



*Newsletter of Politics & History*  
*an organized section of*  
*The American Political Science Association*

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*from The New State*

*by Mary Parker Follett*

The Politics and History section named its Best Article Prize for Mary Parker Follett (1868-1933), political theorist and analyst best known for her Progressive era writings on American democracy, particularly for *The New State: Group Organization the Solution of Popular Government* (1918). Here is a selection from that work. -- ed.

“We talk about the evils of democracy. We have not yet tried democracy. Party or ‘interests’ govern us with some fiction of the ‘consent of the governed’ which we say means democracy. We have not even a conception of what democracy means. ... We talk about the tragedy of individualism. The individual we do not yet know, for we have no methods to release the powers of the individual. Our particularism - our laissez-faire, our every-man-for-his-own-interests - has little to do with true individualism, that is, with the individual as consciously responsible for the life from which he draws his breath and to which he contributes his all ...

Representative government has failed. It has failed because it was not a method by which men could govern themselves. Direct government is now being proposed. But direct government will never succeed if (1) it is operated from within the party organization as at present, or (2) if it consists merely in counting all the votes in all the ballot-boxes.

“...democracy transcends time and space, it can never be understood except as a spiritual force. Majority rule rests on numbers; democracy rests on the well-grounded assumption that society is neither a collection of units nor an organism but a network of human relations. Democracy is not worked out at the polling booths; it is the bringing forth of a genuine collective will, one to which every single being must contribute the whole of his complex life, as one which every single being must express the whole of at one point. Thus the essence of democracy is creating. The technique of democracy is group organization. Many men despise politics because they see that politics manipulate, but make nothing. If politics are to be the highest activity of man, as they should be, they must be clearly understood as creative.”

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# POLITICS & HISTORY

an organized section of the  
**American Political Science Association**

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

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## Newsletter

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Clio is published twice a year. *Politics & History* section fees are \$8.00 for APSA members. The APSA membership form is available online at <http://www.apsanet.org/> and by regular post addressed to:

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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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## From the Editor

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Our section has encouraged the creative intellectual cross-fertilization that demonstrably is ascendent in our profession. Enriching and penetrating discussion of research questions, approaches, and methods span the fields. The appearance of *Perspectives on Politics* in March has created new opportunities for fusing scholarship and pressing political problems. In this issue of *Clio*, Evan Lieberman, winner of last year's Mary Parker Follett award, discusses developments in qualitative research, comparative historical methods and the new Qualitative Methods section. Especially indicative of the section's broad interests is the APSA leadership itself. At the 2003 meetings of the American Political Science Association in Philadelphia, APSA President-elect Susan Hoerber Rudolph will succeed incumbent President Theda Skocpol, and Margaret Levi will become President-elect. Each of these three outstanding scholars do very different kinds of research. All three are members of the Politics and History section. It is particularly noteworthy for our members that, at the centennial meeting of the APSA, the past, present, and future association presidents all are Politics and History colleagues.

We look forward to seeing you in Philadelphia at the business meeting (Friday at 6:15 pm), the section reception (Friday at 7:00 pm), and at numerous Politics and History panels (see pages 6-13 for the preliminary program). It's been an honor to work with President Eileen McDonagh this year. Jytte Klausen and Carol Nackenoff deserve our thanks and appreciation for putting together a great program for the section; Margaret Weir and Henry Brady, for putting together a great APSA program; and Theda Skocpol, for bringing energy and vision to the office of APSA President. Be sure to check out Rick Valeyly's restaurant guide on page 4 for some of the finer restaurants in the city. The City Tavern (pictured on page 4), 2nd Street at Walnut Street, a meeting place for Continental Congress and delegates from the Constitutional Convention, still serves lunch, dinner, and such period beverages as molasses-based beer. Those seeking the singular ambiance of the Philadelphia cheesesteak joint should consider Jim's Steaks on South Street, or further away from the convention, Pat's King of Steaks or Geno's Steaks; cholesterol is included with every meal at no additional charge.

Thanks to the Public Policy Research Centers and the Department of Political Science at UM - St. Louis for providing *Clio* with substantial support. Duk Kim served as Managing Editor this year. Duk did an excellent job of helping to put two issues of *Clio* together. Thanks to our department staff, especially Lana Vierdag, for patience and help with frustrating details.

## Susanne Hoeber Rudolph and Margaret Levi to Serve as Next APSA Presidents

Politics and History section member Susanne Hoeber Rudolph (University of Chicago), currently the President-Elect of the American Political Science Association, will succeed former section president and current APSA President Theda Skocpol at the 2003 APSA meetings in Philadelphia. Section member Margaret Levi (University of Washington) will become APSA President-Elect at the same meeting.

Susanne Hoeber Rudolph is the William Benton Distinguished Service Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago. Her leading intellectual interests are in political economy and political sociology understood as macrohistorical enterprises; state formation in Europe and Asia; the politics of identity and difference; and religious movements in transnational space. Rudolph served as chair of the Chicago political science department in 1976-79 and 1989, directed the South Asia Center from 1987 to 1998, and is currently director of the Center for International Studies. She is the author of, among other works, *The Modernity of Tradition* (University of Chicago Press, 1967), *In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), and *Reversing the Gaze* (Oxford University Press, Delhi; Westview Press, 2002) explores colonial identity formation in the context of post-coloniality.

Margaret Levi is the Jere L. Bacharach Professor of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Washington. Levi is the author of, among other works, *Bureaucratic Insurgency: The Case of Police Unions* (University of California Press, 1977), *Of Rule and Revenue* (University of California Press, 1988), *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), and the co-author of *Analytic Narratives* (Princeton University Press, 1998). Her current research focuses on the bases for and effects of trustworthy governance. Executive Council and the Civic Education Task Force. In 2000 she became the general editor of Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. She serves on the Jobs for Justice workers' rights board. Her awards include the S. Sterling Munro Public Service Teaching Award in 2001.

## Developments in Comparative Historical Analysis and Qualitative Methods

Evan S. Lieberman,  
Department of Politics, Princeton University

(We invited Professor Lieberman to comment about his work. He is the author of "Causal Inference in Historical Institutional Analysis: A Specification of Periodization Strategies," *Comparative Political Studies* 34, November 2001, the winner of the 2002 Mary Parker Follett award from the Politics and History section).

Political scientists using comparative-historical analysis have recently become increasingly reflective about the methods they use in their work. This trend has been accompanied by a number of important organizational and intellectual developments which should be of interest to scholars already working in these areas, as well as graduate students contemplating dissertations involving comparative-historical analysis and qualitative methods more generally.

First of all, a new APSA section on Qualitative methods has been established. The section succeeds two prior institutional incarnations: an APSA Committee originally founded by Giovanni Sartori, the Committee on Conceptual and Terminological Analysis (COCTA), and a successor Committee on Concepts and Methods (CCM). During 2002 a petition was circulated and signed by APSA

*Continued on page 47*

### Politics and History Section Officer Nominations

Nominees for section offices -- President-elect, four seats on the Council, and Secretary-Treasurer -- were not available as we went to press. President-elect Paul Pierson will assume the section presidency at the annual business meeting at the American Political Science Association meetings in Philadelphia.

