Even by the standards of qualifying an election because the majority wins fairly, in the elections held in Africa in 2015/2016, this dictum only applied to the following countries: Mauritius and Nigeria. In 2016 the outcome saw a slight improvement: of the nine countries which went to the polls, Benin and Cape Verde had free and fair elections. The electoral processes in almost all the other countries were marred by biased election management, stuffed ballot boxes, intimidation of voters, state instigated violence, intimidation of the media and disputed electoral outcomes quite often forced on the electors by a repressive state apparatus determined to keep the incumbent regime in power. But the positive thing is that people by and large have not taken the electoral injustices lying down. What appears as ‘acceptance’ of results in most cases may simply be passive acquiescence and not active consent.

After the euphoria with which democratic openings were received in Africa in the early nineties, pessimism may be beginning to set in regarding the role of elections in advancing democracy in Africa. Some people have already written the final obituary on elections: they have failed to deepen democracy in Africa, according to a report issued by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA).² Need we give up on elections as part of the democratization process in Africa? Perhaps not: it could very well be argued that the fate of democracy in Africa lies in the future and

not necessarily in the recent past or now. Those who consistently refuse to accept the outcome of these undemocratic and illegitimate elections are perhaps the true friends of democracy. Political scientists need to pay them more attention and there should be a Mo Ibrahim Prize³ for *principled and consistent resisters* like Kizza Besigye of Uganda and Raila Amolo Odinga of Kenya. But they will only remain relevant to the struggle if they offer a new model for electoral democracy that will be more representative, inclusive and acceptable to the people, creating a political environment for the qualitative transformation of the lives of the popular masses.

When I gave a lecture at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in December 2013, the theme of my lecture was framed in the form of a question: *has democracy come to a dead end or is it in reverse gear in Africa?* I quickly shied away from the “dead end” notion and decided to look into the *struggle for democracy as a historical process* with many twists, turns and reversals: a process where the heroes of today could easily become the villains of tomorrow. This issue seems to have been picked up by several authors in the July 2016 issue of *The Journal of Democracy*, almost all of them documenting elements of what one author calls *constitutional coups d'état* in various African autocracies where elections are held mainly to legitimize the ruling regimes *on their own terms* while undermining the very tenets of democracy.⁴

Even as we address this issue, a few examples can be used to illustrate free and fair elections on the one hand, and elections held purely to “legitimize” the continued stay in office by incumbent authoritarian and semi-authoritarian rulers on the other. In Benin, Prime Minister Lionel Zinsou, a former investment banker, conceded defeat to businessman Patrice Talon when the latter's party won the elections in a contest in which the incumbent, rather than use state power to manipulate the results, gave in to the will of the people and respectfully quit office. In Burundi, on the other hand, not only did Pierre Nkurunziza—the incumbent president—forcefully change the constitution to grant himself another third term in office, but he went further to ruthlessly suppress popular opposition to this unconstitutional move. Like other authoritarian presidents in Africa, he has used ethnic diversity not to advance democracy but to manipulate the people to his advantage by promoting ethnic hatred and conflict as a way of excluding “others” as opponents while ruling with a narrow ethnic support. A spontaneous movement within the opposition calling for public resistance to Nkurunziza when he claimed this unconstitutional third term has made it difficult for him to have his way easily. The “Stop the Third Term Movement” is not dead: it continues to simmer below the surface of Nkurunziza's repressive state apparatus.



In Uganda, where the three-time opposition presidential candidate, Dr. Kizza Besigye of the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) once again “lost” to President Museveni in the February 2016 election, local and foreign election observers openly doubted the fairness of the electoral process and the truthfulness of the results. To drive this point home, the opposition proceeded to swear in their candidate as the winner a day before the official swearing in of Museveni himself. Dr. Besigye was subsequently arrested and held in the Luzira maximum security prison awaiting trial for treason charges. The brave move that Besigye took to publicly challenge Museveni’s legitimacy served to dramatize the fact that “rigged elections” do not represent *the people’s mandate*. Regarding himself as the choice of the people, Besigye’s symbolic swearing in as president makes it difficult to ignore the fundamental question being raised at the conclusion of every election in Africa: to what extent should these elections be allowed to legitimize the regimes which blatantly use them to stay in power in the face of massive discontent from the cheated voters? In 1986 when Museveni came to power through the barrel of a gun, he blamed African presidents who overstay their welcome to power by changing constitutional mandates and crowning themselves as life presidents. He took it as his political mission to stop such *political tyrants* from ever ruling Uganda again. Why should he now be legitimized further by being allowed to belong to global institutions which cherish, or seek to promote, democratic governance, such as the UNO? In Uganda and Burundi there are democrats like Besigye bravely leading resistance movements against democratic reversals in their countries. Such brave individuals have very clear understanding of the de-

acquiescence to Thomas Hobbes rather than a democratic choice.⁵ Electoral democracy also bestows all the contestants with equal chances of winning the contest. Those who fail know that they will always have another chance to win after a specified period usually stated in the constitution. This does not mean, however, that the losers lose their right participate in, and contribute to, the process of governing after the elections. Once power is acquired, democratic regimes continue to renew their mandates by delivering on the platforms (promises) on which they were elected, including service to society as a whole rather than simply to the winning majority. If they do not deliver on the promises, then they risk being voted out of office at the next election.

One of the promises, very important in African conditions, is what has largely been referred to as *development* which includes, among other things, raising the standard of living of the people through social welfare (education and health in particular), provision of jobs, security and infrastructure. Further, democratic regimes need also to guarantee basic freedoms which are expected by the people notwithstanding the level of development of any society. People want to move freely as they look for jobs, and not to be discriminated against on the basis of ethnicity, religion and region. In both Uganda and Burundi, opponents of the incumbent regimes did not simply fault them for manipulating the electoral calendar so as to prolong their stay in power unfairly, but also of not delivering on development promises in the first place.

Is Democracy Necessary for Development or Is Development Necessary for Democracy?

As Pippa Norris in a recent article quoted in *The Mail and Guardian Africa*⁶ observes, we may have to revisit, and perhaps revise, the so-called “Lipset thesis” that argued that *democracies, and by extension, electoral integrity, flourish best in industrialized and postindustrial societies with widespread literacy and education, an affluent professional middle class and a pluralistic range of civic associations serving as a buffer between citizens and the state*.⁷ Analysis of election data from Africa by Norris’s Electoral Integrity Project at Harvard University shows that African countries, which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as industrial, have “solid democratic ratings” over the last two decades using Freedom House criteria notwithstanding their different levels of economic development measured in terms of per capita GDP in purchasing power parity. These are countries such as Lesotho, Cape Verde, Botswana, Benin, Mauritius, South Africa and Namibia: all very different in terms of economic development, with Mauritius perhaps the best well off, followed by South Africa, Cape Verde, Namibia, Botswana and finally Lesotho in that order. Among these countries, Lesotho is a very recent entrant into the league of countries which carry out free and fair elections with minimal malpractices and substantial integrity. All the others have, however, in all the elections held since 1994 (South Africa’s liberation from apartheid) passed the test of holding free and fair elections bestowing necessary legitimacy to the government from one election to the other. All this has not happened by chance: deeper studies will no doubt reveal histories of individuals and social movements determined to keep the democratic flag flying even when democratic reversals are threatening at every election. These countries also have other factors in common: they have not put blind faith on majoritarian democracy nor have they criminalized opposition politics.

Rebellion Is Justified

In political theory the right of rebellion is the right or duty of a people or a nation to rebel against, or overthrow, a government that acts against the common interest of the people. John Locke



Photo: Dominik Klos

mocracy they are fighting for: free and fair elections, democratic freedoms, political and social inclusiveness, constitutional government which respects human rights as enshrined in the bill of rights, separation of powers in government and a well managed market economy promoting equity and social justice. Are these democratic values useful in improving the well being of African peoples or do they simply amount to “moralizing” as some apologists of the African autocrats have contended?

