

THE EMERGENCE OF INTER-STATE PARTY CARTELIZATION?:
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FOREIGN POLICY BEHAVIOR
ABOUT THE CASES OF KEYSTONE XL PIPELINE PROJECT
BETWEEN CANADA AND THE U.S. AND KÜRECİK RADAR
BASE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND TURKEY

A Master's Thesis

by

FATİH EROL

Department of

International Relations

İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

Ankara

July 2015

To The Literati

THE EMERGENCE OF INTER-STATE PARTY CARTELIZATION?:
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FOREIGN POLICY BEHAVIOR
ABOUT THE CASES OF KEYSTONE XL PIPELINE PROJECT
BETWEEN CANADA AND THE U.S. AND KÜRECİK RADAR
BASE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND TURKEY

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

FATİH EROL

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BILKENT UNIVERSITY

ANKARA

July 2015

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Özgür Özdamar
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Pınar İpek
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Müge Kınacıoğlu
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT

**THE EMERGENCE OF INTER-STATE PARTY CARTELIZATION?:
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FOREIGN POLICY BEHAVIOR
ABOUT THE CASES OF KEYSTONE XL PIPELINE PROJECT
BETWEEN CANADA AND THE U.S. AND KÜRECİK RADAR
BASE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND TURKEY**

Erol, Fatih

MA, Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Özgür Özdamar

July 2015

Political parties' evolutionary trajectory starts from elite party to mass party, to catch-all party, and to cartel party (Katz and Mair, 1995: 18). Cartel party modeling envisions oligopoly of political parties that sustain market-economy oriented policies irrespective of the divisions among the left-right spectrum of the electorate. This thesis investigates presence/absence of inter-state party cartelization in the international relations of countries with cartel party system. The research inquires whether there will be increased cooperation among cartel parties of two states, if the policy question is market-based [and blended with (non-) traditional form of national security]. The analysis focuses on two case studies: Keystone XL

pipeline project debate in the U.S. and Canada at the federal government level since 2008 and Turkish-American memorandum of understanding to host “the Army Navy Transportable Radar Surveillance System (AN/TPY-2)” (Kaya, 2011) on Turkey’s Malatya province’s Kürecik district in September 2011. The research integrates James N. Rosenau’s (1966) “pre-theories” framework with electoral and party systems literature from comparative politics and refers to the stream of democratic peace theory studies. This study employs the most different systems design along with chi-square statistics and Pearson’s r. Robert D. Putnam’s (1988) two-level game analysis is utilized as the foreign policy decision-making modeling. In the case of high politics (security issues) [Kürecik radar base], cartel party hypothesis’ projection into foreign policy decision-making process is statistically supported. As for low politics (welfare issues) [Keystone XL pipeline], cartel party hypothesis’ application into foreign policy decision-making process is not statistically validated.

Key Words: Comparative Study of Foreign Policy, Pre-Theories, Cartel Party System, Two-Level Game Analysis, Keystone XL Pipeline Project, Kürecik Radar Base

ÖZET

DEVLETLER ARASI PARTİ KARTELLEŞMESİNİN ORTAYA
ÇIKIŞI?:
KANADA-ABD ARASINDAKİ KEYSTONE XL BORU HATTI
PROJESİ VE ABD-TÜRKİYE ARASINDAKİ MALATYA KÜRECİK
RADAR ÜSSÜ OLAYLARI ÖZELİNDE KARŞILAŞTIRMALI DIŞ
POLİTİKA DAVRANIŞI İNCELEMESİ

Erol, Fatih

Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Özgür Özdamar

Temmuz 2015

Siyasi partilerin evrimsel dönüşümü kadro partisinden kitle partisine, ardından herkesi yakala partisine, ve sonunda kartel partiye doğru evrilmektedir (Katz and Mair, 1995: 18). Kartel parti modeli, siyasi oligopol oluşumunu öngörmektedir. Bu yapılanmada siyasi yelpazenin solunda ve sağında bulunan seçmen ayrılıklarına bakılmaksızın, partiler arasında piyasa ekonomisini devam ettirme temelli işbirliği gerçekleşmektedir. Bu tezin temelinde incelenmek istenen olgu, kartel parti sistemine sahip ülkelerin birbirleriyle olan dış ilişkilerinde devletler arası parti kartelleşmesinin var olup/olmadığını ölçmektir. Araştırma, mevcut siyasi

sorunun piyasa ekonomisiyle [ve geleneksel olan/olmayan ulusal güvenlikle] alakadar olduđu bir zamanda, ilgili anlaşmanın/problemin çözümünde iki ülkenin kartel partileri arasında artan iş birliği olup olmadığını çözümlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçta, bu tez iki vaka çalışması üzerine durmaktadır: (a) federal hükümet düzeyinde 2008 yılından beri tartışılmaya devam edilen Keystone XL boru hattı projesi, ve (b) 2011 Eylül’ünde Malatya’nın Kürecik nahiyesine “Kara-Deniz Kuvvetleri İçin Ortak, Taşınabilen İzleme Radarı’nın (AN/TPY-2)” (Kaya, 2011) yerleştirilmesini öngören Türk-Amerikan ortak niyet bildirgesi. Teoride, James N. Rosenau’nun (1966) “ön-teoriler” çerçevesi, karşılaştırmalı siyaset alanındaki seçim ve parti sistemleri yazınlarıyla bütünleştirilmiş ve ardından demokratik barış teorisi çalışmalarına atıflarda bulunulmuştur. Metodolojide, en farklı sistemler tasarımının yanında Ki-kare testi ve Pearson çarpım-moment korelasyon katsayısı’ndan faydalanılmaktadır. Vaka çalışmalarındaki dış politika karar alma süreçlerinin modelini oluşturmak için Robert D. Putnam’ın (1988) iki seviyeli oyun metaforundan yararlanılmaktadır. Birincil politika durumunda (güvenlik sorunları) [Kürecik radar üssü], kartel parti tezinin dış politika karar alma sürecine yansması istatistiki olarak desteklenmektedir. İkincil politika durumunda (refah sorunları) [Keystone boru hattı], kartel parti tezinin dış politika karar alma sürecine uygunluğu istatistiki olarak doğrulanmamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karşılaştırmalı Dış Politika Çalışması, Ön Teoriler, Kartel Parti Sistemi, İki Seviyeli Oyun Modeli, Keystone XL Boru Hattı, Kürecik Radar Üssü

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of the people and the institutions I have mentioned below.

I would like to express gratitude to my thesis supervisor Asst. Prof. Dr. Özgür Özdamar. Without his invaluable assistance, support and guidance, this research on nearly forgotten comparative study of foreign policy literature would not have been completed. I also would like to express my appreciation to thesis committee members, Asst. Prof. Dr. Pınar İpek and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Müge Kınacıoğlu, without whose constructive comments and criticisms, this thesis would not have been successful and I would not have been cognizant of the intellectual spirit in the academia.

Likewise, I am deeply indebted to Asst. Prof. Dr. Can E. Mutlu. With his academically stimulating guidance, I have conducted an authentic case study and have integrated this project into a broader philosophy of science debate.

I am grateful to my postgraduate friends and colleagues Alperen Özkan, Egehan Altınbay, Başar Baysal, Burak Toygar Halistoprak, İsmail Erkam Sula and Sercan Canbolat for their friendship.

I would like to convey my thanks to the department secretaries Fatma Toga Yılmaz and Ebru Şeniz Akgül and dormitory director Nimet Kaya for their kindness and support.

Further, I am thankful to the Department of International Relations and Bilkent University Library to provide the essential infrastructure for excellence of scholarship.

Most importantly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my family. Without their constant encouragement, I would have lost my incentive to think outside the box.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Problem Significance	1
1.2. Research Questions and Theoretical and Methodological Outline	5
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1. Organization of the Selected Literature	8
2.2. Comparative Study of Foreign Policy	9
2.3. Electoral and Party Systems	20
2.4. Democratic Peace Theory Studies on Foreign Policy Decision-Making	32
2.5. Case Studies and Conclusion	34
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY	39
3.1. Determining the Methodology for Pre-Theories Framework	39
3.2. The Comparative Method	40
3.2.1. The Most Different Systems Design and Case Selection	42
3.2.2. The Chi-Square Statistics	45

3.3. Identifying the Variables and Data Sources	48
3.3.1. Operationalization of the Dependent Variable	48
3.3.2. Operationalization of the Independent Variables	50
3.3.2.1. System-Orientation of the Political Party Positioning	50
3.3.2.2. Responsiveness to the Electorate	52
3.3.2.3. Exposure to the Systemic Threats	53
CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS OF LEGISLATIVE VOTING BEHAVIOR AND CHI-SQUARE TESTS	56
4.1. Malatya Kürecik Radar Base Case	56
4.1.1. Turkish Context	57
4.1.2. American Context	70
4.2. Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case – American Context	79
4.2.1. American Context	79
4.2.2. Canadian Context	91
4.3. Research Limitation, Overview of the Findings, and Added Value of the Data Analysis	100
CHAPTER 5: FOREIGN POLICY MODELING	108
5.1. Two-Level Game Analysis: Review and Critique of the Framework	108
5.2. Malatya Kürecik Radar Base Case	114
5.3. Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case	120
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	127
6.1. Overview of the Research Design	127
6.2. Reconsideration of the Chi-square Test Results and Decision-Making Modeling	133
6.3. Added Value of the Thesis and Consideration for Future Studies	142
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	147

APPENDIX	160
----------------	-----

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Framework for the Most Different Systems Design by Referring to Transnational Project Proposal Flow.....	43
Table 2. Exemplary Information Table for Chi-Square Statistics.....	46
Table 3. Exemplary Information Table for Pearson's r Calculation.....	47
Table 4. A Measure of Modified Group Likeness Scores and Absentee MP Numbers Per Party for the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in-between 2003 and 2011 under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	58
Table 5. A Comparative Measurement of FDI Net Inflow into Turkey by Year and by Region, and of Foreign Military Assistance Delivered by U.S. to Turkey by Year.....	63
Table 6. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the First Null Hypothesis in the Turkish Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	64
Table 7. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the Second Null Hypothesis in the Turkish Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	66
Table 8. A Measurement of Turkish Electorate's Preference for Foreign Policy as the Country's Most Important Problem	67
Table 9. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the Second Null Hypothesis in the Turkish Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	68
Table 10. A Measure of Modified Group Likeness Scores for U.S. House of Representatives in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	70
Table 11. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the First Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	72
Table 12. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the Second Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	74
Table 13. A Measurement of American Electorate's Preference for Foreign Policy as the Country's Most Important Problem.....	75

Table 14. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the Third Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	76
Table 15. A Measure of Modified Group Likeness Scores for the Legislative Proceedings for U.S. Senate in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	77
Table 16. A Measure of Modified Group Likeness Scores for U.S. House of Representatives in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	79
Table 17. A Comparative Measurement of FDI Net Inflow into U.S. by Year, and of Financial Losses in Weather Related Events Incurred by U.S. per Year in-between 2004 and 2013.....	81
Table 18. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the First Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	83
Table 19. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the Second Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	85
Table 20. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the Second Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	87
Table 21. A Measure of Modified Group Likeness Scores for U.S. Senate in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	89
Table 22. A Measure of Group Likeness Scores for the Canadian House of Commons in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	91
Table 23. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the First Null Hypothesis in the Canadian Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	94
Table 24. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the Second Null Hypothesis in the Canadian Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	97
Table 25. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation for the Third Null Hypothesis in the Canadian Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	99
Table 26. Summary Table for Chi-Square Statistics Results for the Turkish context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	101
Table 27. Summary Table for Chi-Square Statistics Results for the American context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	102
Table 28. Summary Table for Chi-Square Statistics Results for the American Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case	103

Table 29. Summary Table for Chi-Square Statistics Results for the American Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	105
Table 30. Macro Level Analysis for Two-Level Game Framework for the Kürecik Case.....	114
Table 31. Macro Level Analysis for Two-Level Game Framework for the Keystone XL Case.....	120
Appendix Table 1. List of Legislative Proceedings for the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in-between 2003 and 2011 under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	160
Appendix Table 2. Turkish Political Parties' Positioning on Foreign Policy, and Macro-Economic Policy Conduct under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	163
Appendix Table 3. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the First Null Hypothesis in the Turkish Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	164
Appendix Table 4. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the Second Null Hypothesis in the Turkish Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	165
Appendix Table 5. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the Third Null Hypothesis in the Turkish Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	165
Appendix Table 6. List of Legislative Proceedings for the House of Representatives of U.S. in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	166
Appendix Table 7. American Political Parties' Positioning on Foreign Policy, and Macro-Economic Policy Conduct under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	170
Appendix Table 8. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the First Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	171
Appendix Table 9. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the Second Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	171
Appendix Table 10. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the Third Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	172
Appendix Table 11. List of Legislative Proceedings for the Senate of U.S. in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	174
Appendix Table 12. List of Legislative Proceedings for the House of Representatives of U.S. in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case	176
Appendix Table 13. American Political Parties' Positioning on Foreign Policy, Macro-Economic, and Environmental Policy Conduct under Keystone XL Pipeline Project.....	178

Appendix Table 14. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the First Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project.....	179
Appendix Table 15. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the Second Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project.....	179
Appendix Table 16. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the Third Null Hypothesis in the American Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project.....	181
Appendix Table 17. List of Legislative Proceedings for the Senate of U.S. in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL Pipeline Project.....	182
Appendix Table 18. List of Legislative Proceedings for the House of Commons of Canada in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL Pipeline Project...	187
Appendix Table 19. Canadian Political Parties' Positioning on Foreign Policy, Macro-Economic, and Environmental Policy Conduct under Keystone XL Pipeline Project.....	191
Appendix Table 20. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the First Null Hypothesis in the Canadian Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	192
Appendix Table 21. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the Second Null Hypothesis in the Canadian Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	193
Appendix Table 22. Chi-Square Statistics Calculation Phases for the Third Null Hypothesis in the Canadian Context under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	193

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Box Plot for the Modified Likeness Scores for U.S. House of Representatives in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	71
Figure 2. Box Plot for the Modified Likeness Scores for U.S. Senate in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik Radar Base Case.....	78
Figure 3. Box Plot for the Modified Likeness Scores for U.S. House of Representatives in-between 2005 and (January) 2015 under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	80
Figure 4. Box Plot for the Modified Likeness Scores for U.S. Senate in-between 2005 and (March) 2015 under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	90
Figure 5. Box Plot for the Modified Likeness Scores for the Canadian House of Commons in-between 2005 and (March) 2015 under Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case.....	92
Figures 6. Graphical Representation of Level I and Level II Strategies during International Negotiations.....	113
Figure 7. Graphical Representation of Level I and Level II Strategies during Kürecik Radar Base Station Negotiation.....	115
Figure 8. Graphical Representation of Level I and Level II Strategies During Keystone XL Pipeline Project Negotiation.....	121

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Significance

Political party modeling studies' main body of research design concentrates on the straightforward relationship between the parties and civil society in terms of inputs (votes) and outputs (policies). Compared to that ontological preference, Richard Katz's and Peter Mair's (1995) "cartel party thesis" scrutinizes the transformations that political parties have gone through in Western Europe (Katz and Mair, 1995: 9; Katz and Mair, 2009: 756; MacIvor, 1996: 317). The objective of their thesis is to reveal an emergent tendency of party dependence on the state for public funding and avenues of propaganda given the trends of declining party revenues and increasing party expenditures at the expense of connection with the societal base since the mid-1970s under four separate but evolutionary stages of "the elite party, the mass party, the catch-all party, and the cartel party" (van Biezen, 2004: 706; Katz and Mair, 1995: 9; Katz and Mair, 2009: 756; MacIvor, 1996: 318).

Within the last phase, the cartelized variant, political party-to-political party dimension prevails over political party-to-electorate dimension (Katz and Mair, 1995: 9). Parties explicitly or implicitly start to collaborate with each other to

maintain their organizational tenacity by narrowing down the “policy-space” and delegating the responsibility of the certain issue areas to the public entities that are not accountable to the electorate in the era of the globalized world in which the market requires states to diminish their authority and autonomy (Blyth and Katz, 2005: 41-45). Final result of that trajectory is policy convergence between competing parties in domestic politics.

The gap in this literature is its apparent lack of analysis about that current party system’s influence on politically oligopolized countries’ foreign policy behavior with each other. With respect to that argument, Keystone XL pipeline project debate in U.S. and Canada at the federal government level since 2008 and Turkish-American memorandum of understanding to host “the Army Navy Transportable Radar Surveillance System (AN/TPY-2)” on Turkish eastern Anatolian city Malatya’s Kürecik district in September 2011 present “hypothesis-generating case studies” (Lijphart, 1971: 692).

A 1.179-mile long pipeline, Keystone XL project is designed to transport oil made from tar sands from Alberta in Canada to Nebraska in U.S. and later the crude will be moved to the Gulf Coast that has the necessary infrastructure of refineries (Eilperin, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2013: 2). Within U.S., throughout the debates, prospective job creation, lessening energy dependence on the Middle East, and declining energy costs for transportation and industrialization outweigh the expected increase in the greenhouse gas emissions and highly probable environmental degradation due to possible leakages along the pipeline route (Smith, 2013: 74). For Canada, holding the same possible environmental costs constant, being an energy

export hub and reaping the benefits of that development for other sectors in the economy are the focal points (Chastko, 2012: 166).

Accordingly, this study's postulation is that when the agenda is about market-related issue areas that pit economic growth against environmental protection like pipeline construction, the cartel parties of two post-industrial Western liberal democracies (Republican Party and Democratic Party in U.S. and Conservative and Liberal Parties in Canada) may collaborate with each other to attain the realization of that project at the expense of a certain proportion of the electorate inside and/or outside of their constituents (i.e., environmentalists in U.S., and First Nation communities in Canada) and of political parties (New Democratic Party, Green Party, and Bloc Québécois in Canada) that are excluded from the domestic political oligopoly due to legal and fiscal impediments created by their cartel rivals.

Further, a component of U.S. Department of Defense's first phase of the European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) to protect Europe from any oncoming ballistic missile threat (Whitmore and Deni, 2013: 29) [from Iran at the time-being], Kürecik radar station, which is 435 miles away from the Turkish-Iranian border's Western flank, is designed to spot any ballistic missile departure within its maximum 1.000 km range, and to deliver information about the departure's origin to intercept the missile on flight beforehand (Küntay, 2013: 31; Kaya, 2011: 85-86). Within Turkey, the debate about the radar station was twofold.

The first stage of the discussions started inside the parliament nearly a year after the signature to locate the station in 2011 and they were mainly about the identity of the rank-and-file in the base, presence of backdoors to share intelligence with Israel, and the direction of the radar range (Mercan and Akbal, 2014: 513). The

second stage of the discussions, on the other hand, gained momentum inside the civil society a month after the signature. The Initiative against the Missile Shield in Kürecik (Kürecik'te Füze Kalkanına Hayır İnisiyatifi) under the aegis of local Kürecik Platform (Kürecik Platformu) started to release reports about the impact of the radiation waves from radar base on human and natural life [like cancer formation, dysfunctions in the nervous system, genetic disorder along with destruction of the benign microorganisms for soil fertility and hence negative externalities for livestock “the city’s main source of income”] (Göynü, 2015: 3).

Therefore, there was objection to that radar base’s construction and the socio-political members of that resistance are: the opposition of minority members of parliament (MP) inside the main opposition Republican People’s Party (CHP), independent MP’s under Labour, Democracy and Freedom Bloc (Emek, Demokrasi ve Özgürlük Bloku), Socialist Party of the Oppressed (Ezilenlerin Sosyalist Partisi), Community Centres (Halkevleri), Initiative of the Seventy-Eighters (78’liler Girişimi), Workers’ Movement Party (Emekçi Hareket Partisi) and Communist Party of Turkey (Türkiye Komünist Partisi) (Vardar, 2011). These socio-political actors are also the ones who have been mostly hampered by the electoral and party system [list proportional representation with Dhond’t and 10% electoral threshold]. Despite the aforementioned opposition, the decision to agree with U.S. to deploy the radar system by Turkish higher echelons happened at ease through by-passing the legislative approval of the base.

Then, the second postulation of the study is that when the agenda is at the intersection of the market-economy – military assistance and foreign direct investment – and traditional sense of national security – national and alliance defense

–, the cartel parties of a post-industrial Western liberal democracy (Republican Party and Democratic Party in U.S.) and partially free developing economy (Justice and Development Party and Republican People’s Party in Turkey) may collaborate with each other to attain the realization of that project at the expense of a certain proportion of the electorate inside and/or outside of their constituents and of political parties that are excluded from the domestic political oligopoly due to legal and fiscal impediments created by their cartel rivals.

1.2. Research Questions and Theoretical and Methodological Outline

By referring to the two case-specific statements of electoral and party system’s likely impact on inter-state relations, this thesis aims to investigate a pattern of inter-state party cartelization (cooperative foreign policy behavior) in the international relations of countries with cartel party system with fourfold argumentation. First, if the international negotiation topic is about pro-market policies [and is related to (non-) conventional definition of national security], cooperation between cartelized parties of negotiating states will increase. Second, if there emerges collusion between cartel parties of these relevant states, that process of inter-state party cartelization will occur through the exclusion of third parties, which are hampered fiscally and legally by their country-specific political system. Third, if the political oligopoly supersedes the third parties during foreign policy decision-making stage successfully, policy space of foreign policy conduct will be circumscribed to limited alternatives. Fourth, if the international negotiation topic is about pro-market policies [and is related to (non-) conventional definition of national security] and there emerges no collusion between the cartelized parties of the negotiating states due to one party’s decamping,

defector party of the political oligopoly will jeopardize its share of the public funding and hence its organizational survival in the oncoming elections.

Thus, it is plausible to pose the following research question:

What are the implications of the cartel party system for foreign policy decision-making process of the countries whose electoral and party systems are susceptible to cartelization of domestic politics?

In addition to the main inquiry, the study aims to answer four sub questions:

What is the political economy of policy convergence in foreign policy domain for the politicians?

Based on this politico-economic legislator behavior, is there a need of updating the conceptualization on foreign policy decision-making actors in terms of members of the political cartelization and outliers of the political oligopoly?

To what extent can this emergent or already existing cooperative foreign policy behavior be trend among other democracies with cartel party system?

Does this phenomenon, inter-state party cartelization, exhibit the tension between democracy and market economy?

The theoretical background of that scrutiny will integrate James N. Rosenau's (1966) "pre-theories" framework with electoral and party systems literature from comparative politics and will refer to the stream of foreign policy studies on democratic peace theory that incorporate the basic conclusions of the first and the latter. Methodologically, the study employs the most different systems design along with bivariate statistical analyses [the Chi-square Statistics, and Pearson's r] to analyze any statistically important dependence between the dependent variable - affirmative convergent legislative voting behavior espousing system-related

transnational projects – and the independent variables – system-orientation of the political party positioning, responsiveness to the electorate, and exposure to the systemic threats. For each case, there are three null hypotheses and their rejection or acceptance would determine the presence or absence of any statistical relationship between the dependent and each independent variable. These are:

H₁: A relationship exists between relatively higher (/lower) cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational project in consideration and system orientation (/anti-system orientation) of the legislative political parties' election programs.

H₂: A relationship exists between relatively higher (/lower) cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational project in consideration and preference gap (/congruity) between the electorate and the elected politicians.

H₃: A relationship exists between relatively higher (/lower) cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational project in consideration and the relevant country's level of fragility to the system-related threats.

Lastly, after detailing the outcome of the decision-making process statistically, Putnam's (1988) two-level game analysis will be employed as the foreign policy decision-making modeling in order to investigate the decision-making process of these two case studies. Overall, theoretical and empirical added value of this project will be enhancement of the explanatory power of comparative study of foreign policy through narrowing the scope of comparison and by the addition of the cartel party system into the canon along with bivariate statistics.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Organization of the Selected Literature

Putting the inter-state party cartelization (cooperative foreign policy behavior among countries with cartel party systems) postulation forward as the basis for a “hypothesis-generating case study” (Lijphart, 1971: 692) necessitates reviewing the literature about the electoral and party systems from comparative politics, James N. Rosenau’s (1966) “pre-theories” framework within comparative study of foreign policy that can integrate the basic assumptions of the specific party modeling detailed, and the stream of foreign policy studies that incorporate the basic conclusions of the first and the latter.

Therefore, throughout the review, first, comparative study of foreign policy canon is inquired as being the potential framework of the analysis because there is an intellectual avenue to pursue multivariate explanation and also to attain predictive capability for foreign policy behavior (FP behavior) through expounding the independent variables. Second, electoral and party systems are posited to be vital in order to be able to account for the research question along with the pre-theory

canon's learned lessons. Third, studies under the legacy of the combination of the above-mentioned framework and systems are referred. Finally, the case studies of this thesis are theoretically detailed by indicating the similarities and differences between the expected results of the electoral and party systems and emergent legislative and voting behavior on the relevant inter-state projects.

2.2. Comparative Study of Foreign Policy

Having been at the conjuncture of political science and international relations (IR), comparative study of foreign policy (FP thereafter) has provided insight to examine the interactive engagement between domestic politics and international affairs. By giving reference to Gregor Mendel's achievement of drawing a distinction between "genotype and phenotype" in the area of genetics, comparative study of FP pioneered by Rosenau (1966) aims at generating "a cross-national and multi-level theory of foreign policy" (Hudson, 2005: 6, 9). The aspiration to generate a fully-fledged theorization about FP behavior through utilizing "if-then hypotheses" has two root causes, namely "intellectual and historical factors" (Rosenau, 1966: 27, 32; Rosenau, 1968: 300). Intellectually, the trend in political science in the 1950s was towards structural-functional analysis throughout which the scrutiny was about looking for similarities and differences between diverse government/state/society structures and their resultant functions like integration/disintegration of the society or upward/downward mobilization in the global value chain and in the standards of living (Rosenau, 1968: 301-303).

Historically, rapid increase in the number of nation-states in-between 1955 and 1965 the period of decolonization, the development of thermonuclear weaponry, and ascendancy of China as alternative power within the Communist bloc were the epicenter of examination (Rosenau, 1968: 301-303). It is because that higher number of states brought forth greater ratio of inter-state interaction at the systemic level. Post-colonial states that once shared similar levels of development, the same political regime and socio-ethnic-religious configuration showed different FP behavior towards each other, the previous colonial nations, and the third-party states. Further, the problems of credibility and stability in an environment of nuclear arms race had different connotations in different regimes with different decision-making structures and bureaucratic/organizational complexity. Finally, countries that ardently espoused the same belief sets displayed divergent interpretations of the Communist credo, different interaction/interconnection patterns with the world economy, and diverse FP conducts within their bloc and with the Western bloc.

Hence, methodological and contextual imperatives of the time being urged the scholars of foreign policy analysis (FPA) to look for general and testable theories. In a similar fashion with their colleagues in political science, proliferation of the structures and alteration in their quality and divergence in the consequent functions necessitate closer inspection at comparative politics. Under the influence of behavioralism in political science, scholars of this tradition have attempted to make an “analogy” between the “vote” casted at the ballot box and FP behavior or “events” to detect “law-like generalizations” in international relations for the greater purpose of delivering “general and verifiable theories about foreign policy” (Hermann and Peacock, 1987: 16; Hudson, 2005: 9).

Therefore, in order to ameliorate the vague positioning as combination of the elements from domestic politics and international affairs and to create its characteristic field, comparative foreign policy (CFP) had to hold “its own point of view, its own theory, its own subject, its own discipline” (Roseanu, 1968: 310). With regard to the frame of reference, there was agreement around the advancement of the current explanatory and predictive power of FPA by accounting for the interrelationship among the variations in the domestic-international milieu, the spatio-temporal context, and cooperative/conflictive/neutral/indifferent FP conducts (Roseanu, 1968: 311). With respect to the theorization, the inability to go beyond the limitations of country specific descriptions, absence of standardized research questions dealing with FP behavior, ambiguity of the criteria to categorize FP behavior, and most importantly, unavailability of “comprehensive system of testable generalizations” drained theoretical potentiality of CFP (Roseanu, 1966: 32). Failure to attain that purpose, eventually, stimulated two debates within the literature about the canon’s unit of analysis FP behavior’s place in the causal mechanism and about the discipline in thought in the selected methodology of comparison (Hermann and Peacock, 1987: 16, 19).

Throughout the initial discussion of CFP’s subject matter, the question was about whether the FP phenomenon is independent, dependent, or intervening variable or should it be located in a dialectical process whereby FP behavior interchanges these three roles (Hermann and Peacock, 1987: 17). Hence, conceptualization and operationalization of the causal mechanisms in comparative studies of FP have been done through delineating three steps of “the initiatory, implementative, and responsive stages” that also represent the independent, intervening, and dependent variables, respectively (Roseanu, 1968: 311-313). Moreover, in the literature, there

has been an endeavor to avoid the common fallacy of omitting the interactive linkage between domestic and international affairs by dividing the independent and dependent variables into two forms – internal and external (Roseanu, 1968: 312-313). The first point here is that the internal elements are about the variables particular to the nation-state in consideration like oncoming/recent elections, the level of integration/fragmentation inside the ruling elite/society, geo-economic/geo-political assets/deficiencies and military capability/weakness (Roseanu, 1968: 312-314). On the other hand, the second point is about developments occurring as external stimuli to the state such as cooperative/conflictive second- and/or third-parties, financial crisis, natural disasters, regime changes within neighbour countries, and proliferation/de-escalation in the armaments race (Roseanu, 1968: 312-314).

In the latter debate, the rationale behind the scientific growth of knowledge in comparative methods was questioned such that under the aegis of behavioralism in political science, there emerged two possible “scientific inquiries” in CFP, which were “neopositivist inductionism and Kuhnian normal science” (Hermann and Peacock, 1987: 18). Throughout the first strand, there has been some degree of generalizations about group decision-making, bilateral/multi-lateral FP behavior, and third party involvement into interstate conflicts by aggregating certain empirical results but neopositivist inductionism’s motivation of reaching for “a growing body of verifiable knowledge” did not happen due to the canon’s inability to amalgamate those findings into a broader theoretical framework (Hermann and Peacock, 1987: 18-21).

As for the Kuhnian approach in CFP, there was not much success because the succession of obsolete paradigms by the up to date ones is void unless the relevant

core premises have “the theoretical component” (Hermann and Peacock, 1987: 20-21). In consideration of that dilemma between two logics of conducting research and lack of a common theoretical framework, a third way was proposed based on Lakatosian methodology of “juxtaposing competing theories within the larger structure of a research program” (Hermann and Peacock, 1987: 21-22) about FP behavior in a way that advancement of scientific knowledge occurs as long as these theories’ empirical findings keep growing. In that respect, there assumed to be six “theorizing efforts” that are Richard C. Snyder and his colleagues’ “decision-making framework,” Rosenau’s CFP, Michael Brecher’s distinction between the “operational and psychological environments,” Rudolph J. Rummel’s “Dimensionality of Nations,” William Coplin and Michael O’Leary’s “the Programmed International Computer Environment (PRINCE), Wilkenfeld and et al.’s “Interstate Behavior Analysis,” and “the Comparative Research on the Events of Nations (CREON)” (Hudson, 2005: 5; Hermann and Peacock, 1987: 22-29).

Within CFP, especially, CREON is in need of particular attention. By collecting FP events data from a variety of sources such as newspapers and official press releases under the aegis of “whom-did-what-to-whom-when-where” questionnaire structure, events data analysis aims at detecting patterns of cooperation and conflict in foreign affairs and creating ground for predicting their future trajectory (Schrodt and Yonamine, 2013: 15-16). Hence, this branch of CFP improved itself in three requirements of being a field – point of view, subject, and discipline. As for the first, the data set’s codification procedure that inquires the actors, their behavior, the recipient of that behavior, and the spatio-temporal context of the event is in line with the aforementioned frame of reference. As for the second necessity of being a field – CFP’s subject matter, the independent variables are the

three national attributes of the state's territorial size, level of economic development, and political system; and the dependent variables are "verbal/nonverbal cooperative behavior and verbal/nonverbal conflictive behavior" (Richardson, 1987: 168-169).

The variables that lay behind CREON's "logic of inquiry" are threefold and their reasoning is that:

(1) largeness/smallness of the territorial size determines the number of actors that the state has to engage with on its borders, the extent of the domestic population and their variety of concerns/problems/interests in the international arena, the ratio of natural resources inside the borders, the complexity and hugeness of the bureaucratization, the level of self-sustenance, and the intensity of the conventional army;

(2) level of economic development conditions the position in the global value chain and status in the global distribution of labor, complexity and specialization of the bureaucratization, pressure of the interest groups to maintain status quo in the international political-economic system and to engage more/less with foreign actors in domains of trade and finance, and advancement of the military-industrial complexity; and

(3) open/closed regime affects the limitations on certain FP conducts due to the mechanisms of political accountability and separation of powers among judiciary, legislative, and executive, the public's variety of concerns/problems/interests in the international arena and the level of engagement with foreign actors, complexity, hugeness, and specialization of the bureaucratization, the extent of the involvement into international trade and finance,

and the strength of the conventional/nonconventional army (East and Hermann, 1974: 273-283).

As for the third necessity, the discipline in thought, scholars of events data analysis successfully made/make use of advanced methodologies like “linear regression models, time series, hidden Markov models, sequence analysis, and vector auto regression” (Schrodt and Yonamine, 2013: 17). Nonetheless, pure large-N statistics without theorization only produced great amounts of correlations, statistically significant relationships, and hypotheses that blackbox the state as unified and rational actor as opposed to FPA academia’s choice for actor-specific theories. These studies that account for the variance among national attributes and international environment leave the variance of the variables inside the states and the ones embedded in the larger system.

In that respect, given CFP canon’s lack of theoretical basis that can offer an intellectual avenue of *modus operandi* to draw inferences from the data generated by certain research tradition to accumulate knowledge, scholars like James N. Rosenau (1966), Stephen J. Andriole and et al. (1975) have/had proclivity for abstract frameworks and pre-theories (Caporaso and et al., 1988: 37). With the purpose of attaining a basis for comparing and contrasting FP behavior of the sample countries, “a pre-theory of foreign policy” puts forward five-fold explanantia whose names may be different but their essence remains the same throughout the canon (Andriole and et al., 1975: 165-166). These are the following: “(1) the idiosyncratic, (2) role, (3) governmental, (4) societal, and (5) systemic variables” (Andriole and et al., 1975: 165-166).

For these five variables, (a) peculiarities of the individual ranging from belief systems to learned lessons of the past in the first set, (b) requirements of the bureaucratic standing occupied by the relevant person(s) in the second set, (c) prohibitive/permissive nature of the political system over foreign policy decision making (FPDM) in the third set, (d) “non-governmental aspects of a society” such as level of convergence/divergence around particular identities/values in the fourth set, and (e) dynamics and developments unfolding externally to the society in consideration in the final set are part and parcel of the aforementioned “pre-theory” (Rosenau, 1966: 43).

Notwithstanding the fact that those five parts are the determinants of FP conduct, “pre-theory” formation requires reckoning with measurement of those independent variables’ “relative potencies” (Andriole and et al., 1975:171) vis-à-vis the observed external FP behavior. With regard to that prerequisite, four assessment tools are brought forth: country typology, degree of penetration in the political system, issue classification, and determination of the means-ends viability (Rosenau, 1966: 47-48, 53, 65, 68, 71, 82-83, 85-86). Consequently, ordering of the independent variables is based on the state’s territorial size of being large or small, level of economic (under)development, openness/closeness of its political system, scope of the issue areas in its national agenda (regarding “status, territory, and (non)human resources”), and specification of that issue areas based on the degree of means-ends “tangibility” (Rosenau, 1966: 90-91).

Nevertheless, pre-theories framework is problematic into two facets that are unclear conceptualization of the variables in the causal mechanism and limitations of the methodology and theory. Firstly, the boundary between the variables

idiosyncrasy and role is amorphous because it does not reckon with the fact that the role in the bureaucracy could demand certain set of personal characteristics like discreetness and experience as such the two overlap (Andriole and et al., 1975:170-171). Secondly, given the ambition of CFP to carry out inferential statistics, there appears to be no clear procedure to quantify peculiarities of the individuals and their role in the bureaucracy (Hudson, 2005: 28-30). Thirdly, the systemic variable is unclear regarding its context whether as “inter-state, multi-state, or global” (Andriole and et al., 1975:170-171).

Further, pre-theory was methodologically and theoretically “time-bounded” by anchoring the inquiry into Cold War paradigm for which the prime unit of analysis is the state, the paramount dependent variable is about extension/contraction of the spheres of influence through cooperative/conflictive behavior, and the fundamental principle that re-orders the independent variables is prevention of the rival’s expansionist objectives (Rosenau, 1973: 428; Rosenau, 1984: 251). Temporally, the concepts of the pre-theory cannot travel into the post Cold War era because proliferation of cross-border trade, trans-nationalization of consumption and production, and global interdependency in finance at the macro-level, and promulgation and protection of individual interests and rights via civic associations and growing importance of identity in politics at the micro-level pave the way to “pervasive breakdown of [state] authority” (Rosenau, 1984: 251).

The emergent “sub-groupism” that is the presence of separate relationships of “loyalty, authority, demand articulation, and identity formation” (Rosenau, 1984: 253-254) from the existent ones at the state level necessitates also looking into the sub-state systems like electoral and party systems. Therefore, the analysis of FP

behavior takes sub-state, state, and systemic levels' three-way interaction into account. The individual actors may have a say in domains of politics and economy at the sub-state level through mass parties and later catch-all parties along with anti-austerity, anti-war, and/or anti-market positions (Rosenau, 1984: 259). However, the costs that those individuals would incur in domains of economy, finance, and security by the impositions of the system in the era of globalization enforce the turn towards center or center-right market-friendly positioning in the political spectrum.

Hence, the revision of the pre-theory framework alludes to the relative autonomy of the state from the dominant political-economic classes in the society as such it calls for “political economy framework of comparative foreign policy” (Moon, 1987: 35, 37-38). Given the significance of foreign direct investment (FDI) in the case of “capital accumulation” and the act of legitimizing that interconnection and interaction between the market economy and steady functioning of the state mechanism and the politicians' survival endeavor in office as an “issue of national security,” the range of policy choices both at the domestic politics and FPDM become restricted to diminishing array of pro-market/system choices (Moon, 1987: 37-38, 44). Hence, the key to narrate the revisions of the pre-theory in addition to its original premise is to choose the right sub-state system, which in this analysis is cartel party system (Katz and Mair, 1995) and it will be detailed in the next subsection of this chapter.

Lastly, moving downward in the “levels of abstraction” from “high level” to “medium level categories” with less emphasis on “cross-area comparisons among heterogeneous contexts” and more on “intra-area comparisons among relatively homogenous contexts” (Sartori, 1970: 1044) can be beneficial for the canon to

deliver more valid conclusions. The rationale for that proposition is that each independent variable has different developmental trajectory in each setting that would reflect diverse end products. Consequently, “pre-theory of foreign policy” should direct the focus just on “large and small” countries with “developed economy and open polity” (Rosenau, 1966: 90-91) or post-industrial Western liberal democracies so to speak. Hence, ordering of the “relative potencies” of the “pre-theory” variables of CFP regarding the “large and small” countries with “open polity and developed economy” is in need of adjustment.

When the issue was territorial and blended with market economy and national security both in traditional and nontraditional sense in those Western liberal democracies with advanced economies, the order from highest to lowest impact was the following: “(1) role, (2) systemic, (3) societal, (4) governmental, and (5) idiosyncratic” (Rosenau, 1966: 90). It was no surprise that during the time when the dominant party model was a mass party where parties were the “links between the state and civil society,” (Katz and Mair, 1995: 11) societal variables were above the governmental features. However, today, in these same states with cartel party systems where the global economic system necessitates its rules to be followed by international and national actors, the new ordering seems to be the following: (1) systemic, (2) governmental, (3) role, (4) idiosyncratic, and (5) societal. Therefore, in order to explain the dependent variable that is FP behavior in “pre-theory of foreign policy,” there is a need for updating the relationship between “societal” and “governmental” variables with the help of integrating electoral and party systems literature into the research.

2.3. Electoral and Party Systems

In the ensuing instances of Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany following the end of World War II and successive cases of party organizations' inclusion within constitution, political parties haven been discerned as the essential condition of democracy in Western Europe (van Biezen, 2004: 702, 705, 708). Nonetheless, surveying the developmental trajectories of parties as monolithic entities pursuing singular evolutionary stages would blackbox the variability of the mechanisms behind representative democracy. Hence, it is essential to review comparative politics literature on electoral and party systems.

