Clio

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From the President

The Three American States

Elizabeth Sanders, *Cornell University*

After September 11, 2001 I became dissatisfied with my APD syllabus, and reorganized it into three parts: the regulatory state, the social welfare (and citizenship rights) state, and the national security state. In contrast to the way I had taught the course in the past, the new syllabus focuses as much attention on the third state as on the first two. I argue that these three parts of the state have grown up in different eras, spurred by contention among different groups and movements, dominated by different institutional actors, and with very different outcomes for democracy, and for US interactions with the rest of the world. For those reasons, it no longer makes sense to me to treat the national state and its development as one undifferentiated whole.

APD scholars (myself included) had mostly focused on two parts of the national state: the regulatory state and the welfare state. This made sense ideologically since most scholars in our field (90 percent, conservatives complain) are liberals, and these are the policies we care about most. But these have also been focal state functions for conservatives as —the programs and institutions that, in their view, have taken the state too far down the road toward personal irresponsibility, heavy and unnecessary regulatory burdens, and fiscal insolvency. These are the sets of issues that usually drive elections and party realignments.

It also makes sense to treat these two policy arenas first because that is how the state grew, sequentially: first came regulation, to deal with the new post-Civil War urban and industrial economy and its pathologies. The emergence of giant, truly national corporations came in the 1880s as a result of hyper-competition that resulted in bankruptcies and restructuring, with the help of the courts, into corporate behemoths. The new, bureaucratized corporations were, Alfred Chandler tells us, truly modern, and recognizable to corporate executives of today, integrated forward and backward, amazing powerhouses.

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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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Atlantic and Pacific Crossings: Reaching Out to Scholars Abroad

One suggestion at the September meeting of APSA section heads was that we try to involve more foreign scholars in our proceedings. This may be difficult, given the cost of APSA membership, but why don't we at least mention it to the scholars we know abroad (whether in history, political science, sociology, etc.) who might indeed be interested. After all, the dollar is so weak that APSA+section dues may in fact be less of a burden for them than for us! We should mention the APSA discount for students. It would be nice to solicit paper proposals from colleagues abroad as well.

For those abroad who are interested in some contact without the necessity of paying dues, Dave says we can offer a few free copies of Clio in .pdf form. We can at least offer our newsletter to programs or libraries abroad that are focused on American politics/history.

- Elizabeth Sanders

APSA Centennial Center for Political Science & Public Affairs Visiting Scholars Program

The American Political Science Association recently opened the Centennial Center for Political Science & Public Affairs in its headquarters building in Washington. As part of its programs, the Centennial Center assists scholars from the United States and abroad whose research and teaching would benefit from a stay in and access to the incomparable resources available in the nation's capital. The Center provides Visiting Scholars the infrastructure needed to conduct their work, including furnished work space with computer, phone, fax, conference space, and library access. The Center has space to host 10 scholars for extended periods of time, ranging from weeks to months. Space for shorter "drop-in" stays is also available. Scholars are expected to pursue their own research and teaching projects and contribute to the intellectual life of the residential community by sharing their work with Center colleagues in occasional informal seminars. Eligibility is limited to APSA members. Senior or junior faculty members, post-doctoral fellows, and advanced graduate students are strongly encouraged to apply. A short application form is required and submissions will be reviewed on a rolling basis. Positions are awarded based on space availability and relevant Center programming. For more information and an application please visit the Centennial Center web site <www.apsanet.org/centennialcenter> or call Sean Twombly at 202.483.2512.

Politics and History Section Business Meeting

The Palmer House PDR 17, Chicago **Saturday, September 4, 2004**

Section President Paul Pierson called the Politics and History Business meeting to order at 6:15. He began by thanking Suzanne Mettler and Evan Lieberman for their outstanding work as the co-organizers of the Politics and History panels at the 2004 APSA meetings. Suzanne said that she and Evan would like feedback on the panels. Suzanne mentioned the benefits of co-sponsored panels, and she reminded members to nominate papers for the Franklin L. Burdette Award for the best paper presented at the APSA Annual Meeting. Elisabeth Clemens and Hendrik Spruyt serve as the co-organizers of Politics and History Panels for the 2005 APSA meetings. Elisabeth noted that the theme of the conference is mobilizing democracy, and she urged the members to send ideas for papers and for panels. Dan Carpenter served as the organizer for Politics and History panels for the Midwest Political Science Association, and he encouraged panel and paper proposals. (In addition, Politics and History panels at the Western Political Science meeting were being organized by Steve Bragaw).

Robert Lieberman, Bat Sparrow, and M. Anne Sa'adah served on the nominations committee that put forward the slate of new section officers for the coming year. The committee nominated Sidney Milkis for President-elect. For the four two-year terms on the council, the committee nominated Stephen Amberg, Kimberley Johnson, Richard Ned Lebow, and Deborah Yashar. The members enthusiastically approved this slate. Elizabeth Sanders thus assumed presidency of the section, Sid Milkis replaced her as president-elect, and the four new council members joined Jytte Klausen, Uday Mehta, Carol Nackenoff, and Jason Wittenberg, who began the second year of their terms on the council. Section Treasurer Dave Robertson reported that section finances were sound at the moment, but that a dues increase might be necessary in the future if costs continue rise.

The awards committees reported next. Gerard Alexander chaired The Mary Parker Follett article award committee, and Keith Whittington and Rose Resakhian also served on the committee. The committee awarded the prized to Paul Frymer's article, "Acting When Elected Officials Won't: Federal Courts and Civil Rights Enforcement in U.S. Labor Unions, 1935-85," in the *American Political Science Review* for August 2003. Richard Harris chaired, and Scott James and Alison Stanger served on the J. David Greenstone book award committee. The Greenstone committee announced co-winners: Theda Skocpol for *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), and S.M. Amadae, *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy: The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism* (University of Chicago Press, 2003). Theda Skocpol thanked the committee and the section, noting that she was deeply honored and moved by the award.

As he concluded his term as president, Paul Pierson thanked the members and noted that attendance at the Saturday business meeting was good (50-60 members seemed to be in attendance, and the reception following the business meeting also had good attendance).

New section president Elizabeth Sanders shared a few words with the members. She attended the section officers breakfast, and reported that the APSA strongly encouraged sections to foster mentoring, to reach out to international scholars, and reach out to young professionals. She noted that a number of young historians constituted a keen audience for politics and history topics. She also noted that some delegates to the Democratic national convention in July, 1896, stayed at the Palmer House.

Margaret Levi, the Jere L. Bacharach Professor of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Washington, Seattle, became the 101st President of the American Political Science Association at the 2004 annual meeting in Chicago

Ira Katznelson, Columbia University, is President-Elect of the American Political Science Association.

The American Political Science Association gave its Victoria Schuck Award, for the best book published in 2003 on women and politics, to **Nancy J. Hirschmann** of the University of Pennsylvania for *The Subject of Liberty: Toward a Feminist Theory of Freedom* (Princeton University Press).

The APSA Law and Courts section's McGraw-Hill Award, recognizing the best journal article on law and courts written by a political scientist and published during the previous calendar year, was given to **Paul Frymer**, University of California, San Diego, for "Acting When Elected Officials Won't: Federal Courts and Civil Rights Enforcement in U.S. Labor Unions, 1935-85," *American Political Science Review*, 97: 3 (2003)

The APSA Law and Courts section's Wadsworth Publishing Award**,** given annually for a book or journal article, 10 years or older, that has made a lasting impression on the field of law and courts, was given to **Rogers M. Smith**, University of Pennsylvania, for "Political Jurisprudence, the 'New Institutionalism,' and the Future of Public Law," *American Political Science Review*, 82: 1 (1988).

The CQ Press Award, presented by the APSA's Legislative Studies section for the best paper on legislative studies presented at the previous year's APSA Annual Meeting, was given to **Samuel Kernell**, University of California, San Diego, for "To Stay, To Quit, or To Move Up: Explaining the Growth of Careerism in the House of Representatives, 1878-1940."

The APSA Legislative Studies section awarded its Richard F. Fenno Prize to **Sarah A. Binder**, George Washington University, for *Causes and Consequences of Legislative Gridlock* (Brookings Institution Press, 2003). The Fenno prize honors work that is both theoretically and empirically strong, and is dedicated to encouraging scholars to pursue new and different avenues of research in order to find answers to previously unexplored questions about the nature of politics.

The APSA Political Organizations and Parties section gave its Emerging Scholars Award to David C. Kimball, University of Missouri - St. Louis, and **Eric Schickler**, Harvard University.