Democracy, Development, Elections and Legitimacy

A democratic regime derives legitimacy from the process by which it comes to power prior to what it does while in power. It is elected into office by citizens, usually over eighteen years of age, exercising their voting rights, freely and fairly, under the principle of universal adult suffrage. The voters make their choices without engaging in what I choose to call *risk evasion voting* which is an



in his book, *Two Treatises of Government*⁸, while advancing his social contract theory as the rationale for subjecting people, out of their state of nature, to live under political authority, argued that such subjection to authority can only be justified as long as government—or the state—fulfills its part of the bargain, i.e. fulfill and meet public interest. This public interest was at times described by other social contract theories such as John Stuart Mill⁹ and Jean Jacques Rousseau,¹⁰ as fulfilling “the greatest good for the greatest number,” or living up to the “general will” of the people. Under natural law, argued Locke, *all people have the right to life, liberty and estate; under the social contract, the people could instigate a revolution against the government when it acts against the interests of the citizens, to replace the government with one that serves the interests of the people.*¹¹

Democratic theory was derived essentially from social contract theories. As we argued earlier, a democracy is essentially a government made by the people, approved by the people and renewed by the people under rules acceptable by the people as legitimate. The survival of democracy therefore depends more on those who are prepared to rebel (or resist) when democracy is abused, or reversed, rather than those who enjoy power after ‘winning’, as it were, a non-democratic or semi-competitive election. For the people to continue to have faith in democracy their right and duty to rebel against such subversion of the democratic process needs to be encouraged and protected by global democratic forces. But it must also be realized that the very act of rebelling against a powerful and well armed authoritarian state may itself invite far reaching reprisal and repression from such a state, thereby threatening the very existence of society itself.

But Rebelling with What in Mind?

To rebel and then to think that majoritarian democracy led by the rebels would deal with the mischief at hand would be mere self deception. With majoritarian democracy the essential enemy continues to remain within the gates. The politics of exclusion will continue, now sadly justified by those who were excluded by the “rigged” elections of yesterday’s authoritarian regimes. The answer lies, no doubt, in much more inclusive democracies imaginatively responsive to the cultural diversities and minority rights that majoritarian democracies have so far ran rough shod on in Africa. Rebels need to have a political agenda that addresses the plight of the excluded, gives hope to a society where elites manipulate the majoritarian principle to legitimize governments which can hardly claim popular support or consent.

In an article in the *Journal of Democracy* published in 2004, Arend Lijphart argued that such an alternative agenda that would realistically provide legitimate democratic governance in *divided societies* such as those found in Africa would no doubt have three elements: a parliamentary system of government, *inclusive representation* in the legislature and *inclusive participation in government* where the interests of minorities, as well as *majorities “minoritized”* (such as women), are adequately taken care of.¹² This article was no doubt a more *practical* elaboration by Lijphart on his earlier theory of *consociational democracy* which critics simply mistook for an approach to democracy that ruled out genuine ideological competition by political parties offering different alternatives to building democratic societies. Lijphart’s point, which I totally agree with, is that there is really little achieved when, after any competitive election, large sections of society feel totally left out of the economic, social and political life of a polity in which they are assumed to be members. Democracy, as a system of government, was never conceived to inflict pain on citizens; if anything it was invented

to make people legitimately accept their governors because they exercise power in the interest of *the general will* and not simply *the will of the majority*. To craft such a government in divided societies, such practices as power-sharing, proportional representation and minority representation come closest to *legitimate democratic governance*.

At the moment, presidential systems of government begin to fail the evolution of democratic governance when presidents abrogate constitutions left and right to remove these same time limits. Lijphart rightly points out that constitutions and constitutionalism are vital to stabilizing and institutionalizing democracy over time. It is often said that the struggle over democratic elections is first and foremost a struggle over the rules of the game before it is a struggle over getting the votes out of which power is acquired. The constitution is one such fundamental corpus of the rules that govern democratic society. It will therefore be necessary for struggles for the *third liberation* in Africa to focus on constitutional dispensation that will do the following:

- Remove presidentialism as an aspect of democratic governance in Africa
- Forget about *term limits* as an issue for the struggle since without presidentialism term limits become irrelevant
- Focus on parliamentary systems of government which may or may not be bicameral, depending on the history of each country
- Institutionalize systems of representation that promote minority rights while protecting majority say in decision making
- Guarantee the sovereignty of the citizens as a fundamental principle in democratic governance which cannot be subverted in any way whatsoever by compromising it any electoral process
- Institutionalize popular participation in processes of policy formulation and decision making, with the devolution of power to communities
- Ensure the principle of separation of power in government and the sanctity of the Rule of Law in society.

¹ Pippa Norris, “Are poor societies stuck with their dictators and failed elections?” *Mail and Guardian Africa*, 12 April, 2016.

² See Peter Nyanje and Trevor Analo, “Elections have failed to deepen democracy in Africa, says UN Report” *The East African*, May 31, 2014.

³ Mo Ibrahim, a Sudanese philanthropist and businessman living in London, set up a foundation in 2006 called the Mo Ibrahim Foundation. Its focus is on the critical importance of leadership and governance in Africa. A committee comprising eminent persons who know the African political scene well awards a prize of \$5 million annually to an elected leader (usually President or Head of State) who governs well and raises the living standards of his people. The Mo Ibrahim Foundation also publishes the Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance.

⁴ See Jarrett Yarwood, “The Struggle Over Term Limits in Africa: The Power of Protest” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 27, Issue 3 (July 2016): 51-60.

⁵ See P. Anyang’ Nyong’o, “Yoweri Kaguta Museveni is Now President for Life”, *The Star*, July 16-17, 2016 (Nairobi Kenya). The following statement in this article explains the meaning of *risk evasion* voting in the recent February presidential elections in Uganda: “A friend of mine from Gulu recently told me that people in his district voted for Museveni not because they like him and hated Besigye, but more because they felt Museveni would win no matter what they did. According to them, they preferred being in the *good books* of Museveni lest he descends on them with something nasty should they be perceived as his enemies. In other words, it is a question of putting up with the ‘the devil you know than the angel you would otherwise prefer’, what political scientists call a *Hobbesian choice*.”

⁶ P. Norris, *op.cit.*

⁷ See Seymour Martin Lipset, “Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy,” *American Political Science Review* 53(1):69-105.

⁸ John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*

⁹ J.S. Mill, *On Liberty* (London: Penguin, 1969).

¹⁰ J.J. Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (London: Penguin, 1969).

¹¹ See “The Right of Rebellion,” in *Participatory Democracy*, 30-8-2011.

¹² Arend Lijphart, “Constitutional Design for Divided Societies”, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2004):96-109. See also his earlier publication, *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

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Leszek Balcerowicz - Confusion in the Debate about Inequality

In his plenary lecture titled “Confusion in the Debate About Inequality,” Dr. Leszek Balcerowicz (Former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of Poland) addressed the problem surrounding the inequality debate.



According to Mr. Balcerowicz, one source of confusion lies in the failure to distinguish inequality of opportunity from inequality of situation (wealth, income etc.). While is it easy to agree on what constitutes the ideal inequality of

opportunity (none), there is no inter-subjective agreement on what constitutes the ideal inequality of income (wealth).

Read the full text of his lecture on page 23.

Hyperpolitics, Political Science and Concept Formation

Chaired by Prof. Mauro Calise, the panel gathered paper presenters from a group of PhD students in political science at the Scuola Normale Superiore. Following hyperpolitics methodology, each participant focused on a specific concept – e.g., citizenship, law, capitalism – using the same analytical pattern: a matrix of twelve logically interrelated keywords.

Roundtable: Academic Freedom - Prospects and Limits

Organized by the Polish Association of Political Science (PAPS), this special session focused on the vital topic of academic freedom and its limits.



In brief

- The panel titled “Law and International Security” drew critical perspectives from participants on international and national legal dimensions of security practices and policies, opening up new avenues of research and applications in this critical area of world politics.
- Local and international food security and its impact on inequality were the subject of the panel titled “Analyzing Food Security at International, Regional, National, and Local Scales.”
- The growing tensions between Russia and Western powers were addressed as part of the panel titled “Geopolitics of Insecurity: the New East-West Confrontation.”

Closing Ceremony of the 24th IPSA World Congress of Political Science

The closing ceremony for the 24th IPSA World Congress of Political Science was held at the beautiful Neo-Renaissance Concert Hall (Aula) at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. It featured a series of speeches given by outgoing IPSA President Aiji Tanaka, newly elected President Ilter Turan, IPSA Secretary General Guy Lachapelle, WC2016 Program Co-Chairs Dianne Pinderhughes and Marian Sawyer, WC2018 Program Co-Chair Füsün Türkmen,

WC2018 Local Organizing Committee Chair Katharine Gelber (Brisbane), and Tourism Australia representative Lene Corgan. It also featured a stunning performance by the AMU Chamber Choir.



