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Notes from the Editors

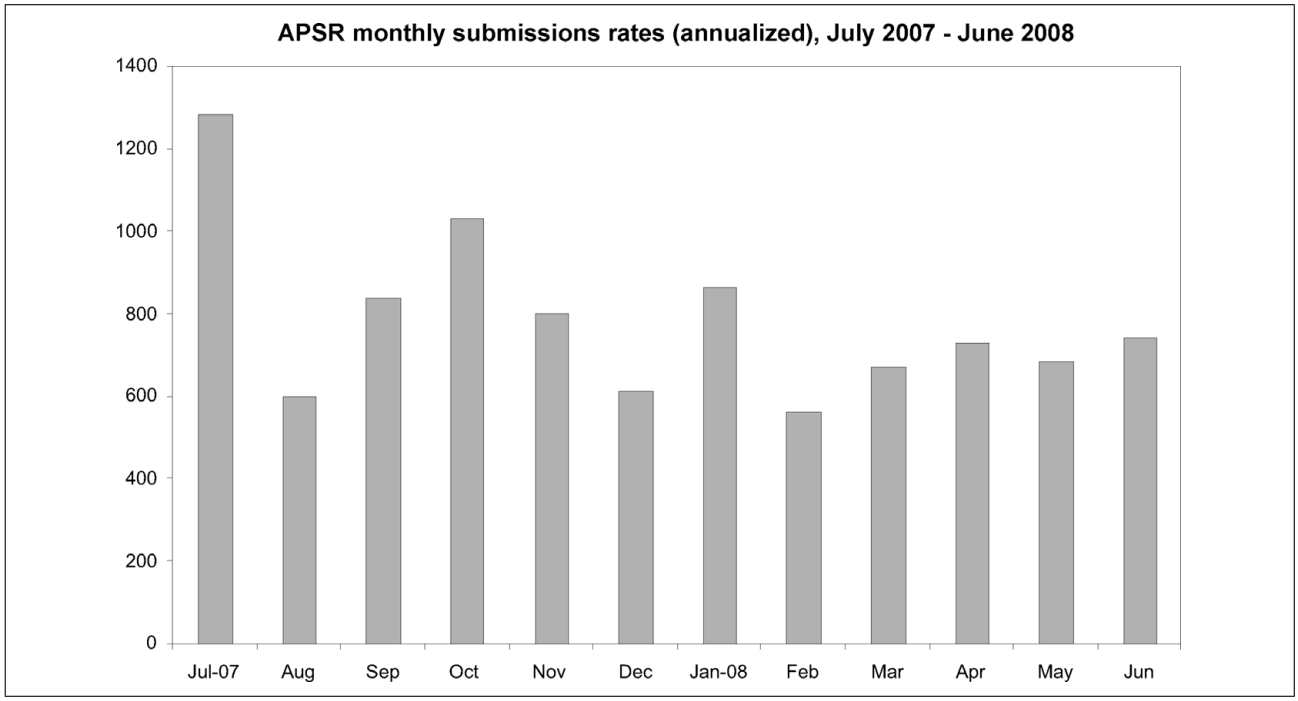
As will be clear to anyone who has made it to this page, the current issue, like the last, is a little short and a little late. The reason why will be familiar to anyone who has maneuvered a battleship in choppy waters. Those waters—to literalize the metaphor—are the high and uneven rates of submission that the APSR faced in the second half of 2007 as the current UCLA crew took command. The submission rates are pictured in the graph provided.

At the end of July 2007, submissions were coming in at an annualized rate of almost 1,300 a year. The rates rose and fell in subsequent months, making it difficult to estimate what our annual submissions would turn out to be. By the end of our first year, the average was just under 800—still almost one third more than in 2005–6, the last year for which such figures were reported, but substantially fewer than we had feared likely at the end of our first five months at the helm. Much higher submissions would require us to take a more conservative approach to inviting revisions than our predecessor, Lee Sigelman, and that is what we did. But with the flood of the summer and early fall vivid in our minds, we adjusted more than turned out to be necessary—and as our "revise and resubmit" invitations initially were sent with a one-year deadline, we are only now beginning to receive revisions ready for their second round of review.