David R. Mayhew, Yale University, received the Samuel J. Eldersveld Lifetime Career Achievement Award, presented by the APSA Political Organizations and Parties section in honor of a scholar whose lifetime professional work has made an outstanding contribution to the field.

APSA Presidency Research Group presented the Richard E. Neustadt Award to **Janet M. Martin**, Bowdoin College, for *The Presidency and Women: Promise, Performance and Illusion* (Texas A&M University Press, 2003). The Neustadt Award recognizes the best book that contributed to resea4rch and scholarship in the field of the American presidency.

The APSA **Political Methodology section gave its Harold Gosnell Prize** for the best methodology paper presented at a conference between August 1, 2003 and July 31, 2004 to Henry Brady and **John McNulty**, University of California, Berkeley, for "A 'Natural Experiment' on the Costs of Voting: Methodologies for Analyzing Data when the Treatment is Nearly Randomized."

The APSA Race, Ethnicity, and Politics section presented its Best Book Award for research on Race and Ethnicity Politics in Local Contexts to **Lewis Randolph,** Ohio University, and Gayle Tate, Indiana University, Bloomington for *Rights for a Season: The Politics of Race, Class, and Gender in Richmond, Virginia* (University of Tennessee Press).

continued on following page

Member Awards, continued from *preceding page*

The APSA Qualitative Methods section awarded the Sage Paper award to **John Gerring**, Boston University, for his paper, "Causation: A Unified Framework for the Social Sciences." The award honors Sara and George McCune, who founded and sustained Sage Publications as a leading publisher of social science methodology - including very centrally qualitative methods. The award is given to a paper presented at the previous year's annual meeting.

The APSA Qualitative Methods section's Alexander George Award was presented to **Peter A. Hall,** Harvard University, for "Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Research," in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds., *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). This award is given for the best article or book chapter developing or applying qualitative methods, published in the previous calendar year. This award honors Alexander George's prominent role in developing and teaching qualitative methodology, in particular the comparative case study method.

The APSA Qualitative Methods section's **Giovanni Sartori Award** , given for the best book developing or applying qualitative methods, published in the previous calendar year, was presented to James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Brown University, eds. *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). The award honors Giovanni Sartori's innovative research on social science concepts and his leading role in developing the field of concept analysis as a component of political science methodology.

Consuelo Cruz, Tufts University, received the Undergraduate Initiative in Teaching (UNITE) Award.

Bruce Peabody, Fairleigh Dickinson University, received the Becton College Tacher of the Year Award.

The 2004 Mary Parker Follett Award
for the best article or chapter on Politics and History

To ***Paul Frymer, University of California, San Diego, for*** "Acting When Elected Officials Won't: Federal Courts and Civil Rights Enforcement in U.S. Labor Unions, 1935-1985." *American Political Science Review* 97:3 (August 2003): 483-499

(*Gerard Alexander, chaired the committee for the 2004 Follett Award; Rose Razakhian and Keith Whittington also served on the committee*)

Investigating courts' intervention in the racial integration of American trade unions, Frymer skillfully employs historical-institutional analysis to prove that the courts are powerful agents of social change. "Far from a 'hollow hope' . . . courts acted independently and forcefully" to change the racial composition of American unions (495). The article provides a powerful statement of historical-institutionalism and a model article-length study of American political development. First, it tackles a profound question about the relationship of race, labor and the state, a relationship central to American social, economic, and political development. Second, it emphasizes the importance of historical and institutional context; "Court influence . . . was the product of a much larger political-institutional conflict . . . that particularly involved the Democratic Party, the evolving regulatory state, and entrenched anti-civil rights interests both in the South and in the national labor movement" (496). Third, it dexterously shows how subtle institutional changes, such as access to courts, can result in far-reaching change. Fourth, it demonstrates the way the policy can unfold in different ways in different arenas. Fifth, it provides keen insights into the many consequences of judicial resolution of disputes, notably the irony that minorities increased their presence in unions just as unions had suffered substantial financial losses as a result of damage awards meted out by the courts.

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Acting When Elected Officials Won't: Federal Courts and Civil Rights Enforcement in U.S. Labor Unions, 1935–85

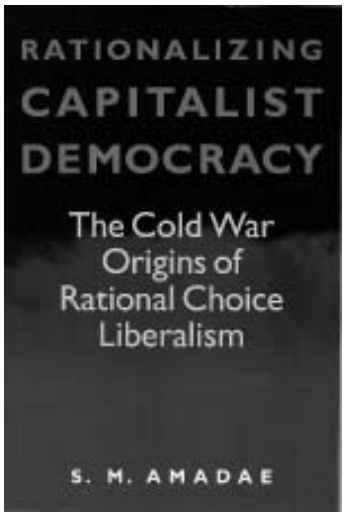
PAUL FRYMER *University of California, San Diego*

The 2004 J. David Greenstone Award
for the Best Book on Politics and History

(*Here are Richard Harris's comments on the winners of the 2004 Greenstone Awards; Richard chaired the selection committee, and Scott James and Alison Stanger also served on the commitree*)

to **S.M. Amadae** *for*
Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy: The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism,
University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Rationalizing Liberal Democracy presents an intriguing combination of intellectual history and intellectual sociology. On the first point, Professor Amadae historicizes the self-consiously ahistorical theory of rational choice. In doing so, she traces the evolution of rational choice from its ideological origins with RAND scholars as a defense of capitalist democracy against Marxism and Cold War Soviet expansion to a pervasive model of human behavior that has helped to shape social science, legal studies, and policymaking. On the second point, Amadae unmasks the interplay among ideas and institutions, much in the spirit of March and Olsen. She shows how the nuturing role of the RAND Corporation and other institutional bases of rational choice theory can explain its widespread influence on public policy as well as on other organizations. Amadae opens up fresh source materials, shedding light into diverse areas, such as the early years of RAND, the Ford Foundation, the Center for the Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences, the Public Choice Society, and the Rochester University graduate program in political science. Thus, institutions function as endogonous as well as exogonous variables in our understanding of socio-political change and the character of the post World War II order.



to **Theda Skocpol** *for*
Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life,
University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.

Awarding a prize for Professor Skocpol's *Diminished Democracy* may seem like jumping on a bandwagon given her well-known contributions to work on civic engagement. It was precisely this trepidation that led the prize committee into lengthy discussions about the book. However, the more the discussions proceeded the more deeply engrossing and substantive they became; and the more apparent it became that a book that could evoke intellectual ferment and spirited discussion is deserving of the Greenstone Prize. *Diminished Democracy* is a powerful example of careful historical institutional analysis, demonstrates a sweeping command of historical evidence, and marshals that evidence in a mature theoretical vision. It effectively critiques the conservative shibboleth that robust civic engagement is at odds with an energetic central government and challenges the liberal contention that public interest activism has unequivocally bolstered the democratic character of American politics. We are confident that those who have read Professor Skocpol's book will agree with our assessment, and those who have yet to read it are in for a rich and provocative read.

Abstracts of Politics & History Papers from the 2004 APSA Meetings

"Income and Democracy"
Daron Acemoglu, MIT, Simon Johnson, MIT, James A. Robinson, Harvard, and Pierre Yared, MIT

We revisit one of the central empirical findings of the political economy literature that higher income per capita causes democracy. Existing studies establish a strong cross-country correlation between income and democracy, but do not typically control for factors that simultaneously affect income and democracy. We show that controlling for such factors removes the statistical association between income per capita and various measures of democracy. This is true both when we include country fixed effects, and when we control directly for potential historical determinants of political and economic development in a sample of former European colonies. Overall, these results provide little support for the hypothesis that income causes democracy. Rather, different countries appear to have followed different political and economic development paths, some leading to prosperity and democracy in the long run, others to relative poverty and non-democracy. Conditional on the development path, there is little effect of income on democracy. Consistent with this interpretation, there is a positive correlation between changes in income and democracy when we look over the last 500 years.

"Why Italian Fascism Turned Racist"
Franklin Adler, Macalester College

This paper explores why Mussolini abruptly turned toward racism in the Fall of 1938, after having for sixteen years followed a path that could only, by contemporary standards, be considered philo-Semitic. Unlike conventional approaches that stress Italy's growing relation with Nazi Germany, the paper stresses internally-generated reasons for the racist turn of 1938.

"Bones of Contention: The Political Economy of Height Inequality"
Carles Boix, University of Chicago and Frances Rosenbluth, Yale Unviersity

Human osteological data provide a rich, unmined source of information about the distribution of nutrition, and by extension, the distribution of political power and economic wealth, in societies of long ago. On the basis of data we have collected and analyzed, we find that the shift from a hunter–gatherer to a labor- intensive agriculture opened up inequalities that had discernible effects on human health and stature. But we also find that political institutions intervene decisively in affecting the distribution of resources within societies. Political institutions appear to be shaped not only by economic factors but also by military technology and vulnerability to invasion, leaving important questions for additional exploration.

