

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Perestroika and Political Science

Anne Norton, University of Pennsylvania

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The U.S. Electoral Commission meets in the Supreme Court Chamber Harper's Weekly, February 17, 1877



As I write this, much of the discipline of political science is again in turmoil. Some of you will have read the anonymous manifesto, issued by someone we now call (perhaps errantly) "Mr. Perestroika," calling for reform of the APSA and *APSR*. There have been, after all, articles in the *New York Times* and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, and e-mail traffic so dense, forwarded with such enthusiasm that it closed down two of Perestroika's accounts, and crashed my e-mail system twice. Many of us are signatories to Rogers Smith's letter to the Association, endorsing the reform program, and many are involved in various campaigns for new electoral slates.

Many of you, however, may not have read the Perestroika exchanges or, if you have, came to them fairly late in the process. When the e-mails began, I quickly noticed that they tended to be

addressed to scholars in Comparative Politics and International Relations, with relatively few sent to members of this section. At first, I laid this to Perestroika's intellectual location. I came to recognize, however that these were not sent to us because they were not aimed at us. We are not a target for reform. The reason for this speaks, I think to the strengths and weaknesses of the Politics and History Section, suggesting the power of what the section has accomplished, but also what it has not done. From within this latter field, we will decide where the section is able or likely or willing to go.

The Perestroika manifesto addressed fewer people in the Politics and History Section, and caused less furor among them because much of what it recommends is already done here. The APSA may be stagnant, but the section is not. The intellectual pluralism that Perestroika and the to Rogers' letter advocate is already present here. This is the place where the lion and the lamb, or at least those influenced by poststructuralism and rational choice, can lie down together, or at least climb on the ark with the rest of the animals in this rather well furnished intellectual zoo; historical institutionalists and formal institutionalists, quantitativists and ethnographers, political historians and political analysts. We field a range of panels, give awards to radically disparate types of work, serve on

POLITICS & HISTORY

an organized section of the
American Political Science Association

Website: <http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~apsaph/>

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We welcome and encourage letters and submissions, especially for Book Notes and Work in Progress.

The deadline for Spring/Summer issue submissions is March 1. The deadline for submissions for the Fall/Winter issue is October 15. Please send all correspondence to:

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Front, back, and page 55 illustrations can be located at the Harper's Weekly 19th century elections website, <http://elections.harperweek.com/>

From the Editor

Section President Anne Norton has written a very constructive and useful cover article on recent expressions of dissatisfaction in political science. The American Political Science Association itself stimulated some of the public criticism by instituting a strategic planning process that invited substantial public feedback. At the 2000 Western Political Science Association meetings, for example, an APSA strategic planning session drew a standing room only crowd. Many in attendance expressed dissatisfaction with the APSA and the *American Political Science Review*. research areas. We ask big, significant, consequential questions, and even when those questions focus on the United States, these questions often have a comparative foundation: "compared to what?" This comparative instinct enlarges the spirit of our work and encourages intellectual curiosity about the normative underpinnings of political language, the comparative experience of other nations, and new approaches to assessing evidence systematically.

I think that one of the premier research skills that Politics and History members possess is the ability to listen carefully. Some of our best work involves contextually informed "listening" to a written record of self-expression: to the justifications offered by executives, legislators, bureaucrats, and judges; to the contentions of policy advocates, party leaders, interest groups, and journalists; to the anguish and resentments of those who are mobilizing politically. So far, we've also been good listeners for each other, too. Our future success rests on our continued determination to cultivate mutual understanding and respect.

Anne challenges us to think about ways that we can influence politics and journalism beyond the academy. This problem, too, requires listening skills, because our influence depends on understanding their agendas on their terms. Their need for our information is very different from our interest in our information. To engineer a match, we must consider our creative skills in framing and answering questions.

Like many if not most political scientists in Missouri, I've just encountered the media's agenda first hand. As you know, the incumbent Governor of Missouri, Mel Carnahan, challenged incumbent U.S. Senator John Ashcroft in the 2000 Missouri Senate election. Carnahan was killed in a plane crash three weeks before the election, and after the acting Governor announced that he would name his widow to the seat, Carnahan defeated Ashcroft. Under these circumstances, the media rapidly asked for authoritative information (or information that seemed authoritative). Television in particular wanted short bytes in answer to some open-ended questions: what happens next? (the Lieutenant Governor takes over; the election goes on as scheduled); has this ever happened before? (sure, but not quite this way for this office); does the FBI investigate? (probably not; there's

Continued on next page

no reason to think that terrorists were determined to bring down the Governor of Missouri's small plane on a dark and stormy night); what does Ashcroft do? (state positions, emphasize experience, avoid attacks); what is Carnahan's legacy? (education, children's issues, party-building in the state). The print media tended to want more background, on a sort of an applied *Almanac of American Politics* level. Predictions of the election outcome were welcome. But expanded discussion of Missouri politics, the Missouri Compromise, Dred Scott, or Harry Truman was not welcome.

Did a knowledge of political history make a difference? Yes, but in more marginal ways than we might like, given our members' propensity to take a big picture view. For example, on the day when acting Governor Roger Wilson announced that he would name Jean Carnahan to the Senate seat if Mel Carnahan received a majority of the votes, the state chair of the Republican Party sent a fax to the local media 10 minutes before the noon news shows. In the fax, she objected that this appointment would be a violation of the Hatch Act. I believe that many members of our section have the combination of knowledge and political savvy to point out in an interview 15 minutes later that this argument is probably specious; that would be a community service, given the alternative of an anchor reading the fax verbatim.

We need to be realistic about their need for us, and our impact on them. We need to listen very closely to the public dialogues about what we can contribute and where (the authors of a forum on presidential advice in the Spring, 2000 issue of *Polity* make this point in more detail). In this period of partisan turmoil, we can add considerable perspective through public forums such as the op-ed page of the *New York Times*, and some members have done so. One would expect other opportunities for influence will appear.

Thanks again to Dan Carpenter and Gerald Gamm for a fine job in putting together the Politics and History panels at the APSA. All APSA members, and particularly those of us in Politics and History, applaud Ira Katznelson for all the work invested in the 2000 APSA program; all of us appreciate it. I also want to welcome Debra Franklin as Managing Editor for this volume of *Clio*.

APSA PROceedings Online

Political Research Online (PROceedings) offers papers from the 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association at their website:

<http://pro.harvard.edu>

The papers will be available online until August, 2001.

Politics and History Section Awards and Nominations Committees

Greenstone Book Award

Nominations for the J. David Greenstone Prize (the award of the Politics and History Section for the best book in politics and history published in the last two calendar years) should be sent to **Victoria Hattam** [Chair of the Greenstone Committee, Department of Political Science, New School for Social Research, Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, 65 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10003 [email: HattamV@newschool.edu]. **Gretchen Ritter** [Department of Political Science, University of Texas - Austin [email: ritter@mail.utexas.edu] and **Gary Herrigel** [Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, [email: g-herrigel@uchicago.edu] also serve on the committee.

Follett Article Award

Nominations for the Follett Article Award (awarded for the best article in politics and history published in the last calendar year) should be sent to **Charles Stewart** [Chair of the Follett Committee Award, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, email: cstewart@mit.edu]. **Keith Whittington** [Department of Princeton University, e-mail: kewhitt@princeton.edu] also is a member of the committee.

The committee urges members of the section to bring to its attention any article in a journal or chapter in a volume of essays published in 1998 that they think should be considered for the prize.

Nominations Committee

The nominations committee will be chaired by section president **Anne Norton**. Please submit all candidates for section officers for 2000-2001 to her at (email: anorton@sas.upenn.edu).

AUDIO ARCHIVE

The Politics and History section of the APSA maintains an audio archive available on the section's web site at: **<http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~apsaph/>**. Included in the audio archive are an interview with Theodore Lowi by Elizabeth Sanders and an interview with Michael Rogin by Gretchen Ritter. Web page access to the files requires RealPlayer, which is available free to the public by Real Networks. More information is available about the RealPlayer on the web page. Cassette tapes of either of these interviews may be purchased for five dollars from Dave Robertson at the Clio office in Saint Louis.

The 2000 J. David Greenstone Prize

for the Best Book in Politics and History

Presented to **Elizabeth Sanders**, Cornell University

For *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877-1917*. (University of Chicago Press, 1999)

(Here are Suzanne Mettler's comments on the winner of the 2000 J. David Greenstone award. Suzanne chaired the Greenstone committee this year; Rogan Kersh and Anne Norton also served on the committee.)

Roots of Reform is a major contribution to our understanding of American political development, the Populist and Progressive Eras, and the dynamics of U.S. politics generally. Although the book focuses on the United States, scholars working in other fields will find much of interest here as well. American state-building has democratic roots, Elizabeth Sanders tells us, and the American state—at least certain aspects of it—has enjoyed far more popular support historically than is usually realized. Unlike studies of administrative state development that focus on the role of capitalists or upper-middle-class reformers and officials in the executive branch, Sanders turns our attention to broad-based social movements. She shows how politically-mobilized farmers in the economic periphery, sometimes in coalition with labor, played a fundamental part in the development of the national administrative state.

Sanders develops an original analytic framework: an elaborate political economy model that is attentive to how sectors of the economy are arranged geographically in the vast American republic, and to the linkage of those sectors to political power through representative institutions of U.S. government. She directs our attention to Congress, an institution often overlooked or de-emphasized by scholars despite its central role in establishing the beginnings of the administrative state. Her interpretations of roll call voting are richly embedded in historical and political context. Keen attention to policy design and administrative procedures distinguishes her approach.

What the agrarians sought, explains Sanders, was not a bureaucratic state but a “statutory” state, one in which specific goals of democratic movements might be realized through nearly self-enforcing regulatory policy. They struggled for a state in which the people, through statutory law, might wield public control over the political economy. Contrary to reformers’ hopes, large bureaucracies were forged as Presidents hungry for more discretion and seeking to accommodate business interests influenced key policies. Still, Sanders tells us, the state-building vision of the agrarians is an alternative which ought to be contemplated by social movements seeking to downsize the bureaucracy and to reclaim popular control over private economic power.

The 2000 Mary Parker Follett Award

for the Best Article or Chapter on Politics and History

Presented to **Eileen McDonagh**, Northeastern University

for “Race, Class, and Gender in the Progressive Era: Restructuring State and Society” appeared in a terrific collection of essays edited by Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur called *Progressivism and New Democracy* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1999).

and to **Frank Dobbin**, Princeton University and
Erin Kelly, University of Minnesota

for “Civil Rights Law at Work: Sex Discrimination and the Rise of Maternity Leave Policies (*American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 105, no. 2, September 1999:455-92)

(Here are Marie Gottschalk's comments on the winner of the 2000 Mary Parker Follett award. Maire chaired the committee this year; Mabel Berezin and Daniel Tichnor also served on the committee.)

I am delighted to present the Mary Parker Follett Award for the best journal or book chapter in an edited volume published in 1999. My colleagues on the award committee—Mabel Berezin of UCLA and Daniel Tichenor of Rutgers University—and I—chose two winners this year.

The winning essays were a joy to read, and I can still say that after having read each of them several times. They were crisply written, eloquently argued, demanding on the specialist and yet accessible to the non-specialist. (They pass what I think Jim Morone refers to as his grandmother test.) Both of the winning pieces forcefully challenge conventional understandings of the past and in doing so force us to rethink subsequent periods and even how we look at our own moment.

Eileen McDonagh’s “Race, Class, and Gender in the Progressive Era: Restructuring State and Society” appeared in a terrific collection of essays edited by Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur called *Progressivism and New Democracy* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1999). In her essay, McDonagh of Northeastern University furthers our rediscovery of the Progressive Era as she captures both its progressive and regressive features. The essay includes an impressive catalog of the major legislation passed at the state level during the Progressive Era. McDonagh convincingly demonstrates how an understanding of the forward - and backward - looking strands of Progressivism is essential for comprehending and examining subsequent reform periods, most notably the New Deal and the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

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Politics and History Business Meeting

Washington, D.C.

Friday, September 1, 2000

James Morone opened the meeting with the section President's report. Jim thanked the membership for "letting me be president" and told the meeting that he had had fun. The section is thriving, he said; the diversity of the section runs the gamut and members are undertaking a wide array of interesting projects. Members love doing history. They are doing, and they should be doing, what they find interesting.

Jim thanked Dan Carpenter and Gerald Gamm for doing a great job in organizing the section panels at the convention. The members applauded heartily.

Jim pursued two important initiatives that he hoped would continue to build and connect the section. One is the "wine and coffee" network. Young academics and graduate students who would like to have a cup of coffee or glass of wine with a senior academic (their "favorite footnote," for example) are urged to contact Jim at Brown University (e-mail: James_Morone@brown.edu). Jim will make arrangements for the two to be introduced at an upcoming convention. A second initiative is the establishment of a three-year steering committee to build a politics and history presence at all of the regional political science meetings. Currently politics and history has strong representation at the Western Political Science Association meetings. This initiative would aim to build a politics and history section at other regional association meetings, such as the Midwest and the Southern.

Jim urged members to expand support for *Studies in American Political Development*. The journal is thriving, but needs additional subscriptions. He recommended that members ensure that their libraries subscribe to the journal. Steve Skowronek, co-editor of *Studies*, interjected that the journal is overwhelmed by submissions; Cambridge University Press, the publisher, is reviewing the journal's performance.