Institutional Systems, Policies, Inequalities

Leszek BALCEROWICZ

Professor of Economics
Warsaw School of Economics



Photo: Dominik Klos

Inequality refers to very important aspects of social life. But the debate on equality is fraught with confusion owing to its myriad meanings, methodological and empirical errors, and the strong emotions the word evokes. Conceptual confusion lies in the lack of an accurate distinction between inequalities of situation (i.e., income, wealth, power) and the inequalities of opportunity. In the discussion of the former, “capitalistic” inequalities of income and wealth are emphasized, while “socialist” inequalities in political power are usually neglected. To be sure, vast inequalities in wealth may contribute to inequalities in political power. Yet even the most extreme and extremely dangerous concentration of political power (i.e., Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot, Castro) has not necessarily been linked to a concentration of wealth.

Reducing income inequities should not be confused with the eradication of poverty. Nor should it be assumed that reducing top incomes will necessarily help the poor. Anti-market regimes (i.e., socialism, oligarchic capitalism, etc.) constitute the most important reason for the existence of world poverty. And there is no good substitute for the market-oriented reforms of those systems.

Some errors stem from the lack of a comparative analysis when it comes to issues of freedom and inequality in various institutional systems (see sec. II). Conflating countries with differing regimes and drawing simple correlations is likely to lead to misguided conclusions and policy recommendations. Correlation should not be confused with causation.

Much of the debate on inequality is Western-centric, ignoring global issues and focusing on the losers in the developed world. This narrow perspective can lead to morally dubious conclusions, i.e., recommending protectionism to help these losers. Such an attitude

ignores the basic fact that globalization in conjunction with market reforms in China, India and some smaller countries has served to accelerate economic growth and thus radically reduce the scope of poverty. And the appearance of the losers in the developed world has been due not only to globalization, but also to the nature of contemporary technical change (IT technology) linked to pockets of deficient education in developed economies, hampering the adjustment of skills and the restructuring of the economy.

**Reducing income
inequities should not be
confused with the
eradication of poverty.**

Economic freedom, inequality of opportunity, inequality of income

We speak of inequality of opportunity when individuals with similar important characteristics (i.e., talent, skills, persistence, etc.) are not given an equal chance to achieve the same professional goals. We do not

expect different individuals to have an equal chance of achieving the same professional goal.

In the empirical research, inequality of opportunity is substituted for upward mobility, even though the two concepts are not identical. They would overlap if the statistical distribution of individuals' important characteristics were identical in each income group. However, treating measures of upward mobility as proxies for inequalities of opportunity is an acceptable approximation.

There is a fundamental difference between an ideal inequality of opportunity versus an ideal degree of income inequality. Most in the modern world would agree that inequalities of opportunity should be close to zero, i.e., that similar individuals should have a more or less equal chance to achieve their professional goals. Such an intersubjective agreement does not exist in the case of inequalities of income. Only extreme collectivists (e.g., monks)

would agree that it should be close to zero. The debate on income inequality is inherently subjective, therefore. It differs considerably from moral discussions of poverty, whereby most would agree it should be eradicated, even though there are differing views on how to achieve this.

Some correlations between income inequality and upward mobility reflect certain causal links: extreme income inequality is likely to limit upward mobility, and very limited upward mobility, conversely, contributes to income inequality. In considering the corrective measures, the emphasis should be on causal factors for persistent poverty (which contributes both to income inequality and inequality of opportunity) as well as institutions and policies that widen these inequalities with no benefits in terms of economic growth. Finally, priority should be given to measures that increase mobility, as they are likely to strengthen economic growth, in keeping with modern ethics.

It is impossible to have a sensible debate on inequalities without considering a fundamental institutional variable: the scope and distribution of economic freedom in a country. This variable can take many different forms in the world, including the following three:

- a. **Socialism:** banning economic freedom, i.e., private ownership of productive assets and markets.
- b. **Oligarchic capitalism:** very unequal distribution of economic freedom, i.e., very unequal protection of property rights.
- c. **Entrepreneurial capitalism:** wide scope of economic freedom, high and reasonably equal protection of property rights.

Under socialism, the range of opportunities (i.e., freedom) is extremely limited. The ban on economic freedom rules out entrepre-

neurship and the existence of private-sector professionals. What's more, the elimination of economic freedom entails a ban on other freedoms as well. Thus, the existence of independent journalists, social activists, opposition politicians is also imperilled. As a result, people can move up within a very limited set of opportunities, essentially within the party-state hierarchy. As one can see, any discussion of upward mobility should take into account the set of opportunities, i.e., the scope of freedom available.

The elimination of economic freedom may suppress income inequality, but at the considerable cost of hampering economic growth and fuelling an extreme concentration of political power resulting in the possibility of catastrophic policies. Contrary to popular belief, the deepest crises (including genocide) sometimes occur under inherently non-market socialism as opposed to capitalism.

Unequal protection of property rights, moreover, reduces or eliminates market competition and thus stifles economic growth, which in turn contributes to poverty.

Under oligarchic (crony) capitalism, people with links to political rulers (or rulers themselves) enjoy much higher wealth protection (not to mention other privileges). This produces sharp inequality of opportunity leading to a wide income disparities. Unequal protection of property rights, moreover, reduces or eliminates market competition and thus stifles economic growth, which in turn contributes to poverty.

Entrepreneurial capitalism, by definition, is characterized by a wide scope of economic freedoms, which are highly protected and reasonably equal. Entrepreneurial opportunity produces high incomes for successful entrepreneurs, but market competition serves to prevent the extremes that are typical of crony capitalism. As a result, compared to crony capitalism, upward mobility and economic growth are higher under entrepreneurial capitalism, while income inequality is lower, but not as low as it is under socialism.





Photo: Dominik Klos

Institutional Transitions, Economic Freedom, Inequalities

Inequalities change in times of institutional transition. The direction of change depends on the incumbent institutional regime and the type of system toward which the transition is heading. There are many different systems, just as there are many actual or potential transformations. Those that hold the greatest empirical relevance are as follows:

- a. Socialism -> entrepreneurial capitalism (Central and Eastern Europe) -> moderate increase in Gini coefficient a large increase of the range of opportunities, economic catching up.
- b. Socialism -> oligarchic capitalism (e.g. Russia, Ukraine) -> sharp increase in Gini, inequality of new economic opportunities, no or little catching up.
- c. Entrepreneurial capitalism -> crony or rent-seeking capitalism (M.Olson) -> increased income inequality, slower growth.
- d. Rent-seeking or crony capitalism -> entrepreneurial capitalism -> strengthened economic growth, reduced inequality of income and of opportunity.

Policies in the OECD countries and inequality

One should tread carefully when drawing policy conclusions from one set of countries to another, for instance from Denmark to the U.S. First, given the huge differences in population size and heterogeneity, lessons from Scandinavia may not be applicable to the U.S. or, if applied, would bring about unexpected results. Second, new empirical research reveals that actual differences are not as pronounced as one might expect. For example, Hackman and Landers (2016) show that Denmark displays higher income mobility than the U.S. but not higher educational mobility, owing to far weaker educational incentives in Denmark stemming from suppressed educational premiums.

Nevertheless, some policies (including certain institutional arrangements) reduce upward mobility and/or increase income (wealth) inequality, with a neutral or even negative effect on economic growth.

These policies include:

- Highly restrictive zoning regulations that limit the supply of urban land and thus increase the wealth of real-estate owners (see Britain).
- Continued unconventional monetary policy (UMP), which inflates the prices of financial assets and favours large incumbent firms over new firms (Rzońca 2014). Both tend to widen wealth inequalities and endanger long-term economic growth.
- Protectionist measures that shield domestic monopolies, thus slowing down economic growth and increasing inequalities by creating monopolistic rents; Western protectionism, e.g., the CAP, also hurts people in poor countries.
- Welfare states with large and generous PAG pension systems financed at the cost of growing public debt. This creates an inequality between current older generations and younger generations forced to bear the cost of large public debt and/or face the prospect of much lower pensions.

Measures that reduce inequalities and foster economic growth rely, first and foremost, on reversing the policies cited above. Added to these are steps intended to improve the quality of education among groups where it is very low.