In short, the flow of accepted articles has been lower than required to fill the journal. We delayed publication of both the May and the August issues by some weeks to enable us to include a few more articles, but even so we are not using all the pages available. We've made a number of mid-course corrections now, both in terms of invitations to revise and by adopting a six-month rather than one-year window for revision. These, as well as other aspects of the journal's first year at UCLA, will be reported more fully in our first Annual Report, which will appear, as is the custom, in an issue of *PS: Political Science and Politics* in the new volume year. In any case, the good news is that our recalibrated approach has resulted in a much stronger flow of accepted manuscripts into the pipeline, and we hope to get back on schedule with a thicker product by around February 2009. In the meantime, we are very grateful for our readers' patience and hope that the varied articles in this issue make up a little in quality for the limited quantity.

IN THIS ISSUE

In the lead article for this issue, "Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism? Direct Evidence from the Israeli Electorate," Claude Berrebi and Esteban F. Klor explore the electoral consequences of terrorism. Using local election data for five parliamentary elections—1988 to 2003, and data on the timing, geographic location, and lethality of terrorist attacks in Israel—they address a series of questions: Do terrorist attacks prior to elections affect voters' choices? Do voters punish incumbents for such attacks, or do they shift to supporting right-wing parties thought to be tougher on terrorism? Do voters respond differently to terrorist attacks on the nation and those on their localities? The authors find that, regardless the party in power, terrorist attacks within three months of an election increase support for the right and that, even in a country as small as



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Israel, the effects of local fatalities differ from those of total fatalities experienced by the nation. The wide-ranging analysis includes assessments of turnout, the implications of excluding localities occupied in 1967, differences between left- and right-leaning localities, different time periods preceding elections, and so on. In sum, given the number of attacks and fatalities and the closely divided electorate, terrorist attacks have had significant political consequences in Israel.

From the effect of terrorism on voting, we shift to a more regular electoral influence—that of candidates' issue positions. In "Candidate Positioning and Voter Choice," Michael Tomz and Robert P. Van Houweling test three theories of how candidate positions matter. Does the typical voter choose the candidate whose position is closer to her own? The candidate who pushes harder for change in the direction she favors? Or the candidate who, after the usual compromises, will move the status quo closer to the voter's ideal point? These three rules are called proximity voting, directional voting, and discount voting, and scholars have been unable to agree on which voters use. One source of the difficulty is that real-world candidates appeal to as many kinds of voters as possible, thereby blurring observable consequences of the three theories. This article reports a voting experiment in which the opposite occurs: Fictional candidates take positions calculated to make the basis of each voter's choice stand out clearly, regardless of whether it helps them win. Results suggest that 58% of voters choose candidates on the basis of proximity, 28% on proximity with some discounting of the candidate's ability to deliver on policy promises, and 15% choose on the basis of direction of change favored by the candidate. The authors also find that independents and moderates are most likely to be discount voters and that the less educated are most likely to use a simple directional rule. Implications of these results for operation of the electoral system are uncertain. If, for example, voters mainly used a directional rule, it would give candidates an incentive to polarize; general use of a proximity rule would induce centrist positions. However, the mix of rules voters actually use creates no clearly dominant incentive for candidate positioning.

The next two articles turn our attention from electoral politics to the logic and processes by which political innovations spread. In the first of these, "A Formal Model of Learning and Policy Diffusion," Craig Volden, Michael M. Ting, and Daniel P. Carpenter examine the extent to which subnational governments learn from and react to each other in deciding whether to adopt new policies. They develop two formal models of policy adoption by states, a game theoretic model in which states learn from and react to (and possibly free-ride on) each other, and a decision theoretic model in which states' decisions reflect only their own preferences and what they learn from their own experience. The models capture multiple aspects of the policy adoption decision, including how the learning process interacts with the state or city's ideological predisposition. The authors demonstrate that the predictions of the game theoretic model in which states learn from each other in a highly sophisticated way are often similar to the myopic decision theoretic model in which states pay no attention to what goes on outside their borders. Policy diffusion patterns that previous studies have interpreted as evidence of states learning from each other are also consistent with myopic behavior. The two models suggest alternative tests that could better identify the extent to which states learn from each other, as well as other ways to focus empirical research to better discriminate learning-based diffusion from myopic decision making.