The chair of the section's Mary Parker Follett award committee for 2000, Marie Gottschalk presented the award for best article to the co-winners: Eileen McDonagh for "Race, Class, and Gender in the Progressive Era: Restructuring State and Society" in *Progressivism and the New Democracy*, ed. by Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur (University of Massachusetts Press, 1999) and Erin Kelly and Frank Dobbin for "Civil Rights Law at Work: Discrimination and the Rise of Maternity Leave Policies," in *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 105, No. 2, September, 1999. Mabel Berezin and Dan

Tichenor also served on the committee. The chair of the section's J. David Greenstone award committee, Suzanne Mettler, presented the section's Greenstone award for best book Elizabeth Sanders for *Roots Of Reform: Farmers, Workers And The American State, 1877-1917* (University of Chicago Press, 1999). Rogan Kersh and Anne Norton also served on the committee (elsewhere in this issue, see the comments that accompanied the presentation of these awards). Jim Morone and the section membership applauded the recipients and profusely thanked the members of the award committees for their hard work.

Jim Morone next took up the proposed amendment to the bylaws of the Politics and History section (see *Clio*, 10:2, Spring/Summer 2000, page 3). The amendment creates a new office, that of President-Elect, who when elected would assume the section presidency the following year. This change allows the incoming president to bring through an agenda for her term. The president-elect also could be more actively involved in choosing the program organizers for the annual meeting. Jim then read the specific proposal: In Article III Section A of the bylaws for the Politics and History Section, then, add

"2. President-Elect. Assists the president; appoints program chair." [housecleaning: strike "appoints Program Chair from presidential duties, II A 1; add "President-Elect" to list of officers, II A 1]."

The section approved the amendment by voice vote.

After a call for new business, the members considered the slate of section officers for 2000-2001. With characteristic enthusiasm, unanimity and dispatch, the section approved the election of Anne Norton as section president; Rogers Smith as president-elect; Dave Robertson as Secretary/Treasurer; and new Council members Dianne Pinderhughes, Peter Trubowitz, Dan Kryder, and Marie Gottschalk.

Anne Norton thanked the members for their support and spoke to the quality of the section and the vision for the future. Theda Skocpol then reminded the members to submit articles to the *American Political Science Review*, and Karen Orren reminded them to submit articles of 40 pages or more to *Studies in American Political Development*.



The Second Year of the Miller Center National Fellowship Program at the University of Virginia

Sidney M. Milkis, Professor of Government and Senior Scholar
at the Miller Center, University of Virginia

Once again, the Miller Center of Public Affairs will sponsor a national fellowship program to support graduate students with the completion of their dissertations or independent book research focusing on important public policy questions. As co-directors of this program, Brian Balogh and I hope to build on the success of our inaugural year. Receiving 120 applications from an outstanding group of young scholars, the selection committee chose 9 fellows, working on diverse topics such as the origins of the Israeli-U.S. Alliance, the politics of the Fair Employment, Southern Women Politics in the 1920s, and the political economy and planning of the Northeast Corridor. Fellows receive up to \$15,000 support for one year of research and writing; funds are also available for traveling to Charlottesville and research expenses.

In launching this program, our intention was to offer fellowships that would provide the same opportunities for young scholars in American Political Development that the Brookings Institution Dissertation Fellowships have offered those in public policy. The quality of the applicant pool we attracted and the dedication of our 2000-2001 fellows have gone far in satisfying the Miller Center's hope to both celebrate and reinforce the resurgence of interest in political history by devoting resources to a program that will not only reward the most talented young scholars in this field, but also establish a vital environment devoted to scholarship and exchange of ideas about America's recent past.

In this spirit, although residency is not required, we have encouraged fellows to spend time at the Miller Center. We offer them the opportunity to participate in a national conference on the Great Society, join a workshop on twentieth century history, attend a monthly colloquium on institutional change, and join us for occasional informal luncheon discussions. Efforts are also being made to match each of our Fellows with a distinguished mentor, so as to allow them to work with a senior scholar in their field from a University other than their own. Finally, the Miller Center will hold a conference this spring exclusively devoted to the Fellows and their work. At this conference, the Fellows will have the opportunity to showcase the fruits of their year's labor for the scholarly community at the Miller Center and the University of Virginia. In addition we plan to invite a distinguished group of outside scholars, public intellectuals, and journalists to join us. With the benefit

New York Colloquium Enters Seventh Year

The New York Colloquium on American Political Development marks its seventh year in 2000-2001. On November 29, 2000, Professor Andrew Polsky (Hunter College and the Graduate School, CUNY) presented a paper, "'Mr. Lincoln's Army' Revisited: Partisanship, Institutional Position, and Union Army Command, 1861-1865," with Professor Ira Katznelson (Columbia University) serving as guest moderator. During the 1999-2000 academic year, the colloquium was run by Professor Frances Fox Piven (CUNY Graduate School) and Christopher Malone, and featured papers by Professors Stan Luger and Ruth O'Brien. All three sessions were held at the new CUNY Graduate Center.

The colloquium welcomes scholars and graduate students in the New York metropolitan area, including those visiting at local universities and foundations. Meetings are held once or twice each semester, with papers circulated in advance. Papers are also available to those outside of the New York area who may be unable to attend the sessions. Modest dues cover the cost of duplication and mailing. For information, please contact Andrew Polsky via e-mail at apolsky@shiva.hunter.cuny.edu.

of such an audience, we hope to encourage the Fellows to prepare their work not just for the scholarly community but also for an interested general audience, to become scholars of public affairs.

The fellowship program, conferences, and colloquia will form the nucleus of a program in American Political Development that the Miller Center expects to inaugurate this spring. This program also will include a website for the dissemination of news and the exchange of ideas among scholars of politics and history. In part, the Miller Center's American Political Development program is a response to the concerns expressed at a recent meeting of the Russell Sage Foundation. At this meeting, leading political scientists and historians celebrated the rise of American Political Development, even as they expressed concern that the field's institutional support had not kept pace with its growth. With a program dedicated to supporting graduate training and to promoting and disseminating scholarship in this field, the Miller Center is committed to building an institutional loft that will help nurture the nascent prosperity of studies in the development of the American nation.

Applications are due postmarked by February 1, 2001. A copy of the application and instructions on how to apply can be found on our website:
<http://millercenter.virginia.edu>.

Member Awards

Politics and History section members continue to receive recognition for research creativity and teaching excellence. Congratulations to the following members:

Ira Katznelson, Columbia University, and **David W. Rohde**, Michigan State University, were elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on April 15, 2000. Ira Katznelson is a past Politics and History section president.

Margaret Weir, Sociology, University of California-Berkeley, has been elected to a two year term on the Council of the American Political Science Association.

J. Morgan Kousser, History, California Institute of Technology, received the APSA's Ralph Bunche Award for the best scholarly work in political science, published in 1999, which explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism.

Ken Kersch, Lehigh University, received the received the APSA's 2000 Edward S. Corwin Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of public law for his dissertation "Frames of Progress: The Political Imagination of Rights and Liberties in the United States Supreme Court." The dissertation was directed by Theodore J. Lowi at Cornell University.

Jennifer Hochschild, Princeton University, received the 2000 David Easton Award from the Foundations of Political Theory Group for her book, *Facing Up to the American Dream: Race, Class, and the Soul of the Nation* (Princeton University Press, 1995).

David Alistair Yalof, University of Connecticut, received the APSA Presidency Research section's 2000 Richard E. Neustadt Award for his book, *Pursuit of Justices: Presidential Politics and the Selection of Supreme Court Nominees* (University of Chicago Press, 1999).

Keith Whittington, Princeton University, and **Daniel Carpenter**, University of Michigan, received the APSA Presidency Research section's Founder's Award for the best paper on the U.S. Presidency presented at the 1999 APSA Annual Meeting. The paper is titled "Institutional Development in a System of Separation of Powers."

David Brady and his coauthors, Kara Buckley and Doug Rivers, received the APSA Legislative Studies section's CQ Press Award for the best paper on legislative studies presented at the 1999 APSA meeting. The paper is titled "Strong Parties Revisited, 1870-1930."

Margaret E. Keck, Johns Hopkins University, was awarded a fellowship by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars for the 2000-2001 academic year.

Carl Swidorski, The College of St. Rose, received the Caucus for a New Political Science Christian Bay Award for the best New Political Science paper presented at the 1999 annual meeting of the APSA. The paper is titled "Political Science and the First Amendment: Ignoring Labor's Role in the Struggle for Freedom of Expression." Professor Swidorski also has received the Thomas A. Manion Distinguished Faculty Award.

Ian Lustick, past president of the Politics and History section, was awarded the Merriam Term Chair by the School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania.

Phillippa Strum, CUNY-Brooklyn College, received an honorable mention for the American Bar Association's Silver Gavel Award for her book, *When the Nazis Came to Skokie: Freedom for the Speech We Hate*. The award recognizes outstanding efforts to foster public understanding of the law.

Anne Permaloff, Auburn University - Montgomery, has been named Alumni Professor. This professorship recognizes excellence in teaching, research, and service.

Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University, has been named Maxwell Professor of Teaching Excellence.

Richard A. Couto, University of Richmond, has received the Ernest A. Lynton Award for Faculty Professional Service and Academic Outreach. This is the national award of the New England Resource Center for Higher Education.

Peter A. Hall, Harvard University, has received the John Harvard Professorship.

Jonathan Hartlyn, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, has received the Johnston Award for Teaching Excellence.

Call for Papers
Conference on the Reagan Presidency
March 27-30, 2002,
at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Proposals including a 1-2 page abstract and brief c.v. or biographical statement should be mailed no later than May 15, 2001 to Prof. W. Elliot Brownlee, Department of History, UCSB, Santa Barbara, CA 93106. The primary sponsors for the conference are UCSB and Vanderbilt University. The primary sponsor at UCSB is the Interdisciplinary Humanities Center. Cosponsoring the conference is the Institute of Governmental Studies at UC Berkeley. The conference web site is www.ihc.ucsb.edu/reagan.html.

Research in Progress

“The Partisan Legacies of Preemptive Leadership: Assessing the Eisenhower Cohorts in the U.S. House”

Kevin Price, University of Wisconsin - Madison

(This paper won the Presidency Research Group's Founder's Award for the best paper by a graduate student in 2000.)

This project centers on one case of what Stephen Skowronek calls “preemptive” presidential leadership. *The Politics Presidents Make*, Skowronek suggests that those who come to office opposed to a resilient regime make the politics of preemption, a kind of “third way” concession to the opposition party's ongoing commitments of ideology and program. Preemptors tend to win reelection, but Skowronek hints that they leave few enduring signs of their leadership once they pass from the national scene. Curiously, the same might be said of Skowronek's work itself.

Notwithstanding its splashy arrival and widespread recognition as an unusually important book, *The Politics Presidents Make* has not generated much in the way of a derivative research program. With this analysis, I demonstrate that Skowronek's ideas yield hypotheses for which available data and methods can provide sensible tests. Whatever one thinks of its methodology, presentation, or central claims, *The Politics Presidents Make* calls out for elaboration. To begin such elaboration, I argue that Skowronek is right to place presidential leadership at the center of the party system. I then claim that students of American politics may gauge Skowronek's construct of “political time” by assessing the partisan and ideological composition of the Congress, which provides a serviceable proxy for developments in the larger system. Finally, I interrogate Skowronek's analysis by examining the effects of Dwight D. Eisenhower's New Republican project on the party contingents in the U.S. House of Representatives. To that end, I assess the ideological characteristics, electoral dynamics, and roll call behavior of the four cohorts elected to the House between 1952 and 1958.

The primary theoretical construct here is the “partisan legacy,” a quantity derived from the size, central ideological tendency, and electoral durability of the congressional cohorts elected during a given presidency. In the 1950s, the congressional Republican Party turned toward Ike's Middle Way, a synthetic approach Eisenhower developed to keep his party viable in the face of a resilient New Deal order. But this more centrist GOP reflected a Pyrrhic victory in which Ike forged a more congenial Republican Party only at the expense of significant conservative losses. Using a variety of statistical tests, I determine that Eisenhower reshuffled party

“From Medicare's Rescue to the Managed Care Revolution: How Congress Inadvertently Transformed American Medicine”

Rick Mayes, University of California - Berkeley
<rmayes@uclink.berkeley.edu >

What specifically caused the paradigm shift from fee-for-service medicine to managed care in the late 1980s and early 1990s?

In 1988, 71 percent of the population was in fee-for-service plans and 29 percent in managed care; by 1995, 30 percent was in fee-for-service and 70 percent in managed care.¹ The conventional wisdom on how managed care replaced traditional fee-for-service insurance is that enlightened businesses and their employers led the way in responding to the emergence of market forces in health care in the 1980s.² A common textbook treatment of managed care's ascendancy puts it this way: “Transformation of the health care delivery system through managed care was driven principally by market forces, and reinforced by government.”³ The irony is that the reverse is a more accurate portrayal of what happened. The transformation of America's health care system through managed care was driven principally—albeit indirectly—by government, and then reinforced by market forces. In other words, before business behavior was a cause of managed care's extraordinary growth, it was an effect or unintended consequence of government policymaking (Congress' dramatic reform of Medicare in 1983).

This work contributes to a growing body of research that focuses on how policies are as much of an influence on political and private actors—through the political feedback they generate—as they are an outcome of them.⁴ The goal is to try to separate the specific order of cause and effect, because sequence analysis inherently leads to causal analysis.⁵ A parallel aim is to try to account for how individuals and institutions respond to changes in policy, recognizing that government reforms often reconfigure incentives other than those originally intended.