Chetty at all (2014) have shown that there are significant differences in upward income mobility within the U.S., linking these disparities empirically to factors that affect children before they start working, more specifically education and family environment. In high mobility areas such as Salt Lake City, children from low-income families are more likely to attend college, and the incidence of teen pregnancy is also lower.

The main factors hampering upward mobility and exacerbating income disparities across countries and within the U.S. (rent-seeking, state capture, monopolies, poor education for the poor) are not features of free markets, but rather features common to the public sphere and culture.

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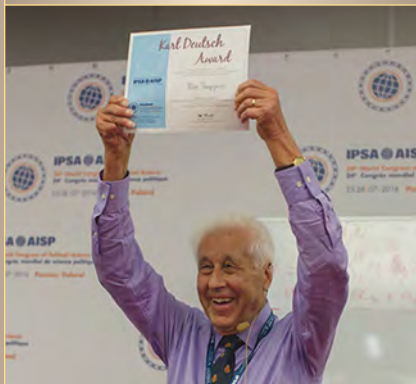


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National Association News

IPSA Welcomes the New Zealand Political Studies Association and the Icelandic Political Science Association

IPSA is pleased to announce that the New Zealand Political Studies Association (NZPSA) and the Icelandic Political Science Association have joined the ranks of IPSA's collective members.

The Committee on Participation and Memberships approved their respective candidacies at the IPSA Executive Committee meetings in Dubrovnik (Croatia) on April 22 and 23, 2016. The NZPSA and the Icelandic Political Science Association thus become the 53rd and 54th country members of IPSA, and each is now a voting member on the IPSA Council.

IPSA warmly welcomes the NZPSA and the Icelandic Political Science Association, and it extends its best wishes for success to political scientists in those countries.

The French-speaking Belgian Political Science Association – Celebrates 20 years of Existence



The 2016-2017 academic year marks the 20th anniversary of the French-language Belgian Political Science Association (ABSP).

The ABSP is seizing the opportunity to convene its seventh tri-annual International Congress, which will see political scientists gather in Mons, Belgium on April 3 and 4, 2017. The main theme of the congress is "The State and Its Transformations." No fewer than 28 sections have been accepted. The sections are organized by Belgian political scientists as well as colleagues from other political science associations throughout the world. They cover a broad range of topics, most notably in public administration, IR, European studies, electoral and party studies, and research methods. The event is geared largely to young researchers. The ABSP will award a pair of prizes, one for Best Paper by a Young Researcher and another for Best PhD Dissertation. A poster session for PhD students and a PhD day are also scheduled. Further details on this event can be found at www.absp.be. In conjunction with the event, the ABSP will publish a book taking stock of the evolution of political science in French-speaking Belgium over the past 20 years. The book – the 20th volume in the association's book series – will address issues specific to the research environment in French-speaking Belgium, together with thematic developments in political science as well as teaching-related issues and activities undertaken by political scientists for the benefit of civil society at large. The book launch will be held during the congress in April 2017. Feel free to join us.



South African Association of Political Studies – 13th National Biannual Conference & New National Council

"Decolonisation after Democracy: Rethinking Politics into the 21st Century" SAAPS National Conference, University of the Western Cape, August 31–September 2, 2016

The South African Association of Political Studies (SAAPS) recently held its 13th Biannual National Conference on the theme of "Decolonization after Democracy: Rethinking Politics into the 21st Century" at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town.

The conference was well attended, with 91 papers accepted, and it included presenters from 18 of South Africa's 26 universities and about 20 international scholars from southern Africa, Europe, North America and South America.

The keynote was given by Professor Achille Mbembe of the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER). Professor Mbembe framed the debate on decolonization of knowledge as a call for pluriversality rather than an outright rejection of European or other traditions of thought. The conference was marked by vigorous debate on issues raised by the decolonization of knowledge, ethnic knowledge, knowledge and identity, the role of the university, institutional and political transformation, Africanization, and the #FeesMustFall movement.

Key papers on these issues will be the focus of a special edition of the SAAPS journal *Politikon* in 2017, as well as an academic monograph.

For further details on the conference, please go to <http://saaps.org.za/conference/2016-annual-conference>.

New SAAPS National Council

The South African Association of Political Studies (SAAPS) elected its new national council at its Annual General Meeting (AGM) on September 2, 2016. The new council is made up of the following people:

President: Prof. Laurence Piper (University of the Western Cape)
Vice-President: Prof. Chris Isike (University of Zululand)
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Prof. Cherrel Africa (University of the Western Cape)
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American Political Science Association



Preparations are well underway for the 113th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), which takes place in San Francisco from August 31 to September 3, 2017. The call for proposals is open until January 9, 2017, and presenters have a variety of format options from which to choose. The 14th Annual Teaching and Learning Conference runs from February 10 to 12, 2017 in California. Visit www.apsanet.org for complete details on these and other APSA events.

You'll also find information on publications, reports and journals, including the *American Political Science Review* (APSR), *Perspectives on Politics*, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, and the *Journal of Political Science Education*. APSA's eJobs is the most comprehensive employment database related to political science, and it is accessible to members. The eJobs platform is updated daily with new job listings and candidate resumés, and it is fully searchable by field of interest, employer or candidate name, region, keyword, position, salary, institution type, and most recent postings. You'll find a variety of professional development materials and programs, including mentoring and placement services. With a focus on diversity and inclusion, the international programs offer scholars in the beginning, middle or advanced stages of their careers outstanding opportunities to learn, grow and network. Check out the latest political science news at www.politicalsciencenow.com. The website features APSA award winners, news from the discipline, and spotlights on political scientists and their research. APSA has more than 12,000 members and 47 sections built around specific areas meant to help you connect and engage.

Finnish Political Science Association



Founded in 1935, the Finnish Political Science Association (FPSA) is an active scientific association, with more than 350 members. The FPSA presents three core activities: the annual conference, the *Politiikka* journal, and the online forum Politiikasta.fi. It publishes monographs and edited volumes as part of the series titled *Books from Finnish Political Science Association*, and it also stages a variety of events.

The annual conference of the Finnish Political Science Association will be held at the University of Jyväskylä on March 9 and 10, 2017. The conference theme – "From the Welfare State to Neoliberalism – from Democracy to Post-Democracy?" – will be introduced during a keynote presentation by University of Palermo Professor Antonino Palumbo and tabled for discussion as part of a special roundtable. Further information on the conference is available at www.jyu.fi/en/congress/ptp2017, and all enquiries should be addressed to conference secretary Tuomas Parsio at tuomas.v.parsio@jyu.fi

Politiikka, a peer-reviewed quarterly journal, welcomes article manuscripts and book reviews in Finnish and Swedish. Please see the FPSA website for details (<http://vty.fi/>).

Politiikasta.fi is a professionally edited online forum that presents topical political science subjects in a readily accessible format. Established in 2012, Politiikasta.fi publishes articles, article series, videos and podcasts intended for the research community and the wider public in Finnish, Swedish and English. To date, Politiikasta.fi has published nearly 500 pieces by over 200 researchers, and it continues to provide high-quality analysis on current issues with

the aim of advancing an informed public discussion. Submissions should be emailed to toimitus@politiikasta.fi.

The FPSA is delighted to announce that the next editorial team for the highly-rated, peer-reviewed journal *Scandinavian Political Studies*, published by the Nordic Political Science Association (NOPSA), will be drawn from Finland. David Arter and Elina Kesilä-Kekkonen will serve as its editors, along with editorial assistant Aino Tiihonen. All are based at the University of Tampere. They look forward to directing the journal during their three-term of office and maintaining its notable standard of scholarship.

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Sirke Mäkinen, Chair, sirke.makinen@uta.fi

Czech Political Science Association – Election-related Workshops and Conferences



The Czech Political Science Association is currently in the mid-term stage between its congresses, which are held every three years. The 7th CPSA Congress takes place in September 2018 and will be hosted by Metropolitan University Prague. We will update you once the information is made available (including details on the call of papers), and you can also go to <http://www.cspv.cz> for complete congress details.

In the meantime, the CPSA will present a joint scientific workshop on the 2016 regional and Senate elections in the Czech Republic. The workshop takes place in Hradec Králové on November 21, 2016. The year 2017 will be marked by elections to the Chamber of Deputies (the most important elections or first-order election) and the subsequent campaign leading up to the January 2018 presidential elections. Both events provide a number of opportunities for election-related events organized or jointly organized by CPSA.