## *A Restaurant Guide to Philadelphia*

Rick Valelly, Swarthmore College

Coming in to Center City from the airport it will be hard to think of Philadelphia as a great town for eating - but it is. Near the convention center is Chinatown, and next door is Reading Terminal Market, where you can get quick bites to eat in a terrific indoor market. Walk down Market Street to the river, and around 3rd or 4th and Market you will find several good restaurants. If you walk toward the mini-Soho area there (to your left as you face the river, standing on Market and 3rd) you will find bars and a lot of art galleries. Ask a cab to take you to Las Cazuelas on Girard Avenue in Northern Liberties (a funky neighborhood) and you will eat at a fine Mexican restaurant with an emphasis on the cuisine of Puebla (but byob.) Try the Rose Tattoo in the museum district (i.e. near the Art Museum). Or just use your Zagat's and try to find an interesting Italian place in South Philadelphia. My favorite is Dante and Luigi's, which has good food and a somewhat sinister air. There actually was a mob hit there in the mid-1990s. In short, food and dining in Philadelphia are superb. You really can't miss, so to speak. For a fuller guide to the restaurant scene, I asked Dr. Jim Gilfoil, a Philadelphia psychiatrist who wrote a guide for the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association in 2002 to give me a copy of his guide for his fellow doctors. It is reproduced here with a few edits:

"Maybe you've been hiding in a cave in Afghanistan and don't know that Georges Perrier's *Le Bec Fin* is the most popular and renowned restaurant in the area'd *Le Bec Fin* has slipped a notch, but it's still a must in town. I much prefer to go at lunch, when the food and the price are more manageable."

"For my taste, the best restaurants in town are *Striped Bass*, *Vetri*, and the *Fountain Room* at the Four Seasons. The setting at *Striped Bass* is spectacular, and, even having changed chefs over the years, the food has remained superb. This being a Neil Stein restaurant, it's got that hip, ever so chic edge. Fortunately, the narcissism is kept somewhat in check, so the employees haven't forgotten who is to be waited on. There aren't enough superlatives in the English language to do justice to *Vetri*. The ingredients and the care with which the ingredients are treated remind us how and why Italian food, in the right hands, is a great cuisine and how it is different from French cuisine. The setting is intimate, the waitstaff is eager to please, and the sommelier and the

wines are superb. In my "if I were a chef" fantasy, *Vetri* is the restaurant. The *Fountain Room* is an oasis of elegance and grace that keeps drawing me back as though I'm in one of those hypnotic spells. How can one resist? My last meal there featured some of the best and most tender venison I've ever tasted, and the service is so obsequious it makes me swoon. Another of my favorites is the humble, unpretentious *Nan* in West Philly, chef Kamol Phutlek, rhymes with bootlick, recalls the glory days of dear, departed *Alouette*, with his wonderful, understated efforts in the French-Thai vein. His venison was every bit as good as that at the *Fountain Room* and maybe just a little bit better. Best of all, *Nan* is BYOB..." LaCroix at the Rittenhouse also is outstanding.

"Did you know that while you're weren't looking Philly has quietly become the Nuevo Latino capital of the U.S.? Yep, since we already have the excellent *Pasion*, the addition of the terrific *Alma de Cuba* has given us two of the finest Nuevo Latino restaurants in the country. So

what you say. I know, most of those Nuevo Latino types are really bad ideas-taking a mediocre, peasant-based cuisine and trying to make it gourmet. Guillermo Pernot at *Pasion* and Douglas Rodriguez at *Alma*, however, show us what talented chefs can do. They can unearth the greatness of some bland tubers and create something unique. Pernot is known for his wonderful ceviches. Not a dish I particularly care for either, these are magnificent. He has an excellent Argentinean grill and does outstanding seafood. Rodriguez, who only comes here a couple of days a week from *Chicama* in New York, is known as the Godfather of Nuevo Latino cuisine and he is every bit as creative as Pernot.

Unusual, exotic dishes abound, but the star of the menu is his humble roast pork, comfort food for the Gods."

"A notch below the above are some other good options in town. *Rouge*, a Neil Stein moneymaker on Rittenhouse Square, has terrific food, an overpriced wine and cocktail list and the best people-watching in town. ... *Bleu*, another Stein eatery, is just down the block from *Rouge*, but a lot further down the culinary totem pole. Since Neil was having some well-publicized money woes at press time, some of his restaurants may not be around by May, so check your listings. *Opus 251* in the Art Alliance provides civilized dining in an elegant setting with very good food. *Davio's*, part of Italian steakhouse chain of all things, is in a great space on South 17th. The food is good and there's a lot more than just steak on the menu.

*Continued on the following page*



The restaurant I've got my eye on is the new entrant from the Sena family—*Le Castagne* on Chestnut where *Les Amis* was years ago. It's a sleek Italian bistro with a small, but interesting menu. It needs a little work, but I'm hopeful that it will find its range and replace *Panorama* as the little sister to the Sena's excellent, but overpriced *La Famiglia*. *Panorama*, while good with an excellent wine list, has always been a bit disappointing. With its bloodlines it ought to be terrific.

What about the Starr, as in Stephen Starr, empire? *Alma de Cuba* is the star of his galaxy. *Buddakan* gets raves and is enormously popular. It just goes to show how masochistic the restaurant-going public can be. The folks at *Buddakan* have a serious attitude problem. Right, an attitude problem. This is Philadelphia, not New York or Beverly Hills. As we try to help our patients see, you're better off being who you are, not who you'd like to be. There's a young, ever-so-earnest-trying-to-be-hip crowd and some very good overrated food. Ditto for *Tangerine* and *Blue Angel*. I hear Peter Jennings ate at *Tangerine* during the Republican Convention. Could he possibly have thought it compared to New York's finest? I rest my case."

"Don't forget about *Susanna Foo*, possibly the top French-Chinese restaurant in the country. I had been to so many professional dinners there over the years, that I had forgotten how good it was. It was redone a couple of years ago and now the ambience is much improved. The food was fabulous and the service was seamless. I understand lots of people adore *Brasserie Perrier*. Count me out. The food is a disappointment, the help is cheap in oh so many ways, and the crowd represents the worst of Joisey. Ooh, those accents are tough."

"In West Philly I like the *White Dog* and *Zocalo*. *Dmitri's* is as good as ever and it's just as much a pain as ever to get in. But, oh that grilled octopus, and those fish, however they do it. The best simple seafood this side of Santorini. Another fave of mine is *Overtures*, just off South Street. Like *Dmitri's*, it's BYO and the food is outstanding. The rack of lamb is superb. Another humble BYO operation just off South that's getting rave reviews is *Django*, with a silent D. Both the *Inquirer* and *Philadelphia Magazine* are gaga about it and understandably so. It's so good I hate to write about it. We had a wonderful meal there recently; then came the desserts and cheese. The crême brulee napoleon is, to paraphrase, custard's leap toward immortality. The cheese plate rivals that of *Picholine* in New York. This is a very special restaurant. Last, but not least, don't forget about that holdover from the Restaurant Renaissance—*Friday, Saturday, Sunday*. The food is very good, reasonably priced, and the wines are only \$10 over State Store cost."

## Call for Papers 2004 Meetings of the APSA Politics & History Section

Co-Chairs:

Suzanne Mettler,

Maxwell School, Syracuse University

Evan S. Lieberman, Princeton University

For the 2004 meetings, we invite papers and panels that consider the role of historical political processes in shaping contemporary patterns of inequality within and across countries. Both in the United States and in many other countries around the world, legal barriers to formal inequality along racial, ethnic, and gender lines have been dismantled. And yet, disparities in the distribution of income and wealth have increased. Scholars adopting an explicitly historical approach may be able to shed useful light on this conundrum. The section seeks papers that consider social and economic inequalities both as a cause and as a consequence of particular political dynamics. For example, how have relative gains or declines in the strength of social movements or collective actors shaped policy development? How are patterns of civic engagement and state development related to one another and to broader distributional outcomes within society? What are the implications of material inequality on political mobilization, the formation of preferences and identities, and the construction of citizenship? What is the role of ideas and ideologies, such as conservatism and liberalism? What is the relationship between democracy and (in)equality? The section is particularly interested in papers that deploy self-conscious methodological and theoretical approaches for studying politics and history. For example, how can we conceptualize and assess the causal role of temporality, timing, and sequencing? Approaches that include longitudinal and/or comparative perspectives are encouraged. We also welcome proposals addressing other politics and history topics that fall beyond the parameters mentioned here. We especially encourage panel proposals.