"National Health Insurance and the Politics of Race in the United States, 1945-52"
Gerard Boychuk, University of Waterloo

Examinations of the failure of national public health insurance reform in the United States in the immediate postwar period (1945-52) make reference to various explanatory factors including, most notably, the power of opposition interest groups such as the American Medical Association and the role of voluntary insurance in limiting the political prospects for public health insurance. Each interpretation makes an important contribution to understanding the fate of national health insurance proposals in this period. However, the dynamics generated by the politics of race were a crucial element contributing to the demise of national public health insurance in the immediate postwar period. Consideration of these dynamics is a necessary element in fully understanding the failure of national health insurance at this critical juncture in the development of public health insurance in the United States.

"Pockets of Expertise: Careers and Professionalism in 20th-Century State Legislatures"
Nancy Burns and Laura Evans, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

It is commonplace in work on state legislatures to say that, in the days before the legislative reforms of the '60s and '70s, state legislative process wasn't much to be proud of. As Jewell put it in 1968, "Most state legislators and most legislative committees today lack the time, the information, and the staff assistance to make careful, independent judgments about the bills" (Jewell 1968, 74). Given the constraints on legislatures and legislators in the early era, one wonders where members turned to make their way through the legislative process. In this paper, we look back at this sordid past, trying to understand just where legislators turned for information and expertise in a world filled with too many bills, too little staff, and too little time. We begin to build the descriptive account of politics in amateur legislatures that will provide the groundwork for a theory of legislative change, one that rests in the details of practice and procedure. What we find is, perhaps, surprising: in some respects, some of the most institutionally impoverished legislatures were relatively rich in the expertise necessary to enable decent legislation to make its way through the legislative process. We find pockets of expertise and pockets of professionalism in these legislatures. To support this argument, we present a rich, new dataset to analyze patterns of change in thirteen states since the late 19th century. We have three key

results. First, even non-careerist legislators could still draw on various career experiences as basic sources of expertise, such as some previous time in office, some previous occupations. Second, we see imperfect routinization—a paucity of impersonal and automatic arrangements—coupled with institutional designs that take special advantage of what little expertise is available. And, third, scholars have most likely underestimated the amount of expertise available to early 20th century state legislatures through careerism alone.

"Substantive Representation: Investigating the Impact of the Voting Right and of Descriptive Representation on the Substantive Representation of Women in the Belgian Lower House during the 20th Century"
Karen Celis, Free University of Brussels

The paper will present results of a research on the substantive representation of women in the Belgian Lower House during the 20th century. The aim of this research consists in learning more about the practice of substantive representation of a social group. The underlying hypotheses is that a 'higher' level of descriptive political representation results in a 'higher' level of substantive representation. More particularly, the research deals with the impact of women's suffrage and of female MPs on the substantive representation of women. Although the empirical part of this investigation is of an historical nature and focuses on women, it relates to broader contemporary debates on the political inclusion of social groups such as immigrants. The research deals with the assumption, often present in societal as well as in political debates, that franchise, on the one hand, and MPs sharing the 'identity' of those whom they represent, on the other hand, have a positive impact on the extent to which social groups are represented. This research is embedded in a tradition of both theoretical investigation and empirical research on the link between 'standing for' and 'acting for'. The first aim of the paper is to provide for an introductory picture of the political representation of women's interests during a politically important parliamentary debate: the budget debates. The substantive representation of women, i.e. the act of taking care of women's needs and interests, is defined through three criteria: 1) a situation that is bad for or unjust to women is discussed; 2) a suggestion to improve the situation of women is formulated; or 3) a right for women is claimed. Notwithstanding the paper's final focus, firstly the evolution of the defence of women's interests will be described and, secondly, we will verify whether changes are due to the direct impact of female MPs or coincide with the appearance of female voters. The three time periods researched are: 1) 1900 - 1929: a homogeneous male parliament; 2) 1930 - 1948: a few women in parliament but no female electorate; 3) 1949 - 1980: a growing number of female parliamentarians (significant increase from 1974 on) and a female electorate. In each time period the points of interest are: 1) which women receive political attention; 2) which topics are dealt with; and 3) what is the aim of the intervention (to merely improve the situation of women or to establish equality between men and women). Subsequently the question will be: do the right to vote and descriptive representatives result in a 'better' or 'higher level of' substantive representation? An increased diversity of groups of women receiving political attention, of women's interests addressed and of feminist projects tackled could be seen as an indicator for a more elaborated form of substantive representation of women.

"Not All Paths Lead to Rome: Historical Trajectories of Post-Authoritarian Justice and their Impact on Democratic Quality"
Paola Cesarini, Columbia University

Scholars from different social science disciplines are increasingly acknowledging the long shadow that a disturbing past may project over a democracy's future. In effect, there is growing consensus that 'unresolved problems of transitional justice have a lasting implication over a state's lifetime.' Nevertheless, the question of the specific impact of post-conflict/post-authoritarian countries' transitional justice choices on their long-term democratization outcomes is still far from being settled. Joining in this lively debate, this study concurs with the claim that transitional justice — defined as the historical process through which a country deals with past collective traumas of civil war and/or state-sponsored atrocities – critically affects democratic outcomes. To be precise, I argue that post-conflict/post-authoritarian countries' transitional justice processes constitutes path-dependent sequences of causally linked events that shape key aspects of the "quality " of their democracy over time. Chiefly among them: public confidence in state institutions (such as the justice system or the police); respect for the rights of opposing or "alternative" groups; readiness to accept rivals' electoral victory; eagerness to exercise one's civic rights and to stand up for them when threatened; public expectations of equal treatment before the law; political violence; incidence of the past in political discourse; and political civility .

"Executive Orders and Historical Order: Implications of the Evolution of
Executive Orders for American Political Development"
Graham G. Dodds, Concordia University

This paper sketches several implications of the study of the development of executive orders for broader debates in scholarship on the presidency, American political development, and American politics in general. I suggest that the evolution of executive orders indicates that (1) the true roots of presidential power are legal and constitutional rather than personal, (2) the modern presidency should be seen as starting with Theodore

rather than Franklin Roosevelt, (3) the same political phenomenon can have different developmental trajectories in different institutional settings, (4) our constitutional understandings have changed significantly but are not a radical departure from the original constitutional order, and (5) individual agency can be a primary engine of political development.

"The Presidential Use of Executive Orders in the Postwar Era: A Decline in Numbers but not Importance"
Graham G. Dodds, Concordia University

This paper examines the presidential use of executive orders from 1945 to the present. I describe the major postwar executive orders at some length, roughly in chronological order but organized by policy area. Significant executive orders in this period include Harry Truman's seizure of the steel industry, John Kennedy's creation of affirmative action, Richard Nixon's freeze of wages and prices, Ronald Reagan's efforts to limit government regulation, and George W. Bush's promotion of "faith-based" initiatives and prosecution of the "war on terror." I then examine some trends and possible implications for the future of executive orders. In particular, the postwar era is notable for a marked decline in the number of executive orders issued and also for the Supreme Court's dramatic rejection of Truman's steel seizure order in Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer (1952). I consider the causes and effects of the decline and also the significance of Youngstown and argue that presidents since FDR have nevertheless continued to turn to executive orders for a variety of important and controversial purposes, often with little explicit constitutional or legislative authority. Despite the decline in the number of executive orders issued, executive orders remain a central component of presidential power. Moreover, postwar executive orders indicate that presidents — regardless of their political context or governing style — have continued to operate within both the Progressive conception of activist government and the Stewardship view of presidential leadership, norms that were established in the early twentieth century.

"Federalism and Foreign Affairs in 1960s Civil Rights Reform"
Mary Dudziak, University of Southern California Law School

This essay argues that a central issue in the history of federalism in the United States in the 20th century was the role of the U.S. in world politics, and the impact of international affairs on domestic constitutional development. The essay examines this issue through the example of the impact of international affairs on federalism in the civil rights context in the 1960s, focusing on arguments about foreign affairs in the debate over the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The historical record illustrates that one of the reasons President Kennedy supported a civil rights bill in 1963, and Congress passed it in 1964, was that race discrimination harmed the image of the U.S. in the world, which harmed U.S. foreign relations. In the context of the Cold War, perceived as a battle for the hearts and minds of the peoples of the world, the U.S. international image was thought to have great repercussions for U.S. national security. The paper does not argue that Congress explicitly drew upon foreign affairs powers in passing the Civil Rights Act. Instead it suggests that national security was part of the calculus when Congress weighed the importance of the national interests at stake in civil rights reform, and that assessment of the national interest must be kept in mind when examining the impact of civil rights reform on federalism. The impact of national security on federalism and the scope of federal power was not a new issue in the 1960s, for national security considerations underlay the virtual elimination of federalism as a limit on the Commerce Power during World War II. In these and other contexts, international affairs influenced the trajectory of federalism in 20th century American constitutional history. In this context and elsewhere, there is an international history to the story of "domestic" American law.