Similar to the pressure of the international political-economic system on individual decision-makers at the state level to narrow down the policy alternatives to the central positions, at the sub-state systemic level, electoral systems determine the extension and contraction of the scope for policy choices for the politicians in three ways. First, majoritarian or proportional nature of the electoral formula determines the spatial scope of the electorate whose interests, concerns, and problems are prime importance to the politicians who want to be (re-)elected.

When the criteria to be elected requires just more than half of the valid votes casted at the ballot box in districts with single seats to the parliament, the parties and politicians that have limited resources in terms of money and human power and limited information about each voters' attitude would want to locate their election promises and their deliveries to the half of the electorate inhabitant of the politically crucial districts (Rodden, 2009: 336-337). On the other hand, when the formula is proportional for which seats in the parliament are distributed based on the percentages of the valid votes received by the candidates and the parties and for

which each voter's choice is relevant without any district and majority status discrimination, politicians have to stand for the whole electorate (Rodden, 2009: 336-337).

Second, majoritarian – proportional distinction in the electoral formula shapes the voting behavior of the voters and hence it limits the policy alternatives of the parties. Given the inability of expressing divergent policy programs and lack of coalitional nature in the executive unlike the proportional systems, the electorate of the districts where majority is the middle-class and the rule is majoritarian would want to cast their votes to the parties on the right to prevent the ascendancy of the left and its redistributive policies because the prospective government formed by the leftist party and the legislative dominated by the left-oriented MPs will leave little capability to the rightist politicians to voice their bases' interests and concerns (Carey and Hix, 2013: 3-4).

Thirdly, the majoritarian – proportional electoral formula distinction affects the level of voter dealignment from the elections and consequently alters the attributes of the median voter and their respective political party preference and those parties' left-right platform. Since each voter in proportional systems hold the belief that their acts of voting are taken into account without any district and majority status distinction, the voter turnout in each legislative election is high compared to majoritarian systems (Rodden, 2009: 337-338). Therefore, the numbers of the electorate with poor standards of living will increase and the government party and competing parties in the elections will tilt towards redistributive taxation and social expenditures (Rodden, 2009: 337-338). Ergo, it becomes imperative to review the debates inside the electoral systems literature thoroughly.

Having been the framework whereby “citizens’ votes [are translated] into representatives’ seats,” the electoral systems composed of three elements – “the electoral formula, the district magnitude, and the electoral threshold” (Lijphart, 1994: 1, 7, 10) – determine two aspects of the broader political systems that are (dis)proportionality of the elections and type of political party systems. It is because that the scale of voter exclusion depends on the electoral rules and those regularities determine the number of parties capable of representation inside the legislative.

Based on the definition of democracy by Daniel Webster in 1830 as “people’s government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people,” the perennial question in political science and in politics is in need of further elaboration: who will govern and who will be represented when there are divergent interests between majority/plurality of the voters and minority of the public? (Lijphart, 1999: 1-2). The classical answer revolved around the disparity between majoritarian and consensus democracy where the proponents of the first stand for the advantages of stability in the cabinet and effectiveness of the policy implementation and advocates of the latter postulate that bargaining and compromise inside the coalitional governments would bring forth plurality of the voices as such it would cement socio-political integration in the regime further based on five dimensions: (1) centralization/decentralization of the governmental power inside “single-party majority cabinets/multi-party coalitions,” (2) balance of power between the executive and legislative and the relative autonomy/dependency of the latter from/on the former, (3) the numbers of parties in the legislative – “two-party vs. multi-party systems,” (4) disproportionality of the electoral formulas, and (5)

relationship of the interest groups with the state mechanism – pluralism vs. corporatism (Lijphart, 1999: 1-3).

Nonetheless, that sort of continuum misses the points of variation among the Western liberal democracies in terms of “electoral formula, district magnitude, electoral threshold, total membership of the body to be elected, the influence of the presidential elections on legislative elections, malapportionment, and inter-party links” (Lijphart, 1999: 144-146). Hence, the first debate in the literature reckons with the level of discrepancy between the votes received in the elections and the seats gained after the elections and is structured around two approaches standing for empirical and normative concerns. Empirically, there are three major formulas – majoritarian one (with its subdivisions plurality, majority-plurality, and the alternative vote); proportional representation (PR) method (with its subdivisions list PR, mixed member proportional formula, and single transferable vote); and intermediate systems (limited vote, single nontransferable vote, parallel plurality-PR) (Lijphart, 1994: 18, 21-23, 40).

In the first group, (a) the plurality rule or First-Past-the Post (FPTP) is about selection of the candidate who attains the most votes irrespective of “whether a majority or plurality of them;” (b) the majority-plurality rule is about selection of the candidates in two rounds throughout which the ones who could not pass the minimum cut-off points are eliminated in the first round and the winner is determined based on his/her absolute majority in the first ballot, if not, based on his/her success of receiving plurality of the votes in the second round; and (c) alternative vote is about giving voters more than one preference at the ballot box and the selection of the candidate is based on winning the absolute majority in the first

preferences, if not, the votes of the candidates who receive the fewest are eliminated and then transfer of their vote shares to the remaining candidates in the upward order of preference is expected to create a winner with the majority of the votes (Lijphart, 1999: 146-147).

In the second group, (a) the list PR is about the provision of party lists of candidates at the ballots and the citizens' choice for one party list or joint list and is about reflecting distribution of the seats in the legislative in proportion to the percentage of the votes received with the exception of d'Hondt, which displays relatively "slight bias in favor of large parties;" (b) mixed-member proportional (MMP) formula is about giving each voter two votes to select candidates in the district and to select party lists in order to alleviate any disproportionality between vote shares and seat allocations in the district results; and (c) the single-transferable vote (STV) is about selection of the candidate by asking voters at the ballot box to rank their choices in order as such the votes of the ones who could not pass the cut-off points will go to the ones in the next order upward and the surplus of the votes of the ones who passed the threshold to be elected will go to the ones in the next order downward (Lijphart, 1999: 147-149).

In the last group, (a) the limited vote is about selecting the candidates who win majority of the votes but citizens have limited amount of votes grounded on the numbers of seats in their districts as such any increase in the district magnitude (seats) means movement towards PR from plurality; (b) single non-transferable vote (SNTV) is similar to the limited vote but in SNTV voters have just one vote and the candidates with the greatest ratio of the vote shares win their respective seats in multi-member districts; (c) and parallel plurality-PR rule is about selecting some

parts of the legislators by plurality in districts with single seats and some parts of the candidates by PR but unlike MMP, these two votes of the electorate are not aimed at compensating the disproportionality in the district elections because the two are held separately (Lijphart, 1999: 149).

Normatively, the question is about the interrelationship between (dis)proportionality of the election results under the aegis of one of the three categorical electoral formulas and stability of governance through concern for representation's scale of inclusion/exclusion (Blais, 1991: 240, 243). The complementary measures to gauge the level of that representative inclusion/exclusion are the following: the increase/decrease in the number of seats (district magnitude) and the electoral formula's bias against or in favor of small parties, higher/lower electoral thresholds, the extent of the total seats available in the legislature and the electoral formula's bias against or in favor of large parties, projection of the success of larger parties in the presidential elections into the legislative elections at the expense of small parties due to the electoral formula of the presidential election (plurality vs. majority run-off), the assignment of disproportionate seat shares to the electorate with smaller number of voters compared to the districts with the same seat shares but with greater registered voters (malapportionment), and inclusion of small parties that could not pass electoral threshold by themselves via creation of joint lists (Lijphart, 1999: 150, 153-154, 156-157). Overall, in terms of proportionality from highest to lowest value based on the parameters of representation threshold, district magnitude (the number of seats allocated per district), the district size, and the voting type could be the following: PR, intermediate systems, and majoritarian formula (Lijphart, 1994: 20, 25, 40; Blais, 1991: 248-249, 254-255).

For the second part that addresses the causal relationship between electoral formula's (dis)proportionality outcome and the number of parties and those parties' likely minority/majority status in the legislatures, the debate is about two levels of measurement, which are categorical and interval (McDonald and Ruhl, 1989: 9; Lijphart, 1994: 57, 72). The criticism directed towards number-based party system categorization in terms of unipartism, twopartism, and multipartism is that integers disregard the dimensions of political power concentration and scales of political fragmentation and polarization (Sartori, 2005: 105; Maor, 1997: 31-32).

In consequence, within unipartism, one party system depends on the condition that there is only one party that is legal and the rest are excluded due to monopolization of the political power as opposed to the contexts where either small parties are allowed to keep presence by the ruling party under the rubric of hegemonic party or small parties along with the ruling party are equally present in the system but the latter wins in each successive electoral process through predominant party system (McDonald and Ruhl, 1989: 9-10). Within twopartism, two parties contend for the majority of the votes on an equal footing (Lijphart, 1994: 67). Within multipartism, "low fragmentation" or the number of parties less than five defines moderate pluralism whereas "high fragmentation with low polarization" or the number of parties greater than five and smaller distance in the ideological spectrum of the parties in toto portray polarized pluralism (Sartori, 2005: 105; Maor, 1997: 31-32). For the atomization to emerge, greater ideological distance with number of parties greater than five is necessary (Sartori, 2005: 112-113).

On the other hand, parameters of the "effective number of elective and parliamentary parties" (Lijphart, 1994: 57) are the most relevant factors for the

studies that utilize interval level of measurement. Based on the consensus within the literature, modified “Rae index of party system fractionalization” [$N = 1/\sum S_i^2$, where S_i is the i^{th} party’s seat share percentages] gives a party numbers index whose range starts from 1 and 1 stands for unipartism, 2 for twopartism, and 3,...,n for multipartism (Lijphart, 1994: 68-69). Given that index’s ability to display the effective number of parties and their relative strength vis-à-vis their counterparts in the legislative, the two party systems and multi-party systems are further subdivided into two, which are two party systems, two-and-a-half party systems, multi-party systems with a dominant party, and multi-party systems without a dominant party (Lijphart, 1999: 66-67). The effective number of parties that equals to 2 stands for the two party systems; the N that is in-between 2,5 and 3, exclusive, indicates two-and-a-half party systems; and if N is greater than or equal to 3 and the government party’s vote percentages are in-between 40% and 50%, inclusive, then there is multi-party systems with dominant party as opposed to the situation where N is greater than or equal to 3 but total votes are equally shared among three or more parties (Geyikçi, 2011: 14).

In the same vein with the electoral system’s impact on narrowing down the policy choices of the politicians, the numbers of parties in the party systems and convergence and divergence around certain issue areas are interconnected. Categorically, the issues that Western liberal democratic societies deal with can be classified into seven groups: “the socio-economic, the religious, the cultural-ethnic, the urban-rural, regime support, the foreign policy, and post-materialist issues” (Lijphart, 1999: 79). The left-right division in the party identification of the voters and political party platforms calls for different positions inside the regime on welfare spending, social programs to eradicate poverty, unemployment and illiteracy,

redistributive taxation, gay marriages, the use of contraception, abortion, sex education in public schools, positive discrimination towards ethno-culturally different individuals or group of them, responsiveness to the interests, problems, and concerns of the farmers, cognizance of anti-systemic parties inside the society, alliance formation through band-wagoning or balancing along with cooperative or conflictive FP conduct or the choice for isolationism, and finally, the extent of citizens' direct participation into the governance of their daily lives ("participatory democracy") and environment-friendly policy subscriptions (Lijphart, 1999: 79, 82-89).

Given the ideal condition of mutual exclusion among those issues, the socio-political divergence on each of those matters inside the regime requires higher numbers of parties because each conflict on the relevant dimension displays one variant of the socio-political-economic interest that is in pursuit of being represented at the state level and the intermediary to do that is political parties (Lijphart, 1999: 87-88). The Taagepera – Grofman formula of the "relationship between the effective number of parties (N) and the issue dimensions (I)" [$N = I + 1$] indicates the positive correlation between the two with the inference that two party systems cannot handle more than one issue divergence unless they overlap due to the fact that their focus on catching the median-voter leaves the other segments of the electorate unrepresented (Lijphart, 1999: 88-89).

2.3.1. Cartel Party System

Overtime, political parties have led to a pattern of convergence around market-friendly center and center-right positions irrespective of electoral and party system classifications and hence have started to create their own logic of survival with systematized interactions in order to resist forthcoming challenges to their privileged positions either coming from the electoral system itself or from new competitors. Consequently, political parties have undergone an institutional and ideational change “from the traditionally voluntary private associations towards parties as public utilities” (van Biezen, 2004: 701). Then, there have been inclinations towards “symbiosis between parties and state” within which state subsidies for their organizational sustenance are acknowledged to be legitimate (Katz and Mair, 1995: 6; van Biezen, 2004: 705).

The general literature on political party models focuses on the relationship between political parties and civil society in terms of inputs (votes) and outputs (policies). On the other hand, Katz’s and Mair’s (1995) “the cartel party thesis” enquires into the evolutionary transformation of political parties from the cadre party to the mass party, to the catch-all party, to the cartel party in Western Europe in terms of their organizational design and relationship with the state mechanism (Katz and Mair, 1995: 9; Katz and Mair, 2009: 756; MacIvor, 1996: 317). The cartel party is the last stage of that lineage where political parties start to anchor themselves into the state mechanism by reliance on public funding flowing from the state coffers based on their performance in the elections (Katz and Mair, 1995: 17). Moreover, they simultaneously begin to distance themselves from the grass-root activists and

more importantly from civil society, which is one constituent of the political party system in addition to the parties and the state (Katz and Mair, 1995: 15).

The repercussions of that sort of organization for the political party system is ultimately “cartelization” throughout which parties explicitly or implicitly collaborate with each other to maintain their survival (Blyth and Katz, 2005: 41-45). They accomplish that task by narrowing down the “policy-space” and delegating the responsibility of the certain issue areas to the public entities [like pursuit of monetary policies under central bank independence] that are not accountable to the electorate in the era of the globalized world in which the market requires states to diminish their authority and autonomy (Blyth and Katz, 2005: 41-45). The tentative cases susceptible to that system are Austria, Denmark, Germany, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Italy, Canada, Israel, Turkey, United Kingdom, and U.S. (Katz and Mair, 1995: 17; Blyth and Katz, 2005: 46, 48, 51; MacIvor, 1996; Yishai, 2001; Uysal, 2011; Gençkaya, 2002).

The international political and economic system has three components in the advancement of that development in those (post-industrial Western) liberal democracies: ascendancy of the need for capital accumulation that can be achieved through higher rates of exports and higher ratios of FDI inflow; consequently, the state decision-makers’ declining ability and will to interfere into the free flow of goods, services, and capital in order not to disrupt the accumulation process; and finally politicians’ trade-off between market-friendly growth economy and redistributive social spending and pro-environment policies (Blyth and Katz, 2005: 41). At sub-state systemic level, the electoral and party systems pave the way to the continuing political presence and increasing strength of the existent parties at the

expense of the other parties and that systemic exclusion has been furthered via parties' twofold acts – intra-party proclivity towards dependence on state and inter-party propensity towards collusion (Katz and Mair, 1995: 17).

One facet of the end result of that process is policy convergence between competing parties in domestic politics. The second facet is the break in the relationship between the agents (political parties) and “external principals (voters) and internal principals (party members and activists)” (Kitschelt, 2000: 151) and instead external principals become the providers of FDI and internal principal turns out to be state, provider of the public funds. Nonetheless, that kind of account for the “malfunctioning of democracy” due to the apathy among the elected politicians towards the problems, concerns, and interests of the electorate and also due to the former's constant act of domination over the latter is not new for the political parties literature (Lipset, 1968: 412; Kitschelt, 2000: 152).

Based on the findings of Robert Michels in his book *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (1911), by nature, any sort of large-scale societal organization such as “nation-states, trade unions, political parties, and churches” necessitates bureaucratization and rationalization in a Weberian sense and hence introduces an increased scale of the rule of the few over the masses along with the loss of inter-connection between the “top and the rank-and-file members” (Lipset, 1968: 412-413). Since these organizations' oligarchs have advantages in domains of institutional experience, technical know-how, communication-transportation, and discourse dissemination, monopolization of the political power among a class of professionalized politicians who always desire political survival in office becomes the case at hand (Kitschelt,

2000: 156-157). With respect to that original postulation, the added value of Katz and Mair's (1995) cartel party thesis is about delineating one sort of variation from the prime objectives by one of those organizations – political parties – to sustain the tenacity of their organizational survival, which was predicted by Michels (1911) (Lipset, 1968: 421).

That deviation is from competition among the rivals to be selected in the on-coming election to collusion among the rivals to remain in the political scene persistently by making sure the constant flow of public funding into the party coffers. The problem in the cartel party thesis (Katz and Mair, 1995) is that it could not properly take into account the fact that convergence around center policy positions among parties may not be about the break in the relationship between the principal and the agent but it might be about the incentives of the parties to move towards the interests of the newly emerged “voters in a post-industrial capitalism” after the end of Cold War the time frame after which redistributive and pro-environment policies lag behind the expectations of the new and dominant classes in favor of the growth economy (Kitschelt, 2000: 164).

2.4. Democratic Peace Theory Studies on Foreign Policy Decision-Making

Within broader perspective, this thesis' research question takes comparative politics as its reference point while designing the hypotheses. Therefore, there emerges a need to review the literature that incorporates the findings of comparative politics and comparative study of FP in order to classify the cartelized party system's impact on FP behavior. Having been at the intersection of electoral and party systems and

FP, the studies within this field, first, make critique of blackboxing representative democracy by referring to (dis)proportionality of the election processes due to certain electoral formulas and then, reach revised conclusions for both FPDM and democratic peace theory's monadic and dyadic assertions (Kaarbo, 2008; Elman, 2000; Hagan and et al., 2001; Prins and Sprecher, 1999; Palmer and et al., 2004; Ireland and Gartner, 2001; Reiter and Tillman, 2002).

In a similar manner with (but implicitly referencing) Maurice Duverger's act of designating the impacts of the disproportional electoral systems as "mechanical and psychological" where the first is about the electoral procedure that leads to majoritarian outcomes and the latter is about the mental act of the voters not to choose the parties incapacitated by the system in order not to "waste their vote, energies, and money," there has been an endeavor to classify multiparty coalition cabinets' FP behavior degree of extremity towards aggression or peace and also to set forth the conditions for the executive enforcement of the relevant behavior through accounting both the institutions and agent psychology (Kaarbo, 2008: 57; Hagan and et al., 2001: 170; Lijphart, 1994: 70-72).

Accordingly, presence/absence of established "decision rules," coalition partners' level of resistance capability against extreme junior partners' manipulation and threats, the cabinets' extent of legitimacy in the public opinion, and responsibility allotment determine the aforementioned classification and conditions (Hagan and et al., 2001: 177-178; Kaarbo, 2008: 62, 64-65, 67). Furthermore, since the focus is on representative democracy, it has been put forward that normative dimension of the democratic peace claims are the same for the relevant democracies in consideration and instead center of attention should be located to the structural

dimensions and the effect of their variability on single-party and coalition cabinets' risk-taker/risk-averse/risk-mutual attitude in inter-state militarized disputes (Ireland and Gartner, 2001: 550; Kaarbo, 2008: 59).

With regard to that causality, approximately exhaustive independent variables that are emphasized to be statistically significant are the number of parties in the legislative (fragmentation), ideological distance between the parties (polarization), (dis)proportional electoral formula, location of the governments on the left-right spectrum, and the strength of the check and balance systems and the dependent variables are either "dispute escalation" or "dispute initiation," which are militarized in nature (Palmer and et al., 2004: 2; Ireland and Gartner, 2001: 547; Reiter and Tillman, 2002: 811; Elman, 2000: 93; Prins and Sprecher, 1999: 279).

2.5. Case Studies and Conclusion

Given the commonality of adhering to plurality rule or FPTP electoral formula for the national legislatures, U.S. and Canadian domestic political contexts have been susceptible to concentration of political power between two parties at the expense of the rest whose condition of incapacitation is understandable through reading Duverger's aforementioned "mechanical and psychological" explanations (Lijphart, 1994: 18, 70-72). Since the proposal of the Keystone XL pipeline project in U.S. and Canada in 2008, there also has been an espousal of convergence in the issue area of FP with reference to oil market's ability for job creation (temporary in nature), diversification of energy sources with less costs of industrialization, and transportation at the expense of environment similar to global economic system's

insistence on the cartelized political actors in domestic politics for convergence around certain-market friendly policies that enforce lessening of public spending and state authority (Chastko, 2012: 175; Smith, 2013: 74).

With regard to that case, electoral and party systems are supposed to stimulate cooperative FP behavior for both countries unlike the dependent variable of FP studies that disaggregate democracy to be able to account for conflictive FP behavior. In order to uncover the pattern behind that development, three hypotheses are put forward, which are about “political factors, economic attitudes, and proximity to the pipeline” (Gravelle, 2013: 4). In the first postulation, voters take the signals from the representatives they voted for such that they emulate the decisions of their leaders as their preferences; in the second one, calculation of relative maximization of gains or minimization of losses determines the voters’ attitudes; and in the last one, location of the voters’ households compared to the pipeline’s route shapes their courses of action (Gravelle, 2013: 5-7).

In the context of both countries, except the third hypothesis on geographical closeness to the pipeline, the first two propositions somewhat correspond to reality (Gravelle, 2013: 24). Inference from this conclusion is that the “pattern ... in the late 1990s and [early] 2000s” of voting about energy agenda in U.S. Congress along “regional lines ... [of] coal states versus non-coal states or urban versus rural” has turned out to be “partisan stance” at the federal level where Republicans pursue the presidential approval of the project and Democrat representatives and their core constituents, like labor unions, have started to follow their counterparts’ path (Kranc, 2013: 69; Eilperin, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2013; 1). In Canada, on the other hand, the voting pattern is through “party lines” such that cartel of Conservative and

Liberal Parties together with their electorate hold the highest support ratios to the project as opposed to the outliers of oligopoly, such as New Democratic Party, Green Party, and Bloc Québécois and their grass roots' opposition (Kranc, 2013: 70, Abacus Data Poll, 2012: 12).

The flow of pressure to materialize the aforementioned pipeline project is from a country with federal parliamentary system with multiple parties and majoritarian formula to a country with federal presidential system with two parties and majoritarian formula. Moreover, the two are territorially large, politically open, and economically advanced. For the recipient of the market-oriented imposition by the system, U.S., the issue area is territorial that is at the intersection of the market economy, particularly FDI, and non-traditional variant of national security – employment sustainability/creation and energy source diversification. That entanglement between the capital accumulation through FDI inflow and national security conceptualization that legitimizes the state's relative dependency on the dominant classes in the society are in line with the assumptions of the political economy framework of CFP.

Nonetheless, there is also an academic imperative to search for a benchmark to rigorously study the possible emergence or absence of cartelization on the pipeline project between Canada and U.S. because single case could only function as description. Therefore, in order to transform added value of the research to an explanatory framework, there should be an examination of another case where flow of the pressure should be from a federal presidential system with two parties and majoritarian formula to a centralized state with parliamentary system, multiple parties and proportional formula in order to measure the relative impact of federalism

- centralized state structure, presidential – parliamentary system, and majoritarian
- proportional formulas on FP behavior.

Moreover, the issue again should be territorial, which is directly related with market economy and national security but in a traditional form of national defense in order to see the relative impact of the traditional and non-traditional forms of national security blended with the market on cooperative FP behavior. Lastly, while the former should still be territorially large, politically open, and economically advanced, the latter state should have these three national attributes with middle characteristics – territorially medium-sized, partly free, and economically developing country to gauge whether these attributes are also effective in reaching out agreement in relevant issue areas.

The case that appears to fit to the expected benchmark is Turkish-American agreement to locate “the Army Navy Transportable Radar Surveillance System (AN/TPY-2)” on Turkey’s Kürecik district in September 2011 (Kaya, 2011). It is because that Turkey has the expected requirements to compare and contrast the effects of the electoral and party systems by holding a party-list PR system, particularly d’Hondt, a parliamentary democracy with multiple parties, centralized state structure, partly free democratic regime, mid-sized territory, and emergent economic power base.

Similar to the Keystone XL pipeline project proposal, the issue area in Kürecik is also territorial but is at the intersection of the market-economy and traditional sense of national security – national and alliance defense. Moreover, the same frame of hypothesizing in the Keystone case through “political factors, economic attributes, and proximity” (Gravelle, 2013: 4) [to the radar site] is also

viable in the Kürecik case. Despite the clear pattern of Turkish public opinion's unfavorable attitude both to U.S. and NATO in-between 2004 and 2011, the decision to agree with U.S. to deploy the radar system by Turkish higher echelons happened at ease in a context where the main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP) did not want to oppose to the deployment in order not to give the impression of their party platform on FP at the left and so in order not to lose the support of the electorate at the center who otherwise may have predicted the same leftist posture in domestic politics by the CHP at the expense of their interests and of positive image conferred on it by Washington and Brussels (Kımkıoğlu, 2012; Özcan, 2011: 105-107; Kaya, 2011; Mercan and Akbal, 2014: 513, 515). Therefore, the international political-economic system in addition to the electoral and party systems narrowed down the policy choices and led to the cooperative FP behavior.

In conclusion, through narrowing the scope of comparison and by the addition of the cartel party system into the canon, re-ordering of the independent variables affecting FP behavior of those (post-industrial Western) liberal democracies around certain policy conducts, which is about market-related issue areas, can update the explanatory and predictive power of the comparative study of FP.

CHAPTER 3:

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Determining the Methodology for Pre-Theories Framework

Given the multivariate nature of the pre-theories framework, the inquiry is open to causal inferential statistical methods like multiple regression analysis to enhance the explanatory power of CFP. Within the perimeters of that method, the inquiry will look like the following formula:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + e$$

For this regression rule, Y may stand for the dependent variable – FP behavior in question –, and X_n can depict the respective independent variables – idiosyncrasy, role, government, society, and system.

Similarly, the inquiry is amenable to predictive statistical methods like predictive discriminant analysis in order to advance the predictive power of CFP. Hence, it will be possible to forecast the relative impact of the aforementioned five continuous independent variables on the FP behavior of interest. Within the perimeters of discriminant analysis, the inquiry will look like the following:

$$DS = a + W_1 X_1 + W_2 X_2 + W_3 X_3 + W_4 X_4$$

For this discriminant analysis rule, DS may stand for the discriminant score of either 1 or 2 [presence or absence of the expected FP behavior], and W_n can represent respective independent variables. However, given the smallness of the observations (n) in this thesis where comparative study of FP is conducted on Keystone XL pipeline project and Malatya Kürecik radar base cases with particular concern for the measurements of the pre-theory's five variables ["idiosyncratic, role, governmental, societal, and systemic" (Andriole and et al., 1975: 165-166)] in Canada, U.S., and Turkey, any multivariate causal or predictive analysis may deliver statistically weak conclusions.

For instance, each β in the regression formula presents the coefficient of the variable that they are multiplied by and the confidence interval for each β with a 5% error is the following: $\beta = b \pm t_{0.025}SE$ (Wonnacott and Wonnacott, 1990: 380) within which b is the slope, t is the critical value taken from student's t -distribution table, and SE is the standard error. The small n here distorts the preciseness of the interval because for SE [whose formula is $\frac{\sigma (\text{standard deviation})}{\sqrt{\sum x^2}}$] (Wonnacott and Wonnacott, 1990: 376) as long as n increases, there would be greater amounts of $x = (X_i - \bar{X})$ as such the range of the interval becomes smaller and gives better approximations or vice versa.

3.2. The Comparative Method

Multiple regression and predictive discriminant analyses are close approximations to the experimental method for which the scrutiny is about "(1) ([establishing] general

empirical relationships among two or more variables)” (2) while holding the remaining confounding variables constant under *ceteris paribus* condition (Lijphart, 1971: 683). Similarly, as an alternative method that allows for a comparison of at least two cases based on either their similarity or difference to create a ground for “discovering relationships among many variables,” the comparative method also abides by these two conditions of scientific research design (Porta and Keating, 2008: 201). Ergo, given the inability to hold remaining variables constant, the perennial problem of this method becomes the presence of “many variables, and [of] small number of cases” (Lijphart, 1971: 682).

Hence, within that method, the aim to put forward empirical postulations can pave the way for the flaws of [case and variable] selection and/or omission bias but the comparative method is still the closest methodology to the statistical inquiry via reducing the number of variables and increasing the quantity of observations. With respect to that necessity, the cases in consideration should be extended either geographically, which means subdivision of the cases (countries, groups, etc.) into sub-categories (region, age, sex, division of labour, etc.) or longitudinally, which refers to the extension of the cases into a long time period (annually, seasonally, etc.) (Collier, 1993: 107; Lijphart, 1971: 686).

Then, the debate in the literature of that method revolves around the question that what should be the criterion to be a comparable case? To those who argue for the comparison of the cases that are nearly similar in every aspect except one different independent variable, the explanation is based on the analysis of that exception (Burnham and et al., 2004: 64; Collier, 1993: 111). The problem with that [the most similar systems design] approach is that given the limited quantity of similar cases,

the number of cases available for the research get narrowed down paradoxically and leaves the researcher with both contending “rival explanations” [of multitudinous independent variables] and insufficient amount observations to check them statistically (Collier, 1993: 111-112).

On the other hand, to those who base their researches on the comparison of the cases that are nearly dissimilar in every aspect except one similar independent variable, the reasoning is based on the analysis of that peculiarity (Gerring, 2001: 212-213; Burnham and et al., 2004: 67). The rationale behind that approach, which is named the most different systems design, is that through incorporating higher amount of observations/cases: small n problem can be resolved, and “the explanatory power [of common elements]” among numerous different cases is much broader (Collier, 1993: 112).

3.2.1. The Most Different Systems Design and Case Selection

Based the information provided by Table 1 below, there has been an avenue to conduct the most similar systems design research because when the variables of the project initiator countries are compared and contrasted, it is obvious that the party system is the independent variable while the rest – political structure, electoral system for the legislative, and national attributes are the intervening variables. On the contrary, when the focus for comparison shifts towards project receiving countries, there appears to be no ground for both the most similar and the most different research designs.

However, as indicated in the literature review chapter, disproportional electoral systems' incapacitating "mechanical and psychological" (Lijphart, 1994: 70-72) impacts for smaller parties creates a ground for the emergence of cartel party system. With respect to that political track, majoritarian electoral system (within which the most disproportional one is FPTP) in Canada, and U.S. and proportional formula (list PR with Dhond't that espouses large parties and with 10% electoral threshold) in Turkey are both electoral systems for the national legislative that are susceptible to the cartel party system. Hence, when the focus for comparison re-shifts towards project receiving countries, electoral system for the national legislative becomes the independent variable in the most different systems design approach.

Table 1: Framework for the most different systems design by referring to transnational project proposal flow.

Keystone XL Project				
Transnational Project Proposal from Canada with				
Other Variables			Independent Variable	Dependent Variable
Political Structure	Party System	National Attributes	Electoral System for the National Legislative	Affirmative Legislative Voting Behavior in the Receptive Country
Federalism	Multiple-Party System	- Large Territory - Open Political System - Advanced Economy	Majoritarian Formula (FPTP)	[Yes]
Transnational Project Proposal to U.S. with				
Other Variables			Independent Variable	Dependent Variable
Political Structure	Party System	National Attributes	Electoral System for the National Legislative	Affirmative Legislative Voting Behavior in the Receptive Country
Federalism	Two Party System	- Large Territory - Open Political System - Advanced Economy	Majoritarian Formula (FPTP)	Yes (Sheppard, 2015)
Malatya Kürecik Radar Station				

Transnational Project Proposal from U.S. with				
Other Variables			Independent Variable	Dependent Variable
Political Structure	Party System	National Attributes	Electoral System for the National Legislative	Affirmative Legislative Voting Behavior in the Receptive Country
Federalism	Two Party System	• Large Territory • Open Political System • Advanced Economy	Majoritarian Formula (FPTP)	[Yes]
Transnational Project Proposal to Turkey with				
Political Structure	Party System	National Attributes	Electoral System for the National Legislative	Affirmative Legislative Voting Behavior in the Receptive Country
Centralized State	Multiple-Party System	• Medium-Sized Territory • Partly Free Political System • Developing Economy	Proportional Representation (List PR – Dhond't)	Yes* ¹

Moreover, by utilizing the most different systems design, the independent variable in the most similar systems design – party system – becomes similar in each countries of project initiation. It is because that within a cartel party system, the multi-party system nature gives way to a seemingly two-party system of the government and main opposition parties at the expense of the other small-to-middle range parties that are hampered by the electoral system to have firm standing in the legislative. Hence, by looking at the respective electoral system's susceptibility to

¹ Based on the information delivered by Tanış (2013), the radar station construction protocol between the Undersecretary of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and American Ambassador of the time being on September 14, 2011. Nonetheless, the already constructed radar station by-passed the debate for approval/rejection of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey whose authority to scrutinize the treaties allowing the deployment of the foreign armed forces comes from the article 92nd of the constitution. Based on the AKP single party majority cabinet's responses to the parliamentary questions of the main opposition party CHP MPs (on October 11, 2011 and December 6, 2011) who asked for the parliamentary debate over the base and its rejection, the Kürecik radar base has an already approved multilateral nature whose origin can be traced back to Turkey's integration into the North Atlantic Treaty in 1952 and NATO's Status of Forces Agreement. With the exception of these 20 MPs in the parliament, then, it can be presumed that there was an implicit affirmative legislative behavior towards the realization of the project without putting the project under jeopardy by putting it into a parliamentary debate.

the cartelization, the most different systems design cancels out the most similar systems design.

Nevertheless, the problem of “many variables, and small number of cases” is still persistent in the design. Hence, two variables of the pre-theories framework – idiosyncrasy and role – are reduced to one variable for the analysis on the electoral system. The rationale behind that decision is that “closer symbiosis between parties and the state” in the cartel stage of the party evolution turned “politics into profession” such that “role” of the elected politicians – second element of “pre-theories” – is directed towards the survival of the political party and maintenance of the political oligopoly irrespective of their “idiosyncrasies” – first element of “pre-theories” (Katz and Mair, 1995: 6, 18-19). Thus, when political parties become the “agents of state” because of immense dependence on public funding, they also become the source of power that assigns “roles” to the politicians (Katz and Mair, 1995: 5, 18). In consequence, within this thesis, the independent variables of “idiosyncrasy and role” are subsumed under political parties. Further, the number of observations is extended temporally with the available data, which is in-between 2005 and 2015 for Keystone XL project case and in-between 2002 and 2011 for Malatya Kürecik radar station case.

3.2.2. The Chi-Square Statistics

The resultant research design still cannot make any “universal [causal] generalizations” but is responsive to make “probabilistic generalizations” (Lijphart, 1971: 686). Therefore, the selected methodology is the Chi-square statistics, which is

“goodness-of-fit test” that account for the two categorical variables’ independence/dependence with/from each other through rejection/acceptance of the null hypothesis in a cross-tabulation. The formula for the chi-square statistics with an example table is the following:

Table 2: Exemplary information table for chi-square statistics.

	Continuous Variable 1 (Low)	Continuous Variable 1 (High)	Total Frequency	Relative Frequency
Categorical Variable 1	a	b	a + b	$\frac{a + b}{a + b + c + d}$
Categorical Variable 2	c	d	c + d	$\frac{c + d}{a + b + c + d}$
Total Frequency	a + c	b + d	a + b + c + d	
Relative Frequency	$\frac{a + c}{a + b + c + d}$	$\frac{b + d}{a + b + c + d}$		

$X^2 = \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$ where X^2 is the chi-square statistic, O_i is the observed value of the respective variable, E_i is the expected frequency that is calculated as the product of the respective relative frequencies of the row and column in consideration, and i is the existent number of cell. For the calculated X^2 value to be statistically significant and to reject or accept null hypothesis of independence [between the dependent variable – affirmative convergent legislative voting behavior espousing system-related transnational projects and each independent variable – system-orientation of the political party positioning, responsiveness to the electorate, and exposure to the systemic threats], critical chi-square point should be calculated firstly through finding the degrees of freedom [(total number of rows – 1).(total number of Columns – 1) and later by finding the critical value at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) at X^2 critical points table. If the calculated X^2 is greater than the critical point found, then there is a statistically significant dependence between the two variables.

Additionally, after transforming the dependent variable from categorical to continuous, Pearson's r will be used to determine any positive/neutral/negative correlations between the dependent variable [legislative voting behavior on foreign policy issues] and certain intervening variable(s) of the research design like the percentage of absentee MPs within the context of perfect modified likeness score for approval. The formula for Pearson's r with an example table is the following:

Table 3: Exemplary information table for Pearson's r calculation.

Continuous Variable x	Continuous Variable y
a	b
c	d
e	f
g	h
i	j
k	l

$$r = \frac{\sum xy - N\bar{x}\bar{y}}{\sqrt{(\sum x^2 - N\bar{x}^2)(\sum y^2 - N\bar{y}^2)}}$$

Within the formula, x and y are the correspondent values of the variables x and y in each row, $\bar{x}$ and $\bar{y}$ are means of the variables x and y , and N is the number of observations. The r value can be in-between -1 and 1 throughout which the first is about the perfect negative correlation, the latter is over perfect positive correlation, and 0 is about no association. For this r -value to be statistically significant, its calculated t -value should be greater than its p -value at the student's t -table at .05 level. After finding the degrees of freedom ($N - 2$), the calculated t -value is $\frac{r\sqrt{N-2}}{\sqrt{1-r^2}}$

3.3. Identifying the Variables and Data Sources

3.3.1. Operationalization of the Dependent Variable

Aside from the repercussions of the “interpenetration of party and state,” one of the two by-products of the cartelized party system for the relationship between parties and the electorate, there is another facet of that system, which is a “pattern of inter-party collusion” in domestic politics (Katz and Mair, 1995: 17). Consequently, the nature of the “electoral competition” has transformed itself from “maximizing the expected (average) payoff” or winning the elections to “maximizing the reasonably anticipated minimum payoff” or sustaining party survival by keeping it above a certain electoral threshold in the elections to ensure the continuous flow of money into the party budget from state coffers (Blyth and Katz, 2005: 51; Katz and Mair, 1995: 19-20; Katz and Mair, 2009: 758).

Thus, for the dependent variable – affirmative convergent legislative voting behavior espousing system-related transnational projects –, necessary data should provide information about relevant political parties’ acts of collusion within their respective legislatures to approve the transnational projects in consideration. In regard to that necessity, Stuart A. Rice’s “a measure of group likeness” offers an avenue for the calculation of the aforementioned legislative behavior by the following formula: “ $\text{Likeness} = 100 - |\% \text{Yes}_A - \% \text{Yes}_B|$ ” where $\% \text{Yes}_A$ and $\% \text{Yes}_B$ stand for the hypothetical political parties of A’s and B’s percentages of yes votes for the given bills in the legislature such that likeness score is expected to be high for countries with party cartelization (Pelizzo, 2006a: 16-17; Clausen, 1967: 212).

Nevertheless, this measurement index is taken from U.S. context where there are only two parties in the legislative and the likeness formula reflects this political system's nature. Moreover, instead of calculating likeness score just for a pair of two parties in each session of the same parliament through different combinations, the formula is in need of reflecting the overall party system interaction with reference to both cooperation to reject the relevant bill and cooperation to accept the bill. As such, there has to be an alteration within the mathematical equation of the independent variable – governmental factor –, which can correspond to other contexts where there may be more than two parties as product of different electoral systems in the legislative and where intra-party cooperation may happen towards rejection/acceptance:

$$\text{Modified Likeness Score} = \frac{(\text{YesA} + \text{YesB} + \text{YesC} + \text{YesD}) - (\text{NoA} + \text{NoB} + \text{NoC} + \text{NoD})}{\text{Yes}(A+B+C+D) + \text{No}(A+B+C+D)}$$

Within that formula, the results can be in-between -1 and + 1 and -1 stands for perfect cooperation to reject and +1 stands for perfect cooperation to accept the relevant legislative bill. Hence, the necessary data regarding the roll call in the legislative of U.S. can be extracted from the Library of Congress' website. By utilizing the THOMAS interface, summary and status of the bills and resolutions about market-related issue areas can be obtained (The Library of Congress THOMAS). After using those issues' categorization numbers, roll call votes can be reached for both the House and the Senate in the "Roll Call Vote" section of THOMAS.