The government's redesign of Medicare in 1983 led to the shift from fee-for-service insurance to managed care by doing two things. First, (1) Medicare's new prospective payment system (PPS) standardized hospital rates for the majority of hospital services and procedures. Referred to as diagnosis-related groups (DRGs), this standardization made hospital costs universally known. In economic or political science parlance,

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Abstracts of Papers Presented at Politics and History Panels at the 2000 APSA Meetings

“Organized Looting. The Nazi Seizure of Jewish Property in the Netherlands, 1940-1945”

Gerard Aalders, Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlagsdocumentatie

During the Second World War, the Nazi occupiers in the Netherlands carried out a thorough and almost perfectly organized program in which 135,000 Dutch Jews were robbed of their possessions. The confiscation of Dutch Jewish property was carried out in an extremely systematic way. Expropriations were generally based on decrees (Verordnungen) which had the force of statute law, but in addition, the occupying forces sometimes made use of ‘measures’, ‘ordinances’ or ‘orders’ issued by the Sicherheits-dienst (SD), the German security police. The Nazis stole at least NLG 1 billion in assets from the Dutch Jews. This is the equivalent of about NLG 14 billion today (or more than \$ 6 billion).

“Federal Antitrust Policy and Physician Discontent: The Anatomy of a Shifting Public Policy Debate”

Carl F. Ameringer, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

This study examines the implications for public policy of festering discontent of physicians over the antitrust laws. Much has changed since the early 1980s when doctors first petitioned Congress for relief from federal prosecution. Their most recent attempt, a collective bargaining initiative sponsored by Congressman Tom Campbell of California, passed the House of Representatives. But the bill’s future success depends on the current mix of consumer, interest-group, and governmental interests. This paper contends that federal agencies control the outcome because of their ability to frame a disjointed public interest that favors competition but opposes managed care. So far, federal authorities support government regulation to enhance consumer choice, not countervailing power of doctors against HMOs.

“How Political Parties and Voluntary Associations Interact in Shaping Civil Society”

Kristi Andersen and McGee Young, Syracuse University

In the recent upsurge of research on the state of American civic life, including research on the historical roots of the patterns of American civic engagement, political parties are not very visible. From bowling leagues to the League of Women Voters to the PTA to the Order of the Eastern Star, attention has mostly been focused on growth and decline of civic associations. In this paper we attempt to map the connections between civic associations of various kinds

and party organizations; to suggest how the predominant kinds of connections have changed over the course of U.S. history; and to begin to suggest some of the implications of these connections – how understanding them might help us better understand the changing shape of American civic life.

“Perpetrator Networks and the Holocaust: The Spoliation of Jewish Property in France, 1940-1944”

Marc Olivier Baruch, Institut d’Histoire du Temps Présent

Occupying France since the country’s defeat in June 1940, the Germans benefited from the support of the Vichy regime in implementing their anti-Semitic policy. Vichy was guided by a double preoccupation that was tactical and political. To assert its sovereignty, the regime chose to play the part of loyal collaborator, hoping to obtain as many concessions as possible from the occupier. Secondly, the regime sought to carry out wholeheartedly its own anti-Semitic program which aimed to exclude Jews from the political sphere, then reduce their presumed economic influence.

Collaboration, on the one hand, and State-supported anti-Semitism on the other led French authorities to pursue, to the great satisfaction of the occupation, a policy of spoliation whose extent has been brought to light by recent government-sponsored studies. Through zeal, respect for the law, commitment to work well done and, more rarely, outright anti-Semitism, the majority of the professionals concerned, in the civil service and in banking, took part without any particular pangs of conscience in realizing objectives that had become common to the French State and the Nazi Reich.

“Race Frames in Britain and France”

Erik Bleich, Middlebury College

Britain and France have developed substantially different policies for fighting racism in spite of their equivalent percentages of ethnic minorities and similarities in their post-colonial patterns of non-white immigration. This paper seeks to understand the institutional trajectory in each country and to explain cross-national policy differences. After outlining and examining the contributions of the power-interest, problem-solving, and institutional schools of thought on policymaking, it argues that taken together, these policymaking perspectives do not provide a sufficient account of race policy differences between Britain and France. I argue that ideas-in the form of frames-are necessary to explain race policies in the two countries. In addition, integrating frames into these dominant policymaking paradigms helps to overcome several chronic weaknesses in these perspectives, adding to our understanding of the policymaking process.

“The Origins of Party Alignments: Electoral Mobilization in Belgium, Britain and Sweden from 1880 to 1940”

Charles Boix, The University of Chicago

This paper explores the mobilization of the European electorate in Belgium, Britain and Sweden during the first democratization

wave that started in the 1880s until the end of the interwar period in the 1930s.

Using King's 'ecological inference' method, this article studies two types of evidence. First, it estimates the stability of each party's electorate over elections. Second, it examines, for selected points in time, the social composition of the electorate: this analysis involves estimating the proportion of each party's voters according to class, economic sector and, for Belgium, level of religious practice.

The analysis of ecological estimates jointly with the examination of the strategic choices made by political elites at the time show that the electoral variation we observe across the three countries and over time derives from the combination of sociological and institutional factors.

On the one hand, the pattern of economic and political preferences (and the organizational capabilities of parties) accounted for a fundamental part of why (and when) certain political forces succeeded in two ways. Decisions to expand the franchise, and thus to open the space to previously excluded sectors, led to fundamental shifts in the structure of parliamentary representation in all countries. Moreover, the type of political cleavages (religious and economic in Belgium; purely economic in Britain and Sweden) as well as the strength of parties derived from key preceding historical conditions.

On the other hand, the ecological inference estimates presented in this paper give precious information about how the electoral law interacted with existing electoral preferences to generate very distinctive party systems. The party system of Britain until 1910 and of Sweden until 1911 were relatively similar. Liberals and Conservatives controlled most of the political space. The British Liberal party counted on the rural support of Welsh and Scottish counties but was second to the Conservative party in most of the English countryside. In turn, the 1899 results for Sweden show Conservatives and Liberals drawing similar shares of rural support — with variation across regions related to the trade disputes of 1887. In Britain, Liberals and Conservatives were even in their support among the urban middle classes. In Swedish cities, their support was also similar within the middle class. Swedish blue-collar workers were heavily deprived of voting rights — yet this also paralleled the high non-participation rates of the British lower classes. With the extension of the franchise, the Labour party in Britain and the Social Democratic party in Sweden competed for the working class with the Liberal party. In turn Liberals and Conservatives fought each other for the non-socialist electorate. It was then the electoral law in place that eventually shaped the final outcome. Proportional representation allowed for the survival of both Liberals and Conservatives, freezing the Swedish party system into a multiparty system. By contrast, the plurality system gradually suffocated the Liberal party in Britain.

“The Hidden Sinews Of Power: Constitutional Emergence In The Middle Ages”

Deborah Boucoyannis, University of Chicago

The question of the emergence of centralized parliaments and constitutional government remains an important puzzle. The answers to it inform contemporary debates on liberalization, democratic transitions, and market formation. In orthodox explanations, the necessary condition for the rise of parliamentary institutions was weak bargaining power of the ruler with respect to social groups at the early stage of state formation. But such an explanation fails to consider the collective action problem of social groups seeking to limit central power. More specifically, given a weak crown, why would the nobility even attend the center and enter into negotiations over taxation?

My explanation starts by empirically demonstrating that it is an initially strong crown that is associated with parliamentary institutions. I then articulate two mechanisms that determine outcomes. One is the extent of royal control of land, which is, contrary to expectations, positively correlated with parliamentary consolidation. In England, where the most robust institutions developed, over seventy percent of the land was held directly by the king in the early medieval period. This allowed rulers to extract resources from their most powerful subjects, the landed nobility, who were their direct dependents. The second mechanism that generated constitutional forms was feudal norms of succession to land. The conditionality inherent in feudal property relations ensured that incentives to attend at the center were self-enforcing, thus generating a density of interaction that consolidated parliaments. In cases where unconditional grants of land occurred, typically where the crown was incapable of imposing its own terms on the nobility, constitutional forms atrophied (Castile).

The argument, through a detailed analysis of England, France, Spain, the German states and Hungary from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, reverses many core intuitions on constitutional emergence. It is central strength that allows taxation in the first place, not weakness due to external pressures. If such pressures occur before institutions are already ensconced, there is no basis upon which negotiated forms of exchange can occur. *Conditionality* of property rights is the motor of political exchange, not the centralized protection of such rights, as in the neo-institutional accounts. This conditionality results in the consolidation of central jurisdiction, suggesting that it is courts, not war, that made the state.

Feudalism, therefore, emerges as the necessary condition for constitutional forms of shared rule. My argument thus addresses the old problem of continuity or discontinuity between feudalism and capitalism, by showing how feudalism in its original sense -of a hierarchy of dependence culminating in the king- was the basis of centralization. It thus questions trade- and town-based explanations for the rise of

both constitutionalism and capitalism. Commercial wealth, and capital mobility, far from enforcing concessions by rulers, encouraged private bargains between kings and merchants that bypassed socially inclusive institutional structures. This is the story of the Spanish wool trade, the Mesta. Only where such bargains were embedded in pre-existing institutions was shared rule enhanced. The argument therefore highlights a crucial problem in much of the literature on constitutional commitment: the structure of the game is taken for granted in such arguments, as it is already in place. But it is the structure that generates outcomes, and it is that, therefore, that needs to be explained. I provide a historically informed account of microfoundations, sensitive to context and structure, but I show that macrolevel outcomes can only be explained through the operation of norms, in this case of property succession, that cannot be reduced to choice, instrumentality or a reflection of power.

“Samson Unbound: The Dangers of Presidential Opposition Leadership”

David A. Crockett, Trinity University

This thesis explores the difficulties faced by presidents from the opposition party. The project accepts as a given that American political history can be described as a series of political eras that tend to favor one major party over the other. In this conception, the advantaged political party can be considered the “governing party,” and the disadvantaged party the “opposition party.” The principal advantage enjoyed by the governing party is the power to define the terms of political debate. In a separated system the opposition party can still capture the presidency, but the fact that the “opposition president” cannot control the terms of political debate has an impact on how he governs. Indeed, all opposition presidents face roughly the same historical context, one that makes their options quite constrained; thus, it is possible to make inferences and to generalize about this type of president.

Studying presidential history in such a fashion demonstrates that leadership is a contingent and context-bound phenomenon. Work such as that done by Stephen Skowronek has demonstrated that certain categories of presidents experience similar freedom of action, or constraints to their options. Yet even Skowronek calls opposition presidents (his “preemptive presidents”) “wild cards.” Is that an accurate depiction? Is it any accident that the only presidents to suffer serious impeachment threats have been opposition presidents? Might there be other aspects of presidential opposition leadership that demonstrate the inherent constraints or weaknesses of this type of president? Are such presidents, or their parties, or the American people, in greater danger because of the context of these presidencies?

Through a comparative analysis of opposition presidents (Whig presidents Harrison, Tyler, Taylor, and Fillmore; Andrew Johnson, Cleveland, and Wilson; Eisenhower, Nixon,

and Ford; and Clinton), I will determine if there are certain dangers inherent to this type of presidency. I will focus my attention specifically on partisan success (measuring the success of an opposition president’s party versus a governing party president’s party) and system success (examining the extent to which this constrained context may serve to “bring out the worst” in such presidents’ character, thus endangering the integrity of the political system as a whole). My analysis will avoid the one-size-fits-all trap of so much of the presidency literature, and treat this situation from a transhistorical perspective. This project will demonstrate that there is much to be learned from presidential politics prior to the birth of the “modern presidency.” This project owes much to the work of critical realignment theorists and the regime cycle model of Skowronek, and it is part of a much larger project that deals with the larger question of presidential leadership in constrained circumstances.

“The Rush to Organize: Explaining Associational Formation in the United States, 1860s-1920s”

Jocelyn Elise Crowley, Rutgers University, New Brunswick
Theda Skocpol, Harvard University

Americans have long been a people given to organizing and joining voluntary membership associations. Associational growth started early in the nation’s history, yet exploded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many researchers have argued that modernizing forces propelled associational development, but this seemingly obvious explanation has been challenged by other scholars who stress the impact of the Civil War, government institutions, political processes, and preexisting social networks. Using a unique data set that tracks foundings of state-level units in major voluntary membership federations between the 1860s and 1920s, we test these alternative hypotheses with the aid of event history methods. We find only modest support for modernization arguments, but document clear and strong links to Union efforts in the Civil War. Electoral competitiveness and certain preexisting social networks also encouraged associations to form. Our findings suggest fresh leads for further research on civic engagement in American democracy, past and present.

“Bicameralism and the American State Constitutional Tradition”

John Dinan, Wake Forest University

Although bicameralism has for the last two centuries been the subject of frequent and ongoing debate around the world, the United States is thought to represent a significant exception, in the sense that the two-chamber legislature is well-entrenched at the national level, and, since the early nineteenth century, only a single state has adopted a unicameral system. What has not received sufficient attention is the full extent to which the existence and purpose of bicameralism have been contested at the state level.