Among its long-term activities, the CPSA continues to publish the *Czech Political Science Review* and present activities as part of the Central European Political Science Association.

Uruguayan Association of Political Science – ALACIP 9^o Latin American Congress of Political Science



Next year, AUCiP (the Uruguayan Association of Political Science) will host the 9th Latin American Congress of Political Science in Montevideo from July 26 to 28, 2017. The call for papers and panels is open until the January 15, 2016. The Latin American Association of Political Science (ALACIP) stages a bi-yearly international congress, and AUCiP is honoured to be the first national association charged with organizing the event. We are committed to presenting a high-quality congress, and we hope to count on the participation of colleagues from across the region and beyond.

Democracies in recession

The evolution of political science in Latin America cannot be separated from the path of democracy. Intense processes of democratization in the last quarter of the 20th century served to lend great impetus to the discipline by fostering political debate and highlighting



sophisticated studies on crucial topics, such as the logic of democratic transitions, and the causal connection between democratic instability and the type of government. These studies constitute important contributions to the discipline.

The context is challenging us again. The time for difficult questions has come: Is democracy in decline in the region? What are the main problems facing our political institutions? What is circumstantial and what is structural about those problems? To what extent and in what specific ways is economic deceleration affecting Latin American democracy and the political processes underway? Is it correct to affirm that the political pendulum is swinging to the right? If so, what are the consequences of this ideological change for citizenship and public policy? We hope that ALACIP's 9th Congress will allow us to come up with constructive and collective answers to current challenges in our region.



New Zealand Political Studies Association

Poznań 2016 marked the first time we attended the IPSA World Congress as a collective member, as Aotearoa/New Zealand participated fully in discussions concerning policy and regulation and in the election of the Executive Committee. We look forward to the IPSA World Congress in Brisbane, Australia, but we also hasten to remind scholars that the New Zealand Political Studies Association conference is presented every year at the end of November (the start of our summer). The 2017 conference will be held at the University of Otago, New Zealand's first university, located in the city of Dunedin just a short drive from the beautiful sites of Queenstown and Wanaka. For news and details on upcoming events, please visit our website (nzpsa.com) or consult our newsletter. We also have our own disciplinary journal, *Political Science*, published online in collaboration with Sage. The journal accepts original peer-reviewed scholarship from a range of methodological and theoretical perspectives, particularly but not limited to scholarship with a focus on the Asia-Pacific region.

Serbian Political Science Association

The Serbian Political Studies Association held its annual conference at the University of Belgrade's Faculty of Political Science on September 24 and 25, 2016. The main theme of the conference – “Decline or Eclipse of Democracy in Europe's New Democracies?” – drew more than 50 participants from Serbia, from almost all the Balkan and Central European states, as well as from Russia, Japan, the UK and the U.S. Participants discussed topics as far-ranging as state capture and potential remedies, democratic decline in the Balkans, the radicalization of politics in times of economic crisis, the return of hybrid regimes, the security and migration crises in Europe, media freedom in the Balkans, and the overall crisis of representative democracy. The conference included a roundtable titled “The Rise of Illiberalism and Far Right Extremism” presented by the Balkan Political Science Association (BPSA), an international scholarly organization of national associations, think-tanks and scholars from Southeast Europe established at the SPSPA annual conference in 2015.

Political Studies Association (UK) – Living With Brexit

The Political Studies Association of the UK (PSA) has had an eventful few months fueled by the vote on June 23 to leave the European Union (EU).

The PSA has been vocal about the need for government to support academics during the transition period and has played a fundamental role in informing the Brexit process through various parliamentary consultations and the publication of an authoritative report unpacking and explaining the next steps required for Britain's withdrawal from the EU. This report was co-produced with the UK in a Changing Europe initiative at King's College London and is available for download at www.psa.ac.uk.

Our 67th Annual Conference will address Brexit among other major issues and trends emerging in UK politics and beyond. “Politics in Interesting Times” takes place in Glasgow from April 10 to 12, 2017. Registration opened in November 2016 at www.psa.ac.uk.

The PSA Annual Awards event, now in its sixth year, was held in late November. The awards recognize politicians, policy-makers, journalists and academics who have made significant contributions to politics in the past year—including key players from the Brexit debate.



The PSA has also been monitoring and advising on higher education policy developments, including the newly proposed Higher Education and Research Bill. We submitted a detailed response to a Parliament consultation on the Bill, recommending student and academic staff representation on the board of the proposed Office for Students and calling for the language of the Bill to refer directly to social science.

On the membership side, the PSA recently established a new Early Career Network (www.psa.ac.uk/psa-communities/early-career-network) in an effort to support the interests of PhD students and early-career academics, along with a Teachers' Network aimed at continuing the excellent development of our schools programme.

French Political Science Association | Association Française de Science Politique



The year 2016 was marked by considerable change at the French Political Science Association. After dedicating more than a decade to the association's development, Nonna Mayer and Yves Déloye (President and Secretary-General of the association, respectively) handed over the reins to Andy Smith and

Nicolas Sauger. Mayer and Déloye received a proper tribute for their role in leading and transforming French political science in the past several years. Smith and Sauger have pledged to continue their work going forward. They have also insisted on the need to further internationalize the discipline in France as well as strengthen cross-disciplinary ties.

The FPSA Congress takes place in Montpellier from July 10 to 12, 2017. The 2017 plenary conference event will cover such key issues as climate change and sustainable growth, with some 76 workshops already planned across all the field in the discipline and up to 1,000 participants expected to take part. Registration for the event will open in December 2016.

The FPSA will inaugurate its new website in conjunction with the event: www.afsp.info.

Research Committee News

Christian Haerpfer Elected Research Committee (RC) Liaison Representative

IPSA is pleased to announce the election of Prof. Christian Haerpfer as Research Committee (RC) Liaison Representative. Prof. Haerpfer was elected by RC chairs at the most recent Advisory Commission on Research (ACR) meeting held on July 27, 2016, in conjunction with the Poznań IPSA World Congress of Political Science.

The RC Liaison Representative sits on the Committee on Research and Training (CRT), which convenes at each IPSA Executive Committee meeting (two or three times per year). The holder of the position represents the interests of the research committees within IPSA official bodies and strengthens ties between research committees and the Executive Committee. The Liaison Representative also advises the IPSA Executive Committee and the IPSA Secretariat on matters concerning research committees. To this end, the holder communicates with RC officials and works in close collaboration with the Chair of the CRT and the IPSA Secretariat on all matters related to research committees.

Prof. Christian Haerpfer can be reached at c.w.haerpfer@gmail.com.

Biography

Prof. Haerpfer has served as Chair of IPSA Research Committee 17 on Comparative Public Opinion since 2011 and President of the World Values Survey since 2013. The World Values Survey is the



world's largest academic program and survey infrastructure in the political sciences, operating in 108 societies and covering over 90% of world's population.

Prof. Haerpfer is the Founding Director of the Institute for Comparative Survey Research "Eurasia Barometer" in Vienna, Austria. The ICSR was founded in 1991. The Eurasia Barometer network includes more than 25 countries and over 150 social and political scientists and social survey researchers. In his capacity as director of the Eurasia Barometer, Prof. Haerpfer is also a member of the Steering Committee for the Global Barometer Survey Group, a worldwide organization for comparative large-scale quantitative surveys in the political sciences. It includes the

Afro Barometer, Arab Barometer, Asian Barometer, Eurasia Barometer and Latino Barometer.

Christian Haerpfer has served as a Research Professor of Political Science in the Department of Political Science at the University of Vienna (Austria) since 2003. Prof. Haerpfer has also held positions as Full Professor of Political Science and Established First Chair in Politics at the University of Aberdeen in the UK (2004-2015). He served as Visiting Professor at the University of Strathclyde (Glasgow, UK), the National University of Rwanda (Kigali & Butari, Rwanda), the University of Kiev (Ukraine), the University of Kharkov (Ukraine) and the University of Salzburg (Austria).

RC06 – Political Sociology Panel at APSA Annual Meeting

RC06 on Political Sociology, an American Political Science Association (APSA) related group, will present a panel titled "The Legitimacy of Political Executives in Democratic and Authoritarian Regimes" at the next APSA annual meeting in San Francisco. The meeting runs from August 31 to September 3, 2017.