"The Federal Government and Slavery: The Financial Web They Wove Together"
David F. Ericson, Wichita State University

The historiography on the relation between slavery and American political development has shifted markedly in the last ten years to show how much the federal government was implicated in the continued existence of slavery during the 1789-1861 period. Don Fehrenbacher's *The Slaveholding Republic* (2001) does a magisterial job of tracing the policy connections between the two institutions in terms of territorial policy, foreign policy, fugitive-slave law, and illegal slave trading. Yet, it still offers an incomplete picture of the relation between the federal government and slavery. Many of the connections between the two institutions occurred off the radar screen of public policy, such as the federal government's subsidization of African colonization and its use of slave labor. In this exploratory study, I attempt to complete the picture left incomplete in previous policy studies of the relation between the federal government and slavery by detailing federal spending on slavery-related items. The financial connections between the two institutions offer a more complete, and concrete, picture of the way that they were entangled with one another during this period. I also attempt to show how slavery had a positive impact on the development of the early American state. This finding revises two existing bodies of literature: (1) studies that have argued slavery had a negative impact on that development, such as Robin Einhorn's "Slavery and the Politics of Taxation in the Early United States" (2000); (2) studies that have argued the early American state was

very weak, such as Robert Bensel's *Yankee Leviathan* (1990). In the end, slavery prompted the early American state to engage in many of the same state-building activities later American states engaged in: controlling the nation's borders, subsidizing private organizations, and enforcing its own laws independently of state and local governments.

"A Field Guide to Creative Syncretism, or, How People Make and Remake Institutions"
Dennis Galvan and Gerald Berk, University of Oregon

This paper is a first effort to broach a discussion of institutions and institutional change in the United States and the developing world. Facing the challenges of research on the politics of economic development in the US and local adaptations to centrally imposed development projects in Senegal, we noticed we were thinking about institutions and human agency in similar ways. In spite of the obvious differences in our subjects of study, we independently came to the idea that the very different institutions we puzzled over were complex bundles of elements that could be combined and recombined in unpredictable ways. We both called this process "syncretism." We also noticed that our subjects often manipulated institutional pieces in ways unexpected by conventional theories of human agency. Drawing upon structuralist anthropology, Galvan came to call this capacity "bricolage"—the ability of people to assemble available materials to solve pressing problems. Drawing upon pragmatist social theory, Berk called this capacity the "creativity of action," that is, the collective ability of people to reimagine parts of their world anew and experiment with means to alter it.

"The Fifth Column Tactic: Predatory Investigations and the Politics of Internal Security in the 80th Congress"
Andrew Grossman, Albion College and Guy Oakes, Monmouth University

The 80th Congress was notable for its conduct of a distinctive type of investigation that we will designate as 'predatory' and that was initiated into issues that were, at least ostensibly, centered on internal security. In this paper we consider two questions. What were the conditions for the production of predatory investigations in the 80th Congress? And what problems did these investigations pose for the White House?

"Locals versus Cosmopolitans in the Partisan Reconstruction of the South"
Richard Johnston, University of British Columbia

In the postwar South, candidates for public office managed to shape both the pace and the specifics of change driven by economic development and legal desegregation. The key distinction among candidates was not "quality," the standard contrast in other regions, but cosmopolitan versus local. For the House and the Senate, this distinction turns on place of birth and place of education. For the Presidency, this means whether the Democratic candidate is Southern or Non-Southern. In either arena, locals prime class, while cosmopolitans prime race. Locals evoke response defined by social structure; cosmopolitans evoke response under the control of ideology. Additionally, in Presidential election years, the shape of House races is pulled toward the local or cosmopolitan shape, as the case may be, of the Presidential race. One implication is that many House Democrats were able to delay the final Republican breakthrough by judicious mobilization of local sentiment, as were Southern candidates for the White House.

"Modern Conservatism and Judicial Power"
Thomas Keck, Syracuse University

Over the past four decades, the American people have repeatedly elected Republican presidents who have promised to appoint judges committed to "judicial restraint," but on any reasonable definition, the judges appointed by these presidents have been no more restrained than anyone else. As some constitutional scholars have begun to recognize, in fact, modern judicial conservatism is an activist, rights-based conservatism. These developments raise an important caveat to Robert Dahl's claim that the Supreme Court follows the election returns. The system that Dahl described—one of constitutional change by means of the presidential power of judicial appointment—allows for significant constitutional change even in the absence of popular support. The distinctive constitutional jurisprudence of the Rehnquist Court may have any number of virtues, but unless and until Republican politicians campaign on a platform of "judicial activism from the right," there is no way to know whether it has any democratic pedigree.

"From Ethnicity to Class: The Changing Basis of Minority Inequality in Contemporary Japan"
Bumsoo Kim, University of Chicago

The purpose of this paper is to show applying William J. Wilson's proposition in The Declining Significance of Race (1978) to Japanese context that the basis of minority inequality has been changing in contemporary Japan from "ethnicity" to "class." The development of a capitalist social stratification system, combined with the legal/institutional reformations of the past decades, has made class more significant than ethnicity in determining the life chances of minority individuals in Japan. So much so that the general social status of minority individuals has now more to do with their socioeconomic class background than with their ethnic origin. In this respect, the persistent inequality between mainstream "Japanese" and "non-

Japanese" minorities should be understood more as a function of class than of ethnicity.

"The Politics of Backlash: Consequences of a Metaphor"
Daniel Kryder, Brandeis University and
Robert W. Mickey, University of Michigan

There is nothing less objectionable in current studies of American politics that the notion of a recent white backlash. In this view, 1964 marks a critical juncture in American political development. Following the passage of the Civil Rights Act in that year, Republicans appealed to conservative Southern whites with more or less veiled racial appeals, encouraging mass defections from the Democratic Party and hastening the end of the New Deal coalition and regime. Kevin Phillips famously recommended the strategy to Nixonites in 1968, and Ronald Reagan is thought to have mastered a new version of the appeal some ten years later. George H. W. Bush's Willie Horton advertisement played on white racial anxieties, and racial conservatives now know their home is in the G.O.P. However, there has been little exploration of the precise mechanisms by which backlash occurs. Varying usages and notions of the backlash metaphor are found in authors as diverse as Carmines and Stimson, Edsall and Edsall, and Thernstrom and Thernstrom. In sum, the white backlash metaphor undergirds a bipartisan and scholarly consensus on the conservative political mobilization of white Americans from the mid-1960s through the present, but no systematic attention has been given to its precise meaning. This paper begins to clarify the politics of backlash. It first traces the development of the backlash idea in conventional and scholarly discourse. It then outlines the implications—both analytical and historiographical—of the terms use in contemporary scholarship on postwar U.S. electoral politics and racial conflict. The paper draws particular attention to the faulty periodization of the recent past that animates the backlash notion. Such periodization, we argue, stymies clear thinking on the part of both analysts of and contestants in today's electoral deadlock. The paper closes with some suggestions for overcoming the backlash metaphor and its intellectual and practical consequences.

"National Sovereignty, Plenary Power and Due Process—The Consequences of Recurring Themes in Immigration Cases 1883-1893 and 1990-2000"
Anna Law, DePaul University

Institutional development is uneven within the same institution where different segments of the judiciary develop their own logics of operation. The Supreme Court and Circuit Courts of Appeals operate in decidedly different institutional contexts making any talk of an undifferentiated institution called "the court" or "the judiciary" misleading.

"Bounding Institutional Authority in Comparative Politics and International Relations"
John Leslie, University of California-Berkeley and
Anne L. Clunan, Naval Postgraduate School

We draw attention to a neglected but essential element of institutions, their boundaries. Boundaries permit actors to organize the world around them into categories and groups and to establish arenas of authority or jurisdiction. The nature of boundaries is no less important to institutional operation and social organization than is the fact of their existence. As the first step in a larger research program, we set out to elaborate here not only the importance that the existence of boundaries has in creating and regulating social organization, but also the political significance that the varying nature of boundaries has. We draw on our own work from on political parties and state sovereignty to highlight what boundaries do and how they vary, as well as to raise a set of theoretical questions to guide further investigation.