It becomes clear, through an analysis of the debates of the

108 state constitutional conventions for which such records have been retained, that state constitution-makers have engaged in extensive deliberations about the wisdom of a second chamber. An initial challenge to bicameralism took place beginning in the 1820s, at which time one of the principal purposes of creating a senate – to give greater protection to a propertied aristocracy – came to be viewed as an increasingly unpersuasive justification. Bicameralism became the subject of another round of debate beginning in the late 1880s, at which time the Populists, and later the Progressives, called into question the legitimacy of all institutions, including the senate, that might be seen as inhibiting the direct statement of the popular will. Bicameralism then re-emerged as an important issue in the 1960s, when a series of U.S. Supreme Court reapportionment decisions barred the states from apportioning Senate districts on the basis of territory, thereby removing yet another justification for retaining a second chamber.

Through an examination of the state convention debates during each of these periods, it becomes possible to trace the evolution of the arguments that have been marshaled in defense of the bicameral principle. For the better part of American history, bicameralism was thought to ensure the presence of a deliberative check on ill-advised legislation, but such a check was thought to be valuable only insofar as it rested on important distinctions in the organization and perspective of the House and Senate. It is only in the latter part of the twentieth century, after several important distinctions had been eliminated, that the argument for bicameralism has come to be framed almost exclusively in terms of the benefits associated with a deliberative check.

“Birmingham, Addis Ababa and the Image of America: International Influence on U.S. Civil Rights Politics in the Kennedy Years”
Mary L. Dudziak, University of Southern California

When civil rights demonstrators marched into the streets of Birmingham, Alabama in May of 1963, their encounter with Bull Connor and the forces of massive resistance captured headlines around the world. As the world reacted in horror to the events in Birmingham, U.S. allies as well as critics questioned the nature of American democracy. How could the U.S. lead the world through the Cold War, international observers asked, when within the U.S. a minority population was brutally deprived of basic civil rights? Why was the U.S. form of government a model for others, particularly a model for newly independent nations in Africa, when persons of African descent suffered such oppression? While race discrimination had damaged U.S. foreign relations before, and while Secretaries of State Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles and Dean Rusk had all urged their presidents to support civil rights reform in order to safeguard the nation’s world leadership, the impact of Birmingham on U.S. foreign relations was particularly stark. Just days after children in Birmingham were flattened by fire hoses, African heads of state gathered in

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia for the first meeting of the Organization of African Unity. African leaders turned their attention from questions of African solidarity to the events in Birmingham, debating whether Birmingham should precipitate a break in U.S.-African relations. This outpouring of criticism troubled the Kennedy Administration, reinforcing a concern faced by U.S. Presidents throughout the early years of the Cold War: the impact of American racism on U.S. foreign relations. This paper will argue that May of 1963 was a crisis point in the history of the impact of American racial problems on U.S. foreign relations. And the foreign affairs impact helped propel President Kennedy to finally embrace civil rights in the summer of 1963. This paper illustrates that foreign affairs played a crucial role in civil rights reform during the Kennedy Administration. Since American racial crises played out on a world stage, international pressure gave the civil rights movement important leverage. International criticism, and a concern with the U.S. image, was a constraint upon the state. This helps us understand the dynamics of civil rights reform during the Cold War. Civil rights reform may have been a moral imperative in 1963, but it was also a Cold War imperative. This paper is drawn from my forthcoming book: *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton University Press, December 2000).

“State Electoral Laws and the Impact of Presidential Elections on Party Control of the House of Representatives, 1840-1940”
Erik Engstrom and Samuel Kernell
University of California-San Diego

Traditional political history portrays presidential elections as dramatic events that unified a loose confederation of state parties and frequently decided party control of the national government. Political science research, however, finds little ‘national effect’ of presidential contests upon congressional elections, assigning most of the variation in these outcomes to state and local forces. We develop and estimate a structural model of party control of the House of Representatives that takes both literatures into account. We find a strong role for presidential elections, but one subject to the mediating influence of state electoral laws and institutions.

“Institutionalization in a Critical Period: Presidency, Congress and the Development of the Executive Budget”
Victoria A. Farrar-Myers, University of Texas – Arlington
Russell D. Renka, Southeast Missouri State University
Daniel E. Ponder, University of Colorado – Colorado Springs

The early 1900s saw a burst of industrial growth that produced a major expansion of power in the federal government. Both the Congress and the presidency took on functions and institutional characteristics that have been attributed to their “modern” incarnations. One such enduring change was the creation in 1921 of the Executive Budget. We

argue that events such as the creation of the Executive Budget are not “spasmodic shocks” appearing out of nowhere, but actually were key turning points in the institutionalization process of both institutions. In actuality, the creation of the Executive Budget was the culmination of continual efforts over a period of time beginning with the Taft Commission on the Budget in 1913. Unlike the gradualism school that would argue that this was a natural progression of events, we offer a key theoretical narrative of institutional change. In other words, the interaction between the two institutions during this time period lends great insight into how institutionalization in one affects the other. The purpose of this paper is to determine what factors contributed to these fundamental and enduring changes and to begin to build an understanding of institutional change by examining the institutional consequences that stemmed from the passage of the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921.

The paper will begin by describing the attributes of institutionalization in each branch of government during this period. Then it will address the growth of the national budget and the repeated, ultimately successful efforts to produce a single central budget process. In its most simplified form, the paper will argue that budget growth spurred the reformist effort to create an executive budget. We examine factors that contributed to this event. Among those factors is real growth in the federal budget, the budgetary crisis event of World War I, and institutional attributes of Congress including the emergence of a careerist membership. This examination will not only allow us to consider the factors that spurred this change, but also look at the long-term consequences of this transference of power.

The paper also will assess the influence of executive institutional growth upon congressional institutional change. Further, we argue here that institutional interaction leads to institutional development and growth. The lessons culled from this one critical change, we argue, lend great insight into the development of both the modern Congress and presidency. Further, by demonstrating a growth in the institution of the presidency as Congress acquiesces a key power of the purse function, we can begin to lend credence to the challenge that the Presidency was changing in key ways often only attributed to the “modern presidency” of FDR and after.

“Public Attitudes toward Immigration in the United States, France, and Germany since 1880”

Joel Fetzer, Central Michigan University

This paper explores the determinants of aggregate, over-time nativism in three major industrialized democracies over the last 110 years. Based on an extensive review of the multilingual secondary literature on the history of immigration, the study first delineates the ebbs and flows of anti-immigration sentiment in the United States, France, and Germany. The investigation then uses historical economic and demographic data to test three major explanations of

over-time nativism: 1. cultural marginality, derived from Myrdal and Allport; 2. economics, from Downs; and 3. contact, based on Allport. In the end, historical data from the three countries fail to confirm the contact and over-time versions of cultural marginality. The immigration histories of the U.S., France, and Germany do suggest, however, that economic downturns boost anti-immigration sentiment and that in any one period, natives are most likely to oppose immigration from nations whose cultures differ the most from that of the host country.

“A New Theory of the Dynamics of Mainstream Right Parties in France”

Sona Nadenichek-Golder, New York University

One would expect party leaders occupying similar policy space to coordinate when necessary to win political office. However, the politicians of the French mainstream right are unable to coordinate on electoral strategy even though this hampers their ability to win elections. Due to changes in the party system and electoral rules in recent decades, the two main parties have a greater incentive to unify now than they did in the past. The literature on coalitions, though usually limited to post-election government formation, provides useful theoretical concepts for analyzing this empirical puzzle. The notion, pervasive in the French politics literature, that the Gaullists and the Center-Right represent two separate and distinct ideological positions that are determined by their historical roots and evolution is simply misguided. There are no substantive ideological reasons to prevent coordination. The mainstream right does coordinate to some extent, but further coordination and unification could achieve even greater electoral benefits. Thus, the electoral gains from coordination have not yet been exhausted. Coordination within the mainstream right is sub-optimal because elites in the different parties cannot agree on a mutually-advantageous selection mechanism to determine the hierarchy and candidate selection of a new, unified party, either because no such arrangement exists or because there is no way to credibly commit to continued power-sharing following unification.

“A Tale of Two Editions: Marmor’s “The Politics of Medicare” and the Study of Health Politics After Thirty Years”

Jacob S. Hacker, Harvard University

When the U.S. edition of Theodore Marmor’s now-classic “The Politics of Medicare” was first published in 1973, it was one of the first serious works of political science to analyze the politics of American medical care. Other scholars, to be sure, had examined health politics. But Marmor was among the first to apply political science concepts and methods in a systematic fashion to the domain and, just as critical, to treat the area not as a backwater of health services research or medical sociology, but as a central area of political conflict and policymaking in mature industrial democracies. In many ways, therefore, the publication of the first edition of “The Politics of Medicare” marks the inauguration of the field of

health politics as the vibrant and wide-ranging realm of political science that exists today. With the appearance of a dramatically expanded new edition of the book almost three decades after the first, it is appropriate to reflect on how far the field has come—and on how far, in some respects, it still has to go—in the context of tracing the evolution of Marmor’s pioneering book from first to second edition.

“Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Politics”

Peter A. Hall, Harvard University

This paper argues that a gap has opened up between the ontologies prominent in the contemporary theories of comparative politics and the methodologies favored by the field. This poses a problem because the validity of a methodology depends on the accuracy of its assumptions about the ontology or nature of the causal relations in the political world. The field has put increasing emphasis on statistical methods and correlational approaches to the comparative method. But many of the most prominent theories in comparative politics, such as those stressing strategic interaction or path dependence, assume causal structures that render the assumptions on which such methods must be based invalid. After reviewing the development of ontology in the field, the paper suggests a return to historical inquiry or process-tracing, understood in a particular way, as a resolution to this problem. It argues that process-tracing is often a better means than statistical analysis of establishing causal inferences.

“Partisanship in the Congressional Electorate, 1880-1940”

Anna L. Harvey, New York University

Between 1880 and 1940 the partisanship of the congressional electorate appears to have declined significantly, possibly leading to important changes in the institution of Congress. Existing models of partisanship are arguably insufficient to account for the variation in partisanship during this period. This paper develops and tests an alternative model of partisanship as a social convention. The decision to act on behalf of a party is modeled as an asymmetric n-person coordination game with multiple equilibria, where the payoffs from being coordinated on acts of partisanship are higher than the payoffs from coordination on abstention if the costs of those actions are sufficiently low. Given that such a coordination game will be easier to solve where acts of partisanship are more public, we should see a greater incidence of partisanship in states whose electoral laws facilitate a more public partisanship, relative to states without such laws. The model is tested using measures of split ticket voting and partisan cohesion across congressional districts between 1880 and 1940. Both measures of partisanship are shown to be responsive to the presence of laws providing for office bloc secret ballots, direct primaries, and party registration.

“Legislative Politics and the Determination of Property Rights: The Case of Water Rights in the California Legislature, 1880-1919”

Roger W. James, University of Rochester

Studies of electoral behavior commonly focus on the ideology of legislators or economic characteristics of the district. In this paper I include both economic and political characteristics for each district and personal ideology of the representative. With this model I study the voting behavior of members of the California legislature over the period 1880-1919 on votes concerning the best water rights rules for that state. This model correctly classifies 87 percent of the votes cast, a significant improvement over the best guess modal model which correctly classified 59 percent.

The most useful variables for predicting legislators’ votes are ideological. When available, an index of support for a broad range of progressive issues is the best predictor of support for various proposals intended to limit the applicability of the common law riparian rights doctrine in California. The next best predictor of vote is identification with the Republican party. The best predictor of support for the riparian rights doctrine is a high concentration of established riparian rights in a district. To reiterate, both the political and economic characteristics of the legislative districts and the personal ideology of the legislators are useful in explaining their votes on the appropriate form of property rights in the use of water. A model that includes only one type or the other is misspecified.

“Patronage Regimes and American Party Development from the Age Of Jackson to the Progressive Era”

Scott C. James, University of California, Los Angeles

This paper introduces the concept of patronage regimes and, through it, contributes to the literature on American party development. Regime analysis focuses attention on the routine, patterned, and distinctive character of patronage allocation within historically delimited time periods, as cumulatively induced by the pressures of presidential elections, the management needs of congressional party organizations, and the desire for partisan control of sub-national governing units. The allocation of public jobs to partisan operatives was central to nineteenth-century party organization. And yet, for all intents and purposes, no systematic empirical inquiry has yet been undertaken into the operation of American patronage practices.

The history of the American patronage party is not simply a narrative of rise and fall, these institutions also evolved over time. Utilizing an original data set of 48,000 Senate-confirmed, presidential appointments, I analyze presidential patronage removals in the years between 1829 and 1917 — from the inauguration of Andrew Jackson to the end of Woodrow Wilson’s first administration — an analysis that stresses the relationship between institutional incentives, political structure, and purposive partisan behavior. My findings

suggest that American party development in the patronage era can be partitioned along a pre-Civil War/post-Civil divide. I identify two distinctive patronage regimes, an antebellum regime structured by pure-and-simple spoils politics and a postbellum regime conforming to principles of machine politics. Additionally, patronage parties in the machine era are found to exert little systematic influence in the governing realm, with the partial exception of the Progressive Era, while Jacksonian patronage removals are shown to strongly track patterns of intra-party conflict, though in ways inconsistent with notions of machine discipline.