For the Canadian context, the same information set is available on the Canadian parliament's website where House of Commons Chamber gives detailed

vote listings on the relevant issues (Parliament of Canada, House of Commons). For the Turkish context, the relevant information can be extracted from the Grand National Assembly of Turkey's website where official account of legislative proceedings are online along with roll call vote section (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi). Notwithstanding the alteration within the original likeness formula for measuring the collusive legislative acts, one socio-political aspect is left out of this calculation's scope, which is the difference between voting under the aegis of party discipline as in Canada and Turkey, and voting based on individual beliefs systems as in U.S. Since the primary aim of the study is to abstraction, omitting this particular feature of voting behavior is acknowledged to be necessary.

3.3.2. Operationalization of the Independent Variables

3.3.2.1. System-Orientation of the Political Party Positioning

Given the catch-all party typology era Keynesian economics of huge public spending programs' financial burdens and declining feasibility that are at odds with the open-market economy and politicians' prospects to be re-elected, cartelized party system has brought forth two aspects "the discourse of downsizing expectations and the externalization of policy commitments" (Blyth and Katz, 2005: 41-45). They have been achieved by reducing the range of applicable policies and policy expectations of the voters and by delegating the responsibility of certain issue areas like monetary policy to the public entities that are not accountable to the electorate such that degree of similarity between party programs has been increasing (Katz and Mair, 1995: 22; Blyth and Katz, 2005: 41-45).

Hence for the variable system-orientation of the political party positioning, the required data should give information about relevant political parties' positions on market economy, environment, and national security maintenance [through fulfilling alliance requirements]. In that respect, content analysis of the manifesto of the cartel parties of U.S. (Republican Party and Democratic Party), Canada (Conservative Party and Liberal Party), and Turkey (Justice and Development Party and Republican People's Party) for the last ten to fifteen years (the time period covering respective cases) is the focal point.

The data can be extracted from Manifesto Project Database open source that collects and quantitatively analyzes political party programs in fifty-five countries based on fifty-six parameters with the interval in-between -100 and 100 where the first represent very left position and the latter describes very right position (Volkens and et al., 2015a). The procedural minimum categories for this research are "foreign special relationships (positive)(negative), military (positive)(negative), internationalism (positive)(negative), economic growth (positive), and anti-growth economy" (Volkens and et al., 2015b).

Within the coding manual, the first deals with positive or negative images of certain countries for sustaining cooperation; the second copes with national security sustainability through increasing arsenal expenditures, army modernization, and implementation of the military treaties or opposition to do so; the third reckons with international/transnational engagement or disengagement for/from cooperation especially under the aegis of international organizations; the fourth expresses the need of and incentives for "greater production;" and the fourth stands for "sustainable economic growth" to seek balance between environment and growth

(Volgens and et al., 2015b). Their relative frequencies and percentage shares within the programs is expected to give details over political parties' stance and also system-orientation on the issues of market economy, environment, and national security.

3.3.2.2. Responsiveness to the Electorate

First and second by-products of party cartelization depend on three conditions. The first element is about the increasing costs of electioneering due to a constant endeavor to familiarize the voters with the party program and image of the politicians, ascendancy of “cost-intensive campaigning techniques” and the professionalization of party politics (van Biezen, 2004: 706). The second element is about the post-WWII era trends of declining number of registered party memberships and increasing voter volatility as a result of debilitating conditions that detach citizens from the everyday routine of politics and of diminishing party identifications that cause parties to incur losses of free human labour to carry out routine organizational tasks (Katz and Mair, 1995: 15; van Biezen, 2004: 706). The final element is about the changing understanding regarding the parties “from the traditionally voluntary private associations towards parties as public utilities” (Katz and Mair, 1995: 6; van Biezen, 2004: 701).

The end result of that process “symbiosis between parties and state” – first by-product –, in the end, has brought forth declining registered party memberships, decreasing bond of sympathy for the parties and lessening degree of voter turnout in the elections (Katz and Mair, 2009: 755-756). The consecutive party collusions –

second by-product – leave citizens with not much choice for both policy demand and supply. Thus, for the independent variable – responsiveness to the electorate, the data should provide information about the gaps between positions of the public and the parties in the legislative and information close to that aspect (Pelizzo, 2006b: 13-14).

In that respect, mass surveys are important sources. For U.S. context, legislative acts' level of favorability for the public can be extracted from Pew Research Center's "Political Attitudes" dataset and also from Gallup's "Congress Job Approval" trends. For the Canadian context, Canadian Election Study's periodical surveys' "Leader and Party Evaluation" subsections are the prime reference points (Canadian Opinion Research Archive). For the Turkish context, World Values Survey's online data set about the confidence in the government, legislative, and political parties is the main source.

3.3.2.3. Exposure to the Systemic Threats

Thus far, what has been described is that the transformation of political parties from "vote-maximizing competitors to risk averse colluders" is because of two developments: "the limits of catch-all politics and rhetoric of globalization" (Blyth and et al., 2010: 5). Financial burdens of Keynesian economics of huge public spending programs for national economy in terms of higher inflation rate, smaller investment, and growing unemployment are incongruent with a growth economy whose catalyst is foreign direct investment (Blyth and et al., 2010: 5; Blyth and Katz, 2005: 41). Consequently, given the reliance on "increasing export and flows of foreign direct investment relative to domestic investment," political parties have

accomplished the requirements of the global economic system through collusion with each other (Blyth and Katz, 2005: 41). Therefore, they narrow down the “policy space” and delegate responsibility of the certain issue areas to the public entities such as central banks that are not accountable to the electorate in the era of the globalized world (Blyth and Katz, 2005: 41-45).

Therefore, for the independent variable – exposure to the systemic threats, the relevant data should give information about cartel parties’ “institutional and discursive strategies” of constricting policy supply and demand due to concerns over globalization (Blyth and Katz, 2005: 45). Consequently, the World Bank’s dataset of foreign direct investment net outflows for U.S., Canada, and Turkey can be useful to detect the impact of globalization on party cartelization (Blyth and et al., 2010: 6; the World Bank). Additionally, financial losses incurred in the state budget due to changing climate, and scale of relative peacefulness of U.S., Canada, and Turkey based on both systemic and sub-systemic factors will have an important contributions to hypothesis testing on any statistical relationship between the pressure of the system in domains of environment, economy, and military and the dependent variable (German Watch; Center for Systemic Peace).

Nevertheless, those sources’ data is continuous and is not viable for Chi-square statistics reckoning that requires categorical variables. Ergo, the relevant state’s public opinion sample on the most important problem choice pertaining economic growth, national defense, and environmental sustainability are taken as the reference points for that independent variable whose source is the GALLUP’s the Most Important Problem question for U.S., Canadian Opinion Research Archive’s Most Important Problem trend for Canada, and World Values Survey’s Aims of

Country: First Choice question for Turkey (University of Texas at Austin; Canadian Opinion Research Archive; World Values Survey).²

² For the fifth wave of World Values Survey, the question category that is utilized is the following: V69. For the sixth wave, the question category that is utilized is the following: V60.

CHAPTER 4:

DATA ANALYSIS OF LEGISLATIVE VOTING BEHAVIOR AND CHI-SQUARE TESTS

4.1. Malatya Kürecik Radar Base Case

The prime rationale of that chapter is, first, to detail the distribution of legislative voting behavior on foreign policy issues that share similarities with the case studies of this thesis. Starting with the analysis of Malatya Kürecik radar case, modified likeness scores of Turkish and American legislative voting behavior measurement range between -1 and +1. Then, dense clustering of the distribution towards either -1 or +1 would indicate presence of foreign policy cartelization in the legislative. Further, dense clustering of the distribution towards 0 would indicate absence of foreign policy cartelization in the legislative. Later, the second task is to examine a relationship between absence/presence of foreign policy cartelization in Turkish and American legislative and political parties' system-orientation in their election manifestoes, political parties' loss of connection with the electorate, and Turkey's and U.S.' level of fragility to the systemic threats.

4.1.1. Turkish Context

Notwithstanding the fact that the Kürecik radar base station construction protocol was signed between the Undersecretary of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and American Ambassador of the time being on September 14, 2011, that bilateral memorandum of understanding was not delivered to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey whose power to approve the treaties allowing the deployment of foreign armed forces emanates from the article 92nd of the constitution. Despite the presence of the parliamentary questions asking for the delivery of the project into a parliamentary debate by the minority MPs within the main opposition party CHP (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, 2011a; Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, 2011b), the relevant bilateral memorandum understanding envisaging the provision of foreign radar logistics into a Turkish facility bypassed legislative scrutiny.

The counter-argumentation advanced by the AKP single party majority cabinet was that there was no need for any parliamentary debate about the project because the Kürecik radar base had an already approved multilateral nature whose origin can be traced back to Turkey's integration into the North Atlantic Treaty in 1952 and NATO's Status of Forces Agreement (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, 2011a: 1-2). However, the project's bilateral status between U.S. and Turkey was transformed into that aforementioned multilateral status under the aegis of NATO after one year, in May 2012 at the Chicago Summit (Mercan and Akbal, 2014: 515). Based on that official Turkish account, the prime rationale to agree on Kürecik radar base with U.S. was to realize the notion of Europe-wide missile defense system to protect NATO member countries – the decision reached at Lisbon Summit of 2010. Therefore, with the exception of these 20 MPs of CHP in the parliament, it can be

presumed that there was an implicit affirmative legislative behavior towards the realization of the project without putting the radar base station under jeopardy by putting it into a parliamentary debate.

Ergo, it is still necessary to look into Turkish parliament's legislative voting behavior over issues about national security maintenance through alliance formation/sustenance till 2009 [the year before the Lisbon Summit held] to see whether its behavior in-between 2010 and 2011 [the time period Kürecik Radar base was agreed] is different in terms of higher scale cooperation among the parties in the parliament. The selected course of action to do that is to find the one-sided p value of the parliament's group likeness scores.

Table 4: A measure of modified group likeness scores and absentee MP numbers per party for the legislative proceedings dealing with national security maintenance through alliance formation/sustenance in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in-between 2003 and 2011 under Kürecik radar base case.

TR (Time Frame) [dd.mm. yy]	Legislati ve Proceedi ng ³	Sessi on No.	AKP Yes	AK P No	CHP Yes	CHP No	MH P Yes	MH P No	Modifi ed Likene ss Score (in- betwee n -1 and 1)	Absentee MP Numbers per Party (and Their Percentage in the Respective Parties)		
										AKP	CHP	MHP
12.03.20 03	A1	22-1- 44	180	0	73	0	...	...	1	173 (47,65 %)	105 (58,98 %)	...
23.07.20 03	A2	22-1- 110	231	0	63	7	...	...	0,953	128 (35,26 %)	106 (59,55 %)	...
16.10.20 03	A3	22-2- 8	195	0	76	0	...	...	1	165 (45,45 %)	98 (55,05 %)	...
05.11.20 03	A4	22-2- 14	188	0	82	0	...	...	1	172 (47,38 %)	94 (52,80 %)	...
05.11.20 03	A5	22-2- 14	150	0	68	0	...	...	1	217 (59,77 %)	107 (60,11 %)	...
05.11.20 03	A6	22-2- 14	159	0	67	0	...	...	1	209 (57,57 %)	101 (56,74 %)	...
05.11.20 03	A7	22-2- 14	152	0	50	0	...	...	1	210 (57,85 %)	127 (71,34 %)	...
05.11.20	A8	22-2-	162	0	48	0	...	...	1	209	127	...

³ For the titles and summaries of the relevant legislative proceedings and their bibliographic information, please refer to the Table 1 at the appendix section.

03		14								(57,57 %)	(71,34 %)	
05.11.20 03	A9	22-2- 14	170	0	43	0	...	...	1	198 (54,54 %)	133 (74,71 %)	...
25.12.20 03	A10	22-2- 37	208	0	35	1	...	...	0,991	156 (42,97 %)	139 (78,08 %)	...
14.01.20 04	A11	22-2- 38	180	0	32	0	...	...	1	188 (51,79 %)	142 (79,77 %)	...
14.01.20 04	A12	22-2- 38	175	0	7	0	...	...	1	192 (52,89 %)	168 (94,38 %)	...
06.10.20 05	A13	22-4- 4	165	0	30	1	...	...	0,989	191 (52,61 %)	126 (70,78 %)	...
23.05.20 06	A14	22-4- 105	237	0	34	0	...	...	1	119 (32,78 %)	120 (67,41 %)	...
05.09.20 06	A15	22-4- 127/1	340	6	0	154	...	...	0,36	9 (2,47%)	0 (0%)	...
24.01.20 07	A16	22-5- 54	222	3	0	45	...	...	0,644	125 (34,43 %)	109 (61,23 %)	...
25.04.20 07	A17	22-5- 94	181	0	20	0	...	...	1	168 (46,28 %)	131 (73,59 %)	...
25.11.20 08	A18	23-3- 21 (a)	181	0	5	0	15	1	0,990	155 (45,45 %)	91 (81,25 %)	52 (73,23%)
25.11.20 08	A19	23-3- 21 (b)	190	0	6	0	15	0	1	136 (39,88 %)	91 (81,25 %)	54 (76,05%)
04.03.20 10	A20	23-4- 64	214	0	1	5	0	6	0,902	109 (31,96 %)	83 (74,10 %)	62 (87,32%)
23.02.20 11	A21	23-5- 70	217	0	11	0	3	0	1	114 (33,43 %)	86 (76,78 %)	68 (95,77%)
Mean⁴			195,0 95	0,42 8	35,7 61	10,1 42	8,25	1,75	0,944	44,284	66,630	83,0 92
Standar d Deviation⁵			41,78 9	1,43	27,9 67	34,3 92	7,88 9	2,87 2	0,155	13,152	18,546	10,4 15

The dataset provided in Table 4 includes only the parties that managed to pass the 10% electoral threshold in 2002, 2007 and 2011 general elections and they are AKP, CHP, and Nationalist Action Party (MHP) [with the exception of the general election in 2002]. The modified likeness score for each legislative proceeding can be in-between -1 and +1 where -1 indicates total cooperative behavior among the parties in the parliament to reject the relevant international/transnational project and +1 indicates total cooperative behavior among

⁴ Mean calculation for the absentee MPs is done for their percentage in the respective parties.

⁵ Standard deviation calculation for the absentee MPs is done for their percentage in the respective parties.

the parties in the parliament to approve the relevant international/transnational project.

Before the year 2010, there is a sample of 19 proceedings with a mean (μ_0) likeness score of 0,943 and a standard deviation of 0,163. Since the mean itself (with a score of 0,943) is smaller than both the median and mode (both equal to 1) and median is equal to the mode, the dataset on Turkey in-between 2002 and 2009 has a skewed data to the left and has the alternative hypothesis region on one side of the distribution curve. In order to posit that voting behavior pattern since 2010 with a mean 0,951 and standard deviation 0,069 is no different than the voting pattern displayed in-between 2002 and 2009, the null hypothesis is written as: $H_0: \mu_0 = 0,943$ and the alternative hypothesis that stands for the new voting behavior's greater party system cartelization nature is: $H_A = \mu_A > 0,943$.

The standardization procedure for each single score's position vis-à-vis the mean is done through finding the standard score (Z). The resultant formula is:

$$Z = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_0}{\sigma / \sqrt{n}} = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_0}{SE} \text{ where } Z \text{ is the standard score, } \bar{X} \text{ is the mean of the voting pattern}$$

since 2010, μ_0 , σ , and n are the mean, standard deviation, and sample numbers of the voting pattern before 2010, respectively [SE stands for the standard error ($\sigma / \sqrt{n}$)].

With the result $Z = \frac{0,951 - 0,943}{0,163 / \sqrt{19}} = 0,22$; we need to look into the z table to find the

value for the one-sided p value: $\Pr(\bar{X} > 0,951) = \Pr(Z > 0,22) = 0.413$.

With that finding, it is possible to posit that the probability of observing group likeness score as high as 0,951 in one tail is 413% while the null hypothesis is still true ($H_0: \mu_0 = 0,943$). However, with that sort of simple statistical measurement, the result can only indicate that likeness score population observed since 2010 is no

different than the ones observed in-between 2002 and 2009. On the other hand, utilizing discriminant analysis can give prediction over whether the likely Kürecik radar debate will result in cartelization or not but the sample of 21 legislative voting behavior would not deliver statistically significant results as such this research does not have any claim for causality or prediction in the cases observed.

However, the above mentioned modified likeness score still reflects one important facet of the topic, which is the distribution of the legislative voting behavior towards projects under the aegis of NATO and the ones agreed with U.S. Within NATO related projects that includes the legislative proceedings A2 to A9 and A18 to A20, the mean is 0,985 with standard deviation 0,031. Within the bilateral projects with U.S. (A10,12,16,21), the mean is 0,908 and the standard deviation is 0,176. With these data at hand, one observation about Turkish parliament's foreign policy behavior is that there is a relatively lower cooperative attitude towards foreign policy cases that require strong national commitment either militarily or financially, as represented by A15 and A16 respectively.

The second observation, on the other hand, is related to the main opposition party CHP's non-voting behavior. In-between 2003 and 2011, the mean absence rate for CHP MPs is 66,630% with standard deviation 18,546%. The rationale behind that attitude is unclear but the exhaustive list of reasons could be the following: (a) MPs' indifference to foreign policy-related legislative proceedings; (b) holding low profile through dual strategy of implicitly giving approval to the relevant project as such grass root activists and the electorate would not be resented; or (c) instead of being seen as extreme left by the voters at the center spectrum and the external powers (prospective allies in foreign affairs in case of winning general elections), non-voting

behavior could be used as a way of blocking the quorum or the minimum number of MPs for approval. Nonetheless, the Pearson's r value is 0,760 for the correlational relationship between the modified likeness scores reached at and the absent CHP MPs and the t value (5,112) for the r is greater than the p value (1,73) with 5% error level. Ergo, there is a statistically significant positive correlation between these two variables.

Then, the next task is to determine to what extent there is a statistically significant relationship between nearly perfect scores for cooperation among the parties in the parliament and the parliamentary parties' position on pro-system oriented foreign policy for defense purposes, and macro-economic security as indicated in their respective manifestoes delivered before the general elections. The reason why within Kürecik case being in line with the international system is categorized in terms of both national defense (under the auspices of neorealist school of thought) (Shimko, 1992: 293, 297-298; Mearsheimer, 1990: 5-7, 11-14) and economic growth whose motor is foreign direct investment (under the auspices of neoliberalism) (Keohane and Nye, 1987: 737, 739, 745-747; Nye, 1988: 245-246, 249-251) is twofold.

First, with the available information that could not give an overall account for U.S., it is seen that FDI share of the North American countries in Turkey's overall FDI net inflow is 3,62% in 2009, 4,17% in 2010, and 8,80% in 2011. Second, in 2002, the amount of foreign military assistance by U.S. to Turkey was equal to 23% of Turkey's FDI net inflow in the same year and the same assistance was equal to nearly 60% of Turkey's FDI net inflow in 2003. Overall, between the years 2002 and 2011, the amount of foreign military assistance by U.S. to Turkey was equal to

1,29% of Turkey's FDI net inflow. Hence, within this analysis, it is assumed that the consideration to maintain national security through alliance formation/sustenance is interconnected with national consideration for macroeconomic growth.

Table 5: A comparative measurement of FDI net inflow into Turkey by year and by region, and of foreign military assistance delivered by U.S. to Turkey by year.

Year	FDI Net Inflow (Thousand \$) (World Bank)	FDI Net Inflow by North America Region (Thousand \$) (Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry Investment Support and Promotion Agency)	Foreign Military Assistance Delivered by U.S. (Thousand \$) (Federation of American Scientists; U.S. Department of State) ⁶
2002	1082000	...	252956
2003	1702000	...	1020750
2004	2785000	...	50600
2005	10031000	...	38662
2006	20185000	...	14850
2007	22047000	...	19791
2008	19762000	...	12437
2009	8629000	312000	15418
2010	9058000	378000	8187
2011	16171000	1423000	5415
Mean	11145200	704333,333	143906,6
Standard Deviation	7974537,31	623257,839	316926,606

In order to inquire any statistical dependence between the categorical variables of cooperative legislative behavior in the 22nd and 23rd terms of Turkish parliament towards transnational projects sustaining national security and system-orientation of the parliamentary political parties' election programs, eight categories "101 – foreign special relationships (positive), 102 – foreign special relationships (negative), 104 – military (positive), 105 – military (negative), 107 – internationalism (positive), 109 – internationalism (negative), 410 – economic growth (positive), and 416 – anti-growth economy" are taken from Manifesto Project Database (Volkens and et al., 2015b).

⁶ The data for the years between 2002 and 2007 is taken from U.S. fiscal year military aid reports' "Request by Region: Europe and Eurasia" sections per year starting from 2004 (Federation of American Scientists). The data for the years between 2008 and 2011 is taken from U.S. Department of State's "Foreign Assistance Budget Releases, Foreign Operations Congressional Budget Justification" per fiscal year (U.S. Department of State).

While incorporating those parameters, the aim is at reflecting the relevant political parties' overall system orientation (as opposed to their anti-systemic references) within the respective parliamentary term. Consequently, through incorporating each party's frequency of attribution to the relevant parameters in their manifestoes for the up-coming term, the following formula is adopted:

$$(\sum \text{Parameter } X_{101,104,107,410} - \text{Parameter } X_{102,105,109,416})$$

Throughout that formula Parameter X stands for each party's attribution frequency for the parameters indicated.⁷ Hence, the contingency table and the chi-square result are going to be the following:

Table 6: Chi-square statistics calculation for the first null hypothesis in the Turkish context under Kürecik radar base case.

Relatively Higher Cooperation Score within the Legislative by Parliamentary Term	Political Party's Attribution to System Orientation in Policy Conduct Program			Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	H₀: No relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and system-orientation of the parliamentary political parties' election programs. H₁: A relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and system-orientation of the parliamentary political parties' election programs. X²: 48,9515517 d.f.: 2 α: 0,05 Critical X² Point: 5,99 Null Hypothesis: Rejected⁸
	AKP	CHP	MHP			
22 nd Term / 14.11.2002-03.06.2007	79	10	0	89	0,151103565	
23 rd Term / 23.07.2007-23.04.2011	255	86	159	500	0,848896435	
Total Frequency	334	96	159	589		
Relative Frequency	0,567062818	0,162988115	0,269949066			

⁷ For the detailed account of political parties' positioning on foreign policy, and macro-economic policy conduct based on frequency of the attributes to the relevant categories in the party manifestoes, please refer to Table 2 at the appendix.

⁸ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 3 at the appendix.

The calculated Chi-square value is greater than the Chi-square critical point at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) as such the null hypothesis that posits no statistically significant dependence between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and system-orientation of the parliamentary political parties' election programs is rejected. This finding seems to validate the assertion of the thesis that similar to cartel party hypothesis' postulation for policy convergence in domestic politics, parties that managed to pass 10% electoral threshold and to attain public funding at the expense of other parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show pro-systemic choices in foreign policy. However, here, the need for capital accumulation for economic growth is blended with national defense consideration and in order to back the argumentation that cartelized parties also converge in foreign policy, there emerges a need to look into a case where macroeconomic and environmental security are held together. Therefore, each conclusion reached at the case of Kürecik is going to be compared and contrasted with the findings of the Keystone case.

Secondly, the other cartel party hypothesis postulation is about the break in the relationship between the political parties and the electorate and the closest categorical variable that can reflect that aspect is selected as preference gap between the voters and the elected politicians. The only empirical source that can display that feature of the electorate with time-series data is found to be the World Values Survey's questions about confidence in the government, the political parties, and the parliament. Within that source, the number of respondents whose response is either in the form of "not very much" or "none at all" are summed together. The only problematic aspect in this part of the study is that categorical variables for the 22nd

term are taken from the poll conducted in 2007 and for the 23rd term it is in 2011. The reason to allow that sort of time lag is that World Values Survey Wave 5 (2005-2009) and Wave 6 (2010-2014) are the only available sources dealing with questions close to the preference gap.⁹

Table 7: Chi-square statistics calculation for the second null hypothesis in the Turkish context Kürecik radar base case.

Relatively Higher Cooperation Score within the Legislative by Parliamentary Term	Preference Gap between the Electorate and the Elected Politicians			Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	H ₀ : No relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians.
	Confidence in Government	Confidence in Political Parties	Confidence in Parliament			
22 nd Term / 14.11.2002-03.06.2007	474	846	492	1812	0,443031785	H ₁ : A relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians.
23 rd Term / 23.07.2007-23.04.2011	619	988	671	2278	0,556968215	
Total Frequency	1093	1834	1163	4090	4090	
Relative Frequency	0,267237164	0,448410758				X ² : 4,74815769 d.f.: 2 α: 0,05 Critical X ² Point: 5,99 Null Hypothesis: Not Rejected ¹⁰

Within Table 7, the calculated Chi-square value is smaller than the Chi-square critical point at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) as such the null hypothesis that posits no statistically significant dependence between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians is not rejected. Ideally, that finding repudiates the projection of the

⁹ For the fifth wave, the question categories that are utilized are the following: V138, V139, and V140. For the sixth wave, the question categories that are utilized are the following: V115, V116, and V117.

¹⁰ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 4 at the appendix.

same loss of connection in domestic politics between the voters and the politicians into foreign policy conduct.

However, not rejecting Table 7's null hypothesis may reflect Turkish electorate's indifference to the parliament's foreign policy behavior as generally indicated by neorealist school of thought. Hence, the absence of any statistical dependence between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians might represent Turkish voters' least preference to choose foreign policy as the country's most important problem. According to Eurobarometer survey's poll question "What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?" in Turkey between 10.2004 and 05.2011 (European Commission), the mean percentage of the respondents who select defense/foreign affairs is nearly 1,86% and it is small enough to reflect the public's low level of interest in foreign affairs.

Table 8: A measurement of Turkish electorate's preference for foreign policy as the country's most important problem (European Commission).

The Most Important Problem	10.2004	06.2005	10.2005	04.2006	09.2006	05.2007	10.2007	04.2008	10.2008	06.2009	11.2009	06.2010	11.2010	05.2011	Mean	Standard Deviation
Defense/Foreign Affairs (%)	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	1	2	3	1,857	0,770

Lastly, the inquiry is about moving one-step further away from the political parties' discourse of international system that induces growth-based economy and is blended with national defense concerns to measure whether the country's perceptiveness to system-related threats of being-attacked by another country and of being deprived of foreign direct investment is related to the parliament's higher

cooperative behavior towards transnational projects that are assumed to offset these threats.

Table 9: Chi-square statistics calculation for the third null hypothesis in the Turkish context Kürecik radar base case.

	Country's Exposure to the System-related Threats				H₀: No relationship exists between Relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and strong defense forces. H₁: A relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and strong defense forces. X²: 10,21612031 d.f.: 1 α: 0,05 Critical X² Point: 3,84 Null Hypothesis: Rejected¹¹
Relatively Higher Cooperation Score within the Legislative by Parliamentary Term	Economic Growth	National Defense	Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	
22 nd Term / 14.11.2002-03.06.2007	848	201	1049	0,436901291	
23 rd Term / 23.07.2007-23.04.2011	1019	333	1352	0,563098709	
Total Frequency	1867	534	2401		
Relative Frequency	0,77759267	0,22240733			

Since Chi-square statistics is about finding or repudiating any statistically significant dependence between the categorical variables, any data that is continuous like net FDI inflow and national defense budget expenses per year in-between 2002 and 2011 would not deliver any meaningful results. It is because that by nature within Chi-square calculation putting continuous data like 100 million \$ for the FDI inflow in 2002 would mean there are 100 million FDI inflows in Turkey in 2002. Therefore, the data source that may get close to reflect that aim of the research is selected as the nation's level of importance attributed to economic growth and national defense.

¹¹ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 5 at the appendix.

There are two time-series data about that subject matter, which are world values survey and Eurobarometer polls and using each one of them limits this thesis' chi-square findings. When utilizing world values surveys, as indicated while reckoning with the preference gap, there is a time lag. For the Eurobarometer polls, on the other hand, the time series perfectly fit into the study's time framework but each data's sample information is not available and there are only percentages. Here, the problem for the calculation is that 10 out 100 interviewees represented as 10% and 60 out 600 interviewees as 10% are seen as the same but categorically 60 is bigger than 10 and can give more healthy results. Hence, throughout the research, the preference ordering for the data sources is the following: if available, the first choice is on the categorical data notwithstanding its time lag, and the second choice is on the proportional data that can be utilized as categorical but give less healthy results but still be valid and reliable.

After considering these important technicalities, with Table 9, the data source is the world values survey's poll question "aims of country: first choice" and the number of respondents who either selects "a high level of economic growth" or "a strong defense forces" (World Values Survey) are taken into the consideration.¹² Consequently, the calculated Chi-square value is higher than the Chi-square critical point at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) as such the null hypothesis that posits no statistically significant dependence between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and strong defense forces to defend the country against system-related threats of FDI outflow and external attack is rejected. In consequence, the finding

¹² For the fifth wave, the question category that is utilized is the following: V69. For the sixth wave, the question category that is utilized is the following: V60.

strengthens the research's another postulation that the country's perceptiveness to the relevant threats from the international system and policy convergence in the parliament both in domestic and foreign policies are connected and paves the way to cascades of parliamentary terms without alternative courses of action in these two domains.

4.1.2. American Context

Having been part of U.S. scheme of European Phased Adaptive Approach – a complimentary framework to NATO's current ballistic missile defense against nuclear proliferation, Kürecik radar base station is part of U.S. defense budget expenditures (Whitmore and Deni, 2013: 8-9). Further, for the sustenance of the station's missile defense capabilities, the 10th Army Air and Missile Defense Command needs to allocate 120 personnel along with covering their own security and consumption expenditures (Whitmore and Deni, 2013: 30). Thus, it is also necessary to scan the time frame in-between 2002 and 2011 to be able to see the distribution of modified likeness scores over legislative proceedings aimed at sustaining national security alliance formation/sustenance in both houses.

Table 10: A measure of modified group likeness scores for the legislative proceedings dealing with national security maintenance through alliance formation/sustenance in U.S. House of Representatives in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik radar base case.

U.S. (House of Representatives) (Time Frame) [dd.mm.yy]	Legislative Proceeding ¹³	Session No.	REP YES	REP NO	DEM YES	DEM NO	Modified Likeness Score (in-between -1 and +1)
20.03.2002	B1	107-2-70	210	1	197	0	0,995
02.05.2002	B2	107-2-126	194	4	157	17	0,887
21.05.2002	B3	107-2-178	209	1	194	0	0,995
21.05.2002	B4	107-2-182	194	18	195	3	0,897

¹³ For the titles and summaries of the relevant legislative proceedings and their bibliographic information, please refer to the Table 6 at the appendix section.

07.10.2002	B5	107-2-444	187	4	170	5	0,950
23.06.2003	B6	108-1-299	201	1	180	0	0,994
26.06.2003	B7	108-1-326	224	1	201	0	0,995
16.10.2003	B8	108-1-545	222	1	171	30	0,853
30.03.2004	B9	108-2-99	220	2	201	0	0,990
15.06.2004	B10	108-2-377	222	0	195	0	1
19.06.2004	B11	108-2-391	172	23	151	22	0,755
22.07.2004	B12	108-2-412	219	0	201	0	1
27.06.2005	B13	109-1-323	200	1	168	0	0,994
20.06.2005	B14	109-1-400	222	1	193	0	0,995
28.10.2005	B15	109-1-556	204	0	178	0	1
08.11.2005	B16	109-1-574	219	0	171	0	1
16.02.2006	B17	109-2-12	221	1	182	3	0,980
26.04.2006	B18	109-2-105	214	6	182	15	0,899
08.12.2006	B19	109-2-537	209	1	187	1	0,989
06.06.2007	B20	110-1-438	190	5	216	5	0,951
07.05.2008	B21	110-2-270	0	185	218	6	0,066
27.09.2008	B22	110-2-662	178	10	120	107	0,436
08.12.2009	B23	111-1-937	151	19	182	55	0,636
04.03.2010	B24	111-2-284	166	1	244	3	0,980
24.06.2010	B25	111-2-394	167	2	241	6	0,961
24.06.2011	B26	112-1-492	226	0	14	167	0,179
Mean			193,884	11,076	181,115	17,115	0,860
Standard Deviation			44,732	36,033	42,871	38,363	0,254

Throughout the time for scanning the relevant legislative proceedings, the alliance formation/sustenance for U.S. is taken to be about protecting market economy; free, fair, open, and competitive elections and constitutional liberalism abroad; territorial integrity of the [prospective] allies; and the engagements for peaceful use of nuclear power.

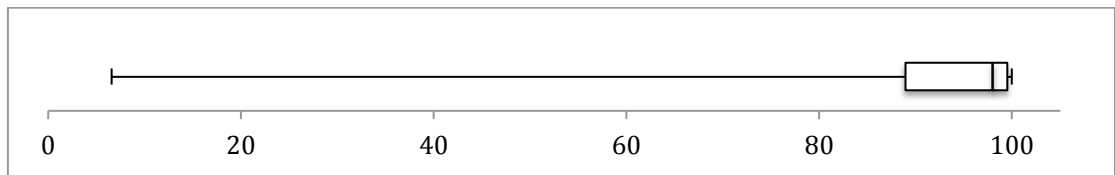


Figure 1: Box plot for the modified likeness scores for U.S. House of Representatives in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik radar base case.¹⁴

Within the relevant time-period, the mean of the integrated scores is 0,860 with standard deviation of 0,254. As indicated in graph 1, the interquartile range of the likeness score distribution (50% of the scores) is clustered between 88,95 (quartile 1) and 99,5 (quartile 3) [with the median 98]. Since the likeness scores are

¹⁴ The relevant box plot is created by using Microsoft Excel for Mac 2011 Version 14.4.8 (150116).

multiplied by 100 in order to ease the transition for display, the new range for them in the box plot is in-between -100 (perfect cooperation to reject) and +100 (perfect cooperation to accept). Hence, in this thesis, it is accepted that there is also relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security.

Then, similarly, the first task is to investigate absence/presence of any statistically significant relationship between nearly perfect scores for cooperation among the parties in the House of Representatives and the Congressional parties' position on pro-system oriented foreign policy for defense purposes, and macro-economic security as indicated in their respective manifestoes before the presidential elections. Notwithstanding the fact that these documents were prepared to win the executive seat per election, they are still reference points for these parties' policy identification. While counting each party's frequency of attribution to the relevant parameters in their manifestoes for the up-coming presidential election term, the formula $(\sum \text{Parameter } X_{101,104,107,410} - \text{Parameter } X_{102,105,109,416})$ is still resorted.¹⁵ The contingency table and the chi-square results are going to be the following:

Table 11: Chi-square statistics calculation for the first null hypothesis in the American context Kürecik radar base case.

Relatively Higher Cooperation Score within the Legislative in-between	Political Party's Attribution to System Orientation in Policy Conduct Program		Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	H₀: No relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and system-orientation of the Congressional political parties' election programs. H₁: A relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and system-
	Democratic Party	Republican Party			
107 th Term 2 nd Session –	86	178	264	0,391111111	

¹⁵ For the detailed account of political parties' positioning on foreign policy, and macro-economic policy conduct based on frequency of the attributes to the relevant categories in the party manifestoes, please refer to table 7 at the appendix.

108 th Term 1 st Session					orientation of the Congressional political parties' election programs. X ² : 56,0373021 d.f.: 2 α : 0,05 Critical X ² Point: 5,99 Null Hypothesis: Rejected ¹⁶
108 th Term 2 nd Session – 110 th Term 1 st Session	36	273	309	0,457777778	
110 th Term 2 nd Session – 112 th Term 1 st Session	5	97	102	0,151111111	
Total Frequency	127	548	675		
Relative Frequency	0,188148148	0,811851852			

The calculated Chi-square value is greater than the Chi-square critical point at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) as such the null hypothesis that posits no statistically significant dependence between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and system-orientation of the Congressional political parties' election programs is rejected. This finding also appears to validate the assertion of the thesis that similar to cartel party hypothesis' postulation for policy convergence in domestic politics, parties whose presidential candidates managed to pass minimum 5% electoral threshold [American data question 20th from] (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) in the previous election attain public funding at the expense of other parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show pro-systemic policy choices in foreign policy within the lower house of the legislative.

For the test of the cartel party hypothesis postulation about the break in the relationship between the political parties and the electorate, the only categorical variable that can get close to that feature appears to be the Congress' and the Congressional political parties' job disapproval rates. The only systematic time series data for both variables belong to Gallup trend analysis but the problem with that

¹⁶ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 8 at the appendix.

source is that sample information for each is absent from the reports as such proportions are used as the categorical data. Nevertheless, since each category's variables are in the form of proportions, they still give information about presence/absence of statistical dependence. Within the dataset, each year's score is the mean of the series of poll results for disapproval per year.

Table 12: Chi-square statistics calculation for the second null hypothesis in the American context Kürecik radar base case.

	Preference Gap between the Electorate and the Elected Politicians (GALLUP Congress; GALLUP Political Parties)					H_0: No relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians. H_1: A relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians. χ^2: 11,8298633 d.f.: 18 α: 0,05 Critical χ^2 Point: 28,9 Null Hypothesis: Not Rejected¹⁷
Relatively Higher Cooperation Score within the Legislative in-between	The Congress	Parties in the Congress (Democratic Party)	Parties in the Congress (Republican Party)	Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	
107 th Term 2 nd Session (2002)	36	37	36	109	0,07194719	
108 th Term 1 st Session (2003)	45	40	38	123	0,08118812	
108 th Term 2 nd Session (2004)	51	40	42	133	0,08778878	
109 th Term 1 st Session (2005)	57	41	45	143	0,09438944	
109 th Term 2 nd Session (2006)	67	39	55	161	0,10627063	
110 th Term 1 st Session (2007)	66	40	54	160	0,10561056	
110 th Term 2 nd Session (2008)	74	39	52	165	0,10891089	
111 th Term 1 st Session (2009)	63	43	58	164	0,10825083	
111 th Term 2 nd Session (2010)	75	53	53	181	0,11947195	
112 th Term 1 st Session (2011)	78	50	48	176	0,11617162	
Total Frequency	612	422	481			
Relative Frequency	0,4039604	0,27854785	0,31749175			

Nevertheless, not rejecting Table 12's null hypothesis [because of smaller Chi-square value than the critical Chi-square point] may reflect American

¹⁷ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 9 at the appendix.

electorate's indifference to the Congress's foreign policy behavior as generally indicated by neorealist school of thought. Therefore, the absence of any statistical dependence between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians might represent American voters' least preference to choose foreign policy as the country's most important problem. According to Gallup surveys' most important question in U.S. between 2002 and 2011, the mean percentage of the respondents who select international affairs and foreign aid is nearly 4,15% and it is small enough to reflect the public's low level of interest in foreign affairs.

Table 13: A measurement of American electorate's preference for foreign policy as the country's most important problem [Trend Analysis – GALLUP's Most Important Problem Data Series from] (University of Texas at Austin).

The Most Important Problem	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Mean	Standard Deviation
International Affairs and Foreign Aid (%)	3,79488	4,73814	3,25206	3,43109	9,94156	3,12389	3,3728	3,2603	3,3658	3,209	4,148952	2,089291779

Thirdly, the inquiry is about the question that whether the country's perceptiveness to system-related threats of being-attacked by another country and of being deprived of foreign direct investment is related to the House of Representative's higher cooperative behavior towards transnational projects that are assumed to offset these threats. As the aims of protecting market economy; of promoting world-wide free, fair, open, and competitive elections; of supporting constitutional liberalism; of backing territorial integrity of the [prospective] allies; and of undergoing engagements for peaceful use of nuclear power reflect U.S.' concern for both global economic growth and stability; the economic growth and national defense are the selected categories to measure the nation's level of

importance attributed to perception on systemic threats. The Gallup's most important problems trend analysis is the only available source but the problem with that reference point is that sample information for each category is absent from the files as such proportions are used as the categorical data.

Table 14: Chi-square statistics calculation for the third null hypothesis in the American context Kürecik radar base case.

	Country's Exposure to the System-related Threats [Trend Analysis – GALLUP's Most Important Problem / 1.Macroeconomics and 16. Defense Questions from] (University of Texas at Austin).				H₀: No relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and strong defense forces. H₁: A relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and strong defense forces. X²: 92,6496882 d.f.: 9 α: 0,05 Critical X² Point: 16,9 Null Hypothesis: Rejected¹⁸
Relatively Higher Cooperation Score within the Legislative in the Term	Macroeconomics	National Defense	Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	
107 th Term 2 nd Session (2002)	25	27	52	0,101167315	
108 th Term 1 st Session (2003)	34	22	56	0,108949416	
108 th Term 2 nd Session (2004)	28	27	55	0,107003891	
109 th Term 1 st Session (2005)	19	25	44	0,085603113	
109 th Term 2 nd Session (2006)	15	21	36	0,070038911	
110 th Term 1 st Session (2007)	14	29	43	0,083657588	
110 th Term 2 nd Session (2008)	40	14	54	0,105058366	
111 th Term 1 st Session (2009)	53	8	61	0,118677043	
111 th Term 2 nd Session (2010)	48	7	55	0,107003891	
112 th Term 1 st Session (2011)	53	5	58	0,112840467	
Total Frequency	329	185	514		
Relative Frequency	0,640077821	0,359922179			

¹⁸ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 10 at the appendix.