"Universal Coverage, Health Inequalities, and the American Health Care System in Crisis (Again)"
Rick Mayes, University of Richmond

Ten years after the failure of President Clinton's ambitious attempt to overhaul the U.S. health care system, a growing number of policymakers, clinicians, employers, insurers, and patients are renewing the age-old argument that comprehensive reform is urgently needed. My paper examines how events over the last decade have led to the new health care crisis in America.
DATA SOURCES: The paper illustrates how health inequalities in the U.S. are exacerbated by our nation's beleaguered, patchwork system of health care: (1) Based on data from the Census Bureau, the paper shows how lack of health insurance has become as much a "working class" and "middle class" phenomenon as it is a "poor" one; (2) Based on data from the Kaiser Family Foundation, the paper shows how the costs for employers and employees who have health insurance are increasing at their fastest rate since the early 1990s; (3) Based on data from the American Bankruptcy Institute, the paper shows how health care problems—lack of health insurance, insufficient health insurance, and/or substantial medical problems—have become the single leading cause of personal bankruptcy in the United States; (4) Based on data from the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS), the paper shows how the government's primary health insurance programs—Medicare for the elderly and disabled, SCHIP for children, and Medicaid for the poor—are experiencing considerable financial strain; (5) Based on my personal interviews with key policymakers and senior staff (many of whom have only recently gone on record), the paper includes a reexamination of Clinton's failure at health care reform. Interviewees include: Clinton's Health Care Communications Director, Bob Boorstin; Chief of

Staff to former Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, Sheila Burke; Director of Clinton's Health Care Transition Team, Judy Feder; former White House Chief of Staff and Director of OMB for President Clinton, Leon Panetta; Senior Economist for the Clinton Health Care Task Force, Sherry Glied; former Senator from Nebraska, Bob Kerrey; former CBO Director, Robert Reischauer; former Chair of Ways and Means, Dan Rostenkowski; former Treasury Secretary, Robert Rubin; current CMS Administrator, Tom Scully; former CEA Chair, Laura D'Andrea Tyson; and former Chairman of Prudential Insurance and Chair of the Business Roundtable's Health Subcommittee, Robert Winters.
CONCLUSION: The paper concludes with a brief overview of the leading proposals for solving the problem of the uninsured that have recently emerged.

"Educating Politics: The Transformation of Federal Education Policy 1965-2002"
Patrick McGuinn, Brown University

In recent years, education has risen to the very top of the national political agenda and the federal role in schools has been dramatically transformed and expanded. This paper seeks to explain these developments in light of the country's history of decentralized school governance and the longstanding opposition of liberals and conservatives to an active, reform-oriented federal role in education. More broadly, it demonstrates how the struggle to define the federal role in school reform played a central—though underappreciated—role in inter- and intra-party debates during the 1980s and 1990s over the appropriate role of the national government in promoting opportunity and social welfare. The increasing salience of education reform with the public led Clinton and the Democrats to make the issue a centerpiece of their New Democratic philosophy and their response to the conservative assault on federal government activism. George W. Bush and Republicans responded by making education the focal point of a more centrist rhetoric on social policy, compassionate conservatism. These political developments launched a new era of education policy in which the alliances, policies, and assumptions of the past forty years have been fundamentally transformed. Swing issues such as education are thus an important political phenomenon. Their unique characteristics facilitate major policy change even as they influence the direction of wider political debates and partisan conflict.

"Divisions and Discourses: Equality, Separate Spheres, and Common Law Understandings"
Richard Meagher, CUNY, Graduate Center

Although its main goal was achieved in 1920, the suffrage movement was criticized, though unfairly, for the continuing subordination of women. I try to relate this feminist "failure" to the use of two distinct, even contradictory, narratives or discourses to build a coalition to support woman suffrage. While the first discourse, that of equality, directly challenged the social and legal understandings that underlay women's subordination, the competing narrative of separate spheres for women and men may have actually reinforced these understandings. After using a brief examination of suffrage writings to establish these discourses, I use the example of the common law doctrine of coverture to explore the tradeoffs inherent in using separate spheres to advance nominally feminist claims.

"Andrew Johnson and the Politics of Failure"
Nicole Mellow, Williams College and Jeffery K. Tulis, University of Texas, Austin

Andrew Johnson is generally regarded as one of America's worst Presidents. His major legislative initiatives were defeated and his vetoes overridden. He was a pariah within his own party. Even his own cabinet opposed many of his most important policies. He was impeached and nearly convicted. Yet from his defeats came triumphs. Johnson's vision of Reconstruction prevailed over that of the majority that opposed him. Southern politics and political culture were shaped for over a century by his "failed" vision. His rhetorical style, denounced at the time, became a template for 20th century presidents. And in escaping conviction on impeachment, Johnson re-founded the impeachment process itself – giving it a legalistic interpretation that governs contemporary practice. In short, Andrew Johnson's long term political influence and effect exceeded that of all but a few presidents, including many so-called successful presidents. In this paper, we begin to explore the paradox of immediate failure and yet long-term success by investigating Andrew Johnson's role in shaping Reconstruction and its aftermath. This is the first step in a larger effort to articulate the conditions under which a political loss might be better than a win.

"Problems with Periodization: Conservation, Environmentalism and Public Land Management, 1965-1995"
Cassandra Moseley, University of Oregon

Periodization has been one of the core enterprises for American Political Development scholars. Yet, periodization has been a task fraught with difficulty and controversy. David Mayhew's recent book questioning realignment theory calls attention the importance of polices becoming embedded in order for them have a lasting impact. Political development does not necessarily follow the passage of legislation because new policy may never become imbedded. This paper draws on this notion of embeddedness to question one of the truisms of periodization in US politics: the shift in federal land management from conservation to environmentalism.

Many scholars have pointed to the rise of the environmental movement and the passage of legislation such as the National Environmental Policy Act and the National Forest Management Act, and the Endangered Species Act in the 1960s and 1970s as a watershed period in the political development of public land management. Is the story is typically told, new values led to the rise of environmentalism and the passage of environmental laws. From there, we passed into the environmental era. But, this paper calls this periodization into question. It begins by asking, if we had shifted to a new environmental era after the passage of these laws, why did the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) harvest record amounts of timber in1980s, nearly two decades after the passage of these laws? I argue that, although these laws created new roles for the courts and environmental organizations, these laws did not become embedded in federal land management agencies. Instead, the conservationist institutions within the federal land management persisted for decades after the passage of environmental laws. The legislation created tools for the environmental organizations and the courts to force the agencies to change but it was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s that environmental organizations finally succeeded in forcing the Forest Service and BLM to change their core focus on timber production and harvest. Ironically, the process of doing so created such a political crisis that it diminished the power and authority of both conservationist and environmentalist institutions and created room for the rise of community-based collaboration.

"Locke, Alger, and Atomistic Individualism Fifty Years Later"
Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College

An appraisal of important questions raised by, and defects in, Louis Hartz's Liberal Tradition in America, with special emphasis on consensus history and on the kind of sense Hartz's liberal Lockeanism makes of the relationship between material conditions and beliefs. The author examines the import of changes in the U.S. economy for the Hartz thesis and considers how cultural and religious cleavages call key tenets of Hartz's secular thesis into question.

"James Madison and the Natural History of the Democratic Party"
David Brian Robertson, University of Missouri-St. Louis

The Democratic Party owes a great deal to a striking reversal by James Madison. Between 1787 and 1793, Madison turned against strong national powers, embraced states' rights and began to construct a broad, interstate political coalition that evolved into the Democratic-Republican Party. I argue that his reversal marked a tactical shift in pursuit of a consistent policy strategy. Madison was an outcome-driven politician. He consistently pursued a policy strategy of advancing the nation's international comparative advantage in agricultural commodities, a strategy that made it possible for him to promote simultaneously the national interest, Virginia's interests, and republicanism. Madison sought consistently to strengthen national powers to achieve the policy outcomes he preferred, and to weaken those national powers to pursue policies he opposed. In 1787, this strategy required a national government with stronger commercial and taxing powers. In a pivotal role in the first Congress in 1789, Madison built a centrist coalition supportive of economic nationalism, using tariffs aggressively to promote economic development driven by agriculture. Beginning in 1790, however, Treasury Alexander Hamilton proposed a policy strategy inimical to Madison's, one that would centralize capital away from the south, reduce the nation's dependence on agriculture, and expand economic development driven by urban capital, manufacturing, and the division of labor within the U.S. Madison was forced to shift to oppositional tactics, turning to strict Constitutional construction, states' rights, and ultimately party-building to resist Hamilton's agenda. Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and their allies hit upon a policy platform of market-driven economic development based on commodity exports that could unite the material interests of a large number of voters in the south, the west, and the northern hinterlands. "States' rights" would protect this majority by permitting the national party to pursue a limited national agenda and to avoid divisive issues like slavery that could fatally fracture their anti-Hamilton alliance. This formula could unite diverse, far-flung and self-governing agricultural constituencies in opposition to Hamilton's centralizing commercial pretensions without directly threatening the distinct political orders constructed in each state. Madison's tactical adjustment illuminates the way populism, markets, merit and states' rights naturally became complementary planks of the emerging Democratic-Republican platform.