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**Woodrow Wilson  
International Center For Scholars  
Fellowships In The Social Sciences And  
Humanities, 2004-2005**

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars announces the opening of its 2004-2005 Fellowship competition. The application deadline is October 1, 2003.

The Center annually awards academic-year (or one semester) residential fellowship to individuals in the social sciences and humanities with outstanding project proposals on national and/or international issues. Topics should intersect with questions of public policy or provide the historical and/or cultural framework to understand policy issues of contemporary importance.

Fellows are provided with a stipend (includes a round-trip transportation allowance) and with part-time research assistance. Fellows work from private offices at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC.

Eligibility: For academic applicants, eligibility is limited to the postdoctoral level and, normally, to applicants with publications beyond the Ph.D. dissertation. For other applicants, an equivalent level of professional achievement is expected. Applications from any country are welcome. All applicants should have a very good command of spoken English. The Center seeks a diverse group of Fellows and welcomes applications from women and minorities.

For application materials, please visit our website at: [www.wilsoncenter.org](http://www.wilsoncenter.org), or write to: Scholar Selection and Services Office, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20004-3027; e-mail: [fellowships@wwic.si.edu](mailto:fellowships@wwic.si.edu); telephone: 202/691-4170; fax: 202/691-4001

*- Call for Papers -*

**Politics and History Panels  
at the  
Midwest Political Science Association  
Chicago  
April 15-18, 2004**

The Midwest Political Science Association has just created a new Politics and History section. I will serve as section head for the 2004 Program and will welcome your proposals. Please submit paper or poster proposals on-line at <http://www.mwpsa.org>. The deadline for proposals is October 10, 2003, and the conference will be held April 15-18, 2004 at the Palmer House Hilton in Chicago.

Suzanne Mettler  
Syracuse University

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*- Call for Papers -*

**Policy History Conference  
St. Louis  
May 20 – May 23, 2004**

The *Journal of Policy History* issues a call for papers for a Conference on Policy History to be held in St. Louis, May 20 – May 23, 2004. Program chairs are Suzanne Mettler and Julian Zelizer. 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. The deadline for proposals is September 15, 2003, and review of proposals will begin October 1, 2003. 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. O. Box 56907, St. Louis, MO 63156-0907. For the program of the 2002 Policy History Conference, please visit our website [www.slu.edu/departments/jph](http://www.slu.edu/departments/jph) and click on 2002 Policy History Conference Program

Politics and History Panels  
(and Selected Theme Panels)  
at the 2003 American Political Science Association Meetings

Co-Chairs:  
Jytte Klausen, Brandeis University  
Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College

Business Meeting: Friday, August 29, **6:15 PM**  
Reception: Friday, August 29, **7:00 PM**

*Thursday, August 28, 8:00 AM*

RACE, RETRENCHMENT, AND REISTANCE:

THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF RACE IN US POLIITCAL DEVELOPMENT (Panel 7-3)

Chair: Julie L. Novkov, University of Oregon

Papers: "The Invention of the State-Action Doctrine: The Progressive Era"  
Pamela Brandwein, University of Texas, Dallas

Race, Labor Unions, and American Political Development in the 20th Century  
Paul Frymer, University of California, San Diego

Civil Rights Success and the Politics of Racial Violence  
Joseph E. Luders, Yeshiva University

Race, History, and Racial Erasure  
Julie L. Novkov, University of Orgeon

Nuptial Nation: Welfare Reform and the Politics of Race and Gender  
Priscilla Yamin, New School University

Discussant: Ruth O'Brien, John Jay College, CUNY

*Thursday, August 28, 8:00 AM*

MONITORING DEMOCRACY: ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF PUBLIC  
OPINION AND PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH (Panel T-17)

- Papers:
- The Meaning and Measurement of Public Opinion, 1900-1936  
Susan Herbst, Temple University
  - Public Opinion, Deliberation, and Democracy  
James S. Fishkin, Stanford University
  - Macro-Politics: The Dimensions and Dynamics of Public Opinion  
James A. Stimson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

*Thursday, August 28, 10:00 AM*

SUFFRAGE AND STATE DEVELOPMENT: HISTORICAL AND  
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON VOTING RIGHTS (Panel 7-10)

- Chair: Gabriel S. Lenz, Princeton University
- Papers:
- Radicalism or Reformism? Evaluating Contending Theories  
Against a Longitudinal and Cross-sectional Data Set  
Gary Marks, Hyung Min Kim, & Heather A.D. Mbaye,  
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
  - Fascism or Revolution? Rural Politics in New Democracies  
Leslie E. Anderson, University of Florida
  - Party Competition, Popular Pressure, and Extension of the Franchise  
Gabriel S. Lenz, Princeton University  
Jonathan Ladd, Princeton University
- Discussant: Carles Boix, University of Chicago

*Thursday, August 28, 10:00 AM*

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF DISSENT IN POLITICAL SCIENCE (Panel T-2)

Chair: Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University

Papers: Charles Beard, Academic Repression, and World War I:  
The “Science of the State” Beseiged  
Clyde W. Barrow, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

Why Political Scientists Avoid the Study of Politics  
Frances Fox Piven, CUNY Graduate Center

American Political Science and the Framing of Race  
Adolph L. Reed, New School University

The Gender Politics of Political Science  
Susan J. Carroll, Rutgers University

From Vietnam to Iraq: The Costs of “Non-Partisan” Political Science  
John Ehrenberg, Long Island University

*Thursday, August 28, 2:15 PM*

WOMEN ORGANIZING FOR SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE (Panel 7-7)

Chair: Kathleen S. Sullivan, Ohio University

Papers: Participatory Social Democracy: A Progressive Era Feminist Innovation  
Wendy Sarvasy, California State University, Hayward

Avenues to Virtue: Gender, Nature, and Citizenship at the Turn of  
the Century, Teena Gabrielson, Southwestern University

Activists, Organizations, and Institutions: Retelling the Story of  
Suffrage Rights Extension in a Federal System  
Corrine M. McConaughy, University of Michigan

Imagined Sisterhood: Citizenship and the Feminist Press in Postwar France  
Sandra Reineke, Indiana University, Bloomington

Discussants: Kathleen S. Sullivan, Ohio University  
Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College

*Thursday, August 28, 2:15 PM*

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON WELFARE REFORM AND POLICY DISCOURSE  
(Panel 7-20; Co-sponsored by 42-9)

Participants: Fred Block, University of California, Davis  
Stephen Pimpare, Hunter College  
Sanford F. Schram, Bryn Mawr College  
Alice O'Connor, University of California, Santa Barbara

*Thursday, August 28, 2:15 PM*

ROUNDTABLE ON THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS THEN AND NOW  
(Panel T-1; Co-sponsored by 1-28)

Chair & Discussant: Ira Katznelson, Columbia University

Paper: America's Wars and the Making of Political Science: Then and Now  
Ido Oren, University of Florida

Participants: James Farr, University of Minnesota  
John G. Gunnell, SUNY, University at Albany  
Rogers M. Smith, University of Pennsylvania

*Thursday, August 28, 4:15 PM*

SOCIAL SOLIDARITY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT (Panel T-9)

Chair: Richard M. Valelly, Swarthmore College

Papers: The End of Social Solidarity? The Decline of the Social Insurance Model in  
America

Andrea Louise Campbell, Harvard University

Kimberly J. Morgan, Yale University

Generational Replacement or Unraveling from Above?:

Organizational Memberships of the Civic Generation Over Time

Suzanne B. Mettler, Syracuse University

Theda Skocpol, Harvard University

Defeat and Reconstruction: Civic Engagement in Occupied Japan

Rieko Kage, Harvard University

Discussant: Richard M. Valelly, Swarthmore College

*Thursday, August 28, 4:15 PM*

AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF DIFFERENT:  
RACE, RELIGION, AND IMMIGRATION (Panel 7-15)