In consequence, the calculated Chi-square value is higher than the Chi-square critical point at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) as such the null hypothesis that posits no statistically significant dependence between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and strong defense forces to defend the country against system-related threats of FDI outflow and foreign attack is rejected. This finding strengthens the study's one of the postulations that the country's perceptiveness to the relevant threats from the international system and policy convergence in the Congress both in domestic and foreign policies are connected and paves the way to cascades of Congressional terms without alternative courses of action in these two domains.

Lastly, it is also important to examine the voting behavior of the Senate over the legislative proceedings aimed at sustaining national security alliance formation/sustenance. While scanning the proceedings for that purpose, the ideal categories are still protection of the market economy; promotion of free, fair, open, and competitive elections; advancement of worldwide constitutional liberalism; espousal of territorial integrity of the [prospective] allies; and the engagements for peaceful use of nuclear power.

Table 15: A measure of modified group likeness scores for the legislative proceedings dealing with national security maintenance through alliance formation/sustenance in U.S. Senate in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik radar base case.

U.S. (Senate)	Legislative Proceeding ¹⁹	Session No.	REP YES	REP NO	DEM YES	DEM NO	Likeness Score (in-between -1 and +1)
02.05.2002	C1	107/2 - 102 (94-2)	46	0	47	2	0,957
08.05.2003	C2	108/1 - 142 (96-0)	50	0	45	0	1
24.06.2004	C3	108/2 - 151	49	1	46	1	0,958

¹⁹ For the titles and summaries of the relevant legislative proceedings and their bibliographic information, please refer to the table 5 at the appendix section.

		(95-3)					
28.07.2005	C4	109/1 – 209 (54-45)	43	12	11	33	0,090
15.06.2006	C5	109/2 – 172 (46-53)	41	14	5	38	-0,061
12.07.2007	C6	110/1 – 245 (90-5)	48	0	41	4	0,913
27.02.2008	C7	110/2 – 34 (89-3)	42	3	45	0	0,933
22.07.2009	C8	111/1 239 (43-54)	38	2	4	51	-0,115
21.12.2010	C9	111/2 – 292 (67-28)	11	28	54	0	0,397
22.09.2011	C10	112/1 – 148 (48-48)	43	0	4	47	0
Mean			41,1	6	30,2	17,6	0,507
Standard Deviation			11,239	9,297	21,159	21,772	0,488

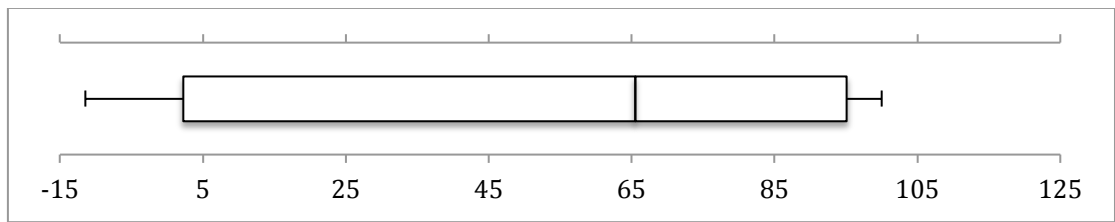


Figure 2: Box plot for the modified likeness scores for U.S. Senate in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik radar base case.²⁰

Within the relevant time-period, the mean of the integrated scores is 0,507 with standard deviation of 0,488. As indicated in graph 2, the interquartile range of the likeness score distribution (50% of the scores) is clustered between 2,25 (quartile 1) and 95,1 (quartile 3) [with the median 65,5]. Here also the likeness scores are multiplied by 100 in order to ease the transition for display, and the new range for them in the box plot is in-between -100 (perfect cooperation to reject) and +100 (perfect cooperation to accept). Since 50% of the scores are above the score 0,90, it is also accepted that there is also relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security.

Given the fact that none of the categorical variables within this research's scope incorporate any Senate/House of Representatives division while accounting for the system attribution, preference gap, and perceptiveness to system-related threats,

²⁰ The relevant box plot is created by using Microsoft Excel for Mac 2011 Version 14.4.8 (150116).

the findings of the Tables 11, 12, and 14 are also taken to be valid for the Senate in-between 2002 and 2011. Nevertheless, within these series of proceedings of the Senate, it is apparent that Congressional parties show lesser scale of cooperation in the cases that necessitate strong commitments affecting macroeconomic security and national defense as exemplified in C4,5,8,9,10.

4.2. Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case – American Context

4.2.1. American Context

Keystone XL pipeline project is a peculiar case where the need for capital accumulation for economic growth in terms of energy and job security is pitted against environmental security. With respect to that feature, the case is a valid frame of reference to check the validity of cartel party hypotheses' projection into foreign policy domain.

Table 16: A measure of modified group likeness scores for the legislative proceedings dealing with national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security in U.S. House of Representatives in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

U.S. (House of Representatives)	Legislative Proceeding ²¹	Session No.	REP YES	REP NO	DEM YES	DEM NO	Likeness Score (in-between -1 and +1)
28.07.2005	D1	109-1-445	200	31	75	124	0,279
12.07.2006	D2	109-2-369	221	4	196	0	0,980
18.12.2007	D3	110-1-1177	95	96	219	4	0,516
21.05.2008	D4	110-2-344	35	159	228	1	0,243
26.06.2009	D5	111-1-477	8	168	211	44	0,016
09.06.2010	D6	111-2-341	19	150	222	20	0,172
26.06.2011	D7	112-1-637	235	0	11	171	0,179
16.02.2012	D8	112-2-71	216	21	21	166	0,117
22.05.2013	D9	113-1-168	219	0	9	185	0,104
22.05.2013	D10	113-1-179	222	0	19	175	0,158
20.10.2013	D11	113-1-600	1	244	188	8	-0,142
24.06.2014	D12	113-2-342	220	0	1	186	0,085
13.10.2014	D13	113-2-517	225	0	8	185	0,114
14.10.2014	D14	113-2-519	221	0	31	161	0,220

²¹ For the titles and summaries of the relevant legislative proceedings and their bibliographic information, please refer to the table 6 at the appendix section.

08.01.2015	D15	114-1-12	241	0	3	181	0,148
09.01.2015	D16	114-1-16	238	0	28	153	0,269
Mean			163,5	54,562	91,875	110,25	0,216
Standard Deviation			94,346	81,052	96,919	79,946	0,246

Throughout the time for scanning the relevant legislative proceedings, the categories dealing with national macroeconomic and energy security are about energy efficiency, sustainability, energy security, source diversification, and energy independence.

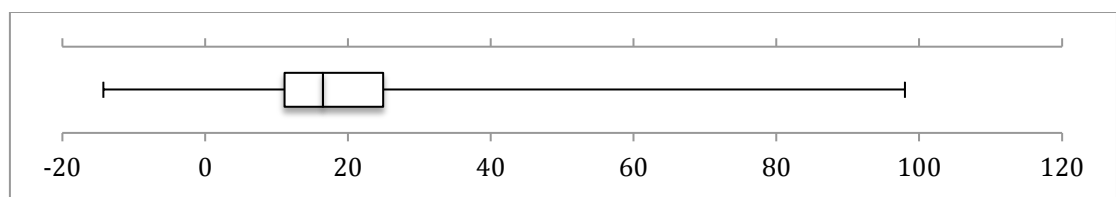


Figure 3: Box Plot for the modified likeness scores for U.S. House of Representatives in-between 2005 and (January) 2015 under Keystone XL pipeline project case.²²

Within the relevant time-period, the mean of the integrated scores is 0,216 with standard deviation of 0,246. As indicated in graph 3, the interquartile range of the likeness score distribution (50% of the scores) is clustered between 11,15 (quartile 1) and 24,95 (quartile 3) [with the median 16,5]. Here also the likeness scores are multiplied by 100 in order to ease the transition for display, and the new range for them in the box plot is in-between -100 and +100. Therefore, in this research, it is accepted that there is relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security.

Later, the task is about examining absence/presence of any statistically significant relationship between lower scores for cooperation to accept/reject the proceedings among the parties in the House of Representatives and the

²² The relevant box plot is created by using Microsoft Excel for Mac 2011 Version 14.4.8 (150116).

Congressional parties' position on pro-system oriented foreign policy for macro-economic and energy security as indicated in their respective manifestoes before the presidential elections. Notwithstanding the fact that these documents were prepared to win the executive seat per election, they are still reference points for these parties' policy identification. While counting each party's frequency of attribution to the relevant parameters in their manifestoes for the up-coming presidential election term, two additional categories are taken from the manifesto project database – 402 incentives, 501 environmental protection (positive) – and the following formula is resorted:

$$(\sum Parameter X_{402,410} - Parameter X_{416,501})^{23}$$

With respect to that calculation, the international system is categorized in terms of both economic growth whose motor is foreign direct investment (under the auspices of neoliberalism) and environmental protection whose essence lies in the sustainability of the ecosystem (under the aegis of green theory) (Kavalski, 2011: 2, 8-9).

Table 17: A comparative measurement of FDI net inflow into U.S. by year, and of financial losses in weather related events incurred by U.S. per year in-between 2004 and 2013.

Year	FDI Net Inflow (Thousand \$) (World Bank)	Losses in Weather Related Events (Thousand \$) ²⁴	Losses in Weather Related Events Equal to the Percentage of FDI Net Inflow in the Relevant Year (%)
2004	145966000	48824170	33,44900182
2005	138327000	160*	0,00011567
2006	294288000	18765330	6,37651892
2007	340065000	160	0,00004705
2008	332734000	67476970	20,27955364
2009	153788000	19198310	12,48362031
2010	259344000	22046600	8,50090988

²³ For the detailed account of political parties' positioning on foreign policy, and macro-economic policy conduct based on frequency of the attributes to the relevant categories in the party manifestoes, please refer to table 7 at the appendix.

²⁴ Each monetary loss per year is taken from German Watch Global Climate Index reports' climate risk indexes from 2006 to 2015 (German Watch).

*The data is not available for the year 2005 as such its cell is given the minimum losses value of 2007.

2011	257410000	74791050	29,05522318
2012	217778000	115603000	53,08295604
2013	294971000	45305640	15,35935397
Mean	243467100	41201139	17,8587301
Standard Deviation	76190408,91	36785751,4	16,6914344

The prime rationale to select market economy and ecosystem as the categories of the international system is that for the transnational project receiver country U.S., the topic of the Keystone XL pipeline is about comparison between the prospective losses to be incurred when accepting/rejecting the project in terms of FDI / environment-related costs (please refer to table 7). It is because that when FDI net inflow to U.S. and weather-related monetary losses are cross-tabulated for the time period between 2004 and 2013, it is seen that the latter's overall average between these two year is nearly equal to 7% of the first's average in the same period. Especially, 55% of the reference years for the weather-related losses are equal to or above 15% of the FDI inflow in respective years.

Within the contingency table, when there emerges negative values per cell after subtracting relevant categories from each other, those values are taken as 0. By that transition, it is indicated that the party in consideration has anti-system orientation towards market economy. The aim of that subtraction is to see the parties' attribution to market economy and environment relative to each other. Since the Chi-square statistics deals with categorical data, any negative value could not be incorporated into the table but instead is in need of transformation.

Table 18: Chi-square statistics calculation for the first null hypothesis in the American context under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

	Political Party's Attribution to System Orientation in Policy Conduct Program ²⁵				H₀: No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and system-orientation of the Congressional political parties' election programs. H₁: A relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and system-orientation of the Congressional political parties' election programs. X²: 24,0988322 d.f.: 2 α: 0,05 Critical X² Point: 5,99 Null Hypothesis: Rejected²⁶
Relatively Lower Cooperation Score within the Legislative in-between	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	
108 th Term 2 nd Session – 110 th Term 1 st Session	0	107	107	0,52970297	
110 th Term 2 nd Session – 112 th Term 1 st Session	0	24	24	0,118811881	
112 th Term 2 nd Session – 114 th Term 1 st Session	13	58	71	0,351485149	
Total Frequency	13	189	202		
Relative Frequency	0,064356436	0,935643564			

The calculated Chi-square value is greater than the Chi-square critical point at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) as such the null hypothesis that posits no statistically significant dependence between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and system-orientation of the Congressional political parties' election programs is rejected. This finding also puts forward that these two congressional parties hold two different conceptualizations of the international system (ecosystem for the Democratic Party; market economy for the Republican Party) when dealing with national and/or transnational projects that pit the need for capital accumulation for economic growth in terms of energy and job security against environmental security.

²⁵ For the detailed account of political parties' positioning on foreign policy, and macro-economic policy conduct based on frequency of the attributes to the relevant categories in the party manifestoes, please refer to Table 13 at the appendix.

²⁶ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 14 at the appendix.

Nonetheless, this finding appears to repudiate the assertion of the research that similar to cartel party hypothesis' postulation for policy convergence in domestic politics, parties whose presidential candidates managed to pass minimum 5% electoral threshold [American data question 20th from] (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) in the previous election attain public funding at the expense of other parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show market-oriented policy choices in foreign policy within the lower house of the legislative. It is also apparent that for the Keystone and Keystone related proceedings (D9,10,12,13,14,15,16), there has been a pro-Keystone minority of Democratic Party members whose average amounts to nearly 7% of the overall Democrats in the lower house.

Given the lower scale of cooperation among the Congressional parties, scrutinizing the cartel party hypothesis postulation about the break in the relationship between the political parties and the electorate is done reversed by searching for a preference congruity between the voters and the elected politicians. The only categorical variable that can get close to that feature appears to be the Congress' and the Congressional political parties' job approval rates. Similar to Table 12's difficulties, only the Gallup trend analysis provides systematic time series data for both variables and the problem is still that sample information for each is absent from the reports as such proportions are used as the categorical data. Within the dataset, each year's score is the mean of the series of poll results for approval per year.

Table 19: Chi-square statistics calculation for the second null hypothesis in the American context under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

Relatively Lower Cooperation Score within the Legislative in-between	Preference Congruity between the Electorate and the Elected Politicians			Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	H₀: No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the preference congruity between the electorate and the elected politicians. H₁: A relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the preference congruity between the electorate and the elected politicians. X²: 18,1691154 d.f.: 20 α: 0,05 Critical X² Point: 31,4 Null Hypothesis: Not Rejected²⁷
	The Congress	Parties in the Congress (Democratic Party)	Parties in the Congress (Republican Party)			
109 th Term 1 st Session (2005)	36	49	48	133	0,110925771	
109 th Term 2 nd Session (2006)	25	53	39	117	0,097581318	
110 th Term 1 st Session (2007)	27	53	39	119	0,099249374	
110 th Term 2 nd Session (2008)	19	54	40	113	0,094245204	
111 th Term 1 st Session (2009)	30	52	37	119	0,099249374	
111 th Term 2 nd Session (2010)	19	43	42	104	0,086738949	
112 th Term 1 st Session (2011)	17	44	45	106	0,088407006	
112 th Term 2 nd Session (2012)	15	48	43	106	0,088407006	
113 th Term 1 st Session (2013)	14	45	34	93	0,077564637	
113 th Term 2 nd Session (2014)	15	41	39	95	0,079232694	
114 th Term 1 st Session (2015)	18	39	37	94	0,078398666	
Total Frequency	235	521	443	1199		
Relative Frequency	0,195996664	0,434528774	0,369474562			

Consequently, the calculated Chi-square value is lower than the Chi-square critical point at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) as such the null hypothesis that posits no statistically significant dependence between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the preference congruity between the electorate and the elected politicians is not rejected. This finding validates the projection of the cartel party hypothesis about the break in the

²⁷ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 15 at the appendix.

relationship between the political parties and the electorate in domestic politics into foreign policy conduct. Holding two different images of international system and displaying lower scale of cooperation over the Keystone pipeline project by the Congressional parties appears to have no statistically significant relationship with the electorate's preference congruity with the parties.

This assertion well resonates with the public opinion towards construction of the pipeline whose approval rate is 66% in March 2013 [opposition 23%], 65% in September 2013 [opposition 30%], and 61% in-between February-March 2014 [opposition 27] [these data of Pew Research Center are clustered in (Gravelle and Lachapelle, 2015: 103)]. Further, this loss of connection between these two actors may also reflect Kitschelt's (2000) "voters in a post-industrial capitalism" (Kitschelt, 2000: 164) argumentation. The uniqueness of the American context is about voters' apparent incentive for economic growth has not brought any relatively higher cooperation scores among the Congressional parties in the case of Keystone XL pipeline.

Later, the inquiry is about the question that whether the country's perceptiveness to system-related threats of being deprived of FDI and of being incurred financial losses due to climate change is related to the House of Representative's lower level of cooperative behavior towards national/transnational projects that are assumed to sustain national macroeconomic and energy security. The Gallup's most important problems trend analysis is the only available source that can reflect the nation's scale of perceptiveness to the system-related threats but the problem with that reference point is that sample information for each category is absent from the files as such proportions are used as the categorical data.

Table 20: Chi-square statistics calculation for the third null hypothesis in the American context under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

	Country's Exposure to the System-related Threats [Trend Analysis – GALLUP's Most Important Problem / 1.Macroeconomics and 7. Environment Questions from] (University of Texas at Austin)				H₀: No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and sustainable environment. H₁: A relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and sustainable environment. X²: 7,95715666 d.f.: 10 α: 0,05 Critical X² Point: 18,3 Null Hypothesis: Not Rejected²⁸
Relatively Lower Cooperation Score within the Legislative in-between	Macroeconomics	Environment	Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	
109 th Term 1 st Session (2005)	19	1	20	0,041152263	
109 th Term 2 nd Session (2006)	15	1	16	0,032921811	
110 th Term 1 st Session (2007)	14	2	16	0,032921811	
110 th Term 2 nd Session (2008)	40	1	41	0,08436214	
111 th Term 1 st Session (2009)	53	1	54	0,111111111	
111 th Term 2 nd Session (2010)	48	1	49	0,100823045	
112 th Term 1 st Session (2011)	53	1	54	0,111111111	
112 th Term 2 nd Session (2012)	52	1	53	0,109053498	
113 th Term 1 st Session (2013)	43	1	44	0,090534979	
113 th Term 2 nd Session (2014)	63	1	64	0,131687243	
114 th Term 1 st Session (2015)	73	2	75	0,154320988	
Total Frequency	473	13	486		
Relative Frequency	0,973251029	0,026748971			

As a result, the calculated Chi-square value is higher than the Chi-square critical point at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) as such the null hypothesis that posits no statistically significant dependence between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects

²⁸ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 16 at the appendix.

sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and sustainable environment is not rejected. This finding falsifies the analysis' one of the postulations that the country's perceptiveness to the relevant threats from the international system and policy convergence in the Congress both in domestic and foreign policies are connected and paves the way to cascades of Congressional terms without alternative courses of action in these two domains.

Nevertheless, along with the findings of Tables 18 and 19, what appears is that these Congressional parties' lower level of cooperation is more about ideological fight. It is because that when the preference congruity and fragility towards market economy and ecosystem are left out of the equation, the only actors that are present in the scene with their own interest calculations and bias are the political parties, if the lenses of the agent-principal are held.

Lastly, it is also important to examine the voting behavior of the Senate over the legislative proceedings aimed at sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security. While scanning the proceedings for that purpose, the ideal categories are still economic growth and environmental protection.

Table 21: A measure of modified group likeness scores for the legislative proceedings dealing with national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security in U.S. Senate in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

U.S. (Senate)	Legislative Proceeding ²⁹	Session No.	REP YES	REP NO	DEM YES	DEM NO	Likeness Score (in-between -1 and +1)
15.06.2005	E1	109/1 – 139 (70-26)	38	14	32	12	0,458
16.06.2005	E2	109/1 – 140 (47-53)	3	52	43	1	-0,070
22.06.2005	E3	109/1 – 148 (38-60)	6	49	31	11	-0,237
28.06.2005	E4	109/1 – 158 (85-12)	49	5	35	7	0,75
14.03.2006	E5	109/2 – 42 (46-54)	3	52	42	2	-0,090
01.08.2006	E6	109/2 – 219 (71-25)	53	1	18	23	0,494
21.06.2007	E7	110/1 – 226 (65-27)	20	23	43	4	0,4
07.12.2007	E8	110/1 – 416 (53-42)	5	46	46	3	-0,010
13.12.2007	E9	110/1 – 430 (86-8)	40	7	44	1	0,826
02.06.2008	E10	110/2 – 141 (74-14)	32	13	40	1	0,674
04.06.2008	E11	110/2 – 141 (74-14)	0	28	25	0	-0,056
18.03.2009	E12	111/1 – 102 (65-33)	9	54	32	1	-0,145
02.04.2009	E13	111/1 – 141 (73-25)	17	24	54	1	0,479
15.06.2010	E14	111/2 – 187 (35-61)	0	39	34	21	-0,276
06.04.2011	E15	112/1 – 51 (7-93)	0	47	7	44	-0,857
06.04.2011	E16	112/1 – 54 (50-50)	46	1	4	47	0,020
17.02.2012	E17	112/2 – 22 (60-36)	14	30	45	5	0,255
08.03.2012	E18	112/2 – 33 (33-65)	0	45	32	19	-0,333
08.03.2012	E19	112/2 – 34 (56-42)	45	0	11	40	-0,166
22.03.2013	E20	113/1 – 60 (33-66)	0	45	32	20	-0,340
22.03.2013	E21	113/1 – 61 (62-37)	45	0	17	35	0,278
18.12.2014	E22	113/2 – 280 (59-41)	45	0	14	39	0,204
22.01.2015	E23	114/1 – 23 (89-5)	47	5	40	0	0,891
26.01.2015	E24	114/1 – 30 (53-39)	49	1	4	36	0,177
29.01.2015	E25	114/1 – 45 (62-35)	53	0	9	33	0,305
29.01.2015	E26	114/1 – 49 (62-36)	53	0	9	34	0,291
04.03.2015	E27	114/1 – 68 (62-37)	54	0	8	35	0,278
Mean			26,888	21,518	27,814	17,592	0,155
Standard Deviation			21,605	20,916	15,274	16,413	0,407

²⁹ For the titles and summaries of the relevant legislative proceedings and their bibliographic information, please refer to the Table 17 at the appendix section.

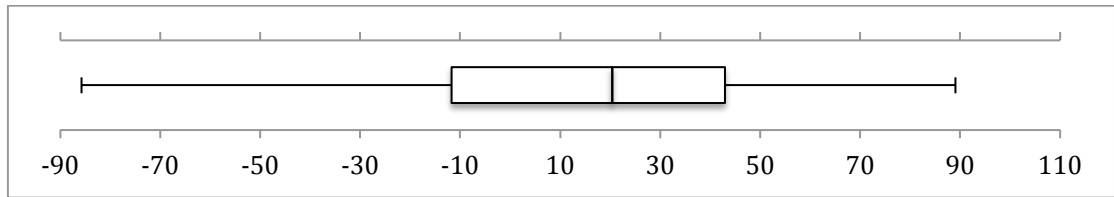


Figure 4: Box plot for the modified likeness scores for U.S. Senate in-between 2005 and (March) 2015 under Keystone XL pipeline project case.³⁰

Within the relevant time-period, the mean of the integrated scores is 0,155 with standard deviation of 0,407. As indicated in graph 4, the interquartile range of the likeness score distribution (50% of the scores) is clustered between -11,75 (quartile 1) and 42,9 (quartile 3) [with the median 20,4]. Here also the likeness scores are multiplied by 100 in order to ease the transition for display, and the new range for them in the box plot is in-between -100 and +100. Since 81% of the scores are below (/above) the score 0,50 (/ -0,50), it is also accepted that there is also relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security.

Given the fact that none of the categorical variables within this research's scope incorporate any Senate/House of Representatives division while accounting for the system attribution, preference gap, and perceptiveness to system-related threats, the findings of the Tables 18, 19, and 20 are also taken to be valid for the Senate in-between 2005 and 2015. Nevertheless, for the remaining 19% of the scores, it is apparent that Congressional parties show higher scale of cooperation in the cases that try hold energy efficiency, sustainability, job creation, energy security, and energy dependence together as exemplified in E4,9,10,15,23.

³⁰ The relevant box plot is created by using Microsoft Excel for Mac 2011 Version 14.4.8 (150116).

4.2.2. Canadian Context

For the Canadian decision-makers, the Keystone XL pipeline project pits Canada's prospective status of being energy-hub and its positive financial externalities to other industries against the pipeline route's environmental damage to the Canadian ecosystem along with transfer of high-paid jobs outside the Canadian context. Hence, it is necessary to scan the legislative voting behavior of the Canadian lower house – House of Commons. The Senate of Canada's voting behavior is not included into the study because by nature that upper house's members are not elected. Further, even if that house is included into the analysis, there is no source found, which can detail the roll call of their proceedings.

Table 22: A measure of modified group likeness scores for the legislative proceedings dealing with national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security in the Canadian House of Commons in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

Canada (House of Commons)	Legislative Proceeding ³¹	Session No.	CO N YES	CON NO	LIB YES	LIB NO	NDP YES	ND P NO	GR E YES	GR E NO	BQ YES	B Q N O	Likeness Score (in-between -1 and +1)
22.06.2005	F1	38-1-137	0	89	0	129	0	17	...	...	52	0	-0,637
16.05.2006	F2	39-1-8	0	124	92	0	27	0	...	...	50	0	0,153
04.10.2006	F3	39-1-38	0	114	80	0	25	0	...	...	47	0	0,142
13.02.2007	F4	39-1-105	0	119	88	0	27	0	...	...	51	0	0,164
24.04.2007	F5	39-1-160	120	0	87	0	28	0	...	...	46	0	1
29.05.2007	F6	39-1-190	0	120	82	0	27	0	...	...	24	0	0,051
30.05.2007	F7	39-1-192	0	120	84	0	27	0	...	...	45	0	0,130
13.02.2008	F8	39-2-42	117	1	75	0	27	0	...	...	47	0	0,992
10.03.2008	F9	39-2-62	0	121	10	0	30	0	...	...	43	0	-0,186
04.06.2008	F10	39-2-129	0	115	77	0	28	0	...	...	41	0	0,118
22.04.2009	F11	40-2-50	1	132	56	1	29	0	...	...	49	0	0,007
03.06.20	F12	40-2-	0	134	65	0	31	0	...	...	45	0	0,025

³¹ For the titles and summaries of the relevant legislative proceedings and their bibliographic information, please refer to the Table 18 at the appendix section.

09		79											
17.06.2009	F13	40-2-93	1	140	67	0	33	0	...	...	45	0	0,020
24.12.2009	F14	40-2-133	0	126	65	0	30	0	...	...	27	0	-0,016
14.04.2010	F15	40-3-21	0	136	74	0	37	0	...	...	44	0	0,065
01.06.2010	F16	40-3-53	131	0	67	0	33	0	...	...	40	0	1
07.12.2010	F17	40-3-139	0	136	69	0	33	0	...	...	41	0	0,025
05.12.2011	F18	41-1-93	0	157	32	0	91	0	...	...	3	0	-0,109
05.12.2012	F19	41-1-573	0	155	33	00	92	0	...	...	0	3	-0,766
29.04.2013	F20	41-1-670	0	149	0	30	87	0	...	...	2	0	-0,335
19.10.2013	F21	41-2-11	0	150	0	32	90	0	...	...	3	0	-0,323
24.09.2014	F22	41-2-232	2	144	32	0	86	0	2	0	2	0	-0,074
20.10.2014	F23	41-2-254	0	143	0	30	89	0	2	0	1	0	-0,305
09.03.2015	F24	41-2-343	144	0	29	0	71	0	2	0	...	...	1
Mean			21,5	109,375	52,666	9,25	44,916	0,708	2	0	39,521	0	0,089
Standard Deviation			48,855	52,095	32,181	27,514	28,305	3,470	0	0	19,734	0	0,478

While selecting the relevant legislative proceedings, the ideal categories dealing with national macroeconomic and energy security are about energy efficiency, sustainability, energy security, source diversification, and energy independence.

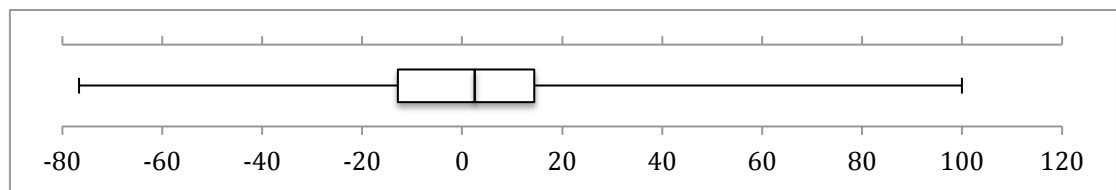


Figure 5: Box plot for the modified likeness scores for the Canadian House of Commons in-between 2005 and (March) 2015 under Keystone XL pipeline project case.³²

Within the aforementioned time frame, the mean of the modified likeness scores is 0,089 with standard deviation of 0,478. As indicated in graph 5, the interquartile range of the likeness score distribution (50% of the scores) is clustered between -12,825 (quartile 1) and 14,475 (quartile 3) [with the median 2,5]. Here also the likeness scores are multiplied by 100 in order to ease the transition for display,

³² The relevant box plot is created by using Microsoft Excel for Mac 2011 Version 14.4.8 (150116).

and the new range for them in the box plot is in-between -100 and +100. Since 75% of the scores are below (/above) the score 0,50 (/ -0,50), it is also accepted that there is also relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security.

For the remaining 25% of the scores, parliamentary parties display higher scale of cooperation in the cases that try to hold and ask national government to be accountable for and to implement nation-wide sustainable development policies as exemplified by F1,5,8,16,19,24. Nevertheless, there found only one proceeding (F21) related to Keystone XL, it was an opposition motion about the pipeline's likely damage to Canadian economy and ecosystem. Notwithstanding the New Democracy Party and Bloc Québécois's bloc yes vote cooperation, the bloc no vote cooperation between the Conservative and Liberal Parties offset the motion with a modified likeness score of -0,323.

Then, the first task is about questioning absence/presence of any statistically significant relationship between lower scores for cooperation to accept/reject the proceedings among the parties in the House of Commons and the Parliamentary parties' position on pro-system oriented foreign policy for macro-economic and energy security as indicated in their respective manifestoes before the federal general elections. The formula is still the same:

$$(\sum Parameter X_{402,410} - Parameter X_{416,501}).$$

Similarly, the international system is categorized in terms of both economic growth whose motor is foreign direct investment (under the auspices of neoliberalism) and environmental protection whose essence lies in the sustainability

of the ecosystem (under the aegis of green theory). Before putting values into the cells of the contingency table, calculated positive values per cell after subtracting relevant categories from each other are taken as 0. By that transition, it is indicated that the party in consideration has pro-system orientation towards market economy. Then, those calculated negative values are turned into positive ones to reflect anti-system orientation towards market economy. It is because that out of 20 cells, only 2 cells are positive. Hence, that table could not deliver any meaningful results, if the anti-system orientation is taken as 0 as in the case of U.S. House of Representatives. Hence, the hypothesis' focus is reverted into political party's attribution to anti-system orientation in policy conduct program.

Table 23: Chi-square statistics calculation for the first null hypothesis in the Canadian context under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

	Political Party's Attribution to Anti-System Orientation in Policy Conduct Program ³³							H₀: No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and anti-system-orientation of the parliamentary political parties' election programs. H₁: A relationship exists between relatively
Relatively Lower Cooperation Score within the Legislature in-between	Conservative Party of Canada	Liberal Party of Canada	New Democratic Party	Green Party of Canada	Bloc Québécois	Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	
2004	3	0	59	0	82	144	0,12565445	
2006	0	1	34	0	48	83	0,072425829	
2008	2	105	53	504	46	710	0,619546248	
2011	0	63	8	10	128	209	0,182373473	
Total Frequency	5	169	154	514	304	1146		
Relative Frequency	0,004363002	0,147469459	0,134380454	0,448516579	0,265270506			

³³ For the detailed account of political parties' positioning on foreign policy, and macro-economic policy conduct based on frequency of the attributes to the relevant categories in the party manifestoes, please refer to table 19 at the appendix.

							lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroecono mic and energy security and anti-system- orientation of the parliamentar y political parties' election programs. X^2 : 805,186095 d.f.: 12 α : 0,05 Critical X^2 Point: 21 Null Hypothesis: Rejected ³⁴
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---

Hence, the calculated Chi-square value is greater than the Chi-square critical point at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) as such the null hypothesis that posits no statistically significant dependence between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and anti-system-orientation of the parliamentary political parties' election programs.

This finding appears to repudiate the assertion of the thesis that similar to cartel party hypothesis' postulation for policy convergence in domestic politics, parties whose presidential candidates managed to get minimum 2% of the whole valid votes or 5% of the electoral district votes where they have candidates during the general elections [Canadian data question 20th from] (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) attain public funding at the expense of other

³⁴ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 20 at the appendix.

parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show market-oriented policy choices in foreign policy within the lower house of the legislative. Notwithstanding the fact that after the federal elections of 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2011 only the same five parties [Bloc Québécois, Conservative Party of Canada, Green Party of Canada, Liberal Party of Canada, and New Democratic Party] got public funding at the expense of 12 parties in 2004, 14 in 2006, 17 in 2008, and 18 in 2011 (Elections Canada), the electoral threshold for reimbursement is relatively lower and gives voice to alternative opinion as opposed to the assertion of Cartelization in the Canadian context (MacIvor, 1996).

Owing to the presence of lower scale of cooperation among the parliamentary parties, questioning the cartel party hypothesis postulation about the break in the relationship between the political parties and the electorate is done reversed by searching for a preference congruity between the voters and the elected politicians. While dealing with that reversion, two categories are selected: preference congruity with the government whose members comes from the parliament and with the MPs. For the government category, the percentages of the respondents who gave the answer “disagree or strongly disagree” to the question “I don't think the government cares much what people like me think” are summed together and then reached at their number within the sample [Trends: Federal Government Approval: Efficacy Data from] (Canadian Opinion Research Archive). For the MPs in the government category, the percentages of the respondents who gave the answer “disagree or strongly disagree” to the question “once elected to Parliament, MPs soon lose touch” are summed together and then reached at their number within the sample [Trends: Federal Government Approval: Efficacy Data from] (Canadian Opinion Research Archive). The contingency table for that inquiry is the following:

Table 24: Chi-square statistics calculation for the second null hypothesis in the Canadian context under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

Relatively Lower Cooperation Score within the Legislative After Federal General Election in	Preference Congruity between the Electorate and the Elected Politicians		Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	H₀: No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the preference congruity between the electorate and the elected politicians are statistically independent. H₁: A relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the preference congruity between the electorate and the elected politicians. X²: 18,4892973 d.f.: 3 α: 0,05 Critical X² Point: 7,81 Null Hypothesis: Rejected³⁵
	The Government	MPs in the Parliament			
2004	1196	367	1563	0,234438278	
2006	1203	459*	1662	0,249287536	
2008	1324	556	1880	0,281985901	
2011	1109	453	1562	0,234288286	
Total Frequency	4832	1835	6667		
Relative Frequency	0,724763762	0,275236238			

In consequence, the calculated Chi-square value is higher than the Chi-square critical point at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) as such the null hypothesis that posits no statistically significant dependence between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the preference congruity between the electorate and the elected politicians is rejected. This finding also repudiates the projection of the cartel party hypothesis about the break in the relationship between the political parties and the electorate in domestic politics into

³⁵ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 21 at the appendix.

*For the relevant cell, there is no information available as such its value is taken as average of the years 2004, 2008, and 2011.

foreign policy conducts. It is because that according to the result, lower cooperation scores well resonates with the preferences of the electorate.

Lastly, the scrutiny is on the country's level of perceptiveness to system-related threats of being deprived of FDI and of being incurred financial losses done by weather-related events and its likely relation to the House of Common's lower level of cooperative behavior towards national/transnational projects that are assumed to sustain national macroeconomic and energy security. Canadian Opinion Research Archive's "Most Important Problems Facing Canadians" [Trends: Most Important Problems Facing Canadians Data from] (Canadian Opinion Research Archive) section is the source to measure the nation's scale of perceptiveness to the system-related threats under the categories of macroeconomics and environment.

While calculating the number of respondents within the respective sample under macroeconomics, the ones who selected the categories "Deficit/Public Debt, Economy/Interest Rates, Gas/Fuel Prices/Cost of Gas, Inflation/Cost of Living, Taxes, and Unemployment" are taken into account. For the number of respondents within the respective sample under environment, the ones who selected the categories "Environment/Pollution, Climate Change/Global Warming, Farming/Fisheries/Forestry, and Kyoto Accord/climate change" are taken into account. For each reference year in the contingency table, first, average of the four quarters for both macroeconomics and environment is taken per year and then the average of the years that fall into the same federal government term are taken as the final value for each cell.

Table 25: Chi-square statistics calculation for the third null hypothesis in the Canadian context under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

Relatively Lower Cooperation Score within the Legislative After Federal General Election in	Country's Exposure to the System-related Threats		Total Frequency	Relative Frequency	H₀: No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and sustainable environment. H₁: A relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and sustainable environment. X²: 260,888779 d.f.: 3 α: 0,05 Critical X² Point: 7,81 Null Hypothesis: Rejected³⁶
	Macroeconomics	Environment			
2004	435	104	539	0,189122807	
2006	381	328	709	0,24877193	
2008	886	153	1039	0,364561404	
2011	464	99	563	0,19754386	
Total Frequency	2166	684	2850		
Relative Frequency	0,76	0,24			

Therefore, the calculated Chi-square value is higher than the Chi-square critical point at .05 probability level (95% confidence, 5% error) as such the null hypothesis that posits no statistically significant dependence between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and sustainable environment is rejected.

This finding weakens the research's one of the postulations that the country's perceptiveness to the relevant threats from the international system and policy convergence in the parliament both in domestic and foreign policies are connected and paves the way to cascades of parliamentary terms without alternative courses of action in these two domains. Given the lower level of cooperation scores, the parliament appears to take the ecosystem as the international system while dealing

³⁶ For the calculation of the result to replicate, please refer to the Table 22 at the appendix.

with national/transnational projects that are supposed to sustain national macroeconomic and energy security.

4.3. Research Limitation, Overview of the Findings, and Added Value of the Data Analysis

Within this thesis, there are two types of limitation with regard to the data sources. First, in Table 7 and Table 9, the only available time series data for the relevant categorical variables are for the end year of the relevant parliamentary terms. Hence, it is highly possible that these values could not catch the previous years' value distribution within these terms but they still measure the true aspects (and so are valid) and measure these facets with consistency (and so are reliable). Second, in Tables 12, 14, 19, and 20, the only available trend analysis source does not share its sample information as such the focus is directed towards the use of proportional values. These percentages are relatively weak compared to their actual values in the sample to reflect the power of the respective categories because 10 out 100 interviewees represented as 10% and 60 out 600 interviewees as 10% are seen as the same but categorically 60 is bigger than 10 and can give more healthy results.

Nonetheless, these proportional values are taken from the same source for the same reference year and are compared and contrasted with other categories' percentage values as such they still are useful for the chi-square statistics and are valid and reliable. Lastly, while creating the dataset for the independent variables for each country of the investigation, there can be two types of limitation. Despite the effort of the researcher to be comprehensive as much as possible, first hindrance

might be about presence of any selection and/or omission bias while selecting the legislative proceedings for the dataset. Nonetheless, by holding certain criteria for each case's scores, the researcher has tried to offset that probable problem from the beginning. Secondly, notwithstanding the double-check for each modified likeness score of each country dataset, whole range of the calculations is done by the researcher and hence it is also possible that there may be minor counting errors for the roll calls, especially for the Turkish context that is systematized by the researcher.

Table 26: Summary table for Chi-square statistics results for the Turkish context under Kürecik radar base case.