“Sophisticated Behavior and Speakership Elections: The Elections of 1849 and 1855-56”

Jeffery A. Jenkins, Michigan State University, and Charles Stewart III, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The empirical topic of this paper is the struggle over the election of the Speaker in the two decades preceding the Civil War. It was a time when the two major parties, the Democrats and Whigs, sought to create cohesive national organizations dedicated to particular visions of economic development. Yet these parties were coalitions of factions that disagreed strongly about an important cross-cutting issue of the day, slavery. The biennial election of the Speaker provided an easily-identifiable moment in which the durability of these partisan coalitions were tested. Here we focus on two cases where the test was so severe that, in the end, a majority of the House decided to allow a Speaker to be elected who did not enjoy majority support in the chamber—in the 31st and 34th Congresses (1849 and 1855-56, respectively).

“Critical Events and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Racial Restrictive Covenants”

Michael Jones-Correa, Harvard University

The dominant approach in the policy diffusion literature has given a great deal of attention to the dynamics of diffusion—why states adopt policies when they do, and in particular why there are differences in the speed and rate of adoption among states—but much less to the mechanisms of policy diffusion—how exactly diffusion works, and why some policy alternatives are picked up on while others languish. Focusing on the little-understood origins of racial restrictive covenants in the early 20th century, this article adds to our understanding of these mechanisms. In particular, the role of the 1917-1921 race riots suggests the part that critical junctures can play in the diffusion process. At any critical juncture there are multiple alternative responses. Institutional links help determine which alternatives survive, and which will wither on the vine. The narrative here supports the contention that associational and informational networks are critical to the diffusion of ideas and practices among the states. It extends this suggestion by finding that these networks may be private, as well as public. The role of the federal government can be critical, but, as much of the literature notes, rarely as an innovator of policy, but rather in

reinforcing policy outcomes and favoring one set of alternatives over others.

“State Incorporation and the Dynamics of Ethnic Mobilization”

John Kenny, University of Chicago

In this paper I test the predictions of three rival explanations for why immigrants support homeland nationalist movements. I subject these theories to critical tests using data gathered from Irish-American support for homeland nationalism in the 1860s and Jewish-American support for Zionism after the First World War. I find little support for the conventional wisdom that diasporan nationalism is a function of immigrants' ongoing attachment to the homeland, low levels of assimilation, or their identity needs in the host society. Instead I find strong evidence to suggest that support for diasporan nationalism is driven by immigrants being incorporated into the local state. Nationalist identities are strategically adopted by particular groups within the immigrant community as a means of generating support for their own local goals in the host society. In places where these particular groups were absent, support for homeland nationalism was significantly lower or non-existent.

“Hayes Truly Won: A Revisionist Analysis of the 1876 Electoral Vote in Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida”

Ronald F. King, Tulane University

There is a common interpretation of the election of 1876 – Hayes versus Tilden – which asserts that the wrong person was allowed to become President of the United States and partly in exchange the south was finally returned to its rightful white rulers, who might have been racists but who deserved under democratic precepts to exercise local self-government within the Constitution. This paper, consistent with the revisionist perspective on Reconstruction, challenges the popular interpretation. The right person was elected president and the wrong persons were conceded power in the south, at substantial cost to these states and to a major segment of their population for the next ninety years.

This paper attempts what the Electoral Commission appointed by Congress refused to do, “go behind” the electoral vote in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida to determine a true winner. The perspective adopted is that of an independent political consultant “hired” by the commission to help in its deliberations. The method is 1) to estimate the overall partisan division of the vote by race within each state using ecological regression; 2) to identify implausible county results by the identification of extraordinary outliers, assuming that such extraordinary deviation from the normal vote pattern is an indication of probable intimidation or fraud; 3) to simulate a more plausible vote outcome to substitute for the published result in those counties identified as extreme outliers.

The main finding is that Hayes truly won the 1876 presidential

election. The state returning boards might have been politically biased in their decision-making and arbitrary in the votes they chose to exclude, but they were accurate in the direction of electoral adjustment and in their declarations of partisan victor. Republican candidates for statewide offices and presidential elector would have won had the elections in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida been more honest. Even where the sum of votes cast and counted suggested an ostensible Democratic majority, statistical re-analysis indicates that the Republicans in all cases should have been awarded the victory.

“The Politics of Asking: House Member Committee Requests in the Early 20th Century”

Eric D. Lawrence, University of California - Riverside
Forrest Maltzman, George Washington University
Paul J. Wahlbeck, George Washington University

Prior research on committee requests has been confined to the post-World War II era, wherein assignments have been made by party committees and approved by the House. In this paper, we examine the assignment process under an alternative institutional arrangement. We explore the politics of committee assignment requests during the turn of the century era when the Speaker unilaterally assigned members to committees, a power that was stripped from the Speaker after the “revolt” against Joe Cannon. We propose that during the Cannon era member requests were shaped by two dominant factors: first, a strategic calculation of whether Speaker Joe Cannon would be favorably disposed to support one’s efforts and, second, by members’ electoral needs. We test our expectations with recently discovered archival evidence: personal notebooks maintained by Cannon’s staff for the Speaker’s use in making committee assignments in the early 1900s. The notebooks provide systematic data on Republican members’ committee requests. Based upon these data, we model which members aggressively sought the most valuable committee slots.

“Multicultural challenges to the Jacobin Republic”

Denis Lacorne, Institut d’Etudes Politiques

In this paper, Denis Lacorne argues that the French “Jacobin” tradition has poorly prepared the political class to accept the idea of a multicultural democracy. This centralist tradition has both conservative and leftwing proponents and it has been reinforced by a postwar legal prohibition on the use of all ethno-racial categories. The French Republic is one and indivisible. And yet there is a particular ethnic group — the people of Corsica — which has been singled out by the central government to receive new legislative powers and new linguistic rights. This recent political development announces the demise of the Jacobin Republic and the emergence of a new type of territorial affirmative action.

“Cycles Of Contention: The Decline and Transformation of the Antievolution Movement, 1925-1930”

Michael Lienesch, University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill

This is a study of how social movements decline. Applying theoretical tools from new social movement theory, it considers the case of the antievolution movement in the United States during the period from 1925 to 1930. Moving beyond recent historical debates, which portray the movement as either in retreat or at the peak of its power, it analyzes the more complex transformation taking place at this time. Considering the antievolution crusade in terms of a cycle of protest, the paper describes a dynamic of decline marked by the acceleration and diffusion of conflict; increasing innovation in protest repertoires and frames of meaning; the appearance of new movement organizations and the empowerment of old ones; and the intensified flow of information and interaction between activists and political authorities. Applying these assumptions, the paper finds support for the concept of cyclical contention, and suggests that it provides a tool for understanding not only the antievolution crusade but also other more recent political movements as well.

“The Elusive Quest for Universal Health Coverage: Social Security as Leading Asset and a Liability”

Rick Mayes, University of Richmond

What explains the absence of universal health insurance coverage in the United States? There is no one politics of health care or one explanation for the lack of universal coverage; there are, instead, different patterns of politics at different stages of policy development. Yet a unique and critical relationship has existed between Social Security and the development of health insurance (private and public). Intimidated by organized medicine in 1935, Roosevelt excluded universal health insurance coverage from the Social Security Act so that the program could pass in Congress. For the next three decades the American Medical Association (AMA) continued to prevent any public, contributory health insurance scheme from passing. But by the mid 1960s, Social Security had evolved into the best-if not only-vehicle for overcoming the AMA’s interest-group opposition and, in the process, incrementally achieving the goal of universal coverage. Medicare’s passage in 1965 represented the first major step. Policy-makers’ success with incremental expansion, however, also had detrimental consequences. Specifically, Social Security and Medicare’s accumulated costs eventually emerged as a primary impediment to the goal. From the mid 1970s on, universal coverage became financially “crowded out,” in part by the programs that many envisioned would facilitate its achievement. Once the payroll tax was solely devoted to Social Security and Medicare, policy-makers became convinced that they could not raise it for any additional commitments. They chose, instead, to pursue alternative financing proposals for increasing health insurance coverage, which proved politically futile.

Essentially, attempts at forging new policy paths became blocked by the constellation of interests surrounding old, institutionalized ones: the private path of tax-subsidized, employer-provided health insurance and the public path of different government programs for targeted segments of the population. With the myriad of organizations and interest-groups supporting them, these two paths have effectively resisted comprehensive change.

E. E. Schattschneider's memorable claim, that "new policies create new politics," is supported in the area of health care policy as in almost no other. The evolution of Social Security and Medicare-with Social Security coming first-proved crucial. Policy feedback from Social Security led to a process of increasing returns that made the probability of policy-makers taking further steps along the same path greater, as Paul Pierson explains, because the relative benefits for them staying with the same course increase dramatically over time. Or, alternatively, the adaptation costs of exiting to a new path become excessively high. These self-reinforcing properties, however, also inhibited policy-makers from exiting off the established paths of policy-making that had become necessary for achieving universal coverage following the financial troubles of Social Security and Medicare in the mid-1970s and early 1980s.

So policy-makers' success with expanding Social Security's generosity and range of protection paved the way for Medicare. Yet, in doing so, it ultimately made universal coverage more difficult if not impossible to attain. Incremental expansion gave advocates of social insurance the appearance of eventually providing protection for everyone. But it actually led to a more complicated patchwork system of health care, less amenable to the kind of change necessary for achieving universal coverage because adaptation costs became too high. As "clients" of their particular provider of health insurance, individual political constituencies (e.g., senior citizens and Medicare; veterans and the VA; employers, employees and tax-subsidized private insurance) became loyal to their own public program or private arrangement. Thus, each new program subtracted another constituency for any universal health insurance scheme. This experience-in which policy-making promoted a configuration of elected leaders and interest groups that militated against any universal health care scheme-affirms Margaret Weir's argument that distributional biases in particular policies "feed back" in ways such that, over time, some avenues of policy become increasingly blocked, if not entirely cut off. Decisions at one point in time can restrict future possibilities by sending policy off onto particular tracks, trajectories, or, as John Ikenberry calls them, "developmental pathways." Clinton's 1993-94 Health Security Act, for example, revealed the futility of trying to reconcile old institutional arrangements with new policy paths-managed care with budget caps (an example of unprecedented regulatory ambition). In addition to the

difficulties associated with the politics of retrenchment, both the costs of inherited programs and the numerous constituencies that developed in support of them blocked even the politics of expansion.

"Bringing the State Back In to Civic Engagement: World War II Veterans, the G.I. Bill, and American Citizenship"

Suzanne B. Mettler, Syracuse University

In the debates over civic engagement today, there is little attention to how governmental programs may themselves shape participation. Some assume that the extension of social rights has undermined civil society and fostered dependence rather than active citizenship, but such claims have not been examined empirically. This paper explores this relationship by examining the effects of the educational provisions of the G.I. Bill for the World War II generation. It draws on a survey of 1000 veterans of World War II, including those who used the G.I. Bill for either higher or vocational education and those who did not; and 30 qualitative interviews with World War II veterans. Controlling for several variables including level of education, I find that use of the G.I. Bill educational provisions enhanced participation in civic and political activities. Such effects were most pronounced among those from low-moderate socio-economic backgrounds, for whom the policy represented an important expansion of social citizenship. In theoretical terms, this illustrates the need to bring attention to government and public policy into the civic voluntarism model used to explain participation. As well, it demonstrates the important role of policies in the incorporation of citizens, a fundamental task of state-building.

"Institutional Evolution and the Rise of the Tuesday-Thursday Club in the House of Representatives"

Timothy P. Nokken, University of Houston, and
Brian R. Sala, University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign

In their 1952 study, *Congress at Work*, Bailey and Samuel asserted that "Congressmen spend approximately 80 percent of their time on non-legislative matters." Recent House experiments with five day-a-week schedules aside, members have long made use of a scheduling regime that concentrates most of the important floor activities of Congress to Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, giving members wide latitude to attend to business back home over four-day weekends. This scheduling pattern has been a fact of life in the U.S. House since the 1920s. The proportion of recorded votes held during Tuesday through Thursday rose steadily from about fifty percent on average throughout the 19th century and early 20th century to well over 80 percent by the 1980s. Changing scheduling patterns in the House reveal changes in the electoral incentives and strategies pursued by MCs. In this paper, we discuss the origins of modern "home style" electoral techniques and explain the rise of the Tuesday-Thursday scheduling pattern for major House business in the 1920s.

“Systemic Influences and New State Formation: Internal Choice versus External Power in Revolutionary Ecuador”

David Nolan, U.S. Military Academy

States, and state systems, do not materialize fully formed or exist in an unchanging, timeless world; they are created by human individuals operating in historical time. Any newly independent state must contend with the contemporary state system into which it is born. But in a time of systemic transformation, policy choices and political decisions may serve to define the evolving nature of the system itself. According to the neorealist paradigm, the global international order decisively constrains the policy choices of states. From a constructivist perspective, which views the international system in terms of social relationships based on ideas, characteristics of states and the choices made by state leaders, constrained though they may be by internal and external factors, affect the evolution of the state system, particularly in a dynamic environment. Periods of system transformation provide policymakers with greater scope for choice and such choices can help mold the construction of a new international order. The ordering principle of Hispanic America changed from hierarchy to anarchy between 1808 and 1830, resulting in the collapse of the Spanish empire and a transformation of the regional political system. But when the Ecuadorian province of Guayaquil, under the leadership of José Joaquín Olmedo, declared independence from Spain in October of 1820, a clear pattern of post-imperial interstate relations had not yet emerged. With both José de San Martín's Peruvian state and Simón Bolívar's Colombian republic laying claims to Guayaquil, the key question facing Olmedo was whether his small state should maintain its local autonomy, join with a larger nation-state, or participate in a project of continental unification. A neorealist interpretation would suggest that Guayaquil's foreign policies were largely functions of external diplomatic and military pressures exerted by the emerging interstate structure. The constructivist perspective would emphasize the systemic impact of the local elite's ideology and world view. Because of the specific historical conditions of international systemic transformation, Guayaquil's leaders were able to act on their ideology and influence the construction of the new regional order. Olmedo used the opportunity provided by the historical moment to construct a new kind of state consistent with his liberal world view. While engaging in a diplomatic effort to compensate for Guayaquil's military weakness by balancing various threats, he also tried to work with all liberation forces as a step towards constructing a regional order based on mutual aid rather than power politics. Olmedo failed in his quest to preserve Guayaquil's independence in a system of cooperative anarchy. Bolívar's hierarchical vision prevailed in 1822 and Colombia annexed Guayaquil. The separatist tendency reemerged, however, when Bolívar's greater Colombian republic disintegrated in 1830 and Ecuador, including Guayaquil, became an independent state. Over the longer term, Olmedo's ideas and efforts helped lay the foundation for modern hemispheric unity based on self-determination, democratic values, and open economies.