Chair: Bruce Miroff, SUNY, University at Albany

Papers: The Proof in the Pulpit?: Race, Religion, and Party Realignment in the South  
David O. Sears, University of California, Los Angeles  
Nicholas A. Valentino, University of Michigan

Institutional Rules, Structures, and Arrangements and their Influence on Supreme  
Court and Circuit Court Behavior in American Immigration Law  
Anna O. Law, University of Texas, Austin

In the Shadow of Scopes: Continuity and Innovation in the American Creationist  
Movement  
Michael Lienesch, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

American Political and Civic Institutions and the Incorporation of Immigrants  
Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University  
Elizabeth F. Cohen, Yale University

Discussants: Christopher M. Duncan, University of Dayton  
Bruce Miroff, SUNY, University at Albany

*Friday, August 29, 8:00 AM*

THE IDEOLOGIES OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM:  
COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES (Panel 7-2)

Chair: Sven Steinmo, University of Colorado

Papers: America Abroad  
Desmond King, University of Oxford

Overwhelming Force: America and the Romance of Empire  
Anne Norton, University of Pennsylvania

Ellison International:  
The Racial and Cultural Implications of  
American Exceptionalism  
Richard Iton, Northwestern University

US Racial and Gender Politics in Transatlantic Dialogue: Debates  
Over Nation and Civic Membership in the 1960s and 1970s  
Gretchen Ritter, University of Texas, Austin

Discussant: Ira Katznelson, Columbia University

*Friday, August 29, 8:00 AM*

THEME PANEL: DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGES TO THE EUROPEAN UNION (Panel 7-16)

Chair: Vivien A. Schmidt, Boston University

Participants: Amitai Etzioni, George Washington University  
Fritz Scharpf, Max Planck Institute  
Andrew Moravcsik, Harvard University  
Philippe C. Schmitter, Stanford University  
Vivien A. Schmidt, Boston University

Discussant: Joseph H. H. Weiler, Harvard University

*Friday, August 29, 8:00 AM*

REDISTRICTING, REPRESENTATION, AND AMERICAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS  
(Panel 7-19; Co-sponsored by 34-9)

Participants: Theodore S. Arrington, University of North Carolina, Charlotte  
Bruce E. Cain, University of California, Berkeley  
David I. Lublin, American University  
Lisa R. Handley, Georgetown University Law Center  
Peyton McCrary, U.S. Department of Justice

Discussant: Richard Valelly, Swarthmore College

*Friday, August 29, 10:00 AM*

U.S. STATE POWERS AND ITS ANTI-NOMIES (Panel 7-10)

Chair: Richard F. Bense, Cornell University

Papers: Acceptance of Empire: The Territories, U.S. Government Lands, and Federalism  
Bartholomew H. Sparrow, University of Texas, Austin

The Political Transformation of Corporate Rights: Incorporation Law in American  
State and National Politics, 1880-1914  
Jonathan Chaus, University of Texas, Austin

Origins of the Bias of American Federalism:  
Economic Policy Authority in the U.S. Constitution  
David Brian Robertson, University of Missouri, St. Louis

The Development of American Interest Group Politics:  
A Question of Representational Bias  
Daniel J. Tichenor, Rutgers University, New Brunswick

Discussants: Gerald Gamm, University of Rochester  
Richard F. Bense, Cornell University

*Friday, August 29, 10:00 AM*

EXPLORING THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN  
CONTEMPORARY POLITICS AND POLITICAL HISTORY  
(Panel 7-22; Co-sponsored by Miller Center on Public Affairs, Panel 1)

- Papers:
- Playing TAPS for NEPA:  
The Alaska Oil Pipeline Environmental Impact Statement  
Joshua R. Ashenmiller, University of California, Santa Barbara
  
  - Did Congress Shape America's Post-Cold War Defense?  
Measuring the Politics of Budgetary Retrenchment  
Jamie Morin, Yale University
  
  - Reform in the 'Fourth Branch':  
The Federal Administrative Procedure Act of 1946  
Joanna L. Grisinger, University of Chicago
  
  - Who Gets Elected:  
How Apportionment Affects the Nature and Quality of City Council Campaigns.  
Michele A. Davis, University of Virginia
  
  - Measuring Success One Investor at a Time:  
Interest Group Patrons and Policy Advocacy  
McGee W. Young, Syracuse University
- Discussant: Elisabeth S. Clemens, University of Chicago

*Friday, August 29, 10:00 AM*

INEQUALITY AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY:  
CITIZEN VOICE, GOVERNMENT PROCESSES, AND POLICY IMPACTS  
(Panel T-8)

- Chair: Lawrence R. Jacobs, University of Minnesota
- Participants:
- Larry M. Bartels, Princeton University
  - Jacob S. Hacker, Yale University
  - Kay Lehman Schlozman, Boston College
  - Dianne M. Pinderhughes, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
  - Theda Skocpol, Harvard University

*Friday, August 29, 2:15 PM*

REGIME, PUBLIC POLICY, AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE  
IN AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (Panel 7-11)

Chair: Ann-Marie E. Szymanski, University of Oklahoma

Papers: The First Order of Business:  
Regime Change, the Reagan Administration, and Remaking the State  
Daniel Martin Cook, City University of New York  
Andrew J. Polsky, Hunter College, CUNY

Reconstructing the New Deal Regime: American Political Conflict, 1964-72  
Donald A. Zinman, University of Texas, Austin

Insurance Providers and the Development of the U.S. Welfare State  
in the Early Twentieth Century  
Brian J. Glenn, Harvard University

Institutional Periodization and American Political Development:  
The Changing Rights and Protections of Citizenship  
Eric R. Boehme, Rutgers University

Discussants: David M. Hart, Harvard University  
Ann-Marie E. Szymanski, University of Oklahoma

*Friday, August 29, 2:15 PM*

HISTORICAL MEMORY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT:  
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON THE POLITICAL LEGACIES OF BAD TIMES (Panel 7-14)

Chair: Eldon J. Eisenach, University of Tulsa

Papers: Coercion, Persuasion, or Accommodation?  
How Governments Negotiate Authority Crises, and How They Can Do It Better  
Suzanne Fry, New York University

Memory Regimes and Support for Democracy in Contemporary Germany  
Eric Langenbacher, Georgetown University

Pathways to the Present: Historical Legacies in Comparative Politics  
Jason Wittenberg, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Nonviolent Resistance and Violent Response: Dual Conditions Necessary in  
Overcoming Oppression  
Owen D. Yates, Duke University

Discussants: Graham K. Wilson, University of Wisconsin, Madison  
Christiane Lemke, University of Hannover

*Friday, August 29, 2:15 PM*

GENDER AND POLITICAL AGENCY IN THE 1950S:  
PUBLIC POLICY AND THE FEMININE EXCEPTION (Panel 7-18; Co-sponsored by 31-6)

Chair: Jytte Klausen, Brandeis University

Participants: Sonya A. Michel, University of Maryland  
Laura Pappano  
Jytte Klausen, Brandeis University  
Eileen L. McDonagh, Northeastern University  
Karen Celis, Vrije Universiteit, Brussel

*Friday, August 29, 2:15 PM*

HOW THE WAY WE STUDY POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS CHANGED? (Panel T-4)

Chair & Discussant: Sven Steinmo, University of Colorado, Boulder

Panelists: Margaret Levi, University of Washington  
Nelson W. Polsby, University of California, Berkeley  
Daniel P. Carpenter, Harvard University

*Friday, August 29, 4:15 PM*

POLITICAL SCIENCE, THE TWENTIETH CENTURY EVOLUTION:  
A ROUNDTABLE IN HONOR OF GABRIEL A. ALMOND (Panel T-11)