Abstracts: Political executives play a key role in political systems. Unlike other political actors, executives can be found across the political spectrum, and they have always been a central object of study in political science. Notwithstanding the centrality of executives, there is no clear-cut research on the different aspects of legitimacy under which political executives operate in various political regimes. What does legitimacy mean in the context of executive studies? What do we currently know about the legitimacy of po-

litical executives under a comparative perspective? For instance, does the increasing "presidentialization of politics" have any consequences on the legitimacy (or lack thereof) of political executives in liberal democracies? How is the creation of order and the exercise of power legitimized in political executives beyond democracies (i.e., in quasi-democracies, autocracies, absolute monarchies, and military regimes)? In keeping with the main theme of the 2017 APSA Annual Meeting ("The Quest for Legitimacy"), the CPS invites paper proposals dealing with the legitimacy of political executives in various political regimes. Given the nature of the committee, comparative papers will be favoured.

Convenor: Ferdinand Mueller-Rommel, Leuphana Universität Lüneburg, Germany

The call for papers is open and will close on January 9, 2017.

<http://web.apsanet.org/apsa2017/related-groups-calls/>

RC17 – Comparative Public Opinion - The Global Barometer Series

In 2016, RC17 on Comparative Public Opinion continued its activities aimed at organizing and promoting the world's largest social survey programs, including the next wave of Global Barometer Surveys to be completed in 2017-2018: the Asian Barometer, Arab Barometer, Afro Barometer, Eurasia Barometer, Latino Barometer, as well as the World Values Survey Wave 7. Findings for both survey projects are widely used in scholarly papers and presentations (at the recent IPSA World Congress in Poznań, RC17 presented 12 thematic panels) as well as in publication series, including *The Global Barometers Series* published by Lynne Rienner Publishers. The series already includes three collective monographs: *Party Politics in East Asia: Citizens, Elections, and Democratic Development* (Russell J. Dalton, Doh Chull Chin, and Yun-han Chu, editors, 2008); *Voting and Democratic Citizenship in Africa* (Michael Bratton, editor, 2013); *Growing Up Democratic: Does It Make a Difference?* (David Denemark, Robert Mattes, and Richard G. Niemi, editors, 2016). Slated for publication in 2017-2018, the fourth volume in the series is a collective monograph on "People and Democracy in the Developing World: Citizenship in the Early 21st Century." It is devoted to the development of democracy, political institutions and transformations of the concept of citizenship. The plan and outline of the new book were developed and approved at the RC17 meeting held at Princeton University on September 27 and 28, with the participation of Prof.



Christian Haerpfer (Eurasia Barometer & Chair of RC17), Prof. Yunhan Chu (Asian Barometer & Vice-Chair of RC17), Dr. Marta Lagos (Latino Barometer), Dr. Michael Robbins (Arab Barometer), Prof.

Robert Matter (Afro Barometer) and others. The monograph will include findings from the Global Barometer Survey and the World Values Survey, with a focus on various understandings of democracy around the world, democratic participation in different parts of the world, economic and political performance and the perceived supply of democracy, and social and partisan cleavages and the future of democracy in the developing world.

RC18 – Asian and Pacific Studies

The 24th IPSA World Congress of Political Science marked a milestone for the Research Committee on Asian and Pacific Studies (RC18), which celebrated its 40th anniversary by presenting 15 panels at the World Congress. At the opening ceremony for the Poznań 2016 IPSA World Congress, the founder and first Chair of RC18, Dr. Teh-Kuang Chang, was recognized for his long-standing contribution and role in connecting Asian and Pacific countries to the organization. Dr. Teh-Kuang Chang initiated the Research Committee on Asian and Pacific Studies at the 1976 IPSA World Congress in Edinburgh, United Kingdom, with the objective of expanding IPSA's reach beyond Western states. IPSA Secretary-General Guy Lachapelle honoured Dr. Teh-Kuang Chang for his key role in encouraging young scholars from the world's largest continent to join IPSA.

The committee's mission is to develop Asian and Pacific study programs meant to advance global civilization. As founding Chair and President of the International Tuva Studies Association, Dr. Chang, who is also a political science professor, will host RC18's International Young Scholars Conference at Ball State University on November 21, 2016, where he will introduce Asian countries to American students.



In order to grow RC18 and promote research, the committee was at the information booth for donations. T-shirts marking the 40th anniversary of the Research Committee on Asian and Pacific Studies were also available at the booth, along with souvenirs from the 2016 World Congress in Poznań. Limited quantities are still available online at <https://squareup.com/store/IPSA-RC18>.

RC19 – Gender Politics and Policy

Despite the move from Istanbul, RC19 still managed to present a considerable number of panels, with about 32 panels listed in the initial program, and about 24 linked to our RC after relocation. Gender-related panels were also hosted by other research committees.

Our pre-conference workshop also drew an impressive turnout, with gender scholars from Africa, the Americas, Europe and the Asia Pacific convening to discuss gender mainstreaming as a valid



Members of the RC19 Executive Committee (2016-18), from left to right: Marjeta Sinko, Anne Maria Holli (immediate past Chair; seated), Olena Hankivsky, Jennifer Curtin (Chair), Blair Williams, Judit Fabian, Petra Meier, Jackie Steele. **Absent:** Lenita Freidenvall (Vice Chair), Lea Sgier, Jane Bayes and Syeda Saima Ahmed.

goal and strategy for feminist politics in bureaucracy, research and teaching, and politics and public policy. Presentations included theoretical, empirical, case-specific and comparative analyses, and we were pleased to welcome our colleagues from RC07 as part of this day-long event.

Going forward, we are eager to work closely with other RCs with an interest in gender politics and policy, and to this end we have submitted RC19-sponsored panels to the 2017 European Conference on Politics and Gender and the 2017 International Conference on Public Policy. If these panels are accepted, a call for papers will be posted on the RC19 - Gender Politics and Policy Facebook page. Our new executive committee is exploring new ways to grow our membership and activities, including the development of gender- and diversity-inclusive MOOCs and summer school courses. We also look forward to welcoming new members. For further information, please contact Jennifer Curtin at j.curtin@auckland.ac.nz.

RC24 – Armed Forces and Society

The Research Committee on Armed Forces and Society met throughout the IPSA World Congress. RC24 sponsored eight panels, with



most conducting successful business meetings under the leadership of our Chair, Prof. Marybeth Ulrich. In Poznań, we elected or re-elected officers for the next two years (see the photo of newly elected officials) and initiated plans for our off-year RC24-only meeting in

2019. A number of new members joined our ranks in Poland, and some were even tapped to be officers!

In recognition of the fact that several of our Turkish RC members were unable to travel to Poznań due to the political situation in Turkey, RC24 is preparing a special edition of the journal *Political and Military Sociology* dealing with the armed forces and societal issues in Turkey. The issue will gather relevant scholarship on coups, democratic transitions, and civil-military relations. Members of RC24 will contribute to and edit the volume, but scholarly contributions are welcome. Persons interested in having their research considered for this special issue are asked to contact us.

The Poznań panels demonstrated the critical relevance of our members' research, particularly in the area of coups, national security implications of democratization, the armed forces' response to mass migration, and civil-military relations. Scholars from more than a dozen countries examined a variety of related topics in the following panels: "Searching for Security in Liberalizing Authoritarian Regimes"; "The Challenges and Opportunities for Democratic Civil-Military Relations in the Developing World: Latin America, South Asia and Africa"; and "Issues in European Security: Migration, Civil-Military Relations, and the Quality of Democracy." Our members expressed their appreciation for the organizers of the World Congress, knowing, as we did, that the replacement venue required rapid planning and execution. The rooms were excellent, the food was very good, and our forays into the old city were thoroughly enjoyable. Our one minor dietary shock ("tacos" served in crepe shells!) was more than offset by the caring hospitality shown by our Polish hosts. Our heartfelt thanks go out to the organizers and hosts of the 24th World Congress of Political Science.

RC24 looks forward to our next major gathering in Brisbane for the 2018 World Congress. If you are interested in joining RC24, please contact our President, Marybeth Peterson Ulrich, at Marybeth.p.ulrich.civ@mail.mil.

Visit the RC24 website: <http://rc24.ipsa.org/>.