“Big, Slow-Moving, and ... Invisible: Macro-Social Processes in the Study of Comparative Politics”

Paul Pierson, Harvard University

In contemporary political science, both causal processes and outcomes are typically depicted as unfolding entirely over a short period of time. While this sort of framework will often be appropriate, there is no reason to think that most political processes, or the most interesting ones, are best understood by invoking accounts with this kind of temporal structure. In this essay I explore causal processes and outcomes that occur over extended periods of time. My emphasis is on distinguishing and outlining different types of processes. These distinctions provide the foundation for future efforts to integrate long-term processes into theoretical accounts. They also help to clarify specific methodological challenges facing investigations of long-term processes. Finally, and crucially, the clarification of distinct types of long-term processes can serve as an important bridging device for research focusing on distinct empirical problems, revealing the extent to which different literatures draw on similar conceptions of causal processes and similar analytical techniques in shaping explanations.

“Trust, Social Dilemmas and Collective Memories”

Bo Rothstein, Göteborg University

What does it take to move a society from an inefficient equilibrium, characterized by low social capital, distrust and inefficient legal and political institutions, to the opposite situation? The starting point is a discussion of solutions to the “social dilemma” problem presented in rational choice theory, which are found wanting. Without norms of trust, the “tragedy of the commons” is unavoidable. An institutional mechanism is identified which implies that trust can be established “from above”, that is, the trustworthiness of “efficient” institutions creates interpersonal trust, which in its turn make the “production” of social capital in civil society possible. It is argued that the theory of “collective memories” can serve as the missing link in the theory of social capital and game-theoretical explanations of cooperation. The advantage of this approach is that it brings action and power into the theory of social capital and social dilemmas.

“Bryan's Ghost: American Democracy and Opposition to Central Bank Autonomy”

Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University

This paper begins to answer the question: whatever happened to monetary politics? The notion that control of credit and the money supply should be left to bankers, private or public, was once quite contentious. Today central banking is the principal economic regulatory policy left in capitalist democracies and the control of money by an unelected elite is virtually uncontested, both in the U.S., where Alan Greenspan is a sacrosanct philosopher king, and in Europe, where the new European Central Bank, modeled on

the Bundesbank, itself modeled on the Federal Reserve System, continues to raise interest rates in the midst of high unemployment. How, in a period presumably marked by the expansion of democracy, did we get to the point of handing over the most critical regulatory function, on which growth, income and opportunity hinge, to a small, inflation-averse (really inflation paranoid) central banking elite?

Several possible explanations are catalogued and U.S. monetary politics traced from the progressive era to the present. The U.S. answer probably centers on changes in the domestic economy and the decline of sectors once hypersensitive to the supply of money and credit, along with the unprecedented economic expansion of the 1990s. But the experience of the early 1980s, which saw a diverse and intense congressional protest against the policies of Fed Chair Paul Volcker, suggest that in the face of predictable central bank errors leading to or exacerbating recession, monetary populism will probably rise again, in new places, but with a time-honored repertoire of Fed-constricting methods.

“Economic Activity as Political Activity”

Virginia Sapiro, University of Wisconsin, Madison

When people become engaged in political action – when they are attempting to shape the nature of the state and political system which affects their lives, when they participate directly in its decision-making, or in choosing those who participate in decision-making, when they influence others who are participating in the decision-making or in choosing decision-makers, when they are engaging in actions designed to facilitate their ability to do any of these things successfully – what do they actually *do*? What are the individual and collection actions they use to achieve their ends?

This paper, part of a larger project, addressing these questions, on the history of political action in the United States, explores the circumstances under which economic activity has been used as political activity. The types of economic activity considered in this paper include labor, or the production of goods and provision of services; consumption; creating economic disadvantage; financial contribution; actions regarding the commons and public goods; and political philanthropy. The paper also considers political activity in the context of corporate polities, especially common-interest developments.

“Racing to the Bottom, or Racing to Catch Up?”

Dante J. Scala, St. Anselm College

This paper examines a neglected aspect of American political development: the attempts of American state governments to overhaul their revenue-raising machinery in the early twentieth century, in response to modernization and industrialization in American economy and society. Specifically, this paper offers an account of significant change in American state government tax systems, from one

based on landed property to one that specifically targeted income and business as sources of revenue. Secondly, it analyzes the data collected on state tax bases from 1900-1930 to test two theories of development: 1) the “race to the bottom” theory, which argues that states compete against each other to attract businesses and jobs by making their jurisdictions more attractive to private enterprise through cuts in taxes and regulations; 2) Alexander Gerschenkron’s theory of “economic backwardness,” which argues that governments of late-industrializing states tend to pursue divergent (and more innovative) paths of economic development than their early-industrializing counterparts, in an attempt to “catch up” with their peers. In this paper, Gerschenkron’s argument is applied to fiscal matters: Late-industrializing American states were at least as willing (if not more so) to use innovations in revenue-raising (such as taxes on income and business) than their more-industrialized counterparts. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) in the data collected, as well as observation of tax bases on a state-by-state basis, do not support the race-to-the-bottom model, but do lend credence to the Gerschenkron model.

“Perpetrator Networks and the Holocaust: Resuming the ‘Functionalism’ versus ‘Intentionalism’ Debate”

Wolfgang Seibel, University of Konstanz

Research in recent years revealed that the persecution and annihilation of the Jews under German rule between 1933 and 1945 was made possible through the cooperation of a core-group of perpetrators with a broad variety of public and private agencies. What is more, the economic side of persecution in particular - spoliation, looting, pillage - was obviously an integral part of the so-called ‘final solution of the Jewish question in which fiscal authorities, banks, corporations, non-profit organizations and ordinary citizens had been involved. It was not just the SS and Gestapo apparatus - which, in itself, was a vast imperium indeed - which organized the persecution but a differentiated and ramified conglomerate of individual and institutional actors, indeed rather an inter-organizational network than a monolithic and strictly hierarchical apparatus.

“Big Deals: Territorial Bargaining and the Fate of Post-Colonial and Post-Soviet States”

Steven L. Solnick, Columbia University

The paper considers the bargaining between central and sub-national governments in post-Soviet and post-colonial states, cases where the central government faces an acute challenge of statebuilding after a transition. In such cases the central government must win the support or acquiescence of a minimal coalition of territorial actors in order to remain in power. This paper looks primarily at the statebuilding process in post-Soviet Russia, and more sketchily at the cases of British North America and the Indian subcontinent. The paper focuses on two dimensions of the post-transition outcome: survival of the core territorial state, and the symmetry or asymmetry of resulting institutions. The paper

hypothesizes that these different outcomes are determined in large part by differences in the transitional bargaining process. The varied origins of subnational units, the degree of inter-provincial coordination in bargaining with the center, and the ability of central or provincial actors to alter the rules of the bargaining process itself all shape the ultimate outcome. The paper employs insights from three different informal bargaining models—non-cooperative N+1 bargaining, cooperative coalitional bargaining, and bargaining with endogenous rules—to suggest why Russian institutions have varied over time and have shown greater asymmetry than post-colonial institutions in India and North America.

“Why the Federalist Myth? Dual Citizenship, a Union of States, and American Political Development”

Bartholomew H. Sparrow, University of Texas, Austin

The paper challenges the assumption of the founders and subsequent writers that the United States has a federal system of government. It looks at citizenship and territorial sovereignty and shows that for the purposes of western expansion in the contiguous territories, the American Indians, Washington, D.C., and Alaska, Hawaii, and the overseas territories, the United States is not a federal system of government but a national system. Millions of persons are and have been U.S. citizens without being members of a state, and millions of acres of territorial lands as well as land within the fifty states belongs to the U.S. government rather than being under the sovereignty of one of the several states. The fact that the Congress and Senate are organized on a federal basis (as well the electoral college, with the exception of D.C.) is one reason why the federalist myth endures. Another reason is the fact that the Constitution and Federalist Papers make scant mention of the territories. Yet a third may be an East-coast orientation of political inquiry.

“An Informational Rationale for Political Parties”

James M. Snyder Jr., Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Michael M. Ting, University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill

What role do parties play in electoral competition? Why would parties exert discipline on their members? This paper links both questions by modeling parties as informative “brands” to voters. Voters across a large number of constituencies are assumed to be risk averse and incompletely informed about candidate ideal policies, and candidates are unable to commit to a declared policy platform. In this environment, parties can play a critical role by aggregating ideologically similar candidates and signaling their preferences to voters. This signaling is effective because party membership imposes costs, which screen out candidates whose preferences are not sufficiently close to the party’s platform. We find that when party labels are very informative, the parties’ platforms converge. When party labels are less informative, however, platforms diverge, because taking an extreme position allows a party to reduce

the variance of its members’ preferences. As parties become less able to impose discipline on their members, or less able to screen out certain types of candidates, their platforms move further apart.

“Patronage, the Pendleton Act, and the Power of the People”

Sean M. Theriault, Stanford University

Members of Congress, motivated primarily by reelection, have been bestowed with awesome rule making and structure designing abilities. The assessments of how the former has motivated the innovation of the latter are glowing (Mayhew 1964, Weingast and Marshall 1988, Aldrich 1995, and Parker 1992). In fact, according to some, members have been refining these skills for over a hundred years. Several recent studies have argued that the adoption of the Pendleton Act in 1883 is simply another in a long line of examples where members have “stacked the deck” to enhance their own reelection (Johnson and Libecap 1994). I challenge this conventional wisdom. I argue that when the public is attentive and united, it alters the behavior of members of Congress, such that they will even enact reforms that may even make their own reelections more difficult. Even though they exercise considerable discretion, members do face real constraints. In this paper, I replicate the results of the earlier studies, before introducing new variables that operationalize the public pressure argument. These variables provide an important correction to the extant literature analyzing 19th century civil service reform. The results from this case study also illuminate the relationship between elected officials and their constituents.

Conference on Policy History

Call for Papers

The **Journal of Policy History** issues a call for papers for a Conference on Policy History to be held in St. Louis, May 23-26, 2002. Program chairs are Jane DeHart and James Morone. All topics concerning the history, development and implementation of public policy, as well as American political development, broadly conceived will be considered. Complete sessions are encouraged, but individual paper proposals are welcome. Review of proposals will begin October 1, 2001. Please send two (2) copies of proposals, including a one page summary of each paper(s) and a C.V. of each panelist to Policy Conference, Journal of Policy History, Saint Louis University, 3800 Lindell Blvd. P. S. Box 56907, St. Louis, MO 63156-0907.



Journal Scan

The scholarly journals examined include those published since the last issue of the newsletter. Periodicals that were not available for scanning will be included in future issues.

Administration and Society

- o David W. Haines, "Minimalism in Governance: Workers' Compensation in a Southern State," 31:5 (November 1999): 616-638.
- o Thad E. Hall and Laurence J. O'Toole, Jr., "Structures for Policy Implementation: An Analysis of National Legislation, 1965-1966 and 1993-1994," 31:6 (January 2000): 667-686.
- o Emery Roe, "Poverty, Defense, and the Environment: How Policy Optics, Policy Incompleteness, fastthinking.com, Equivalency Paradox, Deliberation Trap, Mailbox Dilemma, Urban Ecosystem, and the End of Problem Solving Recast Difficult Policy Issues," 31:6 (January 2000): 687-725.
- o Kenneth J. Meier and John Bohte, "Ode to Luther Gulick: Span of Control and Organizational Performance," 32:2 (May 2000): 115-137.
- o Kenneth N. Hansen and Daniel T. Krejci, "Rethinking Neoinstitutional Interaction: Municipal Arena-Specific Strategies and the Base Closure Process," 32:2 (May 2000): 166-182.
- o Keith F. Snider, "Expertise or Experimenting? Pragmatism and American Public Administration, 1920-1950," 32:3 (July 2000): 329-354.
- o Ralph S. Browner, Mitchel Y. Abolafia, and Jered B. Carr, "On Improving Qualitative Methods in Public Administration Research," 32:4 (September 2000): 363-387.
- o Jos C. N. Raadschelders, "Administrative History of the United States: Development of State of the Art," 32:5 (November 2000): 499-528.

Administrative Science Quarterly

- o Mark S. Mizruchi and Lisa C. Fein, "The Social Construction of Organizational Knowledge: A Study of the Uses of Coercive, Mimetic, and Normative Isomorphism," 44:4 (December 1999): 653-683.
- o Paul Ingram and Tal Simons, "State Formation, Ideological Competition, and the Ecology of Israeli Workers' Cooperatives, 1920-1992," 45:1 (March 2000): 25-53.