Chair: Sidney Verba, Harvard University

Participants: Lucian W. Pye, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
G. Bingham Powell, University of Rochester  
Heinz Eulau, Stanford University  
R. Scott Appleby, University of Notre Dame

*Friday, August 29, 4:15 PM*

JUSTICE FOR THE POOR?  
ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICAN SOCIAL POLICY (Panel T-20)

Participants: Gwendolyn R. Mink, Smith College  
Paul Pierson, Harvard University  
Lawrence M. Mead, New York University  
Alice O'Connor, University of California, Santa Barbara

*Saturday, August 30, 8:00 AM*

ROUNDTABLE ON THE DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT:  
NEW DIRECTIONS IN AMERICAN POLITICAL HISTORY (Panel 7-6)

Chair: Julian E. Zelizer, Rockefeller College of Public Affairs

Participants: Sidney M. Milkis, University of Virginia  
Rogers M. Smith, University of Pennsylvania  
Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University  
Richard F. Bense, Cornell University  
James A. Morone, Brown University

Discussant: Meg Jacobs, MIT

*Saturday, August 30, 8:00 AM*

POLICYMAKING FOR SOCIAL SECURITY:  
A QUARTER-CENTURY RETROSPECTIVE (Panel 7-17; Co-sponsored by 25-3)

Chair: Eric M. Patashnik, University of Virginia

Participants: R. Douglas Arnold, Princeton University  
Paul Pierson, Harvard University  
Deborah Stone, Dartmouth College  
R. Kent Weaver, Georgetown University

Discussant: Martha Derthick, University of Virginia

*Saturday, August 30, 10:00 AM*

NODES OF CONFLICT, LAW AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (Panel 7-1)

Chair: Ronald Kahn, Oberlin College

Participants: Julie L. Novkov, University of Oregon  
Ronald Kahn, Oberlin College  
Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College  
Ken I. Kersch, Princeton University  
Gretchen Ritter, University of Texas, Austin

*Saturday, August 30, 2:15 PM*

METHODOLOGIES OF THE STATE: WHAT IS LEFT OUT AND WHY? (Panel 7-5)

Chair: Susanne Hoerber Rudolph, University of Chicago

Papers: What is Left Out When Events Within a State Are Characterized Numerically? A Study of Democracy and Protest in India  
Dean E. McHenry, Claremont Graduate University

What is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to IR's Methodological Questions  
J. Ann Tickner, University of Southern California

How Do You Study Phenomena That Bypass the State or in Which the State Suppresses Information?  
Kamal Sadiq, University of Chicago

Discussant: James C. Scott, Yale University

*Saturday, August 30, 2:15 PM*

THE MASTER(ING) OF RACE: A RETROSPECTIVE LOOK AT SCIENTIFIC AND ACADEMIC CONSTRUCTIONS OF RACE AND ETHNICITY (Panel T-10)

Chair: Tyson D. King-Meadows, Middle Tennessee State University

Papers: Asian American Entanglement with US Civil Society:  
Challenging the Asian American Exclusion Narrative  
Tamara K. Nopper, Temple University

A Historical View of the Comparative Racialization of Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in the United States from 1850 to the Present  
Claire Jean Kim, University of California, Irvine

The Exceptional Empire:  
"Race Development" and a New American Destiny in Progressive Era Social Science  
Jessica Blatt, New School University

Eugenics, Blood Quantum, and the Human Genome Project:  
Scientific Constructions of Indigenous  
Paula Mohan, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater

Race, Caste and Justice: Social Scientific Categories and Antidiscrimination Policies  
Laura Dudley Jenkins, University of Cincinnati

Discussant: Melissa Nobles, MIT

*Saturday, August 30, 4:15 PM*

POST-1945 WELFARE STATE DEVELOPMENT IN COMPARATIVE (Panel 7-13)

Chair: Ronald F. King, Tulane University

Papers: The Historical Dynamics of Economic and Social Policymaking  
Johannes Lindvall, Göteborg University & Jenny Andersson, Uppsala University

Democratization of Health Care in Comparative Perspective  
Miriam J. Laugesen, University of California, Los Angeles

The Critical War Years for National Health Insurance  
in 20th Century Japan and the United States  
Takakazu Yamagishi, Johns Hopkins University

Explaining Public-Sector Health Reform: A Comparison of Three Countries  
Mary A. Clark, Tulane University

Discussant: Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University

*Saturday, August 30, 4:15 PM*

AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: HELLFIRE NATION (Panel T-19)

Chair: Richard M. Valelly, Swarthmore College

Participants: Benjamin Ginsburg, Johns Hopkins University  
James A. Morone, Brown University  
John J. Dilulio, University of Pennsylvania  
Gretchen Ritter, University of Texas, Austin  
Stephen Macedo, Harvard University

*Sunday, August 31, 10:00 AM*

ROUNDTABLE ON THE EXPLANATORY VALUE OF PATH DEPENDENCE:  
INCREASING OR DECREASING RETURNS? (Panel 7-4)

Chair: Herman Schwartz, University of Virginia

Participant(s): Paul Pierson, Harvard University  
Elizabeth S. Clemens, University of Arizona  
John D. Stephens, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill  
Sabina Avdagic, Central European University

*Sunday, August 31, 8:00 AM*

RACE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN PUBLIC POLICY (Panel 7-8)

Chair: Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University

Papers: Stateways: The Development of Public Administration in the Jim Crow South  
Kimberley S. Johnson, Barnard College

Racial Politics in the Welfare Policies of the Reagan Presidency  
Scott Spitzer, California State University, Fullerton

The Administration of Mothers' Pensions and ADC in the South, 1911-1961  
Deborah E. Ward, Seton Hall University

Official Apologies and their Effects on Political Membership in Democracies  
Melissa Nobles, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Discussants: Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University  
Thomas Sugrue, University of Pennsylvania

*Sunday, August 31, 10:00 AM*

THE U.S. ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND PARTY DEVELOPMENT IN  
HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (Panel 7-20)

Chair: Robert Mickey, University of Michigan

Papers: State Coalition-Building for Ballot Reform in the Progressive Era  
Melissa Cully Anderson, University of California, Berkeley  
Brendan J. Doherty, University of California, Berkeley

Democracy and Electoral participation in Comparative-Historical  
and Cross-National Perspective, 1772-2002  
Charles A. Kromkowski, University of Virginia

Why Do Third Parties Form Against Duverger's Law? The Case  
from the Post-Civil War U.S.  
Hiroshi Okayama, University of Tokyo

Contingencies of American Presidentialism: Temptations of  
Parliamentarism in Early American Governance, 1787-1800  
Marc Janssen, University of California, Los Angeles

**Abstracts of Papers Presented at  
Politics and History Panels at the  
2003 Western Political Science  
Association Meetings**

**Choice, Context, and Consequence in  
French Political Thought**

Jose A. Bocanegra, University of Houston

Three long-standing, ongoing philosophical and analytical debates pervade Western socio-politico thought. These conceptual debates comprise predominantly dichotomous arguments; they are: individualism versus collectivism, agency versus structure, and liberty versus social order/control. This brief essay addresses these prominent debates within the specific intellectual framework of French political thought. Although there is admittedly no simple distinguishable categorization, label, or politico-philosophical pedigree, with which to describe the French school of political philosophy, in this essay, it is selectively represented by the main work of Jean Bodin, Charles Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Alexis de Tocqueville. Each one of these exemplars of French political thought falls, albeit imperfectly, on one or another of the ideal-type sides of the three debates. These debates and their attendant arguments are mainly normative, philosophical, or analytical in nature, and carry various implications. That is, these great divides neither are purely academic pursuits nor exist in isolation; instead, they relate to each other and roughly map onto one another, and are consequential to practical socio-politico life.