RC25 – Comparative Health Policy Election

The Chair (Kieke Okma) and Vice-Chairs (Ryozo Matsuda and Lenaura Lobato) were unanimously re-elected for two more years, after which Kieke Okma and Lenaura Lobato will have completed their maximum term of six years and RC25 will have to elect a new Chair and at least one Vice-Chair at the 2018 IPSA World Congress in Brisbane. According to IPSA rules, each RC must have a board. Six RC25 members volunteered to serve as board members for the next four years: Vera Coelho, Melissa Haussman, Kathrin Loehr, Celine Mavrot, Amardeep Thind and Federico Toth.

RC26 – Human Rights

RC26 is happy to announce our new initiatives. During the business meeting held in Poznań, we decided to form a secretariat in order to provide better services to our 400 members. The new secretariat includes four primary positions: secretary, webpage master, newsletter editor and treasurer. The following volunteers will serve as the members in charge:

- Tatiana Barandova, Senior Lecturer at University Higher School of Economics in St. Petersburg, Russia, is our new secretary. She is in charge of circulating notices and newsletters to members.
- Alexander González Chavarría, Assistant Professor at Pontificia University in Bogota, Columbia, is our webpage master. His services will be indispensable for the global community of human rights scholars intent on learning more about RC26 activities.
- Our newsletter editor is Oscar Perez de la Fuente, a lecturer in the Faculty of Legal and Social Sciences at Carlos III University of Madrid in Spain. RC26 will deliver useful information to our members, including details on awards, fellowships, job openings and calls for papers. We plan to publish two newsletters per year. Mr. Perez de la Fuente's work helps foster a stronger sense of community among RC26 members.
- Professor Jędrzej Skrzypczak at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland, is our treasurer. He is in charge of submitting grant applications to IPSA for interim conferences and other activities.

The composition of RC26 reflects a regional variation and cultural diversity. A divergence of opinions and worldviews forms the basis of our strength in engaging human rights discourse. It also helps RC26's global outreach activities.

In addition, RC26 has decided to work very closely with future generations of human rights scholars. We have agreed to cooperate and collaborate with the International Association for Political Science Students (IAPSS). Its Research Committee on Human Rights and Gender Studies will work closely with RC26 by sharing news items with our respective members.

Finally, Professor Katherine Gelber of the University of Queensland in Australia was elected incoming Chair. Her term will start in July 2018. Ms. Gelber is also the Chair of the local organizing committee for the 25th World Congress of Political Science, which will be held in Brisbane, Australia.

RC28 – Comparative Federalism and Multilevel Governance

World Congress, Publius Award, New Board & Cyprus Conference

RC28 had another successful World Congress in Poznań, staging 16 panels on a wide range of topics in the field, including horizontal and vertical coordination, dynamic decentralization, multilevel welfare governance, and new models of federalism. Please visit the Poznań 2016 page on our website for a full report on our contribution to the 24th IPSA World Congress.

At the Poznań World Congress, RC28 presented its first Publius Distinguished Scholar Award to Professor John Kincaid of Lafayette College in Pennsylvania. The award recognizes scholars whose publications make a significant contribution to our understanding and appreciation of the history, theory, and/or practice of federalism. Our warmest congratulations go out to Prof. Kincaid on receiving this richly deserved award.

Shortly after the Poznań World Congress, RC28 elected a new board. The new board is chaired by Dr. Paolo Dardanelli of the University of Kent, UK, and also includes Professor Tom D. Lancaster, Emory University, U.S. (Vice-Chair), Professor Wolfgang Renzsch, University of Magdeburg, Germany (Secretary), Professor Carol S. Weissert, Florida State University, U.S. (Treasurer), Professor Harihar Bhattacharyya, University of Burdwan, India (Outreach officer), and Dr. Soeren Keil, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK (Membership officer).

RC28 has joined forces with RC14 (Politics and Ethnicity) and RC13 (Democratization) to convene the conference titled Democratization and Constitutional Design in Divided Society, which will be held at the Nicosia Campus of the University of Cyprus from June 24 to 27, 2017. The deadline for submitting paper proposals is January 31, 2017. Please visit the conference page on our website for further details on the call for papers.

RC29 – Psycho-Politics

Major Developments and Decisions

At the 24th IPSA World Congress of Political Science in Poznań, Poland, RC29 hosted five panels revolving around a variety of topics: “Public Mood, Social and Political Interactions and Psychological Correlates”; “Political Leaders and the Analysis of Political Leadership”; “A Sentimental Democracy?”; “Personality and Politics: The Effects of Personal Traits on Behavior and Attitudes”; and “Talking Politics: Cross-Cultural and Cross-National Dimensions of Verbal Behavior in Politics.”

At the RC29 business meeting on July 26, chaired by outgoing RC29 Chair Ofer Feldman, members were brought up to date on developments since the IPSA World Congress in Montreal as well as joint activities with RC21 on Political Socialization and Education. They discussed issues that should form the core of the panels at the next IPSA World Congress in Brisbane, including political leadership, communication processes and effects, and socio-cultural aspects of human behavior from a comparative perspective. RC29 members voted unanimously to apply to the Committee on Research and Training for a change in the RC’s name to RC29 on Political Psychology. All members agreed that the proposed name – “Political Psychology” – is now well established in the scientific community, thereby allowing its members to directly associate the scope of this research field with RC29 activities.

Moreover, new members were elected to the RC29 board. The range of countries represented by the board members reflects growing global interest in issues of primary interest to the RC, and the need to step up the international and interdisciplinary dialogue on the psychological foundations of political behavior. The RC29 board is now headed by Sonja Zmerli (Sciences Po Grenoble, France), Paul Dekker (Universiteit van Tilburg, The Netherlands) and Ofer Feldman (Doshisha University, Japan). The board’s newly elected members are Kathrin Ackermann (University of Bern, Switzerland), Sigal Ben-Rafael Galanti (Beit Berl College, Israel), Peter Bull (University of York, UK), Ziyodakhon Gazieva (Ball State University, Uzbekistan), Robert Gilbert (Northeastern University, U.S.), Shingo Hamanaka (Ryukoku University, Japan), Laura Pérez Rastrilla (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain), Sarah Tanke (Sciences Po Paris, France), Annemarie Walter (University of Nottingham, UK), and Kristina Weißmüller (University of Hamburg, Germany).

RC32 – Public Policy and Administration

International Conference on Public Policy (ICPP)



RC32 on Public Policy and Administration is involved in the development of the International Public Policy Association (IPPA) and its general conference, the International

Conference on Public Policy (ICPP). Supported by other research committees, the goals of this association are to develop research on public policy all over the world, facilitate networking between researchers, and contribute to the creation of a common background.

The biannual International Conference on Public Policy is IPPA’s main activity. The first such event was held in Grenoble in 2013, drawing some 950 participants. The second edition, held in Milan, drew a turnout of 1,300 participants. The third event will be held in Singapore (Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore) from June 28 to 30, 2017.

ICPP 3 is organized in two steps: the call for panels (September 1 to October 14, 2016) and the call for papers (November 1 to January 15, 2017). A panel proposal should define a research topic, allowing policy researchers covering the same issues to present and discuss their works with participants. Panel proposals may be on any specific topic – theoretical, methodological, or empirical approaches are all welcome – and must contain a call for papers, which will be published if the panel is selected. All panel proposals will be reviewed by the ICPP International Scientific Committee, and the call for papers for the selected panels will be published online. Panel Chairs will receive and select high-quality paper proposals corresponding to their panel (between four and 15 papers) and will organize one to three two-hour sessions during ICPP3. All the panels are open, and the panel Chairs will be in charge of paper selection.

IPPA has also developed new activities. In addition to its new book series titled *International Series on Public Policy* (Palgrave-McMillan), the association distributes newsletters to more than 5,000 members every 15 days and presents a summer school on public policy (Brazil, Singapore, Florence). It also stages a regional conference and counts more than 950 individual members and 13 institutional members.

RC36 – Political Power

RC36 is proposing a panel titled “Legitimacy as Power” for presentation at the 2017 APSA meeting in San Francisco. Considering all authority requires some legitimacy to rule without excessive force, this panel will bring a multidisciplinary perspective to bear on the power that legitimacy lends authority in its many manifestations.

RC36 will also hold an interim meeting titled “The Power of Narrative” in Pavia, Italy on May 30 and 31, 2017. Queries on the manner in which people create narratives and the sort of power inherent in these forms of expression should guide the conference. Complete conference details are available at <http://powerstudies.org/rc36-interim-meeting-pavia-2017/>.