Turkish Context	Modified Likeness Score (2003-2011) [-1,+1]: Mean: 0,944 Standard Deviation: 0,155
Null Hypothesis 1 (Result: Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and system-orientation of the parliamentary political parties' election programs.
Null Hypothesis 2 (Result: Not Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians.
Null Hypothesis 3 (Result: Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and strong defense forces.
Overall Status	Support for the Projection of Cartel Party Hypothesis at Domestic Politics into Foreign Policy Decision-Making

In the case of Kürecik radar base station, for the Turkish context: (a) Table 6 validates the assertion of the research that similar to cartel party hypothesis' postulation for policy convergence in domestic politics, parties that managed to pass

10% electoral threshold to attain public funding at the expense of other parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show pro-systemic policy choices in foreign policy; (b) Table 7 displays Turkish public's low level of interest in foreign policy conduct in the parliament; and (c) Table 9 confirms the analysis' another postulation that the country's perceptiveness to the threats from the international system by being deprived of FDI and by being attacked by another country and policy convergence in the parliament in foreign policy conduct are connected. Overall, those three features of Turkish politics pave the way to cascades of parliamentary terms without alternative courses of action.

Table 27: Summary table for Chi-square statistics results for the American context under Kürecik radar base case.

American Context (House of Representatives*, Senate**)	Modified Likeness Score (2002-2011) [-1,+1]: Mean*: 0,860 Standard Deviation*: 0,254 Mean**: 0,507 Standard Deviation**: 0,488
Null Hypothesis 1 (Result: Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and system-orientation of the Congressional political parties' election programs.
Null Hypothesis 2 (Result: Not Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians.
Null Hypothesis 3 (Result: Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and strong defense forces.
Overall Status	Support for the Projection of Cartel Party Hypothesis at Domestic Politics into Foreign Policy Decision-Making

For the American context: (a) Table 11 validates the assertion of the thesis that parties whose presidential candidates managed to pass minimum 5% electoral

threshold in the previous election to attain public funding at the expense of other parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show pro-systemic policy choices in foreign policy within the lower house of the legislative;

(b) Table 12 displays American public's low level of interest in foreign policy conduct in the Congress; (c) Table 14 strengthens the analysis' another postulation that the country's perceptiveness to the threats from the international system by being deprived of FDI and by being attacked by another country and policy convergence in the Congress foreign policy conduct are connected and that paves the way to cascades of Congressional terms without alternative courses of action.

Table 28: Summary table for Chi-square statistics results for the American context under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

American Context (House of Representatives*, Senate**)	Modified Likeness Score (2005-2015) [-1,+1]: Mean*: 0,216 Standard Deviation*: 0,246 Mean**: 0,155 Standard Deviation**: 0,407
Null Hypothesis 1 (Result: Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and system-orientation of the Congressional political parties' election programs.
Null Hypothesis 2 (Result: Not Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the preference congruity between the electorate and the elected politicians.
Null Hypothesis 3 (Result: Not Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and sustainable environment.
Overall Status	No Support for the Projection of Cartel Party Hypothesis at Domestic Politics into Foreign Policy Decision-Making

In the case of Keystone XL pipeline Project, for the American context: (a) Table 18 repudiates the assertion of the study that parties whose presidential candidates managed to pass minimum 5% electoral threshold in the previous election to attain public funding at the expense of other parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show market-oriented policy choices in foreign policy within the lower house of the legislative; (b) Table 19 endorses the argumentation that similar to the policy conduct in domestic politics, there is a break in the relationship between the voters and the elected politicians of the Congress while dealing with foreign policy conduct; and (c) Table 20 falsifies the research's posture that the country's perceptiveness to the relevant threats from the international system and policy convergence in the Congress' foreign policy conduct are connected and paves the way to series of Congressional terms without alternative courses of action.

Further, these results delineate that these two congressional parties hold two different conceptualizations of the international system (ecosystem [the global platform on which environmental sustainability operates] for the Democratic Party; market economy for the Republican Party) when dealing with national and/or transnational projects that pit the need for capital accumulation for economic growth in terms of energy and job security against environmental security. Additionally, when the preference congruity and fragility towards market economy and ecosystem are left out of the equation, the only actors that are present in the scene with their own interest calculations are political parties (from the perspective of the principal-agent problem), and these Congressional parties' lower level of cooperation appears to be more about ideological fight.

Table 29: Summary table for Chi-square statistics results for the Canadian context under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

Canadian Context (House of Commons)	Modified Likeness Score (2005-2015) [-1,+1]: Mean: 0,089 Standard Deviation: 0,478
Null Hypothesis 1 (Result: Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and anti-system-orientation of the parliamentary political parties' election programs.
Null Hypothesis 2 (Result: Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the preference congruity between the electorate and the elected politicians.
Null Hypothesis 3 (Result: Rejected)	No relationship exists between relatively lower cooperative legislative voting behavior towards national/transnational projects sustaining national macroeconomic and energy security and the public's first choice for the country to have economic growth, and sustainable environment.
Overall Status	No Support for the Projection of Cartel Party Hypothesis at Domestic Politics into Foreign Policy Decision-Making

For the Canadian context, (a) Table 23 repudiates the assertion that parties whose presidential candidates managed to get minimum 2% of the whole valid votes or 5% of the electoral district votes where they have candidates during the general elections to attain public funding at the expense of other parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show market-oriented policy choices in foreign policy within the lower house of the legislative; (b) Table 24 repudiates the projection of the cartel party hypothesis about the break in the relationship between the political parties and the electorate in domestic politics into foreign policy conducts; and (c) Table 25 falsifies the research's posture that the country's perceptiveness to the relevant threats from the international system and policy convergence in the parliamentary foreign policy conduct are connected and paves the way to series of parliamentary terms without alternative courses of action.

Within this thesis' findings, general conclusion of these two cases' comparison is that there needs to have policy issue distinction in terms of high politics / low politics in order to identify emergence of cartelization in foreign policy conduct. With regard to that necessity, this analysis takes high politics within the perimeters of inter-state power competition and conceives low politics under the rubric of "welfare issues" (Gehring, 1996: 228). Ergo, Kürecik radar base station case fits into high politics issue definition given the base's function for national and alliance maintenance. Similarly, since the Keystone debate revolves around the creation of welfare but with different conceptualizations of the means (growth economy vs. environmental sustainability), low politics is the focal point.

In the case of high politics, narrowing down the policy-space towards already decided limited number of alternatives and delegating the responsibility of these issue areas to the public entities that are not accountable to the electorate (military and defense ministries in the case of Kürecik) happened under the aegis of mutually reinforcing discourse of national security and globalization. That sort of behavior fits well into the assertions of the cartel party thesis for domestic politics. This finding is also in accordance with neorealism's postulation over international cooperation that nation states can only display variety of domestic competing interests when "national security is assured" (Bueno de Mesquita, 2006: 188-189, 191). Hence, given the persistent presence of anarchy, national security consideration is on constant alert status and hence, any international/transnational cooperation subject [i.e., in domains of trade, finance, environment] is viewed through its added value to the national security (Bueno de Mesquita, 2006: 189).

However, in the case of low politics, national boundaries that keep external forces away from the ordinary citizens do not exist as exemplified by the ecosystem itself as such there is no clear-cut definition of national security similar to neorealism's assumption about the nature of the international system and its consequent ramifications for foreign policy behavior. Hence, the citizens' life and their livelihood are more directly involved into the debate and that sort of debate topic provides opportunity for the cartel parties to engage in ideological fight with lower levels of inter-party cooperation in foreign policy conduct and to break the image of elections without any difference.

CHAPTER 5:

FOREIGN POLICY MODELING

5.1. Two-Level Game Analysis: Review and Critique of the Framework

Within systemic analysis of international relations, the engagement between the state level and the international system refers either to “Second Image” (Waltz, 1959) or “Second Image Reversed” (Gourevitch, 1978). On the other hand, these two accounts are unidirectional such as from the state to the system or vice-versa. However, by utilizing “Two-Level Game” analogy, Robert D. Putnam (1988: 430) addresses the interactive engagement between domestic politics and foreign policy (Kaarbo, 2001: 169-170). With regard to “intra-state bargaining” that is about any domestic policy concern, variety of domestic interest groups always pressurize lawmakers and the cabinet to back their political-economic priorities in exchange for sustaining stability in the vote shares of the elected politicians for the next terms (Putnam, 1988: 434).

Similar praxis is also the focal point compared to “inter-state bargaining” for which domestic political calculations still maintain their pre-eminence (Putnam, 1988: 434; Kaarbo, 2001: 170). Accordingly, Putnam (1988: 186-187) undertakes an analysis of international negotiations with two levels, which are “Level I (Negotiation Phase)” and “Level II (Ratification

Phase).” The first level of analysis depicts the diplomatic interaction between two states over specific policy question, while the second level revolves around the executive’s pursuit of attaining consent from the legislative, the public, and in some (semi-) authoritarian contexts from the bureaucracy and the military to officially approve the deal negotiated at the first level (Putnam, 1988: 436).

The success of the political-economic move from Level I to Level II depends on the factor of “win-set” (Chung, 2007: 50-51; Boyer, 2000: 186-187). Win-set is a measuring rod that quantifies the domestic actors’ commitment, which ranges from the lowest to the highest degree, to approve the negotiated agreements at Level I (Lisowski, 2002: 103-105). With respect to that range, hypothetically, both parties’ high degree of win-sets stand for mutual interests to ratify the deal as opposed to the case where both sides’ small degree of win-sets depict no reciprocal concern for cooperation. Furthermore, without reciprocity of the win-set degrees, the party that holds small win-set compared to his/her counterpart could not have diplomatic leverage. It is because that when one side’s domestic actors are much eager for ratifying the deal, the diplomats of that state could not withstand the opponent’s disadvantageous proposals by “involuntary defection” (Putnam, 1988: 440).

Accordingly, there are threefold elements that are influential to determine the win-set degree and they are transitivity relation among the domestic actors’ preferences; the executive’s scale of constitutional authority to direct the negotiations and to ratify the deals; and the negotiator’s diplomatic strategy (Putnam, 1988: 440). Ergo, isolationism within particular segments of the public, presence of sensitive domestic/foreign issues, burdensome technicalities of ratification inside the

legislative, and courses of action to persuade the domestic constituent of the counterpart to accept the deal become focal points (Putnam, 1988: 442-454).

Overall, there are fourfold diplomatic direction and they are: (a) Level I actors' effort to control their own Level II constituents' win-set degree; (b) Level I actors' effort to control the win-set degree of the opponent Level I actors' domestic constituents through issue linkages that can expand the number of reasons to accept the agreement; (c) collective effort of Level II constituents on both sides to make their Level I actors agree on low politics issues like environment; and (d) Level II constituents' effort to enforce their Level I actors to protect their own prime concerns (Moravcsik, 1993: 24-32).

Through utilizing the two-level game analogy, Putnam (1988) avoids blackboxing the state as uniform entity that is assumed to be rational and to show similar functions in world politics irrespective of the differences in socio-political-economic milieu. Accordingly, the state level of analysis is sub-divided into two elements, which are "Level I (Negotiation Phase)" and "Level II (Ratification Phase)," as such dynamism of inter-state talks become comprehensible enough to make an analytical investigation (Iida, 1996: 283-284; Lehman and McCoy, 1992: 603). Nevertheless, Putnam's (1988) analysis has theoretical problems that are in need of rectification.

Firstly, the original two-level game analysis framework leaves the presence of international or regional alliances out of scope while reckoning with the interested groups for the (dis)approval of the relevant international cooperation agreements. Hence, there is also a third level (Level III) whose components are major powers of the interested international blocs/organizations (Knopf, 1993: 611). In consequence,

there is a “three-to-three approach” for which Level I stands for the diplomats of the states that negotiate with each other; Level III depicts the delegates of the international organizations with which the states in Level I ally; and Level II includes the domestic actors of Level I and Level III countries (Knopf, 1993: 612). Secondly, two-level game analysis is a foreign policy modeling to delineate the foreign policy decision-making process and outcome within case studies. Therefore, by nature, there has to be more defining attributes for each state in the case study.

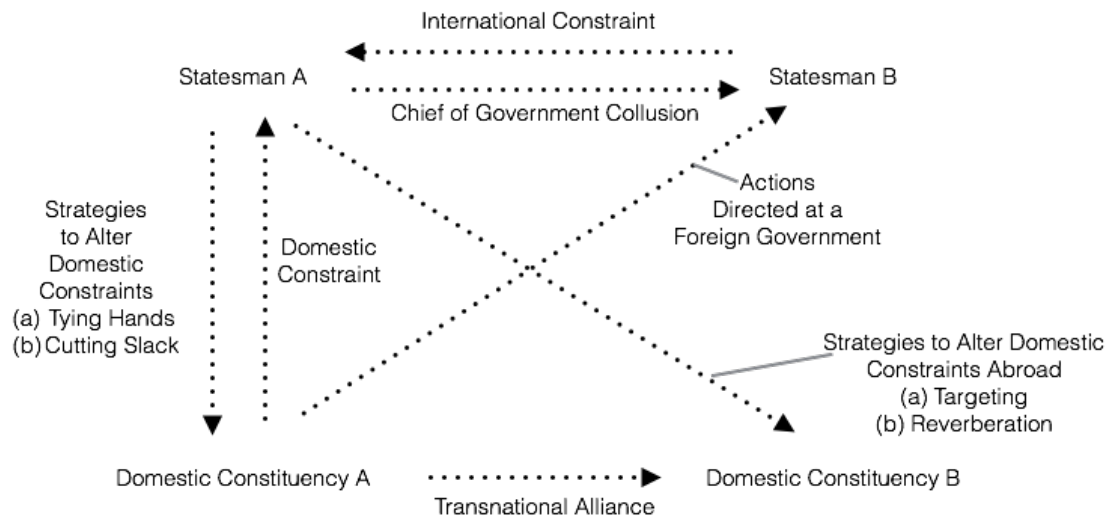
However, within the original framework, there is a one-size-fits-all-approach that posits “two-level game metaphor” as “a general theory to apply to all states” irrespective of their differences in terms of “ratification procedures, domestic power configurations, institutional procedures, state-society relations, and fragmentation of the executive and other relevant government units” (Kaarbo, 2001: 171, 173-174). These peculiarities are vital for the analysis because that they determine the time span of the Level I to Level II interaction in each state; they shape the win-set size and hence the scale of Level II perceptiveness to ratify the agreement; they influence the strategies and success rates of the negotiators at Level I to reach at an agreement with greater added value; and lastly, they act as filter to decide who will take part in Level II (Kaarbo, 2001: 171, 173-174).

Therefore, within this thesis, foreign policy modeling of the decision-making in the cases of Malatya Kürecik radar base and Keystone XL pipeline project, macro level of analysis is going to be the main reference point for state characteristics. For that purpose, independent variables are “centralization of political authority, monocratism, executive constraints, competitiveness of political participation, and composite democracy scales” (Kaarbo, 2001: 185-187). Those categorizations are

significant due to the fact that distinctive state typologies with different combination of these macro level variables display different domestic and foreign policy behavior.

For instance, states with low level of centralization, and high level of political plurality may show small win-sets that can be either a bargaining tool to get more from the opponent state by showing the domestic opposition's pressure to reject the agreement or a bargaining obstacle that ends the talks at Level I (Kaarbo, 2001: 175, 178). Operationalization of these macro level variables is going to be done through utilizing Polity IV dataset.³⁷ The dependent variables of the two levels game analysis, on the other hand, are taken as "the size of the Level II win-set, the timing of the Level II bargaining, the locus of the Level II bargaining, the success of domestic ratification, the success of agreement at Level I, and the distribution of joint gains in the Level I agreement" (Kaarbo, 2001: 181-183).

³⁷ For monocratism, "Openness of Executive Recruitment" [Xropen] code is the focal point, for which 1 stands for "closed, hereditary succession," 2 represents "dual executive-designation, hereditary succession plus executive or court selection of an effective chief minister," 3 displays "dual executive-election, hereditary succession plus electoral selection of an effective chief minister," and 4 displays "open, Chief executive are chosen by elite designation, competitive election, or transitional arrangements between designation and election" [Dataset Users' Manual from page 22 within] (Polity IV Project). For executive constraints, "Executive Constraints (Decision Rules)" [Xconst] code is the focal point, for which 1 stands for "unlimited authority," 2 represents an "intermediate category," 3 displays "slight to moderate limitation on executive authority," 4 displays an "intermediate category," and 5 shows "substantial limitations on executive authority," 6 depicts an "intermediate category," and 7 manifests "executive parity or subordination" [Dataset Users' Manual from pages 24-25 within] (Polity IV Project). For competitiveness of political participation, "the Competitiveness of Participation" [Parcomp] code is the focal point, for which 1 stands for "repressed" political activity, 2 represents "suppressed" political activity, 3 displays "factional" political activity, 4 displays "transitional" political activity, and 5 shows "competitive" political activity [Dataset Users' Manual from pages 26-27 within] (Polity IV Project). For composite democracy scales, "Combined Polity Score" [Polity] code is the focal point, for which -10 stands for "full autocracy," and +10 means "full democracy" [Dataset Users' Manual from page 14 within] (Polity IV Project).



38

Figure 6: Graphical representation of Level I and Level II strategies during international negotiations.

For the analysis of the interactive engagement between two levels, generic strategies that are going to be referenced in the analysis are the following: (1) “international constraint” – threat of advancing the cost scale at higher levels in case of “no-agreement;” (2) “chief of government (COG) collusion” – the cooperative act of each Level I actors to empower the position of each other while dealing with Level II actors; (3) “tying hands” – Level I actor’s act to diminish his/her domestic constituency’s win-set; (4) “cutting slack” – Level I actor’s act to increase his/her domestic constituency’s win-set; (5) “targeting” - Level I actor’s act to increase opponent domestic constituency’s win-set by making issue linkages; (6) “reverberation” - Level I actor’s act to increase opponent domestic constituency’s win-set by “deliberate attempts at persuasion” like high-level state leader visits to the opponent state to influence the public opinion on the agreement; (7) “transnational alliance” – the act of Level II actor(s) to increase/decrease the opponent Level II’s win-set size; and (8) “domestic constraint” – the act of Level II actor(s) to

³⁸ The graph is taken from: (Moravcsik, 1993: 32) and is re-drawn by using Keynote [Version 6.5.3 (2151)].

advance/diminish their Level I actor's maneuver space (Moravcsik, 1993: 26, 28-29, 32).

5.2. Malatya Kürecik Radar Base Case

Table 30: Macro level analysis for two-level game framework for the Kürecik case.

	Turkey	U.S.
Explanatory Variables (Polity IV Codes)		
Centralization of Political Authority	Centralized State (High)	Federalism (Low)
Composite Democracy Scale	9 (Democratic)	10 (Democratic)
Monocratism	4 (Low)	4 (Low)
Executive Constraints	7 (High)	7 (High)
Competitiveness of Political Participation	4 (High)	5 (High)
Dependent Variables		
Size of the Level II Win-Set	Large	Large
Timing of the Level II Bargaining	After Level I Negotiation	Prior Level I Negotiation
Locus of the Level II Bargaining	Within Executive	Between Government Institutions
Distribution of Joint Gains in the Level I Agreement	Asymmetrical	Asymmetrical
Success of Agreement at Level I	Success	Success
Success of Domestic Ratification	Success	Success

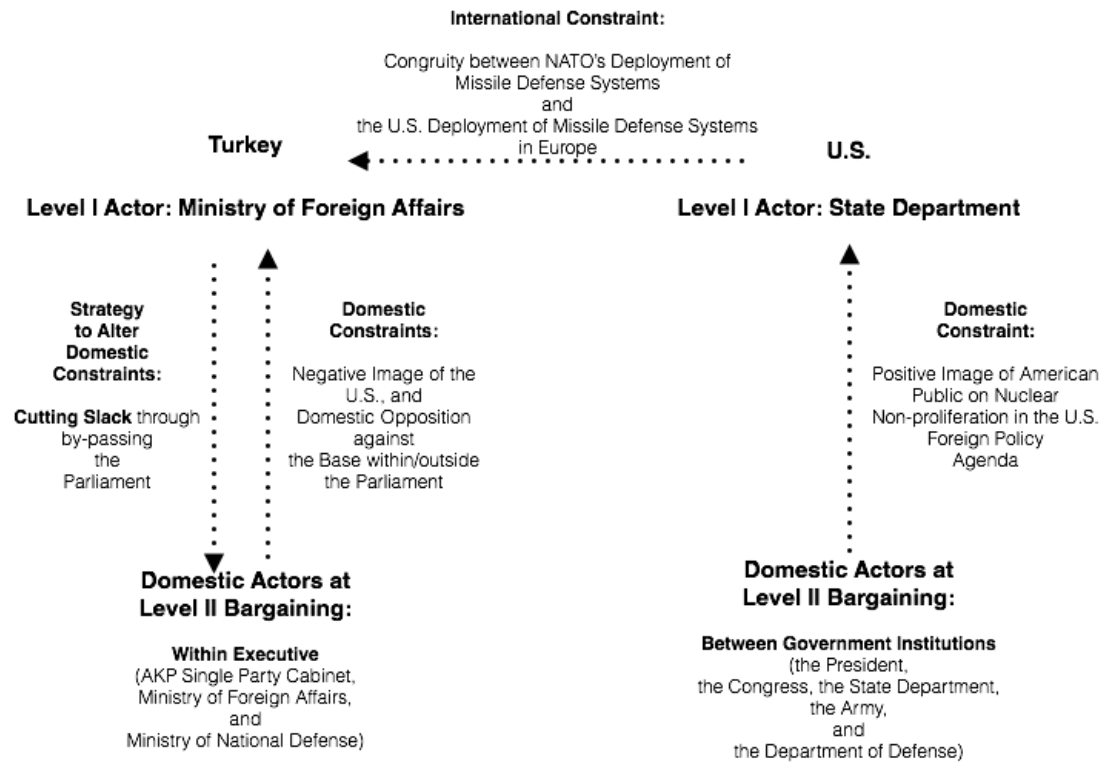


Figure 7: Graphical representation of Level I and Level II strategies during Kürecik radar base station negotiation.

Given the Turkish public opinion's relatively higher unfavorable image of U.S. (Özcan, 2011: 106-109), which are 54% in 2002, 83% in 2003, 63% in 2004, 67% in 2005, 76% in 2006, 83% in 2007, 77% in 2008, 69% in 2009, 74% in 2010, and 77% in 2011 [data from Global Indicators Database within] (Pew Research Center), one Level II locus' (actor) win-set – Turkish public's perceptiveness to agree with U.S. to host missile defense radar base – is taken to be small, especially for the year 2011 when Kürecik Radar base was agreed and when the public has the highest negative image of the U.S since 2002. With respect to that facet of the issue, the counter-argumentation advanced by the AKP single party majority cabinet that there was no need for any parliamentary debate about the project because the Kürecik radar base had an already approved multilateral nature whose origin can be

traced back to Turkey's integration into the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 and NATO's Status of Forces Agreement is an act of cutting slack.

Based on the past legislative voting behavior towards international/transnational projects under the aegis of NATO and the ones agreed with the U.S, modified likeness scores are high in-between 2002 and 2011. As listed inside the Table 4 of chapter four, within NATO related projects that includes the legislative proceedings A2 to A9 and A18 to A20, the mean is 0,985 with standard deviation 0,031. Within the bilateral projects with U.S. (A10,12,16,21), the mean is 0,908 and the standard deviation is 0,176 [for the comparison of these postulations, please refer to Table 4 in chapter four]. Hence, resolving the relevant memorandum of understanding within the single-party cabinet and state bureaucracy [Turkish Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Foreign Affairs] with no expectation of major opposition from the parliament led to large win-set to ratify the agreement. Together with the scores in Table 4 of chapter four and the generic strategy employed, within Kürecik case, Turkish side's two-level game shows two aspects that are in line with the conventional wisdom³⁹.

First, there is a relationship between being a democratic state with constrained executive and holding an asymmetrical agreement. Notwithstanding the fact that there is a mutually beneficial relationship by deploying ballistic missile defense infrastructure in terms of national security maintenance through alliance formation, proximity of the country [Iran] that perceived/perceives the base against its security (Iran Times) is closer to [435 miles away from the Turkish-Iranian border's Western flank] (Küntay, 2013: 85-86) and environmental and physical

³⁹ Comparison and contrast among the case's attributes for/against the conventional wisdom is based on the Chi-square findings of Kaarbo (2001: 196).

health damages [cancer formation, dysfunctions in the nervous system, genetic disorder along with destruction of the benign microorganisms for soil fertility and hence negative externalities for livestock “the city’s main source of income”] (Göynü, 2013: 3) are higher for Turkey. That asymmetry of joint gains from the agreement is because of the Turkish government’s act of cutting slack that put the negotiators into a position of agreement with no maneuver space to attain extra concessions from the American side.

Second, there is a relationship between being a centralized and autocratic state and bargaining within the executive at Level II. Polity IV’s structuralist account for the presence of free, fair, open, and competitive elections does not fully explain Turkey’s emergent authoritarian regime since 2002, that has constant political rights rating of 3 but deteriorating civil liberties rating of 4 since 2013 according to Freedom House index (Freedom House). Hence, given the low level of separation of powers for which nearly 3/5 of the parliament members belong to the cabinet party and strong state structure (centralized state), the decision to ratify the agreement at Level II is done within the cabinet and with the foreign affairs and defense ministries.

Within U.S. context, based on the dataset on Table 10 of the chapter four, for the legislative proceedings that deal with either enhancement of NATO or nuclear non-proliferation [B5,9,17,22,25 for the House of Representatives and C2,6 for the Senate], both lower and upper houses show greater modified likeness scores for cooperation [with mean 0,86 and standard deviation 0,24 for the House of Representatives and with mean 0,96 and standard deviation 0,06 for the Senate]. Similarly, within U.S. public, the ratio of the individuals who think the most

important foreign policy goal of U.S. is prevention of spreading nuclear weapons shows positive trend (Council of Foreign Relations, 2012: 12). For example, the sum of the percentages of the ones who see that policy “very important” or “somewhat very important” is 96% in 2004, 96% in 2006, 98% in 2008, and 97% in 2010 (Council of Foreign Relations, 2012: 12). Hence, there is a large win-set but the Level II bargaining appears to be between government institutions [among the President, the Congress, the State Department, the Army, and the Department of Defense].

Moreover, based on the legislative proceeding coded as C6 “On the Amendment S.Amdt. 2024: Sessions Amdt. No. 2024, as Modified; To state the policy of the United States on the protection of the United States and its allies against Iranian ballistic missiles” [based on the information from 110th Senate – 1st Session, Roll 245 within] (Library of Congress, THOMAS) that depicts the Senate’s expression of approval to U.S. policy of conducting development and deployment of missile defense systems against Iranian nuclear program and the Senate’s expression of congruity between U.S. deployment of missile defense systems in Europe and NATO’s deployment of missile defense systems in Europe, there is a Level II bargaining in 2007 before the Level I negotiation (with Turkey) in 2011.

Based on the aforementioned legislative proceeding, the most likely generic strategy that was used by U.S. at Level I appears to be international constraint. Since there is a linkage between U.S. deployment of missile defense systems in Europe and NATO’s deployment of missile defense systems in Europe, Turkey’s probable rejection decision at Level I or II would not only means no cooperation with U.S. but also means no cooperation with NATO. In that respect, the cost of no-agreement

became much higher for Turkey. Then, American side's two-level game shows two aspects, which are in line with the conventional wisdom⁴⁰.

First, there is a relationship between being a democratic state with constrained executive and holding prior domestic bargaining. In a country like U.S. where there is a strict and healthy division of powers among the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary, it is highly likely that Level II ratification process gains utmost importance and requires long series of intra-state negotiation and persuasion before making any solid financial and military commitments (Putnam, 1988: 448; Kaarbo, 2001: 172).

Second, there is a relationship between being a decentralized state and holding prior domestic bargaining. In line with the rationale provided in the first explanation, in federalism, the separation of powers is two-dimensional. While the first is horizontal between the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary, the second is vertical between the state governments that have its own division of powers and the federal government. Hence, there are higher numbers of actors at the negotiation process at the Level II that have to be taken into account.

As for the American side's two-level game features that display characteristics against the conventional wisdom, there are six elements⁴¹. First, there is no relationship between being a democratic state (with low win-set) and failure to reach international agreement. Given the congruity of interest between the government institutions and the societal actors on prevention of nuclear weapons, the size of the win-set is large. Consequently, there is no relationship between being a

⁴⁰ Comparison and contrast among the case's attributes for/against the conventional wisdom is based on the Chi-square findings of Kaarbo (2001: 196).

⁴¹ Comparison and contrast among the case's attributes for/against the conventional wisdom is based on the Chi-square findings of Kaarbo (2001: 196).

decentralized state and small win-set in the case of Kürecik. Third, even if the win-set is large and so there is not much maneuver space at Level I negotiation, there is no relationship between being decentralized state and asymmetrical gain from the agreement. It is because that the project receiver country showed relatively more risk-taking behavior both geo-strategically and environmentally. Fourth, there is no relationship between being a decentralized, competitive, and democratic state with constrained executive and bargaining outside the government.

Overall, it seems that in the domain of national security, narrowing down the policy-space towards already decided limited number of foreign policy alternatives and delegating the responsibility of these issue areas to the public entities that are not accountable to the electorate (military and defense ministries) happened. Therefore, counter-intuitively, there is a relationship between being a decentralized, democratic state with constrained executive and successful domestic ratification. Given the congruity of interests at Level II bargaining among the plurality of voice both horizontally and vertically, there is a relationship between being a decentralized state with competitive political participation and success at Level I agreement.

5.3. Keystone XL Pipeline Project Case

Table 31: Macro level analysis for two-level game framework for the Keystone XL case.

	U.S.	Canada
Explanatory Variables (Polity IV Codes)		
Centralization of Political Authority	Federalism (Low)	Federalism (Low)
Composite Democracy Scale	10 (Democratic)	10 (Democratic)
Monocratism	4 (Low)	4 (Low)
Executive Constraints	7	7

	(High)	(High)
Competitiveness of Political Participation	5 (High)	5 (High)
Dependent Variables		
Size of the Level II Win-Set	Low	Large
Timing of the Level II Bargaining	After Level I Negotiation	Prior Level I Negotiation
Locus of the Level II Bargaining	Within Executive, Between Government Institutions, Between Government and Economic Organizations, and Between Government and Societal Organizations	Between Government Institutions, Between Government and Economic Organizations, and Between Government and Societal Organizations
Distribution of Joint Gains in the Level I Agreement	Asymmetrical (If approved by the President of U.S.)	Asymmetrical (If approved by the President of U.S.)
Success of Agreement at Level I	Success	Success
Success of Domestic Ratification	Failure	Failure

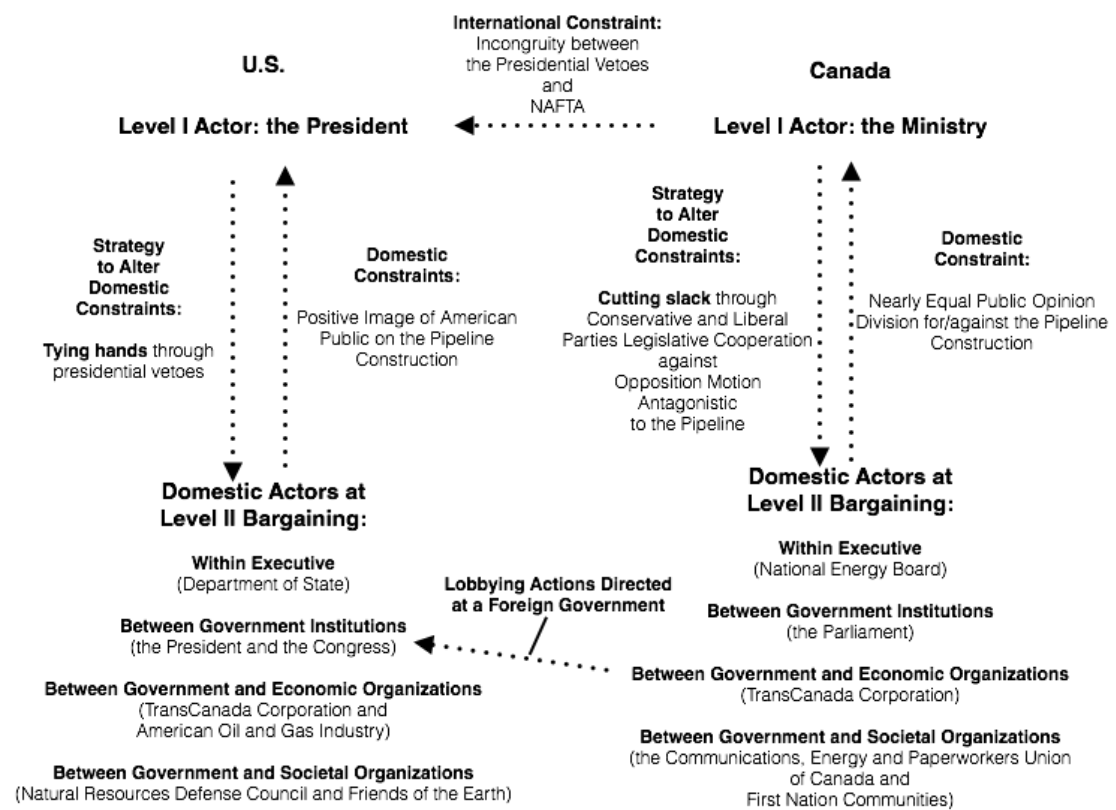


Figure 8: Graphical representation of Level I and Level II strategies during Keystone XL pipeline project negotiation.

As opposed to U.S. public's relatively higher percentage of approval given to the construction of the bill, which is 66% in March 2013 [opposition 23%], 65% in September 2013 [opposition 30%], and 61% in-between February-March 2014 [opposition 27] [those data of Pew Research Center are clustered in] (Gravelle and Lachapelle, 2015: 103), both lower and upper houses show lower modified likeness

scores for cooperation over Keystone XL pipeline related proceedings [D8,9,10,12-16 for the House of Representatives and E17-27 for the Senate] [with mean 0,151 and standard deviation 0,063 for the House of Representatives and with mean 0,167 and standard deviation 0,347 for the Senate in chapter four]. Hence, there has been small size win-set.

Based on the findings of Tables 18 and 19 on chapter four, what appears is that these Congressional parties' lower level of cooperation is more about ideological fight as such the President's veto of the bill for the pipeline construction on February 24, 2015 and the Senate's inability to override that veto (Davenport, 2015) reflect the generic two-level game strategy of tying hands. The locus of bargaining at Level II has been done within executive (Department of State), between government institutions (President and the Congress), between government and economic organizations (TransCanada Corporation and American oil and gas industry) (Stevens, 2015) and between government and societal organizations (Natural Resources Defense Council and Friends of the Earth). Therefore, American side's two-level game shows three aspects, which are in line with the conventional wisdom⁴².

First, there is a relationship between being a democratic state and failure to achieve the international agreement. Given the plurality of domestic political interests, multiplicity of the actors at Level II bargaining, and healthy horizontal/vertical division of powers, small size win-sets can act as a hindrance for an international/transnational projects. Second, there is a relationship between being a democratic state and holding small size win-set and it is directly related with the

⁴² Comparison and contrast among the case's attributes for/against the conventional wisdom is based on the Chi-square findings of Kaarbo (2001: 196).

argumentation in the first explanation. Third, there is a relationship between being a decentralized, competitive, democratic state with constrained executive and bargaining outside the government. Since the issue cut across both state and federal government level, the actors that are required for the technicalities of the approval/rejection and the ones who are (in-)directly affected by the prospective pipeline are multiple such as the Department of State, the President, the Congress, TransCanada Corporation, American oil and gas industry, Natural Resources Defense Council, and Friends of the Earth.

As for the American side's two-level game features that display characteristics against the conventional wisdom, there are three elements⁴³. First, there is no relationship between being a democratic state with constrained executive and prior domestic bargaining at Level II. The South Dakota Public Utilities Commission' decision to grant permit for the construction on February 19, 2010 after an od-hoc meeting (Downstream Today, 2010) and the consequent domestic ideological in-fight reflect the fact that after receiving the proposal at Level I, discussions for ratification at Level II started. Secondly, there is no relationship between being a democratic state with constrained executive and agreeing on an asymmetrical agreement.

Notwithstanding the fact that there has been small size win-set and veto by the President, within U.S. Senate, there have been preparations to allow the construction of pipelines to export/import oil and natural gas to/from Canada/Mexico as indicated in the proceeding D12 "Providing for consideration of H.R. 6, the Domestic Prosperity and Global Freedom Act and H.R. 3301, the North American

⁴³ Comparison and contrast among the case's attributes for/against the conventional wisdom is based on the Chi-square findings of Kaarbo (2001: 196).

Energy Infrastructure Act” [data from 113th House – 2nd Session, Roll 342 within] (Library of Congress, THOMAS). Hence, the Keystone XL pipeline would also serve that purpose in addition to domestic energy source diversification. Thirdly, there is no relationship between being a decentralized state and agreeing on an asymmetrical agreement and that result is directly related to the second explanation.

Within the Canadian context, the Canadian public opinion became equally divided over the pipeline by 47% approval - 47% disapproval on December 2013 (Nano Research, 2014: 5). Further, for the Keystone related legislative proceeding F21 “Opposition Motion (Keystone XL pipeline)” [data from 41th Parliament, 2nd Session, Vote 11 within] (Parliament of Canada, House of Commons), there was a relatively higher cooperation between the Conservative and Liberal Parties to reject the opposition motion that posits that Keystone XL Pipeline Project is not beneficial to Canada given its likelihood of intensifying environment costly “export of unprocessed raw bitumen” along with transfer of “more than 40,000 well-paying Canadian jobs” outside Canada with the modified likeness score -0,323.

Therefore, there appears to be a generic strategy of cutting slack in the parliament. Moreover, there is also the generic strategy of [lobbying] actions directed at U.S. federal government by the company TransCanada (Snyder, 2014). Further, given the Canadian government’s reaction to U.S. presidential veto that was posited to be against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) provision on inter-state trade-investment enhancement (Zeller Jr., 2015), there can also be the generic strategy of international constraint whose main purpose is to double the actors [Canada and the other NAFTA member Mexico) that are denied successful negotiation at Level II. Since the National Energy Board did the approval of the

pipeline's Canadian part in 2007 before the proposal of the American extension in 2008, Canadian Level II bargaining started prior to Level I negotiation. Thus, the locus of bargaining at Level II has been done within executive (National Energy Board), between government institutions (the Parliament), between government and economic organizations (TransCanada Corporation) and between government and societal organizations (the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada and First Nation communities) (Rugh, 2013; Gordon, 2014).

Overall, Canadian side's two-level game shows four aspects, which are in line with the conventional wisdom⁴⁴ First, there is a relationship between being a democratic state with constrained executive and prior domestic bargaining at Level II. When there is a healthy division of powers among the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary and plurality of political interests and their representation, it is highly likely that Level II ratification process gains utmost importance and requires long series of intra-state negotiation and persuasion before making any solid commitments over issues that pit environmental protection against economic growth. Second, there is a relationship between being a democratic state with constrained executive and agreeing on an asymmetrical agreement. In any possible approval of the pipeline by U.S. President, Canada will only transfer tar sand oil but most of the added value of that transfer will be incurred to U.S. after processing those transferred oil in the global value chain as such there is an asymmetry between the gains of these two states. Third, there is a relationship between being a decentralized state and prior domestic bargaining and it is directly related with the first explanation. Fourth, there is a relationship between being a decentralized state and agreeing on an asymmetrical agreement.

⁴⁴ Comparison and contrast among the case's attributes for/against the conventional wisdom is based on the Chi-square findings of Kaarbo (2001: 196).

Despite the fact that Canadian parliament shows relatively lower cooperation scores on legislative proceedings dealing with national macroeconomic and energy security that are about energy efficiency, sustainability, energy security, source diversification, and energy independence, there was a relatively higher cooperation between the Conservative and Liberal Parties to reject the opposition motion against Keystone XL pipeline in addition to TransCanada's lobbying efforts in U.S. Hence, there is a comparatively large size win-set and that does not give Canadian government much maneuver space to attain further concessions from U.S. Fourth, there is a relationship between being a decentralized, competitive, democratic state with constrained executive and bargaining outside the government. Since the issue cut across both state and federal government level, the actors that are required for the technicalities of the approval/rejection and the ones who are (in-)directly affected by the prospective pipeline are multiple such as National Energy Board, the Parliament, TransCanada Corporation, and the Communications, Energy, Paperworkers Union of Canada, and First Nation communities.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSION

6.1. Overview of the Research Design

Richard Katz and Peter Mair's (1995) "cartel party thesis" revolves around the principal-agent problem. Before the cartel party typology's emergence in the linear evolutionary trajectory, the agent was the state and the principal is divided into two – the "external principals (voters) and internal principals (party members and activists)" (Kitschelt, 2000: 151). Nevertheless, given the professionalization of politics and high expenditures of political party budgets and of election campaigns, there has emerged a tendency to depend on the state for public funding. Ergo, the parties have become the agents of the state. Moreover, the states are in need of FDI inflow for economic growth and consequently, the state's dependence on market economy paves the way for the political parties' concern to sustain the tenacity of the growth economy.