**State Regulation and Corporate  
Transformation:**

**The Crisis of Formalism in The New York  
Investigations of Trusts, 1888-1897**

Jonathan Chau, University of Texas at Austin

Legal rights of corporations changed substantially in the 1890's, loosening restrictions on corporate mergers, the formation of holding companies, and range of business a given corporation could enter. Committees of the

New York State Legislature investigated abuses by trusts and business corporations five times from 1888-1897. The transformation of corporate legal rights was a central element of the crisis of legal formalism, and states had to confront the same issues that confronted courts. The crisis in mindset occurred as the preexisting common law legal rights of business corporations proved inadequate to withstand technological change and entrepreneurial action. The tensions in this crisis are evident in testimony before state legislative committees and involves distinct legal elements. At the bar, the former conceptions of the corporation as an artificial entity gave way to a "natural entity" theory of the corporation. Issues before the state legislative committees in the course of their investigations included 1) the nature of the "natural law of supply and demand;" 2) the ability of the state to define monopoly, the extent to which monopoly was "natural," and the appropriate limit to state action; 3) the distinction between principle and agent regarding corporate officers, rebate agreements, and factor agreements; 4) the distinction between corporate records that were private and those that must be kept and made available to the state; and 5) the state's ability to regulate the valuation and capitalization of intangible property, including stocks, trademarks, and "goodwill." Legislative concerns and actions were shaped by the character and practices of particular industries extant within the state.

**Popular Sovereignty as Interpretation:  
Section 25 and the Struggle Over  
Interpretive Authority in the Early  
American Republic**

Randa C. Issa, University of Southern California

The 25th section of the Judiciary Act of 1789 provided for review of state supreme court decisions by the United States Supreme Court in cases where a federal law or the Constitution were involved. The Marshall Court attempted early on to use the Section to consolidate federal (judicial) power. Yet, this effort was met with sharp criticism from the states and served as the basis for the development of competing theories of the Union. In this paper, I examine how Section 25 was heart of some of the most

divisive controversies between the federal and state governments in the early American Republic. I show that state opposition to the federal courts was not confined to the South. Indeed, both Northern and Southern states were often quick to criticize other states for challenging the Court's authority to resolve constitutional disputes. Yet, when these states found themselves on the losing side, they did not hesitate to denounce the Court for usurping its powers. The result: competing ideas of the Union depended not so much on a particular theory than on whether a state stood to politically benefit from a decision of the Court.

### **Social Constructions, Path Dependence, and Supreme Court Reversals:**

#### **Lochner, and Plessy, But Not Roe**

Ronald Kahn, Oberlin College

I compare the constitutive decision-making process through which the Supreme Court overturns *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and *Lochner v. New York* (1905), but not *Roe v. Wade* (1973). I will argue that the constitutive Supreme Court decision-making process requires the Supreme Court to construct the social, economic, and political world outside the Court. In that construction, and not simply in the application of polity and rights principles to the case at hand, the Court brings the outside social, economic and political world into its decision-making. Such a process leads the Supreme Court to overturn *Plessy* and *Lochner*, but not *Roe*. This construction process is central to understanding how the Supreme Court bridges the internal and the external; it requires us to reject analyses of Supreme Court decision-making and the process of doctrinal change based on the analysis of only internal or only external factors. At the core of the paper is an exploration of the main elements of Paul Pierson's concept of path dependence, which emphasizes that institutions tend to follow the path of increasing institutional returns, and rarely change from such a path. I argue that the analysis of why the Supreme Court overturns *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and *Lochner v. New York* (1905), but not *Roe v. Wade* (1973), raises important questions about the applicability of increasing returns path dependence to explain

doctrinal change and the Supreme Court in American political development. The primary reason for this is Pierson's concept is based primarily on the analysis of external causes of change on institutions; the relationship of the internal and external is not specified in the theory. In order to bridge the internal and the external, a method must be found to relate internal institutional norms and the Court's decision-making process to the world outside the Court. When we do this, some of the primary assumptions about path dependence, as explained by Paul Pierson, such as the status quo bias of political institutions and the place of critical moments, junctures, or triggering events outside the institution as primary forces for change, may be more adequately considered, and at times questioned. Finally, the importance of the construction process in Supreme Court decision-making requires us to question the view of external-oriented scholars, such as Bruce Ackerman, that doctrinal change is the result of revolutions and single triggering events.

### ***Bakke, Gratz, and Grutter: The Rise of Rights-Based Conservatism***

Tom Keck, Syracuse University

Supreme Court decisions are shaped by forces both external and internal to the institution itself. These factors have conventionally been characterized as "political" and "legal," respectively, but those terms imply a greater degree of independence than actually exists. The "legal" ideas that influence the justices, after all, are derived in large part from ongoing debates in the broader political system, and the "political" interests that pressure the Court are often constituted by legal categories that have been created by the justices themselves. Borrowing the notion of "policy feedback" from the political development literature, I explore this interaction with reference to the Court's forthcoming decisions in the Michigan affirmative action cases. These decisions cannot be understood without reference to the concerted litigation effort of the Center for Individual Rights, but the rise of such rights-based litigation in pursuit of conservative ends cannot be explained without

reference to the constitutional decisions of the Court itself. In particular, Justice Powell's opinion announcing the Court's judgment in *University of California v. Bakke* (1978) had the unintended effect of calling forth a rights-based legal campaign on behalf of white "victims" of affirmative action. This litigation campaign, in turn, has pressed the Court to extend the logic of Powell's "color-blind" reading of the Fourteenth Amendment. In sum, our explanations of Supreme Court decision-making and constitutional development must make reference to the role of the Court's own decisions in calling forth particular constitutional demands from the public.

### **Taming the Wagner Act: World War II, The 1947 Labor-Management Relations Act, and the Right to Strike**

Josiah Bartlett Lambert,  
Saint Bonaventure University

Passage of the 1947 Labor-Management Relations Act represented a significant retreat from the social Keynesian ideals and collective action rights established under the 1935 National Labor Relations Act. Most analyses regard this retreat as arising from shifting social forces during and immediately after World War II. In contrast, I take a state-centered approach, and argue that the shift in strike policy originated in the political developments of World War II, which disengaged labor policy from social reform. I argue that national defense and economic stabilization became the overriding state interests in intervening in industrial conflict during World War II, at a time when the new union movement was still in its infancy. Labor unions were inadequately incorporated into the war industries planning agencies, and wartime labor policies were severed from structural reforms. Instead, a wartime accommodation governed relations between the labor movement and industry, in which labor leaders acceded to a wartime no-strike pledge in exchange for federal arbitration of labor disputes and guarantees of union membership growth. This accommodation became unsustainable after the administration subsequently linked arbitration with wage

controls, when the federal government could not simultaneously stabilize labor relations and control wages in the absence of structural reforms. The collapse of wage controls and the no-strike pledge in 1945-1946 led to one of the nation's most massive strike waves ever, which provided the proximate cause for restrictions on the right to strike.

Passage of the LMRA completed the disengagement of federal labor relations policy from social policy. The act rejected social structural reforms in favor of a legalistic framework of industrial relations that protected the individual rights of employees and employers and promoted a narrow contractualism in collective bargaining—features that necessarily limited collective action rights and established a more grudging right to strike. In addition, liberal industrial relations professionals promoted the LMRA's narrow contractualism and legalistic framework, revealing that the diminution in the right to strike was not simply the result of "a sharp turn to the right," but also due to liberal ambivalence regarding this right.