"Does Inequality Determine Institutions? What Theory, History, and (Some) Data Tell Us"
Ronald Rogowski and Duncan MacRae, University of California- Los Angeles

Many scholars argue that political institutions affect economic and social inequality, while others claim that inequality affects institutions. Following most historical literature, we suggest that exogenous changes in technology, trade, or demography alter the value of factor endowments and thus change both inequality and institutions. We support this assertion with a welfare-maximizing model of endogenous institutional choice, with a series of historical case studies, and with an empirical examination of the history of franchise extension in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe.

"The Diffusion of Ideas: Why Did Norway Adopt a Liberal Economic Policy in the 19th century?"
Stian Saur, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

What can account for the liberal turn in Norwegian economic policy in the 1840s? I investigate if this can be assigned to diffusion mechanisms as opposed to more traditional interest-based arguments. The results are mixed, supporting both types of explanations.

"Contending Perspectives on Japanese and Russian History: Comparing Narratives Across Time and Space"
Rudra Sil, University of Pennsylvania

Contending historical narratives, whether produced by historians or social scientists, revolve around substantive issues that are unique to the history of a particular country or era. However, certain common points of concern surface when the relationships between different strands of historical scholarship are compared across areas. Such points of concern not only suggest markers through which contemporary historians locate their contributions within existing research, but also speak to broader theoretical and methodological issues in such fields as comparative politics and historical sociology. Situating and comparing historical scholarship across areas according to a generalized template is a valuable strategy for bringing compartmentalized groups of historians and area specialists into dialogue with one another, while also making their debates intelligible in terms of general disciplinary concepts and theories. For the comparativist, this also represents a new strategy not only for constructing fresh interpretations of cases, but also for fending off charges that these interpretations are marked by inattentiveness to historical controversies and selective use of convenient narratives. This paper identifies and compares several strands of historical research evident in Japanese and Russian studies in order to illustrate how these may be differentiated in terms of a standard set of generalized questions that reflect broader theoretical and methodological concerns in the social sciences. This is evident in differences between "universalist" and "particularist" treatments of Japanese and Russian history, each of which also evinces "positive" or "negative" images of the past insofar as these narratives have obvious normative or prescriptive implications. It is also evident in the extent to which the language employed to characterize temporal processes suggest evolutionary continuity or change punctuated by critical turning points. In addition, it is possible to compare the conditions under which revisionist modes of historiography gain ascendance, as well as the differences in the substantive indicators of "revisionism" across contexts. Albeit the coverage of historical scholarship is necessarily incomplete and selective, and although the dimensions of comparison represent but one way to explore multiple strands of historical scholarship, it is hoped that this exercise can demonstrate the utility of "structured-focused" comparisons of historical scholarship across areas.

"Core Policies of the New Deal Regime and the Reagan Revolution"
John Sloan, University of Houston

In practicing Skowronek's politics of reconstruction, presidents will formulate a core set of public policies that reflects their political philosophy and what they are most dedicated to achieving. It was obviously more difficult for the Roosevelt administration than for the Reagan administration to determine what its core policies were. The Depression was more severe than the "malaise" of the late 1970s, which meant that FDR felt compelled to launch numerous policies on multiple fronts to bring about relief, recovery, and reform. Despite obstacles, the New Deal experimented and stumbled its way toward a set of core policies that we associate with the liberal regime. The guiding light in this search for an essence was the need for security. The Depression had demonstrated that the Republican regime could not provide security for bank depositors, farmers, workers, businessmen, homeowners, and investors. My paper analyzes New Deal policies dealing with banking, agriculture, business (the National Industrial Recovery Act) and social security.

"Reframing the Right: The Republican Party's Usage of Economic Arguments, 1948-2004"
Mark Smith, University of Washington

This paper charts the evolution over the last half-century of how the Republican party has increasingly used the economy in its campaign appeals. Two dimensions are examined: agenda-setting (how prominent the economy is relative to other concerns) and framing (whether positions on specific issues are rhetorically linked to the economy). Despite embracing similar positions, the initial part of the paper shows, Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan defended them in different ways, with Reagan elevating economic matters in his agenda-setting and framing. An analysis of the party's platforms from 1948-2000 shows that the rhetorical differences between Goldwater and Reagan were representative of the party's approach in their respective eras. The analysis then turns to Republican governors' state-of-the-state speeches, with the sample chosen to include similarly matched years of both strong and weak economic performance. During the period under study the governors greatly increased the use of the economy in their agenda-setting and framing, a finding that applies to both the strong and the weak years.

"Achieving Improved Judicial Performance in Latin America: The Interplay Between Civil Society and Political Elites in Judicial Reform"
Joseph Staats

In this paper I theorize that improved judicial performance in Latin America will come about only when political elites calculate that their interests will be served by improving the operation of court systems. I hypothesize that political competition is an important determinant in convincing these elites to institute judicial reform, both by giving elites, through effective and politically independent courts, protection of their rights when they are out of power, and in terms of soliciting electoral support from groups in society who themselves have interests that will be served by improved courts. I also hypothesize that the operation of political competition on judicial performance will have greater effect when coupled with an extended history of democracy, the assumption being that political elites will be reluctant to use courts to protect future rights if the continuance of democracy is in doubt. Using a measure of judicial performance developed from a survey of attorneys and law professors in 17 Latin America countries, as well as indicators of political competition and history of democracy developed by others, I find strong correlation between judicial performance and political competition, and that this relationship is even stronger when consideration is given to the interaction effects of political competition and history of democracy.

"The Length and Sequence of Lawmaking"
Andrew Taylor, North Carolina State University

I apply models of lawmaking to bill-level data from 1947 to 2002 and examine whether they can explain the largely neglected subjects of the length and inter-cameral sequencing of bill passage. I provide some evidence that pivotal member and homogeneity of preferences models help explain the length of lawmaking and that inter-cameral interaction can help explain its sequence. More critically, hypotheses derived from partisan models of congressional behavior and organization are frequently corroborated whereas those derived from "partyless" or informational, gains-from-exchange, and median member models are not. I also test and vindicate a new model of lawmaking, one that emphasizes inter-cameral coordination between majority parties during divided government. Among secondary findings is the discovery that increased workloads lengthen the lawmaking process.

"The Guizot Dilemma: The Politics of Standardizing Education in France, 1808-1889"
Nick Toloudis, Columbia University

Social scientists from Max Weber to James Scott have thematized the means by which nation states standardize the peoples and practices within their boundaries. Yet, the political processes that create, shape, and deploy these tools are a road less traveled. This paper examines the development of one such tool: the public education system. I argue for the significance of two causal mechanisms and their interaction to understand the process of standardizing education: secularization/desecularization and parliamentarization/deparliamentarization of political conflict. Using France as my case study, I use primary data on the evolution of the primary and secondary school systems to pinpoint critical junctures in their development. This data consists of information on state financing of education, the growth of schools, the number of teachers, and the spread of normal schools for teacher training. The beginning and end of my period are dictated, respectively, by the state's bureaucratization of the education apparatus and the legal, if not *de facto*, separation of Church and state. After pinpointing the critical junctures within this period, I examine the position of the school system in the political debates that were transpiring during the critical junctures. The period immediately following the Guizot Law of 1833, which regulated primary education, serves as a model for most of the 19th century: periods of flux in standardizing education correspond closely to changes in the saliency and stakes of political battles between church and state and the extent to which representative institutions were sites of legitimate, influential decision-making. I show that the politics of standardizing schooling were embedded in these other political conflicts. This paper thus makes two contributions: it provides the beginning of a portable model for measuring the standardization of education and examining the politics that define it, and it also shows how the long, uneven process of standardizing schooling in France was the product of battles not only between church and state but also over the proper position of public education in a liberalizing, increasingly mass-oriented democracy.