As a result of that projection, external principal becomes the provider of FDI and internal principal emerges as the state – the provider of public funding. With regard to that process' policy implications for domestic politics, political party-to-

electorate dimension (or engagement) gives its place to political party-to-political party dimension. Within the latter, political parties cooperate with each other to prevent the ascendancy of rival parties against the current political-economic oligopoly and so to maintain the status quo in the share of public funding. Further, political parties narrow down the policy space to the center of the political spectrum, which is market-oriented, and in order to offset any public reaction during the elections, parties in the legislative delegate the responsibility of certain issue areas to the public entities not accountable to the electorate. At the very end of that inter-party engagement, there is policy convergence among political parties in domestic politics as such there are elections without difference.

Overall, there are three facets of that political-economic process and they are (1) political parties' system orientation in their election programs, (2) political parties' loss of connection with the electorate and the grass roots, and (3) nation-state of those cartelized political parties' fragility vis-à-vis the international system. The outcome of those elements' aggregate impact is similar legislative voting behavior favorable to the growth economy in the legislative. The gap in this literature, on the other hand, is its apparent lack of analysis about the cartel party system's influence on the relevant countries' foreign policy behavior with each other. Therefore, this research asks the following research question: what are the implications of the cartel party system for foreign policy decision-making process of the countries whose electoral and party systems are susceptible to cartelization of domestic politics?

By that question, this thesis aimed at investigating a pattern of inter-state party cartelization (cooperative foreign policy behavior) in the international relations of countries with cartel party system with fourfold argumentation. First, if the

international negotiation topic is about pro-market policies [and is related to (non-) conventional definition of national security], cooperation between cartelized parties of negotiating states will increase. Second, if there emerges collusion between cartel parties of these relevant states, that process of inter-state party cartelization will occur through the exclusion of third parties, which are hampered fiscally and legally by their country-specific political system. Third, if the political oligopoly supersedes the third parties during foreign policy decision-making stage successfully, policy space of foreign policy conduct will be circumscribed to limited alternatives. Fourth, if the international negotiation topic is about pro-market policies [and is related to (non-) conventional definition of national security] and there emerges no collusion between the cartelized parties of the negotiating states due to one party's decamping, defector party of the political oligopoly will jeopardize its share of the public funding and hence its organizational survival in the oncoming elections.

In addition to the main research question and its fourfold premise, the study aims to answer four sub questions: what is the political economy of policy convergence in foreign policy domain for the politicians?; based on this politico-economic legislator behavior, is there a need of updating the conceptualization on foreign policy decision-making actors in terms of members of the political cartelization and outliers of the political oligopoly?; to what extent can this emergent or already existing cooperative foreign policy behavior be trend among other democracies with cartel party system?; and does this phenomenon, inter-state party cartelization, exhibit the tension between democracy and market economy?

In regard to that postulation, the research incorporates comparative study of foreign policy behavior in two cases, which are Keystone XL pipeline project debate

in U.S. and Canada at the federal government level since 2008 and Turkish-American memorandum of understanding to host “the Army Navy Transportable Radar Surveillance System (AN/TPY-2)” on Turkey’s Kürecik district in September 2011.

In order for the projection of cartel party hypothesis into the study of foreign policy decision-making, there has to be a theorization that (1) can provide a framework to incorporate the three facets of cartelization’s political-economic process and (2) can be at the intersection of comparative politics and comparative foreign policy. Hence, James N. Rosenau’s (1966) “pre-theories framework” is the main reference point for the research design of the analysis. Pre-theories includes eight nation-state typology based on the scale of territorial size, economic development, and openness/closeness of the political regime and has five variables – the idiosyncrasy, role, government, society, and system. The ordering of those five variables’ impact compared to each other while determining the flow of foreign policy behavior depends on the nation-state typology and the foreign policy issue topic.

That framework has three problematic aspects that are related to the design of this thesis. First, the original frame lacks middle categorizations for territorial size, economic development, and openness of the political system as such the countries with middle characteristics – territorially medium-sized, partly free, and economically developing countries – like Turkey could not be included into the original scheme. Second, the distinction between the idiosyncrasy and role variables is unclear and they overlap because the role in the bureaucracy could demand certain set of personal characteristics like discreteness and experience. Third, the systemic

variable is uncertain in terms of its scope, which can be inter-state, multi-state, or global.

In consequence, within the study's research design, moving downward in the "levels of abstraction" from "high level" to "medium level categories" with less emphasis on "cross-area comparisons among heterogeneous contexts" and more on "intra-area comparisons among relatively homogenous contexts" (Sartori, 1970: 1044) is taken to be beneficial for the canon to deliver more valid conclusions. The rationale for that proposition is that each independent variable in the pre-theory has different developmental trajectory in each setting that would reflect diverse end products. Consequently, for this study, "pre-theory of foreign policy" should direct the focus just on "large and small" countries with "developed economy and open polity" whose electoral and party system is susceptible to policy cartelization at domestic politics (Rosenau, 1966: 90-91). Further, the variables – idiosyncrasy and role – are subsumed under the variable political parties.

The rationale behind that decision is that "closer symbiosis between parties and the state" in the cartel stage of the party evolution turned "politics into profession" such that "role" of the elected politicians – second element of "pre-theories" – is directed towards the survival of the political party and maintenance of the political oligopoly irrespective of their "idiosyncrasies" – first element of "pre-theories" (Katz and Mair, 1995: 6, 18-19). Moreover, the societal variable in the pre-theories framework is taken as the preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians. Similarly, the systemic variable is accepted as the international system. As for the government variable, absence/presence of policy cartelization in the legislative is the focal point.

Overall, this study functions within the boundaries of democratic peace theory studies. The argumentation of this thesis is that the canon of that literature deals with monadic/dyadic explanations of inter-state conflict with the assumption that similar political regime institutions and democracy culture bring forward directly inter-state cooperation. However, this thesis questions that presumption and looks at the conditions for the emergence of inter-state cooperation between two liberal democracies and between one hybrid regime and one liberal democracy.

Original aim of Rosenau (1966) was to advance the CFP's explanatory and predictive power. With large number of cases (greater than 100), it is possible to conduct multiple regression analysis for the explanatory power of the frame and/or discriminant analysis for the enhancement of the frame's predictive power. Within this analysis, there is the problem of "many variables and small number of cases." There are three countries – Canada, Turkey, and U.S. – and the last one is the common element between the two cases of the research. With regard to small N problem, these countries are divided temporally. For the Keystone XL Pipeline case, the time frame is in-between 2005 and 2015 and for the Kürecik Radar Base, it is in-between 2002 and 2011. In consequence, there appeared an avenue to utilize comparative method (the most different systems design) with bi-variate statistics (chi-square and Pearson's r).

6.2. Reconsideration of the Chi-square Test Results and Decision-Making Modeling

In the case of Kürecik radar base station, for the Turkish context, the Chi-square statistics results validate the assertion of the study that similar to cartel party hypothesis' postulation for policy convergence in domestic politics, parties that managed to pass 10% electoral threshold to attain public funding at the expense of other parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show pro-systemic policy choices in foreign policy. Further, the test verifies the research's another postulation that the country's perceptiveness to the threats from the international system by being deprived of FDI and by being attacked by another country and policy convergence in the parliament in foreign policy conduct are connected and that paves the way to cascades of parliamentary terms without alternative courses of action.

However, the results display no statistically significant connection between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational project in consideration and preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians. That finding repudiates the second facet of the cartelization's political-economic process but also reflects Turkish public's low level of interest in foreign policy conduct in the parliament.

For the American context, the test validates the assertion of the thesis that parties whose presidential candidates managed to pass minimum 5% electoral threshold in the previous election to attain public funding at the expense of other parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show pro-systemic policy choices in foreign policy within the lower house of the legislative.

The test also strengthens this thesis' another postulation that the country's perceptiveness to the threats from the international system by being deprived of FDI and by being attacked by another country and policy convergence in the Congress foreign policy conduct are connected and that paves the way to cascades of Congressional terms without alternative courses of action.

Nevertheless, the results display no statistically significant connection between relatively higher cooperative legislative voting behavior towards transnational project in consideration and preference gap between the electorate and the elected politicians. Similar to the Turkish context, that finding repudiates the second facet of the cartelization's political-economic process but also displays American public's low level of interest in foreign policy conduct in the Congress.

In the case of Keystone XL pipeline Project, for the American context, the test repudiates the assertion of the study that parties whose presidential candidates managed to pass minimum 5% electoral threshold in the previous election to attain public funding at the expense of other parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show market-oriented policy choices in foreign policy within the lower house of the legislative. Moreover, the test falsifies the analysis' posture that the country's perceptiveness to the relevant threats from the international system and policy convergence in the Congress' foreign policy conduct are connected and paves the way to series of Congressional terms without alternative courses of action.

However, the findings verify the argumentation that similar to the policy conduct in domestic politics, there is a break in the relationship between the voters and the elected politicians of the Congress while dealing with foreign policy conduct.

Additionally, these results delineate that two congressional parties hold two different conceptualizations of the international system (ecosystem for the Democratic Party; and market economy for the Republican Party) when dealing with national and/or transnational projects that pit the need for capital accumulation for economic growth in terms of energy and job security against environmental security. When the preference congruity and fragility towards market economy and ecosystem are left out of the equation, the only actors that are present in the scene with their own interest calculations are political parties (from the perspective of the principal-agent problem), and these Congressional parties' lower level of cooperation appears to be more about ideological fight.

For the Canadian context, the test repudiates the assertion that parties whose presidential candidates managed to get minimum 2% of the whole valid votes or 5% of the electoral district votes where they have candidates during the general elections to attain public funding at the expense of other parties and their alternative voices for domestic/foreign policy conduct show market-oriented policy choices in foreign policy within the lower house of the legislative. Moreover, the test also repudiates the projection of the cartel party hypothesis about the break in the relationship between the political parties and the electorate in domestic politics into foreign policy conducts. Lastly, the finding of the calculation falsifies the thesis' posture that the country's perceptiveness to the relevant threats from the international system and policy convergence in the parliamentary foreign policy conduct are connected and paves the way to series of parliamentary terms without alternative courses of action.

General conclusion of these two cases' statistical comparison is that there needs to be an issue distinction in terms of high politics / low politics in order to identify emergence of cartelization in foreign policy conduct. In the case of high

politics, narrowing down the policy-space towards already decided limited number of alternatives and delegating the responsibility of these issue areas to the public entities that are not accountable to the electorate (military and defense ministries in the case of Kürecik) happened under the aegis of mutually reinforcing discourse of national security and globalization. That sort of behavior fits well into the assertions of the cartel party thesis for domestic politics. This finding is also in accordance with neorealism's postulation over international cooperation that nation states can only display variety of domestic competing interests when "national security is assured" (Bueno de Mesquita, 2006: 188-189, 191).

Hence, given the persistent presence of anarchy, national security consideration is on constant alert status and hence, any international/transnational cooperation subject [i.e., in domains of trade, finance, environment] is viewed through its added value to the national security (Bueno de Mesquita, 2006: 189). However, in the case of low politics, national boundaries that keep external forces away from the ordinary citizens do not exist as exemplified by the ecosystem itself as such there is no clear-cut definition of national security similar to neorealism's assumption about the nature of the international system and its consequent ramifications for foreign policy behavior. Hence, the citizens' life and their livelihood are more directly involved into the debate and that sort of debate topic provides opportunity for the cartel parties to engage in ideological fight with lower levels of inter-party cooperation in foreign policy conduct and to break the image of elections without any difference.

Within the research's data analysis section, there are two types of limitation with regard to the data sources. First, for tests of second and third null hypotheses

within Turkish context under Kürecik case, the only available time series data for the relevant categorical variables are for the end year of the relevant parliamentary terms. Hence, it is highly possible that these values could not catch the previous years' value distribution within these terms but they still measure the true aspects (and so are valid) and measure these facets with consistency (and so are reliable).

Second, for tests of second and third null hypotheses within American context under both Kürecik and Keystone XL cases, the only available trend analysis source does not share its sample information as such the focus is directed towards the use of proportional values. These percentages are relatively weak compared to their actual values in the sample to reflect the power of the respective categories because 10 out 100 interviewees represented as 10% and 60 out 600 interviewees as 10% are seen as the same but categorically 60 is bigger than 10 and can give more healthy results. Nonetheless, these proportional values are taken from the same source for the same reference year and are compared and contrasted with other categories' percentage values as such they still are useful for the chi-square statistics and are valid and reliable.

Lastly, while creating the dataset for the independent variables for each country in the analysis, there can be two types of limitation. Despite the effort of the researcher to be comprehensive as much as possible, first hindrance might be about presence of any selection and/or omission bias while selecting the legislative proceedings for the dataset. Nonetheless, by holding certain criteria for each case's modified likeness scores to determine the distribution of dependent variable values, the researcher has tried to offset that probable problem from the beginning. Secondly, notwithstanding the double-check for each modified likeness score of each country dataset, whole range of the calculations is done by the researcher and hence

it is also possible that there may be minor counting errors for the roll calls, especially for the Turkish context that is systematized by the researcher.

Hypothesis testing via Chi-square statistics and delineation of the legislative voting behavior towards the transnational projects in consideration only reckon with the outcome of the foreign policy decision-making and reflects just one part of foreign policy analysis. The other part in consideration is the foreign policy decision-making process itself. The theoretical framework for the foreign policy modeling of these two cases' decision-making is selected to be Robert D. Putnam (1988) "two-level game" analysis. The reason behind the selection of that metaphor is that Putnam's (1988) analysis reflects the dynamic interplay between domestic politics and foreign policy within the cases of inter-state negotiations analytically.

Through utilizing the two-level game analogy, Putnam (1988) avoids blackboxing the state as uniform entity that is assumed to be rational and to show similar functions in world politics irrespective of the differences in socio-political-economic milieu. Accordingly, the state level of analysis is sub-divided into two elements, which are "Level I (Negotiation Phase)" and "Level II (Ratification Phase)." The transition from Level I [inter-state bargaining over particular topic(s)] to Level II [ratification of the agreement reached at Level I] is conditional on the size of win-set, which is the perceptiveness scale of Level II actors (like the parliament, the electorate, civil service and army) to ratify/approve the agreement.

Within Turkish context under Kürecik case, the counter-argumentation advanced by the AKP single party majority cabinet that there was no need for any parliamentary debate about the project because the Kürecik radar base had an already approved multilateral nature whose origin can be traced back to Turkey's integration

into the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 and NATO's Status of Forces Agreement is an example of a generic strategy – cutting slack [Level I actor's act to increase his/her domestic constituency's win-set]. Hence, resolving the relevant memorandum of understanding within the single-party cabinet and state bureaucracy [Turkish Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Foreign Affairs] with no expectation of major opposition from the parliament led to large win-set to ratify the agreement.

Nevertheless, Turkish government's act of cutting slack that put the negotiators into a position of agreement with no maneuver space to attain extra concessions from U.S. and hence there is an asymmetry of joint gains from the agreement. Notwithstanding the fact that there is a mutually beneficial relationship by deploying ballistic missile defense infrastructure in terms of national security maintenance through alliance formation, proximity of the country that perceived/perceives the base against its security (Iran Times) is closer to [435 miles away from the Turkish-Iranian border's Western flank] (Küntay, 2013: 31; Kaya, 2011: 85-86) and environmental and physical health damages [cancer formation, dysfunctions in the nervous system, genetic disorder along with destruction of the benign microorganisms for soil fertility and hence negative externalities for livestock "the city's main source of income] (Göynü, 2013: 3) are much higher for Turkey.

For the American context under Kürecik case, the critical juncture is the legislative proceeding coded as C6 "On the Amendment S.Amdt. 2024: Sessions Amdt. No. 2024, as Modified; To state the policy of the United States on the protection of the United States and its allies against Iranian ballistic missiles" [110th Senate – 1st Session, Roll 245 data from] (Library of Congress, THOMAS) that depicts the Senate's expression of approval to U.S. policy of conducting

development and deployment of missile defense systems against Iranian nuclear program and the Senate's expression of congruity between U.S. deployment of missile defense systems in Europe and NATO's deployment of missile defense systems in Europe. Based on that legislative proceeding, the most likely generic strategy that was used by U.S. at Level I appears to be international constraint. Since there is a linkage between U.S. deployment of missile defense systems in Europe and NATO's deployment of missile defense systems in Europe, Turkey's probable rejection decision at Level I or II would not only means no cooperation with U.S. but also means no cooperation with NATO. In that respect, the cost of no-agreement became much higher for Turkey. Level II bargaining, on the other hand, was between government institutions [among the President, the Congress, the State Department, the Army, and the Department of Defense].

For the American context under Keystone XL case, the President's veto of the bill for the pipeline construction on February 24, 2015 and the Senate's inability to override that veto reflect the generic two-level game strategy of tying hands (Level I actor's act to diminish his/her domestic constituency's win-set). The locus of bargaining at Level II has been done within executive (Department of State), between government institutions (President and the Congress), between government and economic organizations (TransCanada Corporation and American oil and gas industry) and between government and societal organizations (Natural Resources Defense Council and Friends of the Earth).

Within that case, the critical juncture is the proceeding D12 "Providing for consideration of H.R. 6, the Domestic Prosperity and Global Freedom Act and H.R. 3301, the North American Energy Infrastructure Act." Based on that account, within

the Senate, there have been preparations to allow the construction of pipelines to export/import oil and natural gas to/from Canada/Mexico to make U.S. an energy hub in Northern America and so the Keystone XL pipeline would serve that purpose in addition to energy source diversification.

For the Canadian context under Keystone XL case, there was a relatively higher cooperation between the Conservative and Liberal Parties to reject the opposition motion hostile to the Keystone XL Pipeline Project and that legislative behavior reflects a generic strategy of cutting slack in the parliament. Moreover, there is also the generic strategy of through [lobbying] actions directed at U.S. federal government by the company TransCanada. Further, given the Canadian government's reaction to U.S. presidential veto that was posited to be against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) provision on inter-state trade-investment enhancement, there can also be the generic strategy of international constraint whose main purpose is to double the actors [Canada and the other NAFTA member Mexico) that are denied successful negotiation at Level II.

The locus of bargaining at Level II has been done within executive (National Energy Board), between government institutions (the Parliament), between government and economic organizations (TransCanada Corporation) and between government and societal organizations (the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada and First Nation communities). In any possible approval of the pipeline by U.S. President, there will be an asymmetry between the gains of these two states because Canada will only transfer tar sand oil but most of the added value of that transfer will be incurred to U.S. after processing those transferred oil in the global value chain.

6.3. Added Value of the Thesis and Consideration for Future Studies

Overall, theoretical added value of this thesis is twofold. First, this study makes certain adjustments in the pre-theories' ladder of generality and its five variables to enhance the explanatory power of comparative study of foreign policy. With these improvements, original contribution of this thesis to that literature is the advancement of the discipline in thought. By grounding this dissertation's rationale behind the scientific growth of knowledge in comparative methods on Lakatosian heuristics, it becomes feasible to make "pre-theories" framework (Rosenau, 1966) fit into IR theorization. It is because that within Lakatosian heuristics, measurement of scientific theories' coherence is based not on their commonly reached conclusions but on commonly shared consistent "hard-core" assumptions (Sartori, 1970: 1044; Moravcsik, 1997: 536; Rosenau, 1966: 90-91).

Inside liberal theory of IR, presumptions about the priority attributed to the "state-society relations" while dealing with international affairs are grounded on three features: "the nature of the fundamental social actors, the state, and the international system" (Moravcsik, 1997: 515, 536). Interactions within and/or among those three, in the end, determine the type of liberalism. Consequently, the resultant engagement determines the elements of causation in FP under three ideal forms – "ideational, commercial, and republican liberalisms" – throughout which the first variant stands for the importance of convergence/divergence over certain identities/values in a society regarding the administration of the nation-state, the second gives utmost significance to the maximization of profit logic and economic interdependence, and the third underscores the nature of the political system and its

reverberations for the emergence of “rent-seeking activities” in the society (Moravcsik, 1997: 515, 525, 528, 530).

Here, theoretical originality of this thesis needs special interest because it is found that there is compatibility between “pre-theory of foreign policy’s” five variables and liberal theory in IR’s three features. Ergo, “idiosyncrasies, role, and society” variables can be integrated into the “nature of fundamental actors” feature, “government” variable into the “state” attribute and “systems” variable into the “international system.” Based on that logic, the inquiry to test the cartel party thesis’ application from domestic politics into foreign policy decision-making revolves around the republican liberalism throughout this study.

Second, this thesis analyzes the political economy of policy convergence in foreign policy domain for the politicians. Based on the results of Chi-square statistics and issue distinction between high/low politics, there are three conclusions reached at: (1) when the foreign policy issue is related with national security, there emerges a policy convergence and the domestic actors are subdivided into two – members of the political cartelization and outliers of the political oligopoly; (2) large N study is necessary to observe whether there has been a trend of policy convergence in foreign policy domain among democracies with cartel party system, when the issue is about high politics; and (3) low politics issue in foreign policy domain like the case of Keystone XL does exhibit the tension between democracy and market economy.

The second added value is also the point of reference to detail considerations for future studies. As indicated in the methodology part, pre-theories framework is amenable to the application of inferential statistics. Hence, utilizing multiple regression and predictive discriminant analyses together will increase both

explanatory and predictive power of comparative study of foreign policy. Pre-theories' five variables ["idiosyncratic, role, governmental, societal, and systemic" (Andriole and et al., 1975: 165-166)] and eight country typologies based on territorial size, economic development, and political regime are theoretically feasible enough to create a solid large-N research design. Creation of datasets for each variable within each ideal country can re-invigorate the interest in the quantitative study of comparative foreign policy in addition to case studies.

The main problem of that sort of investigation might most probably be about the country typologies and country selection criteria for each type. Nevertheless, using cluster analysis can help the researchers to assign states with similar territorial size, economic development, and political regime to into eight groups. Second problem might be about absence of middle categorizations in these state features and it is possible to add midpoints into three nation-state attributes (territory, economy, and regime). Consequently, there would appear twenty-seven state typologies after multiplying each of the nation-state attributes with three (large/medium/small, developed/developing/underdeveloped, open/partially open (closed)/closed, respectively).

Additionally, empirical added value of this project is threefold. Firstly, for the first time in the academia, the creation of dataset over roll call votes distribution in Turkish Grand National Assembly is done within this thesis. For the future analyses, collecting roll call vote data for series of parliamentary terms with regard to specific issue topics, countries, country groups, and international organizations can be valuable source for events data analysis in Turkey. Delineating these trends through events collection can also be helpful for the researchers whose interest lies within the

perimeters of democratic peace theory studies in terms of comparing and contrasting foreign policy behavior of coalitionary and single party cabinet intervals.

Secondly, the measurements of those roll call vote distributions are calculated by the writer of that thesis' own modification of Stuart A. Rice's a measure of group likeness formula to catch the inter-party similarities/differences of parliamentary voting behavior. Through this new modification, it becomes viable to measure legislative voting behavior both within two-party and multi-party systems. The major deficiency of that new formula is that it cannot measure individual members of parliament's voting attitude – the voting pattern that is more valid for certain contexts with greater intra-party democracy such as U.S. House of Representatives. Thirdly, design of the Chi-square statistics in terms of determining the relationships between the categorical variables belongs to the researcher of that analysis.

For the readers of this thesis who might not have specialized knowledge in comparative politics, foreign policy analysis, and IR theorization, there are three points that are in need of particular attention. First, by intuition, voters would expect to observe diversity among the political parties they voted for and among the policy proposals passed/rejected by these parties. That expectation is understandable because voting behavior can be about either economic calculations or ideological/identity-related differences or both.

Second, counter-intuitively, cartel party thesis (Katz and Mair, 1995) puts forward a basic premise by saying that inside post-industrial Western liberal democracies since the 1980s we observe elections without difference. Parties that once compete at the expense of other rival parties to win the elections now display implicit understanding of cooperation to make the election outcomes win-win for

each competitor. Consequently, survival in the political scene is much guaranteed even if the expected payoffs are relatively lower due to sharing the state funding pie.

Therefore, emergent political oligopolies make the function of democracy void and turn it into a mechanism of stability. That stabilization may be about sustaining market economy, growth-economy, and even current global/regional/sub-regional balance of power. Third, within this study, on the other hand, it is analyzed that when the threat to the nation (-state) is not direct, there are still various competing interests represented in the legislative. However, when the issue is about national survival/security at the anarchical international system, electoral and political party systems that maintain political oligopolies ease the ratification of cooperation agreements on security between liberal or partly liberal democracies irrespective of public opinion. Ergo, notwithstanding the expansion of certain segments of the public's knowledge and expertise on foreign affairs, national security definition and national security policy creation power still belongs to a group of elites.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY⁴⁵

- Abacus Data Poll. 2012. "Canadian Public Opinion on Pipelines." (January 25, 2012). Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://abacusdata.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Pipelines-Tabs-January-2012.pdf>
- Andriole, Stephen J., Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Gerald W. Hoppo. 1975. "A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Foreign Policy Behavior." *International Studies Quarterly* 19(2): 160-198.
- Blais, Andre. 1991. "The Debate over Electoral Systems." *International Political Science Review* 12(3): 239-260.
- Blyth, Mark and Richard S. Katz. 2005. "From Catch-all Politics to Cartelisation: The Political Economy of the Cartel Party." *West European Politics* 28(1): 33-60.
- Blyth, Mark, Jonathan Hopkin, and Riccardo Pelizzo. 2010. "Liberalization and Cartel Politics in Europe: Why Do Centre-Left Parties Adopt Market Liberal Reforms?" [Paper presented at 17th Conference of Europeanists, Montreal on April 15-17, 2010]: 1-20.
- Boyer, Mark A. 2000. "Issue Definition and Two-Level Negotiations: An Application to the American Foreign Policy." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 11(2): 185-212.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 2006. "International Politics from Group and Decision-making Perspective." In Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *Principles of International Politics: People's Power, Preferences, and Perceptions*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 157-197.

⁴⁵ For the replication of the relevant data, please copy the link (if attached to the source information) and then past it into your browser as such you can reach at the document/list indicated. Directly clicking on the links provided, on the other hand, directs the users into failed pages.

- Burnham, Peter and et al. 2004. *Research Methods in Politics*. N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Canadian Opinion Research Archive. "Trends." Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www.queensu.ca/cora/3trends.html>
- Caporaso, James and et al. 1988. "The Comparative Study of Foreign Policy: Perspectives on the Future." *International Studies* 13: 32-46.
- Carey, John, and Simon Hix. 2013. "Policy Consequences of Electoral Rules." *APSA Task Force on Electoral Systems: Working Group 6*: 1-39. Accessed February 1, 2015. http://sites.dartmouth.edu/jcarey/files/2013/02/Policy-Effects-Draft-January-2013_short_version.pdf
- Center for Systemic Peace. "Polity IV Annual Time-Series, 1800-2013." Accessed May 1, 2015. <http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html>
- , "Dataset Users' Manual." Accessed May 1, 2015. <http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/p4manualv2013.pdf>
- Chastko, Paul. 2012. "Anonymity and Ambivalence: The Canadian and American Oil Industries and the Emergence of Continental Oil." *Journal of American History* 99(1): 166-176.
- Chung, Chien-Peng. 2007. "Resolving China's Island Disputes: A Two-Level Game Analysis." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 12(1): 49-70.
- Clausen, Aage R. 1967. "The Measurement of Legislative Group Behavior." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 11(2): 212-224.
- Collier, David. 1993. "The Comparative Method." In Ada W. Finifter, ed., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, 105-119.
- Council on Foreign Relations. 2012. "Public Opinion on Global Issues: Chapter 12b: U.S. Opinion on Transnational Threats: Weapons of Mass Destruction." 1-38. Accessed May 1, 2015. <http://www.cfr.org/thinktank/iigg/pop/>

Davenport, Coral. March 4, 2015. "Senate Fails to Override Obama's Keystone Pipeline Veto," *The New York Times*. Accessed May 1, 2015. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/05/us/senate-fails-to-override-obamas-keystone-pipeline-veto.html?_r=0

Downstream Today. February 19, 2010. "Keystone XL Clears Hurdle In South Dakota." Accessed May 1, 2015. http://www.downstreamtoday.com/news/article.aspx?a_id=21202&AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1

-----, September 21, 2007. "TransCanada: Keystone Construction to Start Early Next Year." Accessed May 1, 2015. http://www.downstreamtoday.com/news/article.aspx?a_id=6118

East, Maurice A. and Charles F. Hermann. 1974. "Do Nation-Types Account for Foreign Policy Behavior?" In James N. Rosenau, ed., *Comparing Foreign Policies*. New York: Sage-Halsted, 269-303.

Eilperin, Stephen. February 4, 2014 "Keystone supporters, opponents increase pressure on Obama ahead of 2014 elections." *Washington Post*. Accessed May 1, 2015. http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/keystone-supporters-opponents-increase-pressure-on-obama-ahead-of-2014-elections/2014/02/04/f64aa388-8da7-11e3-95dd-36ff657a4dae_story.html

Elections Canada. "Election Expenses and Reimbursements, by Registered Political Party." Accessed March 15, 2015. <http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=fin&dir=pol/remb&document=index&lang=e>

Elman, Miriam Fendius. 2000. "Unpacking Democracy: Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Theories of Democratic Peace." *Security Studies* 9(4): 91-126.

European Commission. "Public Opinion: Eurobarometer Surveys." Accessed March 15, 2015. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/step1.cfm?keyID=2212&nationID=30,&startdate=2004.10&enddate=2011.11

Federation of American Scientists. "U.S. Foreign Military Assistance." Accessed March 15, 2015. <https://fas.org/asmp/profiles/aid/aidindex.htm#BudgetRequests>

- Freedom House. "Freedom in the World: Aggregate and Subcategory Scores." Accessed March 15, 2015. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-aggregate-and-subcategory-scores#.VQibNULUrBf>
- GALLUP. "Congressional Approval Sinks to Record Low." Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/165809/congressional-approval-sinks-record-low.aspx>
- , "Party Images." Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/24655/party-images.aspx>
- , "Congress and the Public." Accessed May 15, 2015. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1600/congress-public.aspx>
- Gençkaya, Ömer Faruk. 2002. "Siyasetin Finansmanı ve Siyasal Partiler." Ankara: SAV. Accessed February 20, 2015. <http://genckaya.bilkent.edu.tr/DEVPAR.htm>
- Gehring, Thomas. 1996. "Integrating Integration Theory: Neo-functionalism and International Regimes." *Global Society* 10(3): 225-253.
- German Watch. "Global Climate Risk Index." Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://germanwatch.org/en/cri>
- Gerring, John. 2001. *Social Science Methodology: A Critical Framework*. N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.
- Geyikçi, Şebnem Y. 2011. "The Impact of Parties and Party Systems on Democratic Consolidation: The Case of Turkey." *The LSE Doctoral Discussion Papers*. Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www.lse.ac.uk/europeaninstitute/research/contemporaryturkishstudies/papersyg20111.pdf>
- Gordon, Julie. June 1, 2014. "Stephen Harper On Keystone XL: Canada's Prime Minister 'Confident' That Pipeline Will Be Approved," *The Huffington Post*. Accessed May 1, 2015. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/01/06/stephen-harper-keystone-xl_n_4550204.html
- Gourevitch, Peter. 1978. "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics." *International Organization* 32(4): 881-912.

- Göynü, Burcu Ceren. 2013. "Current Ballistic Missile Defense Program and Discussions in Turkey." *IFAR Fact Sheet*. Accessed February 21, 2015. http://ifsh.de/file-IFAR/pdf_english/NATO%20BMD%20and%20Turkey%20-%20IFAR%20FactSheet3.pdf
- Gravelle, Timothy B. 2013. "Polls, Publics and Pipelines: Mapping Public Opinion toward the Keystone XL Pipeline in the United States and the Northern Gateway Pipeline in Canada?" [Presentation uploaded into academia.com] Accessed February 1, 2015. http://www.academia.edu/4638780/Polls_Publics_and_Pipelines_Mapping_Public_Opinion_toward_the_Keystone_XL_Pipeline_in_the_United_States_and_the_Northern_Gateway_Pipeline_in_Canada
- Gravelle, Timothy B., and Erick Lachapelle. 2015. "Politics, Proximity and the Pipeline: Mapping Public Attitudes toward Keystone XL." *Energy Policy*: 99-108.
- Hagan, Joe D. and et al. 2001. "Foreign Policy by Coalition: Deadlock, Compromise, and Anarchy." *International Studies Review* 3(2): 169-216.
- Hermann, Charles F., and Gregory Peacock. 1987. "The Evolution and Future of Theoretical Research in the Comparative Study of Foreign Policy." In Charles F. Hermann, W. Kegley, Jr., and James N. Rosenau, eds., *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy*. Boston: Allen & Unwin, 13-32.
- Hudson, Valerie M. 2005. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1: 1-30.
- Iida, Keisuke. 1996. "Involuntary Defection in Two-Level Games." *Public Choice* 89: 283-303.
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). "Political Finance Data for United States." Accessed March 15, 2015. http://www.idea.int/political-finance/country.cfm?id=231#Public_funding
- , "Political Finance Data for Canada." Accessed March 15, 2015. <http://www.idea.int/political-finance/country.cfm?id=37>

- Iran Times. "Iran Incensed at Turkey over US Radar." Accessed May 1, 2015. <http://iran-times.com/iran-incensed-at-turkey-over-us-radar/>
- Ireland, Michael J. and Scott Sigmund Gartner. 2001. "Time to Fight: Government Type and Conflict Initiation in Parliamentary Systems." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(5): 547-568.
- Kaarbo, Juliet. 2001. "The Domestic Politics of International Negotiations: The Effects of State Structures and Policymaking Processes." *International Interactions: Empirical and Theoretical Research in International Relations* 27(2): 169-205.
- , 2008. "Coalition Cabinet Decision Making: Institutional and Psychological Factors." *International Studies Review* 10: 57-86.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair. 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics* 1(1): 5-28.
- , 2009. "The Cartel Party Thesis: A Restatement." *Perspectives on Politics* 7(4): 753-766.
- Kavalski, Emilian. 2011. "From the Cold War to Global Warming: Observing Complexity in IR." *Political Studies Review* 9: 1-12.
- Kaya, M. K. 2011. "How Much Security Will NATO's Missile Defense Shield Provide Turkey?" *Turkey Analyst* 5(1).
- Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye. 1987. "Power and Interdependence Revisited." *International Organization* 41(4): 725-753.
- Kınıklıoğlu, Suat. August 29, 2012. "Kürecik," *Today's Zaman*. Accessed February 1, 2015. http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist/suat-kiniklioglu/kurecik_290780.html
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Citizens, Politicians, and Party Cartellization: Political Representation and State Failure in Post-Industrial Democracies." *European Journal of Political Research* 37(2): 149-179.

- Knopf, Jeffrey W. 1993. "Beyond Two-Level Games: Domestic-International Interaction in the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Negotiations." *International Organization* 47(4): 599-628.
- Kranc, Joel. 2013. "Energy and Politics: U.S. and Canada." *Financial Executive* 29(2): 69-70.
- Küntay, Burak. 2013. "NATO's Missile Defense Shield: Turkey's Western Preferences." *AJIT-e Online Academic Journal of Information Technology* 4(13): 24-38.
- Lehman, Howard P., and Jennifer L. McCoy. 1992. "The Dynamics of the Two-Level Bargaining Game: The 1988 Brazilian Debt Negotiations." *World Politics* 44(4): 600-644.
- Library of Congress, THOMAS. Accessed February 1, 2015.
http://thomas.loc.gov/home/bills_res.html
- Lijphart, Arend. 1971. "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method." *The American Political Science Review* 65(3): 682-693.
- , 1994. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies 1945-1990*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- , 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Lisowski, Michael. 2002. "Playing the Two-level Game: Us President Bush's Decision to Repudiate the Kyoto Protocol." *Environmental Politics* 11(4): 101-119.
- Lipset, S. M. 1968. *Revolution and Counterrevolution*. New York: Basic Books.
- MacIvor, Heather. 1996. "Do Canadian Political Parties Form a Cartel?" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 29(2): 317-333.
- Maor, Moshe. 1997. *Political Parties & Party Systems: Comparative Approaches & the British Experience*. London and New York: Routledge.

- McDonald, Ronald H., and J. Mark Ruhl. 1989. *Party Politics and Elections in Latin America*. Boulder, San Francisco, and London: Westview Press.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 1990. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War." *International Security* 15(1): 5-56.
- Mercan, Sezgin, and Özdemir Akbal. 2014. "The Missile Defense System and Its Effects on Security Policies of the EU, the US and Turkey." *International Relations and Diplomacy* 2(8): 504-517.
- Meyers, Lawrence S., Glenn Gamst, and A. J. Guarino. 2013. *Applied Multivariate Research: Design and Interpretation*. U.S.: SAGE Publications.
- Michels, Robert. 1962 [1911]. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York, Collier Books.
- Moon, Bruce E. 1987. "Political Economy Approaches to the Comparative Study of Foreign Policy." In Charles F. Hermann, Charles W. Kegley Jr., and James N. Rosenau, eds., *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 33-52.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1993. "Introduction: Integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining." In Peter B. Evans, Harold K. Jacobson, and Robert D. Putnam, eds., *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*. United States of America: University of California Press, 3-42.
- , 1997. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics." *International Organization* 51(4): 513-553.
- Nano Research. January 15, 2014. "Keystone Pipeline – Canada." Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www.nanosresearch.com/library/polls/POLNAT-W14-T593E.pdf>
- Nye, Jr., Joseph S. 1988. "Review: Neorealism and Neoliberalism." *World Politics* 40(2): 235-251.
- Özcan, Yurter. 2011. "Turkey as a NATO Partner: Reality vs. Rhetoric," *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 10(3): 105-112.

- Palmer, Glenn, Tamar London, and Patrick Regan. 2004. "What's Stopping You?: The Sources of Political Constraints on International Conflict Behavior in Parliamentary Democracies." *International Interactions* 30(1): 1-24.
- Parliament of Canada, House of Commons. Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteList.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2>
- Pelizzo, Riccardo. 2006a. "Cartel Parties and Cartel Party Systems: The Italian Case." *Research Collection School of Social Sciences* Paper 138: 1-31.
- , 2006b. "The Cartel Party and the Rise of the New Extreme Right." *Research Collection School of Social Sciences* Paper 173: 1-24.
- Pew Research Center. September 26, 2013. "What Energy Boom? Half Unaware of Rise in U.S. Production: Continued Support for Keystone XL Pipeline.": 1-18. Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/9-26-13%20Energy%20Release.pdf>
- , "Global Indicators Database: Opinion of the United States." Accessed May 1, 2015. <http://www.pewglobal.org/database/indicator/1/country/224/>
- , "Key Indicators Data." Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www.pewresearch.org/data/>
- Porta, Donatella Della, and Keating, Michael (eds.) 2008. *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*. N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.
- Prins, Brandon C. and Christopher Sprecher. 1999. "Institutional Constraints, Political Opposition, and Interstate Dispute Escalation: Evidence from Parliamentary Systems, 1946-89." *Journal of Peace Research* 36(3): 271-287.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42(3): 427-460.
- Richardson, Neil R. 1987. "Dyadic Case Studies in the Comparative Study of Foreign Policy Behavior." In Charles F. Hermann, Charles W. Kegley Jr.,

and James N. Rosenau, eds., *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 161-177.

Reiter, Dan, and Erik R. Tillman. 2002. "Public, Legislative, and Executive Constraints on the Democratic Initiation of Conflict." *The Journal of Politics* 64(3): 810-826.

Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry Investment Support and Promotion Agency. "FDI in Turkey." Accessed March 15, 2015. <http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx>

Rodden, Jonathan. 2009. "Back to the Future: Endogenous Institutions and Comparative Politics." In Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman, eds., *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 333-357.

Rosenau, James N. 1966. "Pre-theories and Theories of Foreign Policy." In R. B. Farrell, ed., *Approaches in Comparative and International Politics*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 115-169.