RC36 has created a new website (<http://powerstudies.org/>) and Facebook page (https://www.facebook.com/RC36politicalpower-group/?ref=aymt_homepage_panel). We look forward to your visit!

RC37 – Rethinking Political Development

RC37 (www.rc37.ipsa.org) chaired by Dr. Zillur R. Khan, Rosebush Professor Emeritus at the University of Wisconsin and Adjunct Professor at Rollins College (U.S.), will hold a two-day Inter-IPSA World Congress Workshop titled “Inequality and Power Relations in Rethinking Political Development for Stability and Justice” on January 19 and 20 in Dhaka, Bangladesh. The workshop will be hosted by the Policy Research Institute of Bangladesh.

The workshop will bring “infrastructural justice” into sharper focus and explore ways to allocate and distribute resources equitably. Could this happen peacefully through multilevel efforts to build consensus for purposes of political development? What would the incentives for such efforts be?

The RC37 IPSA Workshop will focus on consensus-building processes aimed at dealing with urgent problems of inequality and poverty, and it will attempt to determine how to ensure that resources are allocated fairly, with positive effects on liberty and creativity. In this context, participants are expected to focus on civil society groups, regional and international think-tanks, and intergovernmental and non-government agencies to evaluate the comparative effectiveness of sustained efforts to alleviate gross inequality and poverty.

The RC37 IPSA Workshop will test a basic hypothesis: By exploring attempts, failures and successes of consensus-building among various political parties and interest groups across different political cultures, can a greater understanding of socio-politico-economic strategies be achieved in order to ensure the sustainable and equitable development of societies and nations?

The politics of resource allocation are an integral part of the economics of inequality. The commitment of policy-makers to pragmatic egalitarian economic programs could help alleviate poverty and contain various kinds of ideological extremism, some of which culminate in terrorism.

The workshop format will consist of six to eight panels (6-8 x 3 paper-givers), with one discussant and one chair per panel, and two inaugural sessions with two moderators where two keynote papers are presented. IPSA has awarded a travel grant of \$1,500 for the workshop, with the grants awarded on the basis of fairness.

RC48 – Administrative Culture

RC48 on Administrative Culture presented two successful panels and a business meeting at the 2016 IPSA World Congress in Poznań. The RC48 web page is active at www.political-science.org, and it can be easily found by searching for “IPSA-RC48.” The RC continues to attract more diverse approaches to panel topics, just as it continues to draw members from more regions and countries.

The following board members were elected: President emeritus, RD Sharma (India); Past Chair, Rosamund Thomas (England); Chair, Jeremy Lewis (U.S.); Vice-Chair, Leonid Smurgunov (Russia); Vice-Chair, Ashok Basu (India); Secretary, Arunoday Bajpai (India); and Hon. Treasurer, Prudence Brown (Australia). The additional board members elected were Erica Gorbak (Argentina), Gideon Van Riet (South Africa), Lidiya Timofeeva (Russian Federation), Mamta Mokta (India) and Renu Kapila (India).

Leonid Smurgunov distributed and reported on his new anthology, *The Governance of Public Policy* (Moscow: Aspekt Press, 2016, in Russian), which contains chapters by several members of RC48 as well as other contributors from the workshop held in St. Petersburg, Russian Federation, in the summer of 2016.

Ashok Basu reported on the Indian regional workshop, with present and past members of RC48 contributing. The RC meeting also passed motions to explore an anthology (which is now underway with a publisher) or journal symposium and arrange publication of voluntarily submitted papers on its website. Finally, the RC members unanimously congratulated Erica Gorbak on receiving IPSA’s Global South Prize.



University of Suffolk at West Suffolk College Graduation Ceremony on October 1, 2016

On October 1, 2016, Dr. Rosamund Thomas (Past Chair) was presented with an honorary doctorate by the University of Suffolk

in recognition of her work at the Centre for Business and Public Sector Ethics. The ceremony was held at the Cathedral in Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, England.

RC50 – The Politics of Language

In collaboration with ARTES (artes.uva.nl) and MIME (mime-project.org), RC50 will host an international conference at the Universiteit van Amsterdam from May 22 to 24, 2017. Our conference will provide an opportunity to examine and better understand the various possibilities and challenges associated with the contemporary politics of multilingualism. We are currently welcoming proposals for individual papers or panels. The deadline for submission is January 20, 2017.

For complete details, please consult the call for papers on the RC50 website (rc50.ipsa.org).

We look forward to welcoming you in Amsterdam!



IPSA Statement on Academic Freedom

At the 111th Executive Committee meetings in Krakow, Poland (December 7-8, 2012), an *ad hoc* committee of the IPSA Executive Committee (EC) was tasked with producing a statement on academic freedom. The goal was to come up with a reference document that IPSA and national associations (IPSA collective members) could apply in local contexts, one that does not contradict or override local, regional, national or other significant declarations on the matter.

Taking into account IPSA's mission statement, its diversity and multicultural status, the committee considered the wisest course of action to be the adoption of a brief introductory statement endorsing UNESCO's detailed statement on academic freedom, which enjoys widespread acceptance and credibility.

On July 25, 2016, IPSA Council approved the following IPSA Statement on Academic Freedom in conjunction with the 24th IPSA World Congress of Political Science in Poznań.

IPSA Statement on Academic Freedom

IPSA's Mission Statement declares that IPSA aims 'to support the academic freedoms needed for the social sciences to flourish'. This 'Statement on Academic Freedoms' from IPSA's Council reinforces IPSA's commitment to safeguarding these principles. The IPSA Council is the General Assembly of the International Political Science Association.

IPSA was founded under the auspices of UNESCO, and it further endorses the UNESCO 'Recommendations on the status of higher education personnel', adopted in 1997 (version française: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001102/110220f.pdf#page=31>). These Recommendations cover universities and colleges, and also research institutions not directly linked to such institutions. All UN member states subscribe to these very full provisions for the definition of, and protection of, academic freedoms. These provisions express an international consensus on the importance and meaning of academic freedoms.

IPSA regards these provisions as the necessary minimum to ensure that political scientists can work freely and effectively in undertaking their research and teaching, and in disseminating their ideas and results to colleagues and the public, nationally as well as internationally. In addition many nations and professional bodies have similar, though sometimes more detailed statements of principles, protections and standards, which IPSA respects.

IPSA understands academic freedoms to include the free exchange of ideas that is vitally necessary for scientific endeavour and debate. Arbitrary and politically motivated arrest, and personal and professional harassment, are egregious violations of basic human rights, and such violations pose a clear and present danger to academic freedoms.

Academic freedoms can also be seriously compromised through indirect measures, involving retention, promotion and tenure policies, performance and research management systems, changes in funding for research and resources, or alterations in the teaching curriculum. We urge all members not to adopt policies or to participate in activities that are even indirectly in conflict with the UNESCO Recommendations.

Political scientists will be acutely aware of threats to, and curtailments of, academic freedoms, and will find IPSA's endorsement of these UNESCO Recommendations useful in citing the rights, duties and obligations of our profession in international, national and local contexts. IPSA members may at any time contact IPSA's Secretariat and Executive Committee members for further advice and support.

Establishment of IPSA Ad Hoc Committee on Academic Freedom

Following the adoption of the statement, newly elected President İltir Turan established an *ad hoc* committee to monitor violations of academic freedom around the world, specifically as they relate to political scientists.

The information provided by this committee would constitute the basis upon which IPSA would shape and implement its policy on academic freedom and violations thereof.

With the help of national associations, committee members will monitor violations of academic freedom, with special attention on political scientists in their respective regions. They will draft reports in as much detail as possible and forward them to the chair of the committee. The chair of the IPSA committee will then search

for further information (i.e., the facts and the nature of violation), confirming that a violation has occurred and that it constitutes a violation of academic freedom before deciding on a course of action. The final report will then be tabled before the IPSA Executive Committee, which will determine the course of action.

In accordance with the guidelines posted on the IPSA website, if you would like to see IPSA encourage governments to uphold the academic freedom of political scientists, particularly in your country, we encourage you to contact your national association. Reports must contain sufficient and accurate information, with as much detail as possible. Your national association will then decide if it wishes to proceed and follow up with the IPSA committee on academic freedom.

Let's work together to help our colleagues around the world who need our support to fully enjoy their academic freedom.



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