### **The Louisiana Purchase, Thomas Jefferson, and American Constitutionalism**

Ronald L. Nelson,  
University of South Alabama, Mobile

Two hundred years ago, a young United States—under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson—purchased the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon's France. The addition of such a huge expanse of North American wilderness to the land territory of the United States had profound consequences for the political, economic, and social character of the country. This paper examines the acquisition of the Purchase territory and its effect on the constitutionalism of the American Republic. More specifically, the paper considers the Purchase in light of issues of constitutional interpretation and constitutional construction. Thomas Jefferson's role as an advocate of strict textual interpretation of the Constitution and his early position on the applicability of the Article V amendment procedure to the acquisition of the Louisiana

Territory is significant in this discussion. Certainly, the purchase of the Louisiana Territory some 200 years ago had a far-reaching impact on the development of the United States. My paper argues that this impact went far beyond initial territorial and strategic advantage, beyond economic and resource potential, and beyond social and cultural revolution. The Purchase was made under the authority of a bilateral treaty—with an eye toward expediency and national interest over the strict textualism and formality. This acquisition process set the stage for interpreting the American Constitution broadly as well as established expediency and security as trump arguments in American constitutional debates. The Purchase also set into motion the undoing of many of the delicate compromises and balances incorporated into the new Constitution. These developments, coupled with the fact that such significant changes came about without formal Article V constitutional amendments, call for our examination and consideration of the Purchase as a significant early event in the evolution of American constitutionalism.

### **Saving the Waifs or Federalizing the Child? Hammer v. Dagenhart and the Struggle to Regulate Child Labor**

Julie Novkov, University of Oregon

In the early 1900s, progressive reformers saw their agenda of eliminating child labor from the United States achieve remarkable success. By the early 1910s, they had convinced state legislatures to limit or prohibit children's paid employment in almost every state. In order to consolidate and expand their triumph, they turned to the national stage and convinced Congress to pass a highly popular statute rendering it a crime to ship products manufactured by children through interstate channels.

In the notorious case of *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, decided in 1918, the US Supreme Court invalidated the child labor act, claiming that it exceeded Congress' power under the Commerce Clause. The case is often read as a straightforward doctrinal endorsement of a narrow conception of the Commerce Clause. Understanding the dynamic of struggle between advocates for regulation and the National Association of Manufacturers reveals a

richer political background to the case and helps to place it within a broader fight over the nature of the state's relationship with the family in the early twentieth century.

This paper tells the story of mobilization underneath *Hammer* and will explore the cross-cutting political agendas of protecting children and preserving state sovereignty and autonomy. It also explores the implications of questions about federalism in light of the federal courts' recent challenges to congressional legislation, showing the current resonance of political and legal dynamics put into place during the Progressive Era.

### **Other Synergies and the Politics of Reform: Research and Advocacy in Two Successful Anti-Welfare Campaigns**

Stephen Pimpare, Hunter College, CUNY

Only twice in American history has there been a sustained and successful assault on poor relief: first, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when nearly eighty percent of all large cities reduced or eliminated their aid to the poor, and, more recently, when the "reforms" of 1996 abolished the New Deal entitlement to welfare. These events have much in common, from the institutions at the forefront of these campaigns and the interests behind them, to the rhetoric they employed to support their policy claims, the policies advocated and enacted, and the effects of those policies upon the poor. This paper compares these campaigns, paying particular attention to the ways in which well-funded "scientific" or "neutral" research and advocacy organizations, Charity Organization Societies in the Gilded Age and certain late twentieth century conservative think tanks, produced the policy ideas behind these reforms and how they sought to and succeeded in redefining policy debate and re-shaping policy to their own ends.

## **“Dead Votes”: Race, Labor, and Political Agency in the Nineteenth Century United States**

Marek D. Steedman, University of Michigan

This paper argues that the politics of enfranchising (and later disenfranchising) freedmen in the decades after the Civil War partly revolved around the characteristics thought proper to the exercise of “political liberty.” In the paper I connect two recent insights. First, that the status of wage laborers, as political citizens, and as “servants” under Master-Servant Law, was a matter of controversy and struggle at least through the turn of the twentieth century: white wage workers did have the franchise by the 1840s but this did not mean that their exercise of political rights was uncontroversial. Second, that sharecroppers were, legally, wage laborers. Southerner whites, therefore, could draw on an older, but still viable, understanding of wage labor as a form of servitude. I argue that central to both the struggle of white wage workers in the North, and that of black sharecroppers in the South, was the idea that entering a wage labor contract involved alienating one’s will (or one’s legal “capacity for thought and action,” as John Codman Hurd put it) to an employer. It followed that labor contracts and marriage contracts involved conceptually comparable incapacities – the loss of legal personality through the submission of one’s will to another. This in turn raised questions about wage laborers’, and consequently sharecroppers’, capacity to exercise political rights. My paper resituates the politics of Reconstruction and disfranchisement in the South in the context of the broader struggles of wage workers in the United States for social, political, and legal standing.

## **Reconstructing the New Deal Regime: American Political Conflict, 1964-72**

Donald A. Zinman, University of Texas-Austin

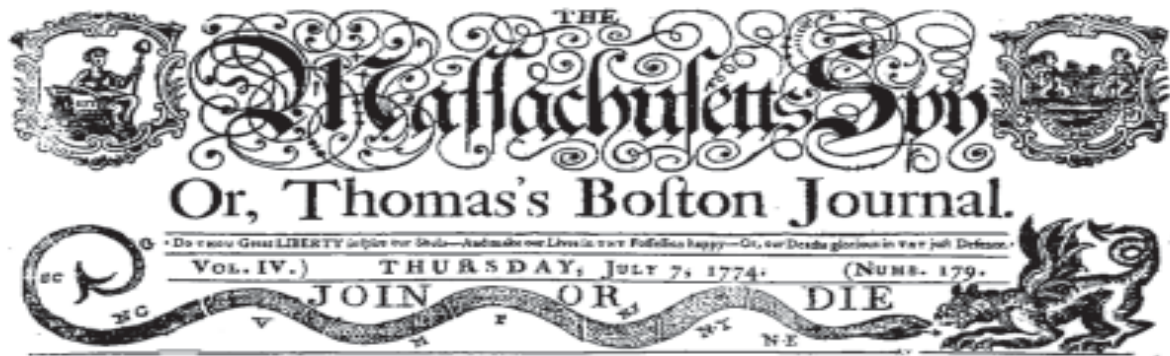
Much of the political science literature that deals with American politics in the 1960’s and early 1970’s emphasizes this period as time of declining voter turnout, weakened political parties,

increased public cynicism about politics and proliferating single-issue movements. My paper will make a different argument. The political conflicts occurring between 1964 and 1972 were most significant because of their consequences for the already dominant New Deal regime. On matters ranging from civil rights to social issues to foreign policy, most political conflicts in this era revolved around competing interpretations of the principles of New Deal regime. Did the principles of the New Deal regime dictate a commitment to civil rights? Did the principles of the New Deal regime dictate a new era of social welfare policies? Did the New Deal regime stand for law and order? Did it stand for an anti-communist foreign policy? Many factions, each ostensibly loyal to the core commitments of New Deal liberalism, declared that their issue agendas were the logical extension of the original New Deal. Through a rigorous analysis of archives, I will show that the changes in American politics in this period were most significant because they resulted in new understandings and interpretations of the core principles of the New Deal regime.

## **Comparative Politics as a Literary Genre: End of the Gothic Period?**

Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh, University of Connecticut

This article looks at the history of United States and European comparative politics, and argues that it expresses a particular style of arguing about political conflict that can be usefully described as “gothic.” That is, there is a stress on new sources of chaos and disorder that arise from seemingly healthy and predictable practices in advanced industrial societies. The disorders vary from author to author. Recent examples include Huntington’s “democratic distempers,” Sartori’s “hemorrhaging of the centrifugal center,” and Apter’s “spectre of superfluous man.” The article discusses various examples of gothic reasoning and also considers the possible rise of two non-gothic approaches to comparative politics toward the close of the twentieth century.



### *Administration & Society*

Dean L. Yarwood. "Humorous Stories and the Identification of Social Norms: The Senate Club," 35:1 (March, 2003): 9-28.

Annette D. Beresford. "Foucault's Theory of Governance and the Deterrence of Internet Fraud," 35:1 (March, 2003): 82-103.