-----, 1968. "Comparative Foreign Policy: Fad, Fantasy, or Field?" *International Studies Quarterly* 12(3): 296-329.

-----, 1973. "Paradigm Lost: Five Actors in Search of the Interactive Effects of Domestic and Foreign Affairs." *Policy Sciences* 4: 415-436.

-----, 1984. "A Pre-Theory Revisited: World Politics in an Era of Cascading Interdependence." *International Studies Quarterly* 28: 245-305.

Rugh, Peter. May 29, 2013. "Exposed: Canadian Oil and Gas Workers, Many Unions, Now Oppose Keystone XL Pipeline," *Occupy.com*. Accessed May 1, 2015. <http://www.occupy.com/article/exposed-canadian-oil-and-gas-workers-many-unions-now-oppose-keystone-xl-pipeline>

Sartori, Giovanni. 1970. "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics." *The American Political Science Review* 64(4): 1033-1053.

-----, 2005. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. UK: ECPR Classics Press.

- Schrodt, Philip A., and James E. Yonamine. 2013. "A Guide to Event Data: Past, Present, and Future." *All Azimuth* 2(2): 5-22.
- Sheppard, Kate. January 9, 2015. "House Approves Keystone XL Bill Again, Setting Up Showdown With White House," *the Huffington Post*. Accessed February 1, 2015. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/01/09/keystone-house-vote-obama_n_6444816.html
- Shimko, Keith. 1992. "Realism, Neorealism, and American Liberalism." *Review of Politics* 54(2): 281-301.
- Smith, Jordan Michael. 2013. "Northern Promises: Will Canada Make It as an Energy Superpower?" *World Affairs*: 72-79.
- Snyder, Jim. January 23, 2014. "Keystone Builder's 2013 U.S. Lobbying Topped \$1 Million." *Bloomberg Business*. Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-01-22/keystone-builder-s-2013-u-s-lobbying-topped-1-million>
- Stevens, Daniel. February 11, 2015. "Oil & Gas Industry Gave 13 Times More Money to House Reps Voting for Senate Keystone XL Bill," *MapLight*. Accessed May 1, 2015. <http://maplight.org/content/oil-and-gas-industry-gave-13-times-more-money-to-house-reps-voting-for-senate-keystone-xl-bill>
- Tanış, Tolga. March 18, 2013. "Veli'ye No Riki'ye Yes." *Hurriyet*. Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/pasaj/22808950.asp?noMobile=true>
- Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi. 2011a. "Malatya Milletvekili Veli Ağbaba ve 20 Milletvekilinin, füze savunma sistemi kapsamında Malatya-Kürecik'te konuşlandırılması planlanan radar sistemi konusunda bir genel görüşme açılmasına ilişkin önergesi." Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d24/8/8-36727gen.pdf>
- , 2011b. "İzmir Milletvekili Aytun Çıray'ın TBMM başkanlığına verdiği ve Milli Savunma Bakanı tarafından cevap verilmesi talep edilen, 7/373 sayılı soru önergesinin cevabı." (2011b). Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d24/7/7-0373sgc.pdf>
- , "Tutanak Dergisi." Accessed February 1, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/td_v2_istatistik.tutanak_hazirla?v_mec

lis=&v_donem=&v_yasama_yili=&v_cilt=&v_birlesim=&v_sayfa=&v_anab
aslik=OYLAMALAR&v_altbaslik=&v_mv=&v_sb=&v_ozet=&v_kelime=
&v_bastarih=&v_bittarih

University of Texas at Austin. "Policy Agendas Project." Accessed March 1, 2015. <http://www.policyagendas.org>

U.S. Department of State. "Foreign Assistance Budget Releases." Accessed March 15, 2015. <http://www.state.gov/f/releases/iab/>

Uysal, Ayşen. 2011. "Continuity and Rupture: The "New CHP" or 'What Has Changed in the CHP?," *Insight Turkey* 13(4): 129-146.

van Biezen, Ingrid. 2004. "Political Parties as Public Utilities." *Party Politics* 10(6): 701-722.

Vardar, Nilay. September 25, 2011. "Muhalefet Kürecik'te Birleşti." *Bianet*. Accessed February 21, 2015. <http://www.bianet.org/biamag/belediye/132938-muhalefet-kurecik-te-birlesti>

Volgens, Andrea and et al. 2015a. *The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2015a*. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB). Accessed February 1, 2015. <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu>

-----, 2015b. *The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2015a. Coding Scheme: CMP*. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB). Accessed February 1, 2015. https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/coding_schemes/1

Waltz, Kenneth Neal. 1959. *Man, the State and War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Whitmore, Steven J. and John R. Deni. 2013. "NATO Missile Defense and the European Phased Adaptive Approach: The Implications of Burden Sharing and the Underappreciated Role of U.S. Army." *Strategic Studies Institute*: 1-53.

Wonnacott, Thomas H., and Ronald J. Wonnacott. 1990. *Introductory Statistics*. The United States of America: John Wiley & Sons.

World Bank. "Foreign direct investment, net outflows." Accessed February 1, 2015.
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BM.KLT.DINV.GD.ZS>

World Values Survey. "Online Data Analysis." Accessed February 1, 2015.
<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp>

Yishai, Yael. 2001. "Bringing Society Back in: Post-Cartel Parties in Israel." *Party Politics* 7(6): 667-687.

Zeller Jr., Tom. February 26, 2015. "Canada Won't Take 'No' For an Answer on Keystone XL." *Forbes*. Accessed May 1, 2015.
<http://www.forbes.com/sites/tomzeller/2015/02/26/canada-wont-take-no-for-an-answer-on-keystone-xl/>

APPENDIX

Table 1: List of legislative proceedings collected to measure modified group likeness scores for political parties inside the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in-between 2003 and 2011 under Kürecik radar base case.

Relevant Legislative Proceeding	Title	Summary & Status	Bibliographic Information ⁴⁶
A1	“Approval of the draft statute over the acceptance of the treaty that bans the use, storage, production, and transfer of anti-personnel mines and envisages their destruction”	Approval of the participation into the Mine-Ban Convention of 1997 (Ottawa Treaty) [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 1. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 7, 44. Birleşim.” (March 12, 2003): pp. 93-116.) Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c007/tbmm22007044.pdf
A2	“Approval of the fourth supplementary protocol to the founding treaty of South-Eastern Europe Defense Ministerial”	Approval of the amendments to update the relevant founding treaty to the current state of affairs, to advance the capability of the organization’s ability for collective action, and to adapt certain entitlements, phrases, and terms to the terminology of NATO [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 1. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 24, 110. Birleşim.” (July 23, 2003): pp. 182-205). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c024/tbmm22024110.pdf
A3	“Approval of the protocol that designates the participation of People’s Republic of Bulgaria into the North Atlantic Treaty”	Approval of the participation of People’s Republic of Bulgaria into the North Atlantic Treaty based on the decision to enlarge NATO in Europe during the Prag Summit of 2002 [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 28, 8. Birleşim.” (October 16, 2003): pp. 148-171). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c028/tbmm22028008.pdf
A4	“Approval of the protocol that designates the participation of Romania into the North Atlantic Treaty”	Approval of the participation of Romania into the North Atlantic Treaty based on the decision to enlarge NATO in Europe during the Prag Summit of 2002 [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 30, 14. Birleşim.” (November 5, 2003): pp. 69-92). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c030/tbmm22030014.pdf

⁴⁶ For the replication of the relevant data, please copy the link in consideration and past it into your browser as such you can reach at the document/list indicated. Directly clicking on the links provided, on the other hand, directs the users into failed pages.

A5	“Approval of the protocol that designates the participation of the Republic of Slovenia into the North Atlantic Treaty”	Approval of the participation of the Republic of Slovenia into the North Atlantic Treaty based on the decision to enlarge NATO in Europe during the Prag Summit of 2002 [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 30, 14. Birleşim.” (November 5, 2003): pp. 93-116). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c030/tbmm22030014.pdf
A6	“Approval of the protocol that designates the participation of the Republic of Latvia into the North Atlantic Treaty”	Approval of the participation of the Republic of Latvia into the North Atlantic Treaty based on the decision to enlarge NATO in Europe during the Prag Summit of 2002 [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 30, 14. Birleşim.” (November 5, 2003): pp. 117-140). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c030/tbmm22030014.pdf
A7	“Approval of the protocol that designates the participation of the Republic of Lithuania into the North Atlantic Treaty”	Approval of the participation of the Republic of Lithuania into the North Atlantic Treaty based on the decision to enlarge NATO in Europe during the Prag Summit of 2002 [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 30, 14. Birleşim.” (November 5, 2003): pp. 141-164). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c030/tbmm22030014.pdf
A8	“Approval of the protocol that designates the participation of the Slovak Republic into the North Atlantic Treaty”	Approval of the participation of the Slovak Republic into the North Atlantic Treaty based on the decision to enlarge NATO in Europe during the Prag Summit of 2002 [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 30, 14. Birleşim.” (November 5, 2003): pp. 165-188). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c030/tbmm22030014.pdf
A9	“Approval of the protocol that designates the participation of the Republic of Estonia into the North Atlantic Treaty”	Approval of the participation of the Republic of Estonia into the North Atlantic Treaty based on the decision to enlarge NATO in Europe during the Prag Summit of 2002 [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 30, 14. Birleşim.” (November 5, 2003): pp. 189-212). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c030/tbmm22030014.pdf
A10	“Approval of the agreement between the government of the Republic of Turkey and the government of the United States of America to close the Belbaşı Facility and to initiate a new seismic research center in Turkey”	Approval of closing down Belbaşı Nuclear Tests Monitoring Center, which was operating within the perimeters of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO), and its replacement with an another seismic research center in Turkey [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 36, 37. Birleşim.” (December 25, 2003): pp. 642-665). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c036/tbmm22036037.pdf
A11	“Approval of the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel of 1994 by the Republic of Turkey”	Approval to create a collective body of action to sanction and to deter any possible felonies conducted against the U.N. personnel [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 38, 42. Birleşim.” (January 14, 2004): pp. 155-178). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d22/c038/tbmm22038042.pdf
		Operating within the perimeters of the Treaty on	

A12	“Approval of the cooperation agreement and memorandum of understanding between the Republic of Turkey and the United States of America over the peaceful use of nuclear energy”	the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) of 1970, the approved treaty expresses the parties’ compliance with the principle of nuclear non-proliferation at a worldwide scale, and norms of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for the sake of pro-peace and pro-environment purposes [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 38, 42. Birleşim.” (January 14, 2004 2003): pp. 635-658). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANA K/TBMM/d22/c038/tbmm22038042.pdf
A13	“Approval of the draft statute over the acceptance of the treaty among governments of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC) member countries for delivering emergency aids and immediate action in times of natural disasters or the ones caused by human error”	Approval to join into collective body of action whose foundation was proposed by the Russian Federation in 1998 to implement coordinated actions in times of emergency due to disasters that surpass the national capacity of the relevant BSEC members [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 4. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 94, 4. Birleşim.” (October 6, 2005): pp. 518-532). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANA K/TBMM/d22/c094/tbmm22094004.pdf
A14	“Approval of the draft statute over the acceptance of the cooperation treaty between the government of the Republic of Turkey and European Space Agency (ESA) to research and use outer space for peaceful purposes”	Approval to join into collective body of action to share technical know-how about outer space for peaceful purposes and to create further grounds for cooperation among the agency’s member states [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 4. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 120, 105. Birleşim.” (May 23, 2006): pp. 527-536). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANA K/TBMM/d22/c120/tbmm22120105.pdf
A15	“Results of the open ballot voting about the Prime Minister’s permit to send Turkish armed forces to Lebanon”	Approval to send Turkish armed forces to operate in Lebanon under the aegis of United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 4. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 127-1, 124. Birleşim.” (September 5, 2006): pp. 1602-1611). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANA K/TBMM/d22/c127/tbmm22127124.pdf
A16	“Approval of the draft statute over the acceptance of the treaty between the government of the Republic of Turkey and the government of the United States to ease the provision of assistance to create a ground for cooperation aimed at preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction”	Approval of the cooperation between the two countries to prevent the spread of the weapons of mass destruction, missile launching systems, and related dual-use technologies and hence to ease the provision of economic, technical and other sorts of assistance for that purpose [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 5. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 145, 54. Birleşim.” (January 24, 2007): pp. 197-206). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANA K/TBMM/d22/c145/tbmm22145054.pdf
A17	“Approval of the draft statute over the acceptance of the framework agreement between the European Union (EU) and the Republic of Turkey to incorporate the latter party into EU-led crisis management operations”	Approval of Turkey’s participation into EU-led crisis management operations within the perimeters of the EU’s Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) partnership [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “22. Dönem, 5. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 154, 94. Birleşim.” (April 25, 2007): pp. 429-442). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANA K/TBMM/d22/c154/tbmm22154094.pdf
		Approval of the participation	T.B.M.M. “23. Dönem, 3. Yasama Yılı,

A18	“Approval of the protocol that designates the participation of the Republic of Croatia into the North Atlantic Treaty”	of the Republic of Croatia into the North Atlantic Treaty based on the decision to enlarge NATO in Europe during the Prag Summit of 2002 [passed into law]	Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 31, 21. Birleşim.” (November 25, 2008): pp. 621-632). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANA K/TBMM/d23/c031/tbmm23031021.pdf
A19	“Approval of the protocol that designates the participation of the Republic of Albania into the North Atlantic Treaty”	Approval of the participation of the Republic of Croatia into the North Atlantic Treaty based on the decision to enlarge NATO in Europe during the Prag Summit of 2002 [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “23. Dönem, 3. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 31, 21. Birleşim.” (November 25, 2008): pp. 621-632). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANA K/TBMM/d23/c031/tbmm23031021.pdf
A20	“Approval of the draft statute over the acceptance of the treaty on the Nabucco Pipeline Project among the Republic of Austria, the Republic of Bulgaria, the Republic of Hungary, Romania, and the Republic of Turkey”	Approval to promote the advancement of the Nabucco Pipeline Project to ensure secured natural gas transportation to the signatory parties of the Nabucco Summit of 2009 in Budapest [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “23. Dönem, 4. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 63, 69. Birleşim.” (March 4, 2010): pp. 106-115). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANA K/TBMM/d23/c063/tbmm23063069.pdf
A21	“Approval of the draft statute over the acceptance of the space defense cooperation treaty between the General Staff of the Republic of Turkey and the United States Department of Defense”	Approval of the cooperation between the two countries to utilize space technologies to enhance the conventional defense capabilities of the two parties and to share technical know-how [passed into law]	T.B.M.M. “23. Dönem, 5. Yasama Yılı, Tutanak Dergisi: Cilt 94, 70. Birleşim.” (February 23, 2011): pp. 134-149). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANA K/TBMM/d23/c094/tbmm23094070.pdf

Table 2: Turkish political parties’ positioning on foreign policy, and macro-economic policy conduct based on frequency of the attributes to the relevant categories in the party manifestoes delivered before the general elections of the up-coming parliamentary term under Kürecik radar base case.⁴⁷

Categories to Measure Political Parties’ Position on Respective Issues ⁴⁸	AKP	CHP	MHP
101 – Foreign Policy Special Relationships (positive) [22 nd Term / 14.11.2002-03.06.2007]	20	3	...
102 – Foreign Policy Special Relationships (negative) [22 nd Term / 14.11.2002-03.06.2007]	0	0	...
101 – Foreign Policy Special Relationships (positive) [23 rd Term / 23.07.2007-	85	3	32

⁴⁷ For the information about frequency of the relevant parties’ attribution to those categorizations, please refer to “Turkey: Parties,” Manifesto Project Database, accessed February 1, 2015, <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/countries/Turkey>

⁴⁸ For the information about categorizations, please refer to “Coding Scheme: CMP,” Manifesto Project Database, accessed February 1, 2015, https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/coding_schemes/1

23.04.2011			
102 – Foreign Policy Special Relationships (negative) [23rd Term / 23.07.2007- 23.04.2011]	1	9	1
104 – Military (Positive) [22nd Term]	5	0	...
105 – Military (Negative) [22nd Term]	1	0	...
104 – Military (Positive) [23rd Term]	49	24	33
105 – Military (Negative) [23rd Term]	2	1	0
107 – Internationalism (Positive) [22nd Term]	26	7	...
109 – Internationalism (Negative) [22nd Term]	0	0	...
107 – Internationalism (Positive) [23rd Term]	59	10	10
109 – Internationalism (Negative) [23rd Term]	0	3	0
410 – Economic Growth (Positive) [22nd Term]	46	7	...
410 – Economic Growth (Positive) [23rd Term]	88	69	95
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (Positive) [22nd Term]	17	0	...
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (Positive) [23rd Term]	23	7	10
Relevant Party's Total System Orientation in the 22nd Parliament	$(20+5+26+46-0-1-0-17) = 79$	$(3+0+7+7-0-0-0-7) = 10$	...
Relevant Party's Total System Orientation in the 23rd Parliament	$(85+49+59+88-1-2-0-23) = 255$	$(3+24+10+69-9-1-3-7) = 86$	$(32+33+10+95-1-0-0-10) = 159$

Table 3: Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the first null hypothesis in the Turkish context under Kürecik radar base case.

Stage 1: Calculating the expected frequencies by multiplying the total frequencies crossed at and then dividing by n (=231).			
50,46859083	14,50594228	24,02546689	
283,5314092	81,49405772	134,9745331	
Stage 2: Calculating the deviations by subtracting the expected frequencies from their observed values.			
28,53140917	-4,505942275	-24,02546689	
-28,53140917	4,505942275	24,02546689	
Stage 3: Calculating $(O-E)^2/E$ by squaring each deviation and then dividing each by their respective expected frequency.			
16,12966195	1,399668867	24,02546689	
2,871079827	0,249141058	4,276533107	

Stage 4: Calculating X^2 by the sum of whole $(O-E)^2/E$ scores and it is 48,9515517.

Table 4: Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the second null hypothesis in the Turkish context under Kürecik radar base case.

Stage 1: Calculating the expected frequencies by multiplying the total frequencies crossed at and then dividing by n (=4090).		
484,2337408	812,5202934	515,2459658
608,7662592	1021,479707	647,7540342
Stage 2: Calculating the deviations by subtracting the expected frequencies from their observed values.		
-10,23374083	33,4797066	-23,24596577
10,23374083	-33,4797066	23,24596577
Stage 4: Calculating $(O-E)^2/E$ by squaring each deviation and then dividing each by their respective expected frequency.		
0,216278715	1,379523396	1,048770802
0,172035572	1,097320629	0,834228574
Stage 5: Calculating X^2 by the sum of whole $(O-E)^2/E$ scores and it is 4,74815769.		

Table 5: Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the third null hypothesis in the Turkish context under Kürecik radar base case.⁴⁹

Stage 1: Expected Frequencies	815,6947105	233,3052895
	1051,305289	300,6947105
Stage 2: Deviations	32,30528946	-32,30528946
	-32,30528946	32,30528946
Stage 2.1: Deviation Squared	1043,631727	1043,631727
	1043,631727	1043,631727
Stage 3: $(O-E)^2/E$	1,279439126	4,473245033
	0,992700919	3,470735236
Stage 4: Chi-Square Value	10,21612031	

⁴⁹ From then on, the calculation stages for Chi-Square value will be displayed via cross-tabulation of the processes in order not to crowd the appendix.

Table 6: List of legislative proceedings collected to measure modified group likeness scores for political parties inside the House of Representatives of U.S. in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik radar base case.

Relevant Legislative Proceeding	Title	Summary & Status	Bibliographic Information ⁵⁰
B1	“Urging the Government of Ukraine to Ensure a Democratic, Transparent, and Fair Election Process Leading Up to the March 31, 2002 Parliamentary Elections”	The Congress’ expression of support given to democracy and constitutional liberalism efforts in Ukraine and call to the Ukrainian government to ease those procedures [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “107 th House - 2 nd Session, Roll 70.” (2002). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2002/roll070.xml
B2	“Expressing Solidarity with Israel in its Fight Against Terrorism”	The Congress’ expression of support given to Israel’s protection from terrorist conducts and to call for the international community to reckon with Palestinians’ humanitarian needs [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “107 th House - 2 nd Session, Roll 126.” (2002). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2002/roll126.xml
B3	“Commemorating the Independence of East Timor and expressing the sense of Congress that the President should establish diplomatic relations with East Timor”	The Congress’ expression of support given to East Timor’s sovereign state status and to call for the international community including the U.N. for the reconstruction of the infrastructure in East Timor [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “107 th House - 2 nd Session, Roll 178.” (2002). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2002/roll178.xml
B4	“Afghanistan Freedom Support Act”	The Congress’ authorization of the President to deliver economic, democratic development, and military assistance to Afghanistan [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “107 th House - 2 nd Session, Roll 82.” (2002). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2002/roll182.xml
B5	“Transatlantic Security and NATO Enhancement Resolution”	The Congress’ declaration of the U.S. policy towards’ advancement of NATO capacity against new threats, NATO’s member country number, and NATO’s cooperative engagement with the Russian Federation [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “107 th House - 2 nd Session, Roll 444.” (2002). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2002/roll444.xml
B6	“Commending the signing of the United States-Adriatic Charter, a charter of partnership among the United States, Albania, Croatia, and Macedonia”	The Congress’ expression of support given to the United States-Adriatic Charter of 2003 and to the E.U. membership aim of Albania, Croatia, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “108 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 299.” (2003). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2003/roll299.xml

⁵⁰ For the replication of the relevant data, please copy the link in consideration and past it into your browser as such you can reach at the document/list indicated. Directly clicking on the links provided, on the other hand, directs the users into failed pages.

		[passed]	
B7	“Expressing Support for Freedom in Hong Kong”	The Congress’ expression of support given to the maintenance of freedom of thought, expression, and association and call for the governments of Hong Kong and the People’s Republic of China to respect those liberties [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “108 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 326.” (2003). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2003/roll326.xml
B8	“Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that France, Germany, and Russia, can initially best contribute to the reconstruction of Iraq by forgiveness of outstanding debt”	The Congress’ expression of its call to “creditor nations in the Paris Club” to erase the debts of Iraq to ease rebuilding the country’s infrastructure [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “108 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 545.” (2003). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2003/roll545.xml
B9	“Welcoming accession of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia to NATO”	The Congress’ expression of support given to the accession of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia to NATO and NATO’s enlargement in Europe [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “108 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 99.” (2004). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2004/roll099.xml
B10	“Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives in support of full membership of Israel in the Western European and Others Group (WEOG) at the United Nations”	The Congress’ call to the President to take certain actions to make sure that Israel is equally treated in the U.N. and the Congress’ expression of congruity between the interests of the U.S. and Israel’s full membership in the WEOG [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “108 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 377.” (2004). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2004/roll377.xml
B11	“To promote freedom and democracy in Viet Nam”	The Congress’ expression of conditionality to deliver/prohibit non-humanitarian assistance to the government of Viet Nam, and call to the President to democracy and constitutional liberalism efforts in Vietnam [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “108 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 391.” (2004). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2004/roll391.xml
B12	“Urging the Government of the Republic of Belarus to ensure a democratic, transparent, and fair election process for its parliamentary elections in the fall of 2004”	The Congress’ expression of support given to democracy and constitutional liberalism efforts in the Republic of Belarus and call to the Republic of Belarus government to ease those procedures [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “108 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 412.” (2004). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2004/roll412.xml
B13	“Urging the Government of the Republic of Albania to ensure that the parliamentary elections to be held on July 3, 2005, are conducted in accordance with international standards for free and fair	The Congress’ expression of support given to democracy and constitutional liberalism efforts in the Republic of Albania through taking necessary steps in its “European and Euro-Atlantic integration”	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 323.” (2005). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2005/roll323.xml

	elections”	[passed]	
B14	“Calling for free and fair parliamentary elections in the Republic of Azerbaijan”	The Congress’ expression of support given to democracy and constitutional liberalism efforts in the Republic of Azerbaijan and call to the Republic of Azerbaijan government to ease those procedures [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 400.” (2005). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2005/roll400.xml
B15	“Condemning Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s threats against Israel”	The Congress’ expression of condemnation against Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s against Israel; the Congress’ call to the international community to hinder Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons and support given to the alliance between the U.S. and Israel and the U.S.’ commitment to defend Israel [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 556.” (2005). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2005/roll556.xml
B16	“Expressing support for the accession of Israel to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)”	The Congress’ expression of support given to Israel’s accession to the OECD and of Israel’s commitment to democracy and market economy [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 574.” (2005). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2005/roll574.xml
B17	“Condemning the Government of Iran for violating its international nuclear nonproliferation obligations and expressing support for efforts to report Iran to the United Nations Security Council”	The Congress’ expression of condemnation against Iran’s noncompliance with nuclear nonproliferation regime, call to the international community to impose sanctions on Iran, and call to the U.N. Security Council members, particularly the Russian Federation and the People’s Republic of China, to take necessary course of conduct to maintain international stability [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 12.” (2006). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2006/roll012.xml
B18	“To hold the current regime in Iran accountable for its threatening behavior and to support a transition to democracy in Iran”	Detailed account of sanctions (removal) conditionality for Iran with regard to the issue of nuclear proliferation, and The Congress’ authorization of the President to deliver economic, and political assistance to the pro-democracy actors in Iran [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 105.” (2006). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2006/roll105.xml
B19	“Belarus Democracy Act”	The Congress’ expression of the U.S. policy that supports democracy and constitutional liberalism efforts in the Republic of Belarus and the country’s “integration into the European community of democracies”	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 537.” (2006). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2006/roll537.xml

		[passed]	
B20	"Afghanistan Freedom and Security Support Act"	Amendments in the Congress' authorization of the President to deliver economic, democratic development, and military assistance to Afghanistan in 2002 [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "110 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 438." (2007). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2007/roll438.xml
B21	"Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding provocative and dangerous statements and actions taken by the Government of the Russian Federation that undermine the territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia"	The Congress' expression of condemnation against the Russian Federation's act of breaching the Republic of Georgia's sovereignty in Abkhazia and South Ossetia and the Congress' expression of support given to Georgia's prospect to become a NATO member based on the Bucharest Summit of 2008 [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "110 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 270." (2008). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2008/roll270.xml
B22	"United States-India Nuclear Cooperation Approval and Nonproliferation Enhancement Act"	The Congress' expression of approval of the treaty that designates cooperation between the U.S. and India for peaceful use of nuclear energy [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "110 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 662." (2008). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2008/roll662.xml
B23	"Encouraging the Republic of Hungary to respect the rule of law, treat foreign investors fairly, and promote a free and independent press"	The Congress' expression of support given to constitutional liberalism efforts in the Republic of Hungary and call to the Republic of Hungary government to ease those procedures [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "111 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 937." (2009). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2009/roll937.xml
B24	"To authorize assistance to Israel for the Iron Dome anti-missile defense system"	The Congress' authorization of the President to assist Israel to obtain and then maintain its "Iron Dome Short Range Artillery Rocket Defense System" [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "111 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 284." (2010). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2010/roll284.xml
B25	"Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act"	The Congress' expression of its call to the international community to strengthen the sanctions directed against Iran due its nuclear program and of details of the sanctions implemented by the U.S. [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "111 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 394." (2010). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2010/roll394.xml
B26	"Providing for consideration of H. J. Res. 68, Authorizing the limited use of United States Armed Forces in support of the Nato mission in Libya; and consideration of H. R. 2278, to limit the use of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense for United States Armed Forces in support of NATO operations in Libya"	The Congress' authorization of the President to limitedly use and fund the U.S. armed forces in Libya to give support to NATO operations [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "112 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 492." (2011). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2011/roll492.xml

Table 7: American political parties’ positioning on foreign policy, and macro-economic policy conduct based on frequency of the attributes to the relevant categories in the party manifestoes relevant for the Congressional term indicated under Kürecik radar base case⁵¹

Categories to Measure Political Parties’ Position on Respective Issues ⁵²	Democratic Party	Republican Party
101 – Foreign Policy Special Relationships (positive) [107 th Term 2 nd Session – 108 th Term 1 st Session]	27	92
102 – Foreign Policy Special Relationships (negative) [107 th /2 nd – 108 th /1 st]	10	72
101 – Foreign Policy Special Relationships (positive) [108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1 st]	37	160
102 – Foreign Policy Special Relationships (negative) [108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1 st]	4	44
101 – Foreign Policy Special Relationships (positive) [110 th /2 – 112 th /1 st]	26	15
102 – Foreign Policy Special Relationships (negative) [110 th /2 – 112 th /1 st]	0	13
104 – Military (Positive) [107 th /2 nd – 108 th /1 st]	34	126
105 – Military (Negative) [107 th /2 nd – 108 th /1 st]	19	107
104 – Military (Positive) [108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1 st]	55	99
105 – Military (Negative) [108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1 st]	31	93
104 – Military (Positive) [110 th /2 – 112 th /1 st]	70	52
105 – Military (Negative) [110 th /2 – 112 th /1 st]	0	2
107 – Internationalism (Positive) [107 th /2 nd – 108 th /1 st]	46	62
109 – Internationalism (Negative) [107 th /2 nd – 108 th /1 st]	0	21
107 – Internationalism (Positive) [108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1 st]	45	71
109 – Internationalism (Negative) [108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1 st]	1	7
107 – Internationalism (Positive) [110 th /2 – 112 th /1 st]	122	61
109 – Internationalism (Negative) [110 th /2 – 112 th /1 st]	5	29
410 – Economic Growth (Positive) [107 th /2 nd – 108 th /1 st]	14	18
410 – Economic Growth (Positive) [108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1 st]	1	0
410 – Economic Growth (Positive) [110 th /2 – 112 th /1 st]	0	2
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (Positive) [107 th /2 nd – 108 th /1 st]	6	8
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (Positive) [108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1 st]	0	0
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (Positive)	0	0

⁵¹ For the information about frequency of the relevant parties’ attribution to those categorizations, please refer to “USA: Parties,” Manifesto Project Database, accessed February 1, 2015, <https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/countries/USA>

⁵² For the information about categorizations, please refer to “Coding Scheme: CMP,” Manifesto Project Database, accessed February 1, 2015, https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/coding_schemes/1

$[110^{th}/2 - 112^{th}/1^{st}]$		
Relevant Party's Prospective Power to Represent Those Issues in-between $107^{th}/2^{nd} - 108^{th}/1^{st}$	$[(27+34+46+14)-(10+19+0+6)] = 86$	$[(92+126+62+18)-(72+19+21+8)] = 178$
Relevant Party's Prospective Power to Represent Those Issues in-between $108^{th}/2^{nd} - 110^{th}/1^{st}$	$[(37+55+45+1)-(33+24+44+1)] = 36$	$[(160+99+71+0)-(44+6+7+0)] = 273$
Relevant Party's Prospective Power to Represent Those Issues in-between $110^{th}/2 - 112^{th}/1^{st}$	$[(26+70+122+0)-(26+70+117+0)] = 5$	$[(15+52+61+2)-(2+2+29+0)] = 97$

Table 8: Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the first null hypothesis in the American context under Kürecik radar base case.

Stage 1: Expected Frequencies	49,67111111	214,3288889
	58,13777778	250,8622222
	19,19111111	82,80888889
Stage 2: Deviations	36,32888889	-36,32888889
	-22,13777778	22,13777778
	-14,19111111	14,19111111
Stage 2.1: Deviation Squared	1319,788168	1319,788168
	490,0812049	490,0812049
	201,3876346	201,3876346
Stage 3: $(O-E)^2/E$	26,57053846	6,157770773
	8,429651488	1,953587115
	10,49379754	2,431956729
Stage 4: Chi-Square Value	56,0373021	

Table 9: Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the second null hypothesis in the American context.

Stage 1: Expected Frequencies	44,03168317	30,36171617	34,60660066
	49,68712871	34,26138614	39,05148515
	53,72673267	37,04686469	42,22640264
	57,76633663	39,83234323	45,40132013
	65,03762376	44,84620462	51,11617162
	64,63366337	44,56765677	50,79867987
	66,65346535	45,96039604	52,38613861
	66,24950495	45,68184818	52,06864686
	73,11683168	50,41716172	57,4660066
	71,0970297	49,02442244	55,87854785
Stage 2: Deviations	-8,031683168	6,638283828	1,39339934
	-4,687128713	5,738613861	-1,051485149
	-2,726732673	2,953135314	-0,22640264

	-0,766336634	1,167656766	-0,401320132
	1,962376238	-5,84620462	3,883828383
	1,366336634	-4,567656766	3,201320132
	7,346534653	-6,96039604	-0,386138614
	-3,24950495	-2,681848185	5,931353135
	1,883168317	2,582838284	-4,466006601
	6,902970297	0,975577558	-7,878547855
Stage 2.1: Deviation Squared	64,50793452	44,06681219	1,941561721
	21,96917557	32,93168905	1,105621018
	7,435071071	8,72100818	0,051258156
	0,587271836	1,363422322	0,161057848
	3,850920498	34,17810846	15,08412291
	1,866875796	20,86348833	10,24845059
	53,97157141	48,44711303	0,149103029
	10,55928242	7,192309686	35,18095002
	3,54632291	6,6710536	19,94521496
	47,65099892	0,951751571	62,0715163
Stage 3: (O-E)^2/E	1,46503449	1,451393984	0,056103798
	0,442150234	0,96118963	0,028311881
	0,138386809	0,235404757	0,001213889
	0,010166333	0,034229026	0,003547427
	0,059210658	0,762118194	0,295094927
	0,028883955	0,468130699	0,201746396
	0,809733915	1,054105648	0,002846231
	0,159386586	0,157443492	0,675664764
	0,048502141	0,132317119	0,347078493
	0,67022489	0,019413825	1,110829087
Stage 4: Chi-Square Value	11,82986328		

Table 10: Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the third null hypothesis in the American context.

Stage 1: Expected Frequencies	33,28404669	18,71595331
	35,84435798	20,15564202
	35,20428016	19,79571984
	28,16342412	15,83657588
	23,04280156	12,95719844
	27,5233463	15,4766537
	34,56420233	19,43579767
	39,04474708	21,95525292
	35,20428016	19,79571984
	37,12451362	20,87548638

Stage 2: Deviations	-8,284046693	8,284046693
	-1,844357977	1,844357977
	-7,204280156	7,204280156
	-9,163424125	9,163424125
	-8,042801556	8,042801556
	-13,5233463	13,5233463
	5,435797665	-5,435797665
	13,95525292	-13,95525292
	12,79571984	-12,79571984
	15,87548638	-15,87548638
Stage 2.1: Deviation Squared	68,62542961	68,62542961
	3,401656346	3,401656346
	51,90165256	51,90165256
	83,96834169	83,96834169
	64,68665688	64,68665688
	182,8808952	182,8808952
	29,54789626	29,54789626
	194,749084	194,749084
	163,7304463	163,7304463
	252,0310678	252,0310678
Stage 3: (O-E)^2/E	2,061811481	3,666680958
	0,094900747	0,168769436
	1,474299498	2,621862351
	2,981467783	5,302177841
	2,807239246	4,992333579
	6,644573419	11,8165657
	0,854869902	1,52028215
	4,987843399	8,870272856
	4,650867611	8,2710024
	6,788804574	12,07306327
Stage 4: Chi-Square Value	92,6496882	

Table 11: List of legislative proceedings collected to measure modified group likeness scores for political parties inside the Senate of U.S. in-between 2002 and 2011 under Kürecik radar base case.

Relevant Legislative Proceeding	Title	Summary & Status	Bibliographic Information ⁵³
C1	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 3389; Lieberman Amdt. No. 3389; To express solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism”	The Senate’s expression of support given to Israel’s efforts to combat terrorism and the Senate’s call to give assistance to Israel’s self-defense and to the Arab States to condemn to various forms of terrorism [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “107 th Senate – 2 nd Session, Roll 102.” (2002). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=107&session=2&vote=00102
C2	“On the Resolution of Ratification: Resolution Of Ratification To Accompany Treaty Doc. 108-4; Protocols to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 on the Accession of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. These protocols were opened for signature at Brussels on March 26, 2003, and signed that day on behalf of the United States and the other parties to the North Atlantic Treaty”	The Senate’s expression of its consent to the “Protocols to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949” to incorporate Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia into NATO membership [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “108 th Senate – 1 st Session, Roll 142.” (2003). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=108&session=1&vote=00142
C3	“On the Resolution: S. Res. 393; A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate in support of United States policy for a Middle East peace process”	The Senate’s expression of support given to the U.S.’s policy of maintaining peace in-between Israel and the Palestinian state and its call to the international community to create infrastructure of Palestinian state to fight terrorism and call to prevent prospective domains of terrorism directed against Israel [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “108 th Senate – 2 nd Session, Roll 151.” (2004). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=108&session=2&vote=00151
C4	“On Passage of the Bill: H. R. 3045; A bill to implement the Dominican Republic-Central America-United States Free Trade Agreement”	The Senate’s expression of approval to the U.S.’s free trade engagement with Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua and the Senate’s authorization of the President to implement necessary technicalities [passed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th Senate – 1 st Session, Roll 209.” (2005). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=109&session=1&vote=00209
C5	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 4234; Santorum Amdt. No. 4234; To authorize, with an offset, assistance for prodemocracy programs and activities inside and outside Iran, to make clear that the	The Senate’s expression of rejection to the detailed account of sanctions against Iran with regard to the issue of weapons of mass destruction, and rejection to the authorization of the President to deliver	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th Senate – 2 nd Session, Roll 192.” (2006). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=109&session=2&vote=00172

⁵³ For the replication of the relevant data, please copy the link in consideration and past it into your browser as such you can reach at the document/list indicated. Directly clicking on the links provided, on the other hand, directs the users into failed pages.

	United States supports the ability of the people of Iran to exercise self-determination over their form of government, and to make enhancements to the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act of 1996”	economic, and political assistance to the pro-democracy actors inside/outside Iran [rejected]	
C6	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 2024: Sessions Amdt. No. 2024, as Modified; To state the policy of the United States on the protection of the United States and its allies against Iranian ballistic missiles”	The Senate’s expression of approval to the U.S. policy of conducting development and deployment of missile defense systems against Iranian nuclear program and the Senate’s expression of congruity between the U.S. deployment of missile defense systems in Europe and NATO’s deployment of missile defense systems in Europe [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “110 th Senate – 1 st Session, Roll 245.” (2007). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_cal_1_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=110&session=1&vote=00245
C7	“On the Cloture Motion: Motion to Invoke Cloture on the Motion to Proceed to Consider S. 2634; A bill to require a report setting forth the global strategy of the United States to combat and defeat al Qaeda and its affiliates”	The Senate’s call to the Secretaries of Defense, State, and Homeland Security to deliver a report about the U.S.’ global strategy to combat Al-Qaeda and its offshoots through recommendations to the strategies of U.S. army personnel and arsenal deployment [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “110 th Senate – 2 nd Session, Roll 34.” (2008). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_cal_1_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=110&session=2&vote=00034
C8	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 1597: Brownback Amdt. No. 1597; To express the sense of the Senate that the Secretary of State should redesignate North Korea as a state sponsor of terrorism”	The Senate’s call to re-include North Korea into the list of states sponsoring acts of terrorism given its engagement into nuclear weapon development, its cooperation with the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, and its violation of civil liberties [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “111 th Senate – 1 st Session, Roll 239.” (2009). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_cal_1_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=111&session=1&vote=00239
C9	“On the Cloture Motion: Motion to Invoke Cloture on Treaty Doc. 111-5 (The START Treaty); Treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed in Prague on April 8, 2010, with Protocol”	The Senate’s expression of consent to the ratification of the treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation over “Measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms” [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “111 th Senate – 2 nd Session, Roll 292.” (2010). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_cal_1_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=111&session=2&vote=00292
C10	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 634: Cornyn Amdt. No. 634; To provide Taiwan with critically needed United States-built multirole fighter aircraft to strengthen its self-defense capability against the increasing military threat from China”	The Senate’s call to provide Taiwan with F-16 aircrafts to maintain its sovereignty against ascending Chinese military expansion and modernization [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “112 th Senate – 1 st Session, Roll 148.” (2011). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_cal_1_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=112&session=1&vote=00148

Table 12: List of legislative proceedings collected to measure modified group likeness scores for political parties inside the House of Representatives of U.S. in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

Relevant Legislative Proceeding	Title	Summary & Status	Bibliographic Information ⁵⁴
D1	"Energy Policy Act of 2005"	The House's proposal of an "energy research and development program" for the U.S. for the year 2005 in terms of energy efficiency, sustainability, and renewability [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "109 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 445." (2005). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2005/roll445.xml
D2	"To study and promote the use of energy efficient computer servers in the United States"	The Congress' expression of support given to the promotion of data centers country-wide to utilize "energy efficient microchips and servers" [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "109 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 369." (2006). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2006/roll369.xml
D3	"Energy Independence and Security Act"	The House's call to utilize energy efficient transportation technology, enhancement of energy security via advancing research and development on and the use of biofuels, and other provisions to take benefit of renewable sources [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "110 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 1177." (2007). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2007/roll1177.xml
D4	"Renewable Energy and Job Creation Act"	The House's call to create tax incentives to the industries to use renewable energy resources [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "110 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 344." (2008). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2008/roll344.xml
D5	"American Clean Energy and Security Act"	The House's call for the U.S. energy policy provisions for the year 2009 in terms of promoting energy efficiency and sustainability and for setting certain standards for "cap-and-trade system for greenhouse gas (GHG) emission" [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "111 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 477." (2009). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2009/roll477.xml
D6	"Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States should adopt national policies and pursue international agreements to prevent ocean acidification, to study the impacts of ocean acidification, and to address the effects of ocean acidification on marine ecosystems and coastal economies"	The House's call to the U.S. to enact certain programs and laws and to participate into particular international regimes to hinder ocean acidification [failed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, "111 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 341." (2010). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2010/roll341.xml
		The House's call to the	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface,

⁵⁴ For the replication of the relevant data, please copy the link in consideration and past it into your browser as such you can reach at the document/list indicated. Directly clicking on the links provided, on the other hand, directs the users into failed pages.