"Between Two Worlds: Immigration and Citizenship Policy and Politics in Canada and West Germany after World War II"
Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, New School for Social Research

This paper examines developments in immigration and citizenship policymaking and politics in Canada and West Germany in the immediate post-WWII era. I argue that key events related to the war and its aftermath led to a reappraisal of prewar attitudes toward race and ethnicity both internationally and within the respective countries. I also demonstrate that this reappraisal was limited by the continuing influence of prewar policy regimes. In line with a key postulate of historical institutionalist theory, policymakers in Canada and West Germany reached back to earlier solutions to the migration-membership dilemma when confronted with the challenge of resuming mass migration to meet postwar labor market needs. Although

the most egregiously discriminatory elements of past practices were pruned and offensive language in statutes modified, postwar solutions bore an uncanny resemblance to those enacted in the early twentieth century. Thus, Canada sought to facilitate mass migration while simultaneously endeavoring to limit entry as much as possible to whites, while West Germany resumed temporary labor recruitment and restored its descent-based citizenship regime, effectively shutting the door to national membership for foreign "guest workers" and their descendants. Critics of postwar policies took advantage of changed normative conditions to frame their protests. Canada and West Germany's commitment to ascendant liberal democratic principles put policymakers in an awkward position when confronted with evidence of hypocritical conduct. The discrediting of integral nationalism and scientific racism and rise of human rights granted reformers a powerful discursive grammar with which they could phrase challenges. Thus, while the period was marked by evasion and a good deal of policy continuity, it also gave rise to reform initiatives that would ultimately advance very different answers to the migration-membership dilemma. As such, it truly stood between two worlds.

"Explaining US Welfare State Mobilization in a Comparative Historical Context"
Benjamin Veghte, Universität Bremen

Power resources theory leads us to expect the working and lower classes to carry the battle over distribution beyond the sphere of industrial relations into the (welfare) state sphere. Moreover, most political theory (e.g. of rational choice and of interest-group and voting behavior) and welfare-state theory classically proceeds from the assumption that individual and group actors will act politically in line with their material interest. Finally, in policy research on democratic systems, public opinion is often assumed to translate into public policy. In each of these research paradigms, a theoretical enigma is constituted by the fact that the working and lower classes in the US have not mobilized politically for a redistributive welfare state. Working-class mobilization has been neither the sole nor a necessary factor for welfare state formation in advanced industrial countries, yet in all others the working classes did mobilize for a welfare state (independent of their degrees of success), and hence the question of the failure of the US working classes to do so calls for explanation. This paper first empirically scrutinizes and partially rejects the prevailing explanation, dating from Sombart, that favorable historical circumstances rendered working-class mobilization for a redistributive welfare state unnecessary in the United States. It then weighs historical-sociological, political-cultural and state-structural explanations of workers' failure to mobilize politically for a redistributive welfare state in the US. It finds that working-class consciousness did not develop strongly in the US, both because individual, ethnic and religious identities were most often stronger than class identities (and elites were effective at manipulating these identity-based divisions), and because class identities per se were antithetical to US political culture. Moreover, not only was working-class consciousness weak; attempts at political engagement for redistributive goals were impeded both by the historical-sociological lack of other motivating collective identities (nationhood), and by formidable institutional hurdles such as the peculiar US franchise (district-based, majoritarian, racially discriminatory and plutocratic) and the lack of an addressable state (late, decentralized, fragmented and patronage-based). For these reasons, US workers only rarely and weakly fought for social citizenship rights or redistribution, and when they did, lacked the strength to overcome these mobilization hurdles. Instead, they supported non-redistributive elite policies aimed at the welfare goals of securing individual economic opportunity (through low taxes, minimal labor and environmental regulation and aggressive foreign economic policy), individual self-sufficiency (through high commodification of benefits and low benefit levels in non-contributory schemes), decent living standards for the 'deserving' poor (through homesteads, disability, Aid to Dependent Children, EITC, Social Security and Medicare), and rewards for service to the state (through the warrior welfare state and ADC). The paper concludes by calling for more attempts at complex causal explanation, and for giving more weight in particular to the social bases and political-cultural framework of institutional development.

"Women's Rights or Religious Rights? Religion, Law and the Historical Construction of Gender Inequality in India"
Rina Williams, University of Houston

This article examines the controversy over reforming Islamic law in India in the 1980s. The issue could have been defined in multiple ways: as an issue of religious freedom; minority rights and multiculturalism; nationalism; or women's rights. Different groups defined the issue according to their political interests, and the power to shape legal reform lay to a significant extent in the ability to define the issue and thus, the terms of the debate. In the 1980s, both opponents and supporters defined the reform of Islamic law primarily in terms of religious identity and minority rights, rather than in terms of gender rights, and this definition was legitimized by the government. Because the reforms were not defined primarily as an issue of gender rights, the legislation passed by the government as the outcome of the controversy has been of dubious benefit to Indian Muslim women.

"The Whole "Poole-Rosenthal Scores" Thing: A Primer for APD"
Jim Wiseman, Phil Everson, and Richard Valelly

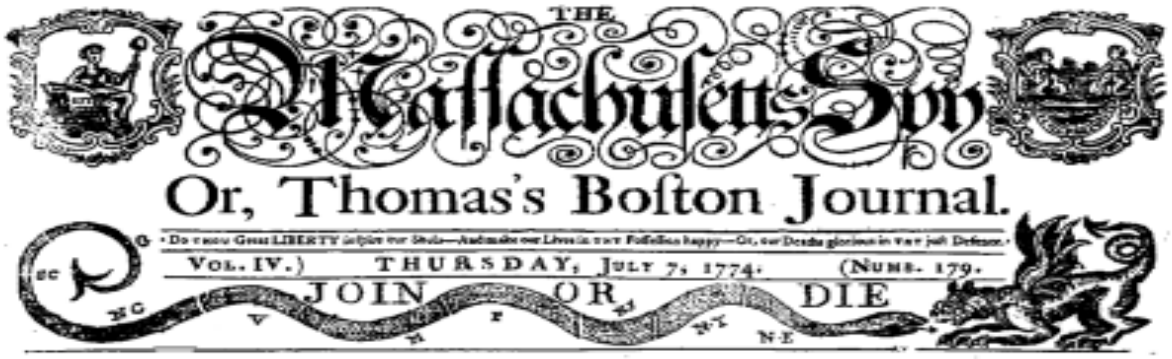
The spatial mapping of American political evolution that Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal have accomplished over the past decade and more is of enormous significance to the subfield of American Political Development (APD). But the mathematical complexity of the procedure which Poole and Rosenthal devised for classification of congressional roll call has hindered APD (and undoubtedly other) scholars from fully appreciating the full significance of what Poole and Rosenthal have accomplished. No straightforward explanation that is at once accessible, intuitive, and fairly rigorous is currently available. This paper seeks to fill that gap.

"Occupation Politics: American Interests and the Struggle over Health Insurance in Postwar Japan"
Takakazu Yamagishi, Johns Hopkins University

Abstract: As events in Iraq and Afghanistan illustrate, occupations confront both opportunities and obstacles in their pursuit of democratic nation-building. Military conquest would appear to be a promising moment for the wholesale transformation of political, social, and economic institutions. As occupations wear on, however, obstacles to nation-building become more apparent. This paper contributes to discussion about what conditions constrain the reforms in concurred nation. Previous studies have focused on how the broader geopolitical context, prewar economic and political legacies of the concurred nation, or the administrative structures of occupation authorities impact postwar reconstruction. Although these are important factors, I focus on an additional source of constraint: the interplay of domestic political forces within the occupying nation. As a case study of occupation politics, this paper examines the impact of domestic U.S. interest groups on the American occupation of Japan after World War II. I find significant evidence of U.S. interest group activity in health policy during the occupation of Japan. At war's end, U.S. officials envisioned a comprehensive reform that would bring together Japan's patchwork system of public health insurance into a single national program. Although the plan received support from key Japanese interests and health policy experts, efforts to promote universal health insurance stumbled because of opposition back home in the United States. Ultimately, domestic U.S. opposition to occupation policies helped foreclose a comprehensive reform of the Japanese health insurance system. Although this paper is broadly instructive about the political constraints on occupation, I am also motivated by a keen interest in the two countries studied here: Japan and the United States. Scholars of Japanese health care and Japanese social policy more generally have noted the patchwork quality of the system: a complex mix of public insurance programs that affords universal coverage yet defies easy categorization or comparison with other industrialized nations. In the case of the United States, scholars routinely note the conspicuous absence of national health insurance yet continue to debate which factors left the United States alone among industrialized countries without a guarantee of universal access to health care. In the conclusion, this suggests how the occupation struggle shed light on the distinctive politics of health policy in both countries.