### *The American Economic Review*

François Bourguignon and Christian Morrisson. "Inequality Among World Citizens: 1820-1992," 92:4 (September 2002): 727-744.

Dilip Mookherjee and Debraj Ray. "Contractual Structure and Wealth Accumulation," 92:4 (September 2002): 818-849.

Donald P. Morgan. "Rating Banks: Risk and Uncertainty in an Opaque Industry," 92:4 (September 2002): 874-888.

Orley Ashenfelter and David Card. "Did the Elimination of Mandatory Retirement Affect Faculty Retirement?," 92:4 (September 2002): 957-980.

Eliana Garces, Duncan Thomas, and Janet Currie. "Longer-Term Effects of Head Start," 92:4 (September 2002): 999-1012.

Gary D. Hansen and Edward C. Prescott. "Malthus to Solow," 92:4 (September 2002): 1205-1217.

Donald R. Davis and David E. Weinstein. "Bones, Bombs, and Break Points: The Geography of Economic Activity," 92:5 (December 2002): 1269-1289.

Carol H. Shiue. "Transport Costs and the Geography of Arbitrage in Eighteenth-Century China," 92:5 (December 2002): 1406-1419.

### *American Historical Review*

Benjamin J. Kaplan. "Fictions of Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe," 107:4 (October 2002): 1031-1064.

Joseph Bradley. "Subject into Citizens: Societies, Civil Society, and Autocracy in Tsarist Russia," 107:4 (October 2002): 1094-1123.

Louis S. Warren. "Buffalo Bill Meets Dracula: William F. Cody, Bram Stoker, and the Frontiers of Racial Decay," 107:4 (October 2002): 1124-1157.

Mark Mazower. "Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century," 107:4 (October 2002): 1158-1178.

### *American Journal of Sociology*

Thomas A. DiPrete. "Life Course Risks, Mobility Regimes, and Mobility Consequences: A Comparison of Sweden, Germany, and the United States," 108:2 (September 2002): 267-309.

Larry Isaac. "To Counter 'The Very Devil' and More: The Making of Independent Capitalist Militia in the Gilded Age," 108:2 (September 2002): 353-405.

### *American Journalism*

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members leading to the creation of the new organized section. According to the petition,

The section seeks to promote research and training focused on the several branches of methodology broadly associated with qualitative methods. These include: the case study method; small- N analysis; the comparative method; concept analysis; methodological work concerned with the logic of inquiry; the comparative-historical method; the ethnographic tradition of field research; constructivism, which recently has been a strong focus of attention in the field of international relations; interpretive methods; and relevant branches of social and political theory. The goal is to advance the understanding of these different approaches, to explore the commonalities, as well as contrasts, among them, and to find productive ways of integrating them with other branches of methodology.

It should be noted that under the aegis of the International Political Science Association (IPSA), the IPSA Research Committee No. 1, the Committee on Concepts and Methods, is informally linked to the new APSA section. For more information about the APSA section, contact Andrew Bennett of Georgetown University [bennetta@georgetown.edu](mailto:bennetta@georgetown.edu), and for more information about the IPSA committee, contact, Andreas Schedler of the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, in Mexico City [andreas@flacso.edu.mx](mailto:andreas@flacso.edu.mx).

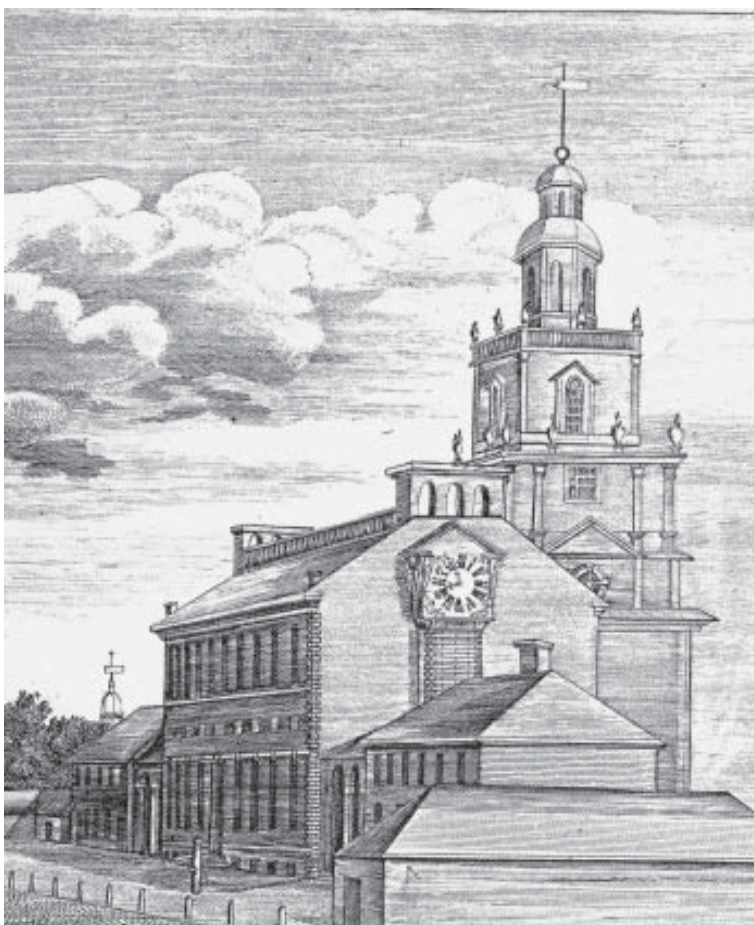
Further, the second annual training institute on qualitative research methods was held at Arizona State University, January 6-17. Although I regret that I cannot relate the details first-hand, several graduate students and colleagues reported back that the institute was a great success. While many of us were freezing through the freezing mid-January weather, 60 students and junior faculty from universities around the country opted for the Southwestern sunshine, and participated in seminars on topics such as causation, comparative historical analysis, constructivist and interpretive methods, and field research. To learn more about the Consortium on Qualitative Research Methods (CQRQ - pronounced "squirm"), and the institute, visit the website: [<http://www.asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm>]. The site is an excellent source of information, including a database

of syllabi for teaching methods courses (which I found very helpful in preparing my own syllabus for a graduate seminar on qualitative research methods). Many political science departments have become institutional members of CQRQ, which depending on the level of membership can guarantee one or more slots in the January training institute.

Finally, the much anticipated James Mahoney and Dietrich Reuschmeyer edited volume on comparative historical analysis - *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge University Press) - is now off the presses and available for purchase. The book contains contributions from leading scholars working in this tradition, who have written on a range of methodological and substantive issues, including path dependency (Paul Pierson), institutions (Kathleen Thelen), revolutions (Jack Goldstone), and periodization and actor preferences (Ira Katznelson). On April 2, 2003, Miguel Centeno (Sociology) hosted a stimulating workshop at Princeton to discuss the book. Three scholars from three disciplines - Jeremy Adelman from History, Jeffrey Herbst from Politics, and Bruce Western from Sociology - all provided praise while raising questions and challenges for the book and the enterprise of comparative historical analysis. Indeed, the discussion revealed some of the continued questions for comparative historical analysis that remain relevant for students of politics and history more generally, and highlight some varied disciplinary priorities within a genre noted for boundary-crossers. Questions about how historical evidence ought to be used, including the balancing of primary and secondary sources, and the relationship between deterministic and probabilistic theory generation will remain central for producers and consumers of this work (See the table of contents in Booknotes, page 38 of this issue of *Clio* - ed.)

Together, these developments represent a very positive and creative response to earlier calls for greater self-consciousness about the methods of comparative historical research. These various intellectual initiatives go far in demonstrating that canonical work in comparative politics and American Political Development rest in large part on alternative (i.e., non-statistical) grounds that are extremely robust. With self-conscious attention to methodology these lines of research will yield increasingly powerful insights about politics.

*Independence Hall,  
Philadelphia,  
1778*



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