D7	“Providing for consideration of H. R. 1938, North American-Made Energy Security Act”	President to ease the construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project [passed]	“112 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 637.” (2011). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2011/roll637.xml
D8	“Protecting Investment in Oil Shale the Next Generation of Environmental, Energy, and Resource Security Act”	The House’s call to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) to issue a permit for the construction and operation of the Keystone XL Pipeline Project and call for the advancement of “Offshore Oil and Gas Leasing” [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “112 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 71.” (2012). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2012/roll071.xml
D9	“Providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3) to approve the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Keystone XL pipeline, and for other purposes”	The House’s call for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “113 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 168.” (2013). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2013/roll168.xml
D10	“To approve the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Keystone XL pipeline, and for other purposes”	The House’s call for the Northern Route Approval Act as such presidential permit is not necessitated for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project and call for the relevant agencies to report the project’s lack of harm to the environment [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “113 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 179.” (2013). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2013/roll179.xml
D11	“To streamline and ensure onshore energy permitting, provide for onshore leasing certainty, and give certainty to oil shale development for American energy security, economic development, and job creation, and for other purposes”	The House’s authorization of the Secretary of the Interior and other relevant state bureaucracy to create incentives to use American workers within operations onshore oil and gas permit streamlining and to deal with the technicalities of permitting onshore oil and gas permit streamlining [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “113 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 600.” (2013). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2013/roll600.xml
D12	“Providing for consideration of H.R. 6, the Domestic Prosperity and Global Freedom Act and H.R. 3301, the North American Energy Infrastructure Act”	The House’s call for the approval of the bill that permits the natural gas exportation to the World Trade Organization member countries and call for “the construction, connection, operation, or maintenance of oil or natural gas pipelines or electric transmission facilities” within the boundaries of the U.S. for “the import or export of oil, natural gas, or electricity to or from Canada or Mexico”	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “113 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 342.” (2014). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2014/roll342.xml
D13	“Providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 5682) to approve the Keystone XL Pipeline”	The House’s call for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “113 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 517.” (2014). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2014/roll517.xml

		[passed]	
D14	“To approve the Keystone XL Pipeline”	The House’s authorization of the TransCanada Keystone Pipeline for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project and designation of the Department of State’s Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement of 2014 as in compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “113 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 519.” (2014). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2014/roll519.xml
D15	“Providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3) to approve the Keystone XL Pipeline, and providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 30) the Save American Workers Act of 2015”	The House’s call for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “114 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 12.” (2015). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2015/roll012.xml
D16	“Keystone XL Pipeline Act”	The House’s authorization of the TransCanada Keystone Pipeline for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project and designation of the Department of State’s Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement of 2014 as in compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “114 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 16.” (2015). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2015/roll016.xml

Table 13: American political parties’ positioning on foreign policy, macro-economic, and environmental policy conduct based on frequency of the attributes to the relevant categories in the party manifestoes relevant for the Congressional term indicated under Keystone XL pipeline project⁵⁵

Categories to Measure Political Parties’ Position on Respective Issues ⁵⁶	Democratic Party	Republican Party
402 – Incentives [108 th Term 2 nd Session – 110 th Term 1 st Session]	15	159
410 – Economic Growth (positive) [108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1 st]	1	0
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (positive) [108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1]	0	0
501 – Environmental Protection (positive) [108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1]	49	52
402 – Incentives [110 th /2 nd – 112 th /1 st]	33	42

⁵⁵ For the information about frequency of the relevant parties’ attribution to those categorizations, please refer to “USA: Parties,” Manifesto Project Database, accessed February 1, 2015, <https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/countries/USA>

⁵⁶ For the information about categorizations, please refer to “Coding Scheme: CMP,” Manifesto Project Database, accessed February 1, 2015, https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/coding_schemes/1

410 – Economic Growth (positive) [110 th /2 nd – 112 th /1 st]	0	2
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (positive) [110 th /2 nd – 112 th /1 st]	0	0
501 – Environmental Protection (positive) [110 th /2 nd – 112 th /1 st]	51	20
402 – Incentives [112 th /2 nd – 114 th /1 st]	40	23
410 – Economic Growth (positive) [112 th /2 nd – 114 th /1 st]	33	52
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (positive) [112 th /2 nd – 114 th /1 st]	23	10
501 – Environmental Protection (positive) [112 th /2 nd – 114 th /1 st]	37	7
Relevant Party's Prospective Power to Represent Those Issues in-between 108 th /2 nd – 110 th /1 st	[(15+1)-(0+49)] = -33	[(159+0)-(0+52)] = 107
Relevant Party's Prospective Power to Represent Those Issues in-between 110 th /2 nd – 112 th /1 st	[(33+0)-(0+51)] = -18	[(42+2)-(0+20)] = 24
Relevant Party's Prospective Power to Represent Those Issues in-between 112 th /2 nd – 114 th /1 st	[(40+33)-(23+37)] = 13	[(23+52)-(10+7)] = 58

Table 14: Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the first null hypothesis in the American context under Keystone XL pipeline project.

Stage 1: Expected Frequencies	6,886138614	100,1138614
	0,007646309	22,45544554
	4,569306931	66,43069307
Stage 2: Deviations	-6,886138614	6,886138614
	-0,007646309	1,544554455
	8,430693069	-8,430693069
Stage 2.1: Deviation Squared	47,41890501	47,41890501
	5,8466E-05	2,385648466
	71,07658563	71,07658563
Stage 3: (O-E)^2/E	6,886138614	0,473649746
	0,007646309	0,106239195
	15,55522242	1,069935934
Stage 4: Chi-Square Value	24,09883222	

Table 15 Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the second null hypothesis in the American context under Keystone XL pipeline project.

Stage 1: Expected Frequencies	26,0675563	57,79232694	49,14011676
	22,93160967	50,83986656	43,22852377
	23,323603	51,7089241	43,96747289
	22,14762302	49,10175146	41,75062552

	23,323603	51,7089241	43,96747289
	20,38365304	45,19099249	38,42535446
	20,77564637	46,06005004	39,16430359
	20,77564637	46,06005004	39,16430359
	18,22768974	40,41117598	34,36113428
	18,61968307	41,28023353	35,1000834
	18,42368641	40,84570475	34,73060884
Stage 2: Deviations	9,932443703	-8,792326939	-1,140116764
	2,068390325	2,160133445	-4,22852377
	3,676396997	1,291075897	-4,967472894
	-3,147623019	4,89824854	-1,750625521
	6,676396997	0,291075897	-6,967472894
	-1,383653044	-2,190992494	3,574645538
	-3,775646372	-2,060050042	5,835696414
	-5,775646372	1,939949958	3,835696414
	-4,227689741	4,58882402	-0,361134279
	-3,619683069	-0,280233528	3,899916597
	-0,423686405	-1,845704754	2,269391159
Stage 2.1: Deviation Squared	98,65343791	77,305013	1,299866235
	4,278238538	4,666176498	17,88041327
	13,51589488	1,666876971	24,67578695
	9,907530671	23,99283876	3,064689716
	44,57427687	0,084725178	48,54567853
	1,914495747	4,800448108	12,77809072
	14,25550553	4,243806174	34,05535263
	33,35809101	3,763405841	14,71256698
	17,87336055	21,05730589	0,130417967
	13,10210552	0,07853083	15,20934946
	0,17951017	3,406626039	5,150136234
Stage 3: (O-E)^2/E	3,784529581	1,337634546	0,026452241
	0,186565121	0,09178184	0,41362535
	0,579494295	0,03223577	0,561228229
	0,447340586	0,48863509	0,073404642
	1,911123117	0,001638502	1,104127104
	0,093923093	0,106225773	0,33254321
	0,686164236	0,092136378	0,869550829
	1,605634329	0,081706508	0,375662673
	0,980560938	0,521076296	0,003795508
	0,703669631	0,001902383	0,43331377
	0,009743445	0,083402308	0,148288107
Stage 4: Chi-Square Value	18,16911543		

Table 16: Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the third null hypothesis in the American context under Keystone XL pipeline project.

Stage 1: Expected Frequencies	19,46502058	0,534979424
	15,57201646	0,427983539
	15,57201646	0,427983539
	39,90329218	1,096707819
	52,55555556	1,444444444
	47,68930041	1,310699588
	52,55555556	1,444444444
	51,58230453	1,417695473
	42,82304527	1,176954733
	62,28806584	1,711934156
	72,99382716	2,00617284
Stage 2: Deviations	-0,465020576	0,465020576
	-0,572016461	0,572016461
	-1,572016461	1,572016461
	0,096707819	-0,096707819
	0,444444444	-0,444444444
	0,310699588	-0,310699588
	0,444444444	-0,444444444
	0,417695473	-0,417695473
	0,176954733	-0,176954733
	0,711934156	-0,711934156
	0,00617284	-0,00617284
Stage 2.1: Deviation Squared	0,216244136	0,216244136
	0,327202832	0,327202832
	2,471235753	2,471235753
	0,009352402	0,009352402
	0,197530864	0,197530864
	0,096534234	0,096534234
	0,197530864	0,197530864
	0,174469508	0,174469508
	0,031312977	0,031312977
	0,506850243	0,506850243
	3,81039E-05	3,81039E-05
Stage 3: (O-E)^2/E	0,011109371	0,404210193
	0,021012233	0,764522001
	0,158697222	5,774137385
	0,000234377	0,008527706
	0,003758515	0,136752137

	0,002024233	0,073650923
	0,003758515	0,136752137
	0,003382352	0,123065575
	0,000731218	0,026605082
	0,008137197	0,296068772
	5,22016E-07	1,89934E-05
Stage 4: Chi-Square Value	7,957156658	

Table 17: List of legislative proceedings collected to measure modified group likeness scores for political parties inside the Senate of U.S. in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL pipeline project.

Relevant Legislative Proceeding	Title	Summary & Status	Bibliographic Information ⁵⁷
E1	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 779: Domenici Amdt. No. 779, As Modified; To eliminate methyl tertiary butyl ether from the United States fuel supply, to increase production and use of renewable fuel, and to increase the Nation's energy independence”	The Senate’s call to eliminate the utilization of “methyl tertiary butyl ether from the United States fuel supply,” to promote the production and use of renewable sources for fuel and sustain the tenacity of the U.S.’s energy independence [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 139.” (2005). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=109&session=1&vote=00139
E2	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 784: Cantwell Amdt. No. 784 As Modified; To improve the energy security of the United States and reduce United States dependence on foreign oil imports by 40 percent by 2025”	The Senate’s call to promote energy efficiency programs and to lessen energy consumption along with the call to lessen the U.S. importation of petroleum with projections before the year 2025 [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 140.” (2005). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=109&session=1&vote=00140
E3	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 826: McCain Amdt. No. 826, As Modified; To provide for a program to accelerate the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in the United States”	The Senate’s call for the provision of the Climate Stewardship and Innovation Act of 2005 to detail the current state of affairs in the climate change in the U.S. and research findings about the greenhouse gas emissions and their reduction [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 148.” (2005). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=109&session=1&vote=00148
E4	“On Passage of the Bill: H.R. 6 As Amended; A bill to ensure jobs for our future with secure, affordable, and reliable energy”	The Senate’s call for the advancement of energy efficiency and sustainability and that provision’s congruity with job creation capability in a long-term [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 158.” (2005). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=109&session=1&vote=00158
	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 3039: Bingaman Amdt. No.		The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll

⁵⁷ For the replication of the relevant data, please copy the link in consideration and past it into your browser as such you can reach at the document/list indicated. Directly clicking on the links provided, on the other hand, directs the users into failed pages.

E5	3039; To make energy more affordable and sustainable, to increase our national security through foreign oil replacement with biofuels and alternative fuels and advanced/hybrid vehicle use, to accelerate production and market penetration of clean and renewable energy technologies and generation, and to more fully utilize energy efficiency and conservation technologies and practices”	The Senate’s call for the advancement of energy efficiency and sustainability and for lessening energy dependency of the U.S. on foreign petroleum [rejected]	42.” (2006). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=109&session=2&vote=00042
E6	“On Passage of the Bill: S. 3711; A bill to enhance the energy independence and security of the United States by providing for exploration, development, and production activities for mineral resources in the Gulf of Mexico, and for other purposes”	The Senate’s call for the Gulf of Mexico Energy Security Act of 2006 to advance oil and gas leasing activities in the Gulf of Mexico region to sustain the U.S. energy independence and security [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “109 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 219.” (2006). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=109&session=2&vote=00219
E7	“On Passage of the Bill: H.R. 6, As Amended; A bill to reduce our Nation’s dependency on foreign oil by investing in clean, renewable, and alternative energy resources, promoting new emerging energy technologies, developing greater efficiency, and creating a Strategic Energy Efficiency and Renewables Reserve to invest in alternative energy, and for other purposes”	The Senate’s call for the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007 to advance energy efficiency and sustainability through conducting research and development to utilize alternative energy sources and hence to lessen energy dependency of the U.S. on foreign petroleum [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “110 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 226.” (2007). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=110&session=1&vote=00226
E8	“On the Cloture Motion: Motion to Invoke Cloture on the Motion to Concur in the House Amdts. to the Senate Amdts. to H.R. 6; A bill to reduce our Nation’s dependency on foreign oil by investing in clean, renewable, and alternative energy resources, promoting new emerging energy technologies, developing greater efficiency, and creating a Strategic Energy Efficiency and Renewables Reserve to invest in alternative energy, and for other purposes”	The Senate’s call for the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007 to advance energy efficiency and sustainability through conducting research and development to utilize alternative energy sources and hence to lessen energy dependency of the U.S. on foreign petroleum [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “110 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 416.” (2007). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=110&session=1&vote=00416
E9	“On the Motion: Motion to Concur in the Amendment of the House to the Amendment of the Senate to the Text of H.R. 6, with an Amendment; A bill to reduce our Nation’s dependency on foreign oil by investing in clean, renewable, and alternative energy resources, promoting new emerging energy technologies, developing greater efficiency, and creating a Strategic Energy Efficiency and Renewables Reserve to invest in alternative energy, and for other purposes”	The Senate’s call for the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007 to advance energy efficiency and sustainability through conducting research and development to utilize alternative energy sources and hence to lessen energy dependency of the U.S. on foreign petroleum [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “110 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 430.” (2007). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=110&session=1&vote=00430
E10	“On the Cloture Motion: Motion to Invoke Cloture on the Motion to Proceed to Consider S.3036; A bill to direct the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to establish a program to decrease emissions of greenhouse gases, and for other	The Senate’s call for the Lieberman-Warner Climate Security Act of 2008 that designates the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) responsible to “a federal greenhouse gas (GHG) registry” and “specified quantities of GHG emission allowances” in-	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “110 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 141.” (2008). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=110&session=2&vote=00141

	purposes”	between 2012 and 2050 [agreed to]	
E11	“On the Motion: Motion to Instruct Sgt-At-Arms; A bill to direct the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to establish a program to decrease emissions of greenhouse gases, and for other purposes”	The Senate’s call for the Lieberman-Warner Climate Security Act of 2008 that designates the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) responsible to “a federal greenhouse gas (GHG) registry” and “specified quantities of GHG emission allowances” in-between 2012 and 2050 [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “110 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 143.” (2008). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=110&session=2&vote=00143
E12	“On the Motion to Table S.Amdt. 679: Motion to Table Coburn Amdt. No. 679; To provide for the future energy needs of the United States and eliminate restrictions on the development of renewable energy”	The Senate’s call for the advancement of energy efficiency and sustainability and elimination of any legal/technical hindrance against “the development of renewable energy on public land” [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “111 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 102.” (2009). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=111&session=1&vote=00102
E13	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 879: Stabenow Amdt. No. 879; To modify the authorization for climate change legislation”	The Senate’s call for inclusion of the clauses designating advancement of energy efficiency and sustainability through conducting research and development to utilize alternative energy sources into “the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2010” [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “111 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 141.” (2009). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=111&session=1&vote=00141
E14	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 4318: Sanders Amdt. No. 4318; To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to eliminate big oil and gas company tax loopholes, and to use the resulting increase in revenues to reduce the deficit and to invest in energy efficiency and conservation”	The Senate’s call for the adjustment within the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to appropriate certain amount of funds to advance energy efficiency and sustainability and to complement the budget deficit [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “111 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 187.” (2010). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=111&session=2&vote=00187
E15	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 236: Baucus Amdt. No. 236; To prohibit the regulation of greenhouse gases from certain sources”	The Senate’s call for the adjustment to redefine the “Greenhouse gas-related exemptions” and their impact on the regulation of the gas emission calculations [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “112 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 51.” (2011). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=112&session=1&vote=00051
E16	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 183: McConnell Amdt. No. 183; To prohibit the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency from promulgating any regulation concerning, taking action relating to, or taking into consideration the emission of a greenhouse gas to address climate change”	The Senate’s call for the Energy Tax Prevention Act of 2011 that does not entrust any regulatory action to the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency with regard to greenhouse gas emission [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “112 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 54.” (2011). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=112&session=1&vote=00054
E17	“On the Conference Report: Conference Report to Accompany H.R. 3630; A bill to extend the payroll tax holiday, unemployment compensation, Medicare physician payment, provide for the consideration of the Keystone XL pipeline, and	The Senate’s call to the President to issue permit for the Keystone XL pipeline project under Executive Order 13337 [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “112 th House – 2 nd Session, Roll 22.” (2012). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=112&session=2&vote=00022

	for other purposes”		
E18	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 1817: Wyden Amdt. No. 1817; To ensure the expeditious processing of Keystone XL permit applications consistent with current law, prohibit the export of crude oil produced in Canada and transported by the Keystone XL pipeline and related facilities unless the prohibition is waived by the President, and require the use of United States iron, steel, and manufactured goods in the construction of the Keystone XL pipeline and related facilities with certain exceptions”	The Senate’s call to the congruity between the implementation of the prospective Keystone XL pipeline project and the “Federal requirements” and to prohibit any American exportation of future crude oil transported via Keystone XL pipeline from Canada to the U.S. [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “112th House – 2nd Session, Roll 33.” (2012). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=112&session=2&vote=00033
E19	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 1537: Hoeven Amdt. No. 1537; To approve the Keystone XL pipeline project and provide for environmental protection and government oversight”	The Senate’s authorization of the TransCanada Keystone Pipeline for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “112th House – 2nd Session, Roll 34.” (2012). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=112&session=2&vote=00034
E20	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 622: Boxer Amdt. No. 622; To establish a deficit-neutral reserve fund relating to protecting the interests of the United States in making a decision relating to the Keystone XL pipeline”	The Senate’s call to measure the utility of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project to the U.S. national interest in terms of oil prices and energy security and to make sure that the project will not cause deficits in the budget in-between 2013 and 2018 or 2013 and 2023 [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “113th House – 1st Session, Roll 60.” (2013). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=113&session=1&vote=00060
E21	“On the Amendment S.Amdt. 494: Hoeven Amdt. No. 494; To establish a deficit-neutral reserve fund to promote investment and job growth in United States manufacturing, oil and gas production, and refining sectors through the construction of the Keystone XL Pipeline”	The Senate’s call to measure the utility of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project to the U.S. national interest in terms of oil prices and energy security and to make sure that the project will not cause deficits in the budget in-between 2013 and 2018 or 2013 and 2023 [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “113th House – 1st Session, Roll 61.” (2013). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=113&session=1&vote=00061
E22	“On Passage of the Bill: S.2280; A bill to approve the Keystone XL Pipeline”	The Senate’s authorization of the TransCanada Keystone Pipeline for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project and the Senate’s call for the presence of congruity between the Secretary of State’s Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “113th House – 2nd Session, Roll 280.” (2014). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=113&session=2&vote=00280
E23	“On the Motion for Attendance: Motion to Instruct the Sgt. at Arms; A bill to approve the Keystone XL Pipeline”	The Senate’s authorization of the TransCanada Keystone Pipeline for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project and the Senate’s call for the presence of congruity between the Secretary of State’s Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “114th House – 1st Session, Roll 23.” (2015). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=114&session=1&vote=00023

		and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 [agreed to]	
E24	“On the Cloture Motion: Motion to Invoke Cloture on S. 1; A bill to approve the Keystone XL Pipeline”	The Senate’s authorization of the TransCanada Keystone Pipeline for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project and the Senate’s call for the presence of congruity between the Secretary of State’s Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 [rejected]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “114 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 30.” (2015). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=114&session=1&vote=00030
E25	“On the Cloture Motion: Upon Reconsideration Motion to Invoke Cloture on S.1; A bill to approve the Keystone XL Pipeline	The Senate’s authorization of the TransCanada Keystone Pipeline for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project and the Senate’s call for the presence of congruity between the Secretary of State’s Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 [agreed to]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “114 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 45.” (2015). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=114&session=1&vote=00045
E26	“On Passage of the Bill: S.1 As Amended; A bill to approve the Keystone XL Pipeline”	The Senate’s authorization of the TransCanada Keystone Pipeline for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project and the Senate’s call for the presence of congruity between the Secretary of State’s Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 [passed]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “114 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 49.” (2015). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=114&session=1&vote=00049
E27	“On Overriding the Veto: Shall the Bill S.1 Pass, Over the Objections of the President; A bill to approve the Keystone XL Pipeline”	The Senate’s to override the President’s veto over the Senate’s authorization of the TransCanada Keystone Pipeline for construction of the infrastructure for the development of the Keystone XL oil pipeline project and the Senate’s call for the presence of congruity between the Secretary of State’s Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 [veto sustained]	The Library of Congress, Thomas interface, “114 th House – 1 st Session, Roll 68.” (2015). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=114&session=1&vote=00068

Table 18: List of legislative proceedings collected to measure modified group likeness scores for political parties inside the House of Commons of Canada in-between 2005 and 2015 under Keystone XL pipeline project.

Relevant Legislative Proceeding	Title	Summary & Status	Bibliographic Information ⁵⁸
F1	“Private Members' Business M-162 (Kyoto Protocol)”	The House’s call to entrust authority and funding to the government of Quebec to implement the requirements of Kyoto Protocol within its region [negatived]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 38 th Parliament, 1 st Session, Vote 137.” (2005). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=38&FltrSes=1&Vote=137
F2	“Opposition Motion (Kyoto Protocol)”	The House’s call to the government to enact the requirements of Kyoto Protocol in terms of greenhouse gas reduction along with the House’s expression of respect and cooperation toward the “constitutional jurisdictions and responsibilities of Quebec and the provinces” while implementing that protocol [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 39 th Parliament, 1 st Session, Vote 8.” (2006). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=39&FltrSes=1&Vote=8
F3	“2nd reading of Bill C-288, An Act to ensure Canada meets its global climate change obligations under the Kyoto Protocol”	The House’s call to the referral of the bill “C-288 An Act to ensure Canada meets its global climate change obligations under the Kyoto Protocol” to the Standing Committee on Environment and Sustainable Development [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 39 th Parliament, 1 st Session, Vote 38.” (2006). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=39&FltrSes=1&Vote=38
F4	“Opposition Motion (Kyoto Protocol)”	The House’s call to entrust authority and funding to the government of Quebec to implement the requirements of Kyoto Protocol within its region through funding amounted to \$328 million provided by the government [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 39 th Parliament, 1 st Session, Vote 105.” (2007). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=39&FltrSes=1&Vote=105
F5	“Opposition Motion (Greenhouse gases)”	The House’s call to the government to enact the requirements of Kyoto Protocol in terms of setting “greenhouse gas reduction targets as soon as possible” in order to start “the establishment of a carbon exchange in Montréal” [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 39 th Parliament, 1 st Session, Vote 160.” (2007). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=39&FltrSes=1&Vote=160
		The House’s call to be in compliance with the preferences of the public favoring the Parliament’s active engagement	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 39 th Parliament, 1 st Session, Vote 190.” (2007). Accessed on April 4,

⁵⁸ For the replication of the relevant data, please copy the link in consideration and past it into your browser as such you can reach at the document/list indicated. Directly clicking on the links provided, on the other hand, directs the users into failed pages.

F6	“Opposition Motion (Canada's Clean Air and Climate Change Act)”	to deal with air quality and climate change and the House’s call to the government to open the bill “C-30 An Act to amend the Canadian Environmental Protection Act, 1999, the Energy Efficiency Act and the Motor Vehicle Fuel Consumption Standards Act (Canada's Clean Air Act)” into a debate [agreed to]	2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=39&FltrSes=1&Vote=190
F7	“Bill C-45, An Act respecting the sustainable development of Canada's seacoast and inland fisheries (hoist amendment)”	The House’s call to the referral of the “Bill C-45, An Act respecting the sustainable development of Canada's seacoast and inland fisheries (hoist amendment)” into debate do certain amendments in the syntax [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 39 th Parliament, 1 st Session, Vote 192.” (2007). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=39&FltrSes=1&Vote=192
F8	“2nd reading of Bill C-474, An Act to require the development and implementation of a Federal Sustainable Development Strategy and the development of goals and targets with respect to sustainable development in Canada, and to make consequential amendments to another Act”	The House’s call to the referral of the bill “C474 An Act to require the development and implementation of a Federal Sustainable Development Strategy and the development of goals and targets with respect to sustainable development in Canada, and to make consequential amendments to another Act” to the Standing Committee on Environment and Sustainable Development [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 39 th Parliament, 2 nd Session, Vote 42.” (2008). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=39&FltrSes=2&Vote=42
F9	“Opposition Motion (Climate change)”	The House’s call to express regret towards the government’s failure to enact the requirements of international climate change regimes, the government’s denial to put the House’s majority supported climate change plan the Clean Air and Climate Change Act into a debate and the House’s expression of loss of confidence into the government [negatived]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 39 th Parliament, 2 nd Session, Vote 62.” (2008). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=39&FltrSes=2&Vote=62
F10	“3rd reading and adoption of Bill C-377, An Act to ensure Canada assumes its responsibilities in preventing dangerous climate change”	The House’s call to the referral of the bill “C377 An Act to ensure Canada assumes its responsibilities in preventing dangerous climate change” into a third reading and then the call for it to be passed [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 39 th Parliament, 2 nd Session, Vote 129.” (2008). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=39&FltrSes=2&Vote=129
F11	“2nd reading of Bill C-300, An Act respecting Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil or Gas in Developing Countries”	The House’s call to the referral of the bill “C300 An Act respecting Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil or Gas in Developing Countries” to the Standing Committee on Environment and Sustainable Development [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 40 th Parliament, 2 nd Session, Vote 50.” (2009). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=40&FltrSes=2&Vote=50
	“Private Members' Business M-	The House’s call to the government to engage in a North American cap-and-trade market	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 40 th Parliament, 2 nd Session,

F12	287 (North American greenhouse gas emissions cap-and-trade market)”	for greenhouse gas emission while taking 1990 as the base year for the calculations [agreed to]	Vote 79.” (2009). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=40&FltrSes=2&Vote=79
F13	“Private Members' Business M-295 (Renewable energy)”	The House’s call to the government to advance energy efficiency and sustainability through giving support to the renewable energy sector and the House’s call to the government to make Canada be a member of the International Renewable Energy Agency” [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 40 th Parliament, 2 nd Session, Vote 93.” (2009). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=40&FltrSes=2&Vote=93
F14	“Opposition Motion (Climate change)”	The House’s call for the delivery of Canadian proposal to the at the Copenhagen conference on climate change in terms of reducing the percentage of “greenhouse gas emissions in industrialized countries to 25% by 2010,” inducing “the necessity of limiting the rise in global temperatures to less than 2oC higher than in the preindustrial era,” and providing support to the developing countries in return for their compliance with the international regimes of environmental protection and sustainability [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 40 th Parliament, 2 nd Session, Vote 133.” (2009). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=40&FltrSes=2&Vote=133
F15	“Opposition Motion (Environment)”	The House’s call to express regret towards the government’s failure to enact necessary regulatory and legislative courses of action in its energy policy to advance energy efficiency and sustainability through promoting research and development on renewable energy sources and the House’s call to the government to implement pro-environment policies and the country’s active inclusion into climate change regimes [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 40 th Parliament, 3 rd Session, Vote 21.” (2010). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=40&FltrSes=3&Vote=21
F16	“Opposition Motion (Oil and gas)”	In response to the environmental damage done within in the Gulf of Mexico oil spill in 2010, the House calls the government to enact necessary regulatory and legislative courses of action to ensure that “the development of unconventional sources of oil and gas, including oil sands, deepwater oil and gas recovery, and shale gas” and their extraction and processing could not damage the environment of Canada [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 40 th Parliament, 3 rd Session, Vote 53.” (2010). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=40&FltrSes=3&Vote=53
F17	“Opposition Motion (West Coast	The House call to the government to enact necessary regulatory and legislative courses of action to “ban bulk oil tanker traffic in the Dixon Entrance, Hecate Strait and Queen Charlotte Sound” to	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 40 th Parliament, 3 rd Session, Vote 139.” (2010). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=40&FltrSes=3&Vote=139

	oil tanker traffic)”	sustain the tenacity of the ecosystem in the West Coast [agreed to]	ness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=40&FltrSes=3&Vote=139
F18	“Opposition Motion (Climate change)”	The House call to the government to ascribe Canada a leadership role while reckoning with global climate change and at the same time to make sure that there is a congruity between job creation and maintenance for the Canadians and the move towards a new sustainable energy economy; the House’s call to the government to ascribe Canada a “leadership role at the United Nations Conference on Climate Change in Durban;” the House’s call to the adherence to the requirements of the Kyoto Protocol and the Copenhagen Accord and to adjust Canadian economy and its trade to the “new sustainable energy economy” [negated]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 41 th Parliament, 1 st Session, Vote 93.” (2011). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=41&FltrSes=1&Vote=93
F19	“Private Members' Business M-381 (Asbestos)”	The House’s call to the government to adopt “an industrial restructuring plan” to create alternative areas of studies to the workers of the asbestos mining and to stop the flow of financial support to the asbestos industry [negated]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 41 th Parliament, 1 st Session, Vote 573.” (2012). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&Vote=573&GroupBy=party&FltrParl=41&FltrSes=1
F20	“Opposition Motion (Climate change)”	The House’s expression of its shared concern with the public opinion and the International Energy Agency over the ramifications of a 2 degree rise in global average temperatures; The House’s call to express regret towards the successive governments’ failure to enact necessary regulatory and legislative courses of action in their energy policies to advance energy efficiency and sustainability and to comply with the requirements of the Kyoto Protocol since 1998; and the House’s call to the government to adopt “federal climate change adaptation plan” [negated]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 41 th Parliament, 1 st Session, Vote 670.” (2013). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=41&FltrSes=1&Vote=670
F21	“Opposition Motion (Keystone XL pipeline)”	The House’s expression of its opinion that the Keystone XL Pipeline Project is not beneficial to Canada given its likelihood of intensifying and environment costly “export of unprocessed raw bitumen” along with transfer of “more than 40,000 well-paying Canadian jobs” outside Canada [negated]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 41 th Parliament, 2 nd Session, Vote 11.” (2013). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=41&FltrSes=2&Vote=11
F22	“Private Members' Business M-497 (Energy efficiency program)”	The House’s call to the government to implement energy efficiency program in order to advance energy efficiency, environmental sustainability, and to create new areas of job by “encouraging owners of houses,	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 41 th Parliament, 2 nd Session, Vote 232.” (2014). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language

		residential buildings, shops and businesses to reduce their energy consumption” [negated]	=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FiltrParl=41&FiltrSes=2&Vote=232
F23	“Opposition Motion (Gros-Cacouna oil terminal)”	The House’s expression of its opinion that the proposed Port of Gros-Cacouna oil terminal, which will be utilized as a operational base for “exporting unprocessed Canadian oil,” is not beneficial to Canada given its environment costly effects to the St. Lawrence ecosystem” and its cost in terms of causing well-paid job losses in Canadian economy [negated]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 41 th Parliament, 2 nd Session, Vote 254.” (2014). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FiltrParl=41&FiltrSes=2&Vote=254
F24	“2nd reading of Bill C-46, An Act to amend the National Energy Board Act and the Canada Oil and Gas Operations Act”	The House’s call to the referral of the bill “C46 An Act to amend the National Energy Board Act and the Canada Oil and Gas Operations Act” to the “Standing Committee on Natural Resources” [agreed to]	Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons: 41 th Parliament, 2 nd Session, Vote 343.” (2015). Accessed on April 4, 2015. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=41&Ses=2&FiltrParl=41&FiltrSes=2&Vote=343

Table 19: Canadian political parties’ positioning on foreign policy, macro-economic, and environmental policy conduct based on frequency of the attributes to the relevant categories in the party manifestoes relevant for the Parliamentary term indicated under Keystone XL pipeline Project case⁵⁹

Categories to Measure Political Parties’ Position on Respective Issues ⁶⁰	Conservative Party of Canada	Liberal Party of Canada	New Democratic Party	Green Party of Canada	Bloc Québécois
402 – Incentives [38 th Term 1 st Session]	11	11	12	0	21
410 – Economic Growth (positive) [38 th /1 st]	4	40	9	0	51
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (positive) [38 th /1 st]	2	1	16	0	34
501 – Environmental Protection (positive) [38 th /1 st]	16	21	64	0	120
402 – Incentives [39 th /1 st – 39 th /2 nd]	12	9	3	0	37
410 – Economic Growth (positive) [39 th /1 st – 39 th /2 nd]	13	79	33	0	84
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (positive) [39 th /1 st – 39 th /2 nd]	1	21	11	0	68
501 – Environmental Protection (positive)	12	68	59	0	101

⁵⁹ For the information about frequency of the relevant parties’ attribution to those categorizations, please refer to “USA: Parties,” Manifesto Project Database, accessed February 1, 2015, <https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/countries/USA>

⁶⁰ For the information about categorizations, please refer to “Coding Scheme: CMP,” Manifesto Project Database, accessed February 1, 2015, https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/coding_schemes/1

$[39^{th}/1^{st} - 39^{th}/2^{nd}]$					
402 – Incentives $[40^{th}/1^{st} - 40^{th}/3^{rd}]$	2	11	5	5	5
410 – Economic Growth (positive) $[40^{th}/1^{st} - 40^{th}/3^{rd}]$	12	35	33	118	238
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (positive) $[40^{th}/1^{st} - 40^{th}/3^{rd}]$	1	4	29	161	138
501 – Environmental Protection (positive) $[40^{th}/1^{st} - 40^{th}/3^{rd}]$	15	147	62	466	151
402 – Incentives $[41^{th}/1^{st} - 41^{th}/2^{nd}]$	50	27	13	1	24
410 – Economic Growth (positive) $[41^{th}/1^{st} - 41^{th}/2^{nd}]$	32	22	2	2	18
416 – Anti-Growth Economy (positive) $[41^{th}/1^{st} - 41^{th}/2^{nd}]$	0	1	0	1	15
501 – Environmental Protection (positive) $[41^{th}/1^{st} - 41^{th}/2^{nd}]$	50	111	23	12	155
Relevant Party's Prospective Power to Represent Those Issues in $38^{th}/1^{st}$	$[(11+4)-(2+16)]$ = -3	$[(11+40)-(1+21)] = 29$	$[(12+9)-(16+64)] = -59$	0	$[(21+51)-(34+120)] = -82$
Relevant Party's Prospective Power to Represent Those Issues in-between $39^{th}/1^{st} - 39^{th}/2^{nd}$	$[(12+13)-(1+12)]$ = 12	$[(9+79)-(21+68)] = -1$	$[(3+33)-(11+59)] = -34$	0	$[(37+84)-(68+101)] = -48$
Relevant Party's Prospective Power to Represent Those Issues in-between $40^{th}/1^{st} - 40^{th}/3^{rd}$	$[(2+12)-(1+15)]$ = -2	$[(11+35)-(4+147)] = -105$	$[(5+33)-(29+62)] = -53$	$[(5+118)-(161+466)] = -504$	$[(5+238)-(138+151)] = -46$
Relevant Party's Prospective Power to Represent Those Issues in-between $41^{th}/1^{st} - 41^{th}/2^{nd}$	$[(50+32)-(0+50)]$ = 32	$[(27+22)-(1+111)] = -63$	$[(13+2)-(0+23)] = -8$	$[(1+2)-(1+12)] = -10$	$[(24+18)-(15+155)] = -128$

Table 20: Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the first null hypothesis in the Canadian context under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

Stage 1: Expected Frequencies	0,628272251	21,23560209	19,35078534	64,58638743	38,19895288
	0,362129145	12,2399651	11,15357766	37,22687609	22,01745201
	3,097731239	104,7033159	95,41012216	318,4467714	188,3420593
	0,911867365	30,82111693	28,08551483	93,7399651	55,44153578
Stage 2: Deviations	2,371727749	-21,23560209	39,64921466	-64,58638743	43,80104712
	-0,362129145	-11,2399651	22,84642234	-37,22687609	25,98254799
	-1,097731239	0,296684119	-42,41012216	185,5532286	-142,3420593
	-0,911867365	32,17888307	-20,08551483	-83,7399651	72,55846422
Stage 2.1: Deviation Squared	5,625092514	450,9507963	1572,060223	4171,401442	1918,531729
	0,131137518	126,3368154	521,9590137	1385,840303	675,0928002
	1,205013873	0,088021466	1798,618462	34430,00065	20261,26186
	0,831502091	1035,480516	403,4279062	7012,381754	5264,73073
Stage 3: $(O-E)^2/E$	8,953272251	21,23560209	81,24012517	64,58638743	50,22472042
	0,362129145	10,32166468	46,79745186	37,22687609	30,66171326
	0,388998845	0,000840675	18,85144282	108,1185421	107,576937
	0,911867365	33,59646304	14,36426957	74,80674595	94,96004497

Stage 4: Chi-Square Value	805,1860947				

Table 21: Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the second null hypothesis in the Canadian context under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

Stage 1: Expected Frequencies	1132,80576	430,1942403
	1204,557372	457,4426279
	1362,555872	517,4441278
	1132,080996	429,919004
Stage 2: Deviations	63,19424029	-63,19424029
	-1,557372131	1,557372131
	-38,55587221	38,55587221
	-23,08099595	23,08099595
Stage 2.1: Deviation Squared	3993,512006	3993,512006
	2,425407956	2,425407956
	1486,555282	1486,555282
	532,7323741	532,7323741
Stage 3: (O-E)^2/E	3,525328126	9,283043871
	0,002013526	0,005302103
	1,091005009	2,872880765
	0,470577967	1,239145907
Stage 4: Chi-Square Value	18,48929727	

Table 22: Chi-square statistics calculation phases for the third null hypothesis in the Canadian context under Keystone XL pipeline project case.

Stage 1: Expected Frequencies	409,64	129,36
	538,84	170,16
	789,64	249,36
	427,88	135,12
Stage 2: Deviations	25,36	-25,36
	-157,84	157,84
	96,36	-96,36
	36,12	-36,12
Stage 2.1: Deviation Squared	643,1296	643,1296
	24913,4656	24913,4656
	9285,2496	9285,2496

	1304,6544	1304,6544
Stage 3: (O-E)^2/E	1,569987306	4,971626469
	46,23536783	146,4119981
	11,75883896	37,23632339
	3,049112835	9,655523979
Stage 4: Chi-Square Value	260,8887789	