In the article that follows, "Delegating Direct Democracy: Interparty Legislative Competition and the Referral of the Initiative in the American States," Daniel A. Smith and Dustin Fridkin hammer one more nail into the coffin of the initiative process as a vehicle of populist politics. Joining research that shows the initiative to be the tool of established interests and well-heeled patrons more often than of the citizenry-at-large, they investigate why self-interested legislators would agree to potentially divest themselves of institutional power by submitting the choice of adopting the initiative to the voters. They find the strongest predictor is . . . legislative self-interest. In an atmosphere of reform during 1897–1918, members of majority legislative parties who saw their hold on the reins of power loosening were, with an eye to the median voter, willing to accede to proposals by members of minority and third parties. Party competition explains more variance among states than factors conventionally associated with the initiative's adoption, such as a predominantly white or nativist population, Western location, and agrarian frustration. Focusing on the stage of legislative delegation and on levels of party competition may be instructive also as to why bills for placing an initiative on the ballot have been actively considered in recent years in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Minnesota.

If party competition is important, of course, so too is party leadership, and this is the problem taken up by Torun Dewan and David P. Myatt in "The Qualities of Leadership: Direction, Communication, and Obfuscation." Making public statements is doubtless one of the defining characteristics of a political leader. But to which leaders will people pay attention? To explore this question, the authors introduce a model in which leaders vary in how correct they are about policy and also in how precisely they can state that policy in their public statements. Their audience cares about the right policy but also about unity: Each person wants every other person as much as possible to support the same or similar policy. A public who cares mainly about unity might thus listen to a leader who states his policy clearly even though it could very well be wrong. A public who cares mainly about the correct policy would rather listen to a less clear but more correct leader. One interesting implication of their model is that if a leader wants to get as much public attention as possible, and not cede her audience to other leaders, the leader might purposefully obfuscate and make her public statements less clear, so that the audience would be compelled to spend more time figuring out what she is saying.

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The last regular article in the issue turns to judicial politics. In the same way that scholars attempt to untangle the determinants of the behaviors of voters or party leaders, others are likewise challenged to differentiate among the influences of law and policy preferences on judicial decision making. In "Does Legal Doctrine Matter? Unpacking Law and Policy Preferences on the U.S. Supreme Court," Michael A. Bailey and Forrest Maltzman study votes cast by sixteen justices on the U. S. Supreme Court during 1977–2003, assessing the extent to which they are influenced by legal considerations (*stare decisis,* deference to Congress, and strict protection of free speech) as opposed to their personal policy preferences. To this end, they employ a novel method that keys off a comparison between the justices' votes with positions on the same public issues taken by elected officials (members of Congress and presidents) who array themselves as similarly liberal or conservative but are presumably unaffected by judicial rules. Bailey and Maltzman find that for these justices, law does "matter," in different ways to different individuals. As they point out, however, the results do not preclude a justice taking a law-friendly position on a present case for its potential impact on a preferred policy at a later time.

Finally, the Forum section that concludes this issue features a critical exchange over "selectorate theory." A well-known virtue of regression models is that they can, if correctly specified, isolate the effect of one variable on another, *ceteris paribus*. However, as this exchange might suggest, determining which "ceteris" should be "paribus" is not as straightforward as one might think. In their book *The Logic of Political Survival*, Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow wished to control for a variable (democracy) that partially depends in its measurement on their main variable of interest (W). For this reason, they argued that the necessary control cannot be meaningfully "held constant" as the main variable changes. They attempted to purge this functional relationship from the control variable by regressing it on the variable of interest and using the residuals from that auxiliary regression in the place of the original control variable in their analysis. However, in "Democracy and the Logic of Political Survival," Kevin A. Clarke and Randall W. Stone point out that residualizing a variable in this way renders it impotent as a control. Clarke and Stone go on to show that if the unresidualized variables are used as controls, few of the main findings in "The Logic of Political Survival" are sustained. In "Retesting Selectorate Theory: Separating the Effects of W from Other Elements of Democracy," James D. Morrow, Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith respond by acknowledging the dilemma of residualizing control variables. They contend, however, that it is also wrong to include a control that is functionally dependent on the main variable of interest and show that when the control variable is purged of its functional dependence on the variable of interest by a more appropriate method, the book's conclusions remain intact.

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