African Studies Review

- o "Special Issue: The African Diaspora," 43:1 (April 2000).

The American Economic Review

- o D. Gale Johnson, "Population, Food and Knowledge," 90:1 (March 2000): 1-14.
- o David E. Wildasin, "Labor-Market Integration, Investment in Risky Human Capital, and Fiscal Competition," 90:1 (March 2000): 73-95.
- o R. A. Mundell, "A Reconsideration of the Twentieth Century," 90:3 (June 2000): 327-340.
- o Anil K. Kashyap and Jeremy C. Stein, "What Do a Million Observations on Banks Say About the Transmission of Monetary Policy?" 90:3 (June 2000): 407-428.
- o Christian D. Romer and David H. Romer, "Federal Reserve Information and the Behavior of Interest Rates," 90:3 (June 2000): 429-487.
- o Mark Bills and James A. Kahn, "What Inventory Behavior Tells Us About Business Cycles," 90:3 (June 2000): 458-481.
- o Wouter J. den Haan, Garey Ramey, and Joel Watson, "Job Destruction and Propagation of Shocks," 90:3 (June 2000): 482-498.
- o Henning Bohn and Robert T. Deacon, "Ownership Risk, Investment, and the Use of Natural Resources," 90:3 (June 2000): 526-549.
- o Oded Galor and David N. Weil, "Population, Technology, and Growth: From Malthusian Stagnation to the Demographic Transition and Beyond," 90:4 (September 2000): 806-828.
- o Craig Burnside and David Dollar, "Aid, Policies, and Growth," 90:4 (September 2000): 847-868.

American Historical Review

- o David C. Engerman, "Modernization from the Other Shore: American Observers and the Costs of Soviet Economic Development," 105:2 (April 2000): 383-416.
- o Thomas Benjamin, "A Time of Reconquest: History, the Maya Revival, and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas," 105:2 (April 2000): 417-450.
- o David Brion Davis, "Looking at Slavery from Broader Perspectives," 105:2 (April 2000): 452-466.
- o Timothy Tackett, "Conspiracy Obsession in a Time of Revolution: French Elites and the Origins of the Terror, 1789-1792," 105:3 (June 2000): 691-713.
- o Matthew Connelly, "Taking Off the Cold War Lens:

Visions of North-South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence," 105:3 (June 2000): 739-769.

- o Daniel A. Segal, "'Western Civ'" and the Staging of History in American Higher Education, 105:3 (June 2000): 770-805.
- o Charles S. Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era," 105:3 (June 2000): 807-831.

American Journal of Sociology

- o Philip S. Gorski, "The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism," 105:5 (March 2000): 1428-1468.
- o Aage B. Sørensen, "Toward a Sounder Basis for Class Analysis," 105:6 (May 2000): 1523-1558.
- o Erik Olin Wright, "Class, Exploitation, and Economic Rents: Reflections on Sørensen's 'Sounder Basis'" 105:6 (May 2000): 1559-1571.
- o John H. Goldthorpe, "Rent, Class Conflict, and Class Structure: A Commentary on Sørensen," 105:6 (May 2000): 1572-1582.
- o Dietrich Rueschemeyer and James Mahoney, "A Neo-Utilitarian Theory of Class?" 105:6 (May 2000): 1583-1591.
- o William P. Barnett, James N. Baron, and Toby E. Stuart, "Avenues of Attainment: Occupational Demography and Organizational Careers in the California Civil Service," 106:1 (July 2000): 88-144.
- o Peter Hedström, Rickard Sandell, and Charlotta Stern, "Mesolevel Networks and the Diffusion of Social Movements: The Case of the Swedish Social Democratic Party," 106:1 (July 2000): 145-172.

American Journal of Political Science

- o James Johnson, "Why Respect Culture?" 44:3 (July 2000): 405-418.
- o Jeffrey W. Legro, "The Transformation of Policy Ideas," 44:3 (July 2000): 419-432.
- o George A. Krause, "Partisan and Ideological Sources of Fiscal Deficits in the United States," 44:3 (July 2000): 541-559.
- o Raymond M. Duch, Harvey D. Palmer, and Christopher J. Anderson, "Heterogeneity in Perceptions of National Economic Conditions," 44:4 (October 2000): 635-652.
- o Erik Wibbels, "Federalism and the Politics of Macroeconomic Policy and Performance," 44:4 (October 2000): 687-702.
- o Marc L. Busch and Eric Reinhardt, "Geography, International Trade, and Political Mobilization in US Industries," 44:4 (October 2000): 703-719.
- o Daniel W. Drezner, "Ideas, Bureaucratic Politics, and the Crafting of Foreign Policy," 44:4 (October 2000): 733-749.
- o Robert H. Durr, Andrew D. Martin, and Christina Wolbrecht, "Ideological Divergence and Public Support for the Supreme Court," 44:4 (October 2000): 768-776.
- o Jeffery A. Jenkins, "Examining the Robustness of Ideological Voting: Evidence from the Confederate House of Representatives," 44:4 (October 2000): 811-872.
- o Bear F. Braumoeller and Gary Goertz, "The Methodology of Necessary Conditions," 44:4 (October 2000): 844-858.

American Journalism

- o Elizabeth V. Burt, "Journalism of the Suffrage Movement: 25 Years of Recent Scholarship," 17:1 (Winter 2000): 73-86.
- o Debra Reddin van Tuyl, "The Rebels Yell: Conscripted and Freedom of Expression in the Civil War South," 17:2 (Spring 2000): 15-29.
- o Richard Lentz, "Snarls Echoing 'Round the World: The 1963 Birmingham Civil Rights Campaign on the World Stage," 17:2 (Spring 2000): 69-96.

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Scott C. James. 2000. *Presidents, Parties, and the State: A Party System Perspective on Democratic Regulatory Choice, 1884-1936*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

James examines the political circumstances that brought about three major U.S. regulatory initiatives: the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, the Federal Trade Commission of 1914, and the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935. The influence of groups who sought these initiatives depended not as much on their resource endowments, but rather on those groups' strategic importance to the electoral coalitions cultivated by national political parties (the Democrats in these three cases). The strategic importance of groups, in turn, depended on the structural features of the party system that influenced coalition-building, such as "the competitive balance of national party competition and group location in states privileged by the electoral college" (5-6). Partisan competition for electoral votes played an especially important role in these cases. The Interstate Commerce Act illustrates the ways that intense party competition for swing states such as New York foreclosed a strictly agrarian solution to "the railroad problem" and privileged New York Mugwumps in framing the national legislation. The Democratic Party's embrace of a Federal Trade Commission marked a retreat from the Democratic anti-corporate tradition, motivated by the opportunity to overcome the Democratic electoral college disadvantage (created by the system of 1896) by appealing to marginal voters in a number of states.

Joyce Appleby. 2000. *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans*. Cambridge: Belknap Press.

Historian Joyce Appleby examines the way the cohort of Americans who came of age between 1789 and 1829 coped with the dramatically different economic, social, religious and political issues of the early American republic. The book

draws on almost 400 autobiographies of men and women in this cohort, supplemented by extensive primary and secondary sources. Individual chapters deal with politics, economics and enterprise, careers, social distinctions and homogeneity, marriage, family and friendship, and religious and social reform. Appleby concludes that "a virtual nation materialized out of the repeated messages about effort and accomplishment, virtue and autonomy, national prosperity and universal progress ... Predisposed towards reform and resistant to radicalism, Americans in this first cohort promoted attitudes that still retain their vitality" (263). The book offers political historians an especially useful template for interweaving social, economic, and political life, as exemplified by the book's treatment of slavery.

Richard J. Stillman II. 2000. *Creating the American State: The Moral Reformers and the Modern Administrative World They Made*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Stillman argues that any account of American statebuilding must take seriously the development of administrative capacity, as in budgeting and management. The book provides biographical sketches of seven reformers who contributed to the growth of American administration: George William Curtis, a leader of 19th century civil service reform; Charles Francis Adams, Jr., whose ideas influenced the development of the regulatory state; Emory Upton, who promoted meritocratic professionalism in the military; Jane Addams, whose settlement house work fostered middle-class reform ideas and the maternalist welfare state; Frederick W. Taylor, the popularizer of scientific management; Richard S. Childs, advocate of the city manager form of government; and Louis Brownlow, whose organizational reforms helped to transform the presidency. These biographies show the necessary, but neglected, role that small-town Protestant moral ideas played in the development of the American state. While these ideas created powerful advantages for administrative reform, Stillman also concludes that "the intrinsic temporary and reformist character of the American state today is a product of its Protestant past" (170).

Mark A. Smith. 2000. *American Business and Political Power: Public Opinion, Elections, and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Smith challenges the conventional view that the political influence of business increases when it is unified. Instead, he argues, the issues on which business is most unified "are precisely those for which government decisions are affected most strongly by election outcomes and the responsiveness of officeholders to their constituents" (8). Policies match unified business preferences only when public opinion and election outcomes support what business wants. Smith uses the U.S. Chamber of Commerce as an indicator of business policy consensus; the Chamber has a large and diverse

membership and tends to advocate policy positions only when it identifies a high degree of consensus among its members. Based on a sample of 2364 unifying issues identified by the Chamber from 1953 to 1994, Smith finds that business successes on these issues varied considerably in this period, and that the variation coincided with recognizable periods of conservative and liberal strength. Public confidence in corporations and presidential leadership openings (as indicated by election outcomes) explain much of the variance in the business's success in pressing unifying issues; business lobbying efforts are not statistically significant in their impact on policy outcomes. Smith concludes that business has had substantial impact on policy indirectly by shaping core public preferences through such tactics as funding of conservative think tanks.

Marie Gottschalk. 2000. *The Shadow Welfare State: Labor, Business, and the Politics of Health Care in the United States*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Why, in the recent campaigns for universal health care, did organized labor maintain its support of largely private-sector solutions for health care reform? Did labor's weakened condition prevent it from endorsing national health insurance? I argue that the shadow welfare state of job based benefits developed since World War II so as to impede organized labor's efforts to secure universal health care. In the United States, the social welfare system is anchored in the private sector, but backed by government policy. As a result, the private sector is a key battlefield where business, labor, the state, and employees hotly contest matters such as health care. The shadow welfare state shaped the manner in which labor defined its policy interests and strategies. Three institutions are pivotal: the Taft-Hartley health and welfare funds, the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (E.R.I.S.A.), and experience-rated health insurance. Over time, these three institutions brought the interests of the national leadership of organized labor more closely in line with those of large employers and the commercial insurers. They also aggravated divisions within and between organized labor and public interest groups over health policy, which made it that much harder to put together an effective political coalition on behalf of universal health care. Labor was constrained by more than just the institutions of the private welfare state. From about the mid-1970s onward, organized labor's stance on health policy was largely dictated by signals it was interpreting from the business community and leading Democrats, and was not derived from any comprehensive analysis of the new U.S. political economy in an age of wide-scale economic restructuring. As a result, organized labor pursued political strategies that were often contradictory and that failed to maximize its long-term interests.

- Submitted by Marie Gottschalk

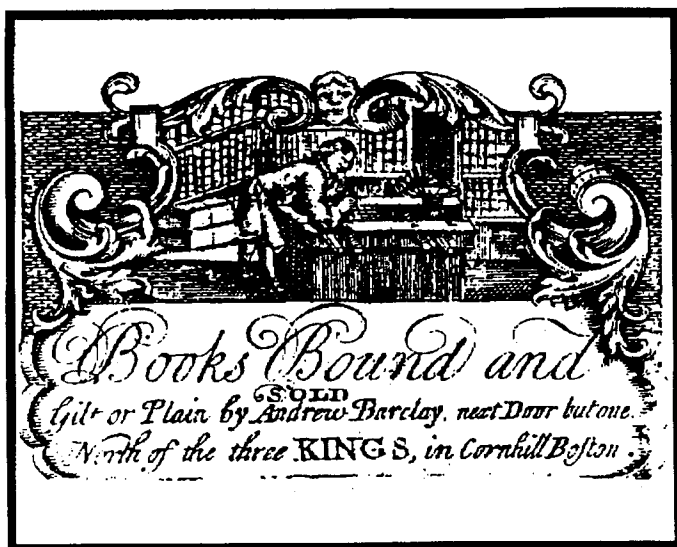
Clyde W. Barrow. 2000. *More Than a Historian: The Political and Economic Thought of Charles A. Beard*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.

Charles A. Beard (1874-1948) was one of America's most influential historians and political scientists in the first half of the 20th century. He played a major role in founding the disciplines of history and political science, helped shape the teaching of social studies in the nation's public schools, and was one of the nation's most popular public intellectuals. Yet, in the second half of the 20th century, Beard's reputation has been eroded by relentless criticism from inside and outside the academy. Barrow argues that Beard's work has renewed relevance in light of recent theoretical debates about the new institutionalism, the crisis of the welfare state, and American foreign policy messianism.

The book takes Beard seriously as a *political theorist*, while challenging many of the misconceptions that have built up around his work over the last 50 years. For example, Beard's method of economic interpretation has been dismissed as "Marxist," but this book carefully reconstructs the sources of Beard's thinking to demonstrate that his method owes more to historical and institutional economics than to Marx and that his concept of state-society relations was derived from Madison's *Tenth Federalist* as Beard claimed. In this context, the book examines how Beard struggled to articulate a "realistic dialectics" that would bridge the intellectual terrain between Hegel's dialectical idealism and Marx's dialectical materialism.

The book reconstructs Beard's theory of American political development using his concept of realistic dialectics, which viewed the clash between democracy (Jeffersonianism) and capitalism (Hamiltonianism) as the motor of American political development. During the 1930s, Beard extended his conception of realistic dialectics by suggesting that the United States was making the transition to a higher form of social and industrial democracy that would transcend the contradiction of American political development. Notably, however, Beard was a critic of the New Deal and the liberal welfare state, because they failed to reconstruct the fundamental economic relations that reproduce inequalities of income, status, and power. Consequently, Beard challenged FDR by proposing a new workers' republic based on the redistribution of wealth and the redefinition of property rights. Beard challenged FDR's foreign policy by linking his conception of a workers' republic to a foreign policy based on the economics of a managed trade regime and a hemispheric trading bloc. However, Beard's conception of American history plays itself out in a tragic cycle of imperialism and diversion that left him a disenchanted realist.

- Submitted by Clyde Barrow



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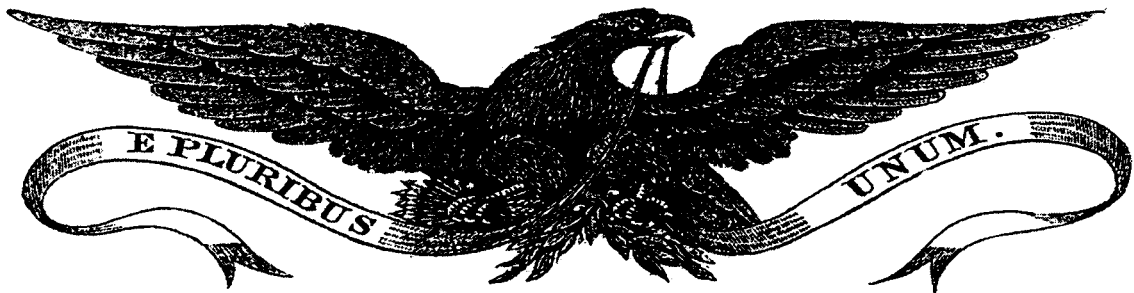
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Sanders not only takes on an ambitious topic, but, as one committee member put it, she “sustains her thoughtful, nuanced approach throughout.” Roots of Reform challenges us to think in novel ways about political economic analysis, the role of social movements and Congress in state-building, and the importance of regionalism in American politics. The book’s distinctive approach to the question of the failure of socialism in the United States points to the dominance, and limitations, of an intellectual orientation to Europe in American scholarship and politics. Comparativists will be intrigued by the argument about the disparate politics of farmers who grow for local or national markets versus those whose prices are set on the world market, which may illuminate a more widespread conjunction between economic globalism and nationalism. Most of all, the book will inspire consideration of how different forms of policy design and administrative arrangements can lead to the establishment of different states, with significant implications for democratic control. Sanders has contributed enormously to our understanding of the uniquenesses of American state-building and she offers an inspiring alternative and deeply democratic vision of what the American state once could have been and still could become.

Price on Research in Progress, continued from page 8

commitments in the House by leaving more-moderate but numerically decimated Republicans to battle ideologically galvanized and numerically reinforced Democrats in the aftermath of his presidency.

The core implication of this research is that the successes of preemptive leadership, at least as manifested in the Eisenhower years, tend toward the Pyrrhic. Preemptors affect the party system in identifiable ways, but they struggle to leave the legacies they envision upon assuming office. Indeed, one might conceive of Eisenhower’s preemptive leadership as part of a dialectic process that led to the Goldwater nomination as conservative Republican activists responded to the internal challenge of Eisenhower’s apostasy and the external threat of a resurgent Democratic Party. By illuminating such dynamics, this analysis reveals important developmental patterns in the American party system.

H-Net

H-Net <<http://h-net2.msu.edu/>> is an interdisciplinary consortium of over eighty academic discussion networks spanning a variety of disciplines, including political science. The H-Net Announcements Database, Job Guide, and Teaching Project address interests of historians and political scientists. Some of the lists of special interest to political science include:

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Politics and History Section | http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~apsaph/ |
| Political Science | http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~psrt/ |
| Political History | http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~pol/ |
| State/Welfare State | http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~state/ |
| Teaching Politics | http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~teachpol/ |
| Women’s History | http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~women/ |
| Labor History | http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~labor/ |
| Business History | http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~business/ |
| Politics, 1870s-1920s | http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~shgape/ |

the PPS corrected the “information asymmetry” that had traditionally existed between hospitals and those who paid for their services: government and insurance companies. In time, many private payers employed Medicare’s new payment system as an effective tool in controlling costs.⁶ Second, (2) the PPS shifted financial power from hospitals to the government. When massive budgetary deficits emerged in the late-1980s, Congress could and did react by (among other measures) repeatedly reducing Medicare’s reimbursement rates. These reductions induced hospitals to vastly increase their cost-shifting to privately insured patients, thereby causing significant annual increases in health insurance premiums. Ultimately, businesses responded by rapidly moving the bulk of their employees out of fee-for-service plans and into various forms of managed care operations. The critical shift in the power relationship between the hospital industry and Congress, in favor of Congress, supports John Kenneth Galbraith’s observation that “countervailing power has become in modern times perhaps the major domestic peacetime function of the federal government.”⁷

Notes

¹ Employee Benefit Research Institute, *Sources of Health Insurance* (Washington, February 1995).

² For example, see David F. Drake, “Managed Care: A Product of Market Dynamics,” *JAMA, The Journal of the American Medical Association*, vol. 277 no. 7 (February 19, 1997), pp. 560-64.

³ Leiyu Shi and D. Singh, *Delivering Health Care in America: A Systems Approach* (Gaithersburg, MD: Aspen Publishers, Inc., 1998), p. 299.

⁴ See Paul Pierson, “Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 94 (June 2000); and Jacob Hacker, “The Historical Logic of National Health Insurance,” *Studies in American Political Development*, vol. 12 (Spring 1998).

⁵ See D. Rueschemeyer, E. H. Stephens, & J. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 387; and Paul Pierson, “When Effect Becomes Cause: Policy Feedback and Political Change,” *World Politics*, vol. 45 (July 1993).

⁶ See B. Goody et. al, “New Directions for Medicare Payment Systems,” *Health Care Financing Review*, vol. 16 (Winter 1994), pp. 1-12.

⁷ J.K. Galbraith, *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1956), p. 136.

committees and talk together.

We have done this without the imperative of assimilation. Work proceeds here without the necessity of justifying itself to its adversaries, without the necessity of translation into some common (and often bowdlerizing) trade language. People may seek common ground, or look to reconcile conflicting methodological perspectives. Some do. But the strength of the section lies not there, but in the fact that they need not do so. Each of us can, I think, find someone in the section whose approach is entirely alien, and whose work they profoundly respect. The truer test, if one follows Foucault (or Wittgenstein) may be that each of us can also find someone in the section with an approach they believe to be errant, antiquated, or absurd. We do not ask that people do the same thing. We do not ask that people employ the same methods. We do not ask that people justify themselves in a common language, or accord to an identical list of standards.

We tend, in practice, to let people do the work they choose in the manner that seems best to them. This is the highest form of intellectual respect. This disposition, and the practices that accompany it, have served the section well.

The section has grown. It rapidly became one of the largest sections in the Association. It has grown in other respects as well. Over time, it has established the disposition to respectful intellectual anarchism and the tolerant practices that have made it both intellectual fecund and notably civil. The identity and practices of the section are, however, more extensive and more determined than this. Politics and History has, over time, taken American politics as its orienting site. We do have members who are not principally Americanists, but very few who have never worked on America. We have encouraged work and panels on comparative politics, but American politics has remained the central substantive focus for most of these. The section has been intimately associated with the journal *Studies in American Political Development* from the beginning. I once thought that this was a defect, and hoped that it could be remedied. I now think it is simply another instance in which practice furnishes better guidance than theory. The presence of a locating center has been one of the conditions that has enabled people to speak across intellectual divides. It has provided a common orientation, a common set of references. The centrality of the American has given the section ancestors in Hartz and Key, and a genealogy. It has enabled discussions that have a more extensive and otherwise more arcane set of references. As Hartz observed of an earlier parochialism, it has liberated a rich interior development. I have never thought Hartz appreciated the productive power of those limits.

This is the time for expansion. As I am not an imperialist, and appreciate the productive power of limits more perhaps than Hartz did, I think that expansion should take the form of new foundations rather than conquest. The Politics and History

section indicates, by example, the strategic locations where new sections might be established. The success of the section indicates the possibilities of proliferating sections drawn in this style, and drawing from the intellectual imperatives that have fueled this section.

The expansion is taking, I believe, another and more important form. We must become much more self-conscious about our methods: what we do and why we do it in the way we do. It is no longer enough to say that one ought to historicize an argument, or consider history, or place an event or institution in its historical context. We have learned that we do history differently in this discipline. We need, I believe, to examine and articulate the different ways in which we think about history, and indeed, about time. In doing so we can offer something -several things- of great value. First, we can teach our grandmother how to suck eggs, that is, we can teach historians a series of largely unfamiliar ways of thinking about history. Political Science has too often been a parasitic discipline: it is time for us to develop perspectives and methods that can inform work in other disciplines. Second, we can make explicit the rigorous standards that operate in our historical researches and arguments: standards very different (and often more demanding) than those promulgated by so-called "methodologists." The methodological range of political science is thus extraordinarily expansive, stretching across the social sciences and the humanities. Yet despite this methodological heteroglossia, "methods" and "methodology" are commonly taken, institutionally, conversationally, and in the literature, to refer to a narrow range of works providing instruction or giving the standards prevailing in a relatively narrow range of subfields: survey research, political behavior, and occasionally formal modeling and rational choice theory. We, who draw from a broader range, need to make the diversity of methods, and their attendant standards visible in the discipline. Thirdly, we can continue to interrogate the ways in which we think about history, or think historically.

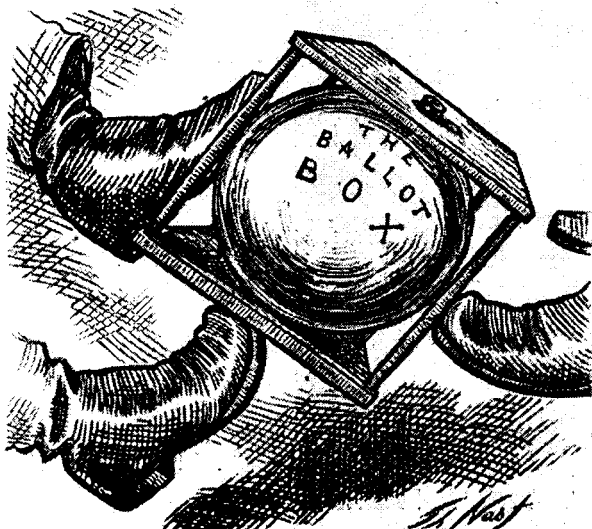
There is another site of expansion that some of my predecessors, especially Theda Skocpol, have recommended. Work in politics and journalism often proceeds without adequate attention to work done in the academy, and those of us in the academy remain isolated from these channels of influence. I do not claim to know how to make these connections effectively. I can simply urge that we seize on them when they present themselves, cultivate them, and do what we can to bring our work into public discourse.

[Editor's note] See further...

Emily Eakin, "Political Scientists are in a Revolution Instead of Watching," *New York Times*, November 4, 2000 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/1/04/technology/04TANK.html>).

"An Open Letter to the APSA Membership and Leaders," [and additional letters], *PS* 33:4 (December 2000):735-741.

The second winner is an article by Frank Dobbin of Princeton's Sociology Department and Erin Kelly, who just joined the Sociology Department of the University of Minnesota. Their article, "Civil Rights Law at Work: Sex Discrimination and the Rise of Maternity Leave Policies" (*American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 105, no. 2, September 1999:455-92) is much more ambitious than the title might lead you to suspect. Based on a careful survey of the employment policies of nearly 300 organizations between the mid-1950s and the mid-1980s, they challenge the widespread view that the market (i.e. feminization of the work force) and not the state induced employers to develop maternal leave policies. Kelly and Dobbin direct our attention to the broader issue of the "rhetorical power of the market," which, in their view, has prompted even advocates of social change to muddle or forget their history. They provide persuasive evidence for their claim that the "inclination to see social practices as driven by market mechanisms, and to believe that practices created by other means are artificial or illegitimate appears to have blinded many to the role of the state in improving opportunities for disadvantaged groups."



A NATIONAL GAME THAT IS PLAYED OUT.

St. Louis Dispatch,
February 10, 1877, Page 1

Second EDITION

4 P. M.

THE PRESIDENCY.

FLORIDA'S VOTE IN FAVOR OF HAYES.

The Senate Decides to Sustain the Commission.

OBJECTIONS TO A COUNT BY MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE,

So They Agree to a Recess Until Monday.

Democrats to Object.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10.—It is arranged by Democrats that objections signed by at least five Senators and five Representatives shall be interposed against the immediate counting of the Florida vote.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10.—Florida has been announced for Hayes and Wheeler. The House objects, which will be argued for two hours.

*“Another Such
Victory, and
I am Undone”*

Harper's Weekly
March 24, 1877



Clio

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