"The Multiple Contexts of Interest Group Development"
McGee Young, Marquett University

The Glen Canyon Dam stands two miles from Page, Arizona and keeps approximately 24.3 million acre feet of the Colorado River in storage, trapped between the ancient sandstone walls of the canyon and nearly five million cubic yards of concrete. At the foot of the dam the spillways release precious water for the remainder of the river's trip through the Grand Canyon and on to Lake Mead. Behind the dam lies placid Lake Powell, named for explorer John Wesley Powell, which in its immensity boasts more shoreline than that of the Pacific coasts of California, Oregon, and Washington combined. Submerged beneath the lake used to be one of the most remarkable natural canyon formations in the world, celebrated by American Indians and marveled at by early explorers, until the Sierra Club countenanced its destruction. The story of the authorization of Glen Canyon Dam construction in the mid-1950s reveals the complicated development of environmental interest group politics that emerged in subsequent decades. Specifically, it demonstrates that even leading organizations like the Sierra Club did not readily identify with the cause of environmental protection. Instead, strong institutional ties and ideational uncertainty led Sierra Club leaders to equivocate on Glen Canyon and caused former Sierra Club Executive Director David Brower to spend the rest of his life lamenting his responsibility for what he called Glen Canyon's "death." While theories of interest group organization abound, few scholars have considered how to characterize interest group change. Identity shifts and recasting of organizational goals present a particularly thorny challenge to interest group scholars who utilize conventional incentive-based frameworks to explain interest group behavior. This paper examines interest group development in a broader political context and develops a conceptual framework that captures the dynamic processes associated with organizational change. It then turns its attention to the Sierra Club in the 1950s and demonstrates that multiple and overlapping interests within the organization led to its awkward and halting transformation from a small hiking club to a modern environmental lobby. Moreover, this case illustrates the importance of new policies for the development of new politics. The interest group politics that emerged around the issue of environmentalism in subsequent decades can be traced to new types of policies introduced in the 1950s.



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Thomas M. Keck. 2004. *The Most Activist Supreme Court in History: The Road to Modern Judicial Conservatism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

When conservatives took control of the federal judiciary in the 1980s, it was widely assumed that they would reverse the landmark rights-protecting precedents set by the Warren Court and replace them with a broad commitment to judicial restraint. Instead, the Supreme Court under Chief Justice William Rehnquist has reaffirmed most of those liberal decisions while also creating its own brand of conservative judicial activism. Ranging from 1937 to the present, *The Most Activist Supreme Court in History* traces the legal and political forces that have shaped the modern Court. Thomas M. Keck argues that the tensions within modern conservatism have produced a Court that exercises its own power quite actively, on behalf of both liberal and conservative ends.

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Michael J. Korzi. 2004. A Seat of Popular Leadership: The Presidency, Political Parties, and Democratic Government. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

A study of the relationship between presidential leadership and public opinion, this book challenges the commonly held view that the American presidency did not become a truly "popular" institution until the early twentieth century. The democratization of the presidency can be traced back to the antebellum period, when broadly based political parties first emerged. With the development of nominating conventions, party platforms, and party patronage, presidents became bound up in a system of collective leadership anchored in the political party and beholden to a diverse and decentralized, but clearly powerful, public. Presidents were expected to act as partisans, cooperating with their fellow party members in the legislature to make good on the party's promises and to ensure victory at the polls. After the Civil War, this party-based model of presidential leadership gradually gave way to a new paradigm—the modern "rhetorical" presidency—marked by the establishment of a more direct relationship between the president and the people. The result was an institution at once more responsive to the vicissitudes of public opinion and less constrained by the obligations of partisan politics.

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Stephen Pimpare. 2004. *The New Victorians: Poverty, Politics, and Propaganda in Two Gilded Ages*. New York: New Press.

Pimpare analyzes parallels between the anti-welfare propagandists of the nineteenth century and the elite actors and well-funded policy research organizations of today. He shows how the New Victorians of today often invoke the rhetoric of their predecessors while ignoring the failure of nineteenth-century reforms. *The New Victorians* goes on to uncover the elite and grassroots resistance in the Gilded Age that paved the way for the counter-reforms of the Progressive Era, revealing urgent lessons toward renewing support for broader state defense of the poor today.

- from the publisher's description

Matthew Holden, Jr., ed. 2004. *What Answer?: Speech in Support of Franchise Committee Report, Mississippi Constitutional Convention, 1890.* Charlottesville, VA: Isaiah T. Montgomery Project, Inc.

Isaiah T. Montgomery (1847-1924) the co-founder of Mound Bayou, in Bolivar County, was one of the most important figures in Mississippi political history. He was the sole black person elected delegate to the Mississippi Constitutional Convention of 1890. He endorsed the Constitution that was designed to guarantee white political control. His speech, one of the most remarkable in the history of the state, has been rescued from obscurity and republished. Montgomery's speech justifying and explaining his position has long been virtually lost. It was published in a New York newspaper in 1890 and, possibly in one or two other papers. Matthew Holden, Jr., a native Mound Bayouian, and his spouse, Dorothy H. Holden, have discovered and republished this speech in *What Answer?:* The Holdens feel that both Montgomery's life, and Mound Bayou itself, provide important examples of African American survival initiatives in the harsh conditions when Reconstruction was ending. The Holdens seek to recognize and respect such African American survival initiatives, to discover their successes and failures, and to focus on lessons of renewal under the different conditions of the 21st century. The Project is particularly oriented to people, both lay persons and scholars, who are interested in Mississippi in particular, in African American studies, in state and local history and its relationship to broader social issues, and Southern studies. The Project is also particularly aimed at material that could be used for K-12 education, for community leadership discussion groups, aand material that might make a contribution to further scholarship. In the next two years (2005-2006), "What Answer?" will be followed by documentation related to Montgomery, a study of Montgomery's residence, a study of Montgomery's supporters, respectful critics, and adversaries, and how far the Montgomery legacy applies to present day economic and social success and failure. Post Office Box 5623, Barracks Road Station, Charlottesville, VA 22905, USA.

Sandra Halperin. 2004. *War and Social Change in Modern Europe: The Great Transformation Revisited.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Recent years have seen a remarkable resurgence of interest in Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* (1944), a powerful account of the rise and demise of Europe's nineteenth century market system. This book argues that Polanyi's analysis is, in important ways, inaccurate and misleading. The book traces the persistence of traditional class structures during the development of industrial capitalism in Europe, and the way in which these structures shaped states and state behaviour and generated conflict; documents European conflicts between 1789 and 1914; links these conflicts to structures characteristic of industrial capitalist development in Europe before 1945; and shows how and why they both culminated in the world wars and brought about a 'great transformation' in Europe. In revisiting this historical terrain, the book illuminates aspects of European industrial capitalist development that challenge the theoretical utility and empirical accuracy, not only of Polanyi's analysis, but of conventional theories of nationalism, development, conflict, international systems change, and globalisation.

Contents: Preface* 1. Conflict And Change In World Politics * 2. The First Transformation: social forces in the rise of Europe's Nineteenth Century Market System * 3. Europe's Nineteenth Century Industrial Expansion: a 'bottom up' perspective * 4. Europe's Century of War, 1815-1914 * 5. World War I and the Post-War Retrenchment * 6. The Polarization of European Society, 1918-39 * 7. The Politics of Appeasement and Counter- Revolution: International Relations in Europe Between the Wars * 8. The Post-World War II Order * 9. The Great Transformation and the Eternal Return: 'globalization' reconsidered

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From the President (continued from front cover)

Amazing, but NOT beloved to the workers who struggled to earn a secure living on the rails or shop floors, or to the farmers with few transportation or warehousing choices, forced to pay "whatever the traffic would bear." Thus emerged the demands for regulation, first at the state level, then (as much of that state effort was foreclosed by the courts) in Congress. In 1877 came both the first great, snowballing national rail strike and Munn v. Illinois. Workers and farmers poured into politics, formed social movements with national linkages. Fight after fight, the national regulatory state grew. It turned first to regulation of transportation, then monopoly generally. Later came the surge of progressive era regulation of most of the major components of the national economy, with the outliers brought into the national regulatory net, along with agricultural production and marketing, under the New Deal.

The social welfare state also grew as a result of pressure from below, and was managed first by the states, with few exceptions (like veterans pensions). The New Deal finally nationalized welfare and labor policy (which is both regulatory and social). New spurts of state expansion required new political coalitions coming to power. Social welfare was expanded in the '30s, even as the regulatory net was cast wider and anchored in bureaucracies. The coalitions that supported the first two (regulatory and welfare) states had different centers of gravity —one southern-plains-western, the other northern and urban. But they made common cause, albeit uncomfortably, and log-rolled an expanded state. Action shifted, not AWAY from Congress (where it had lain when the regulatory state was constructed), but TOWARD the executive branch. Many social policy initiatives began in Congress, only to be taken up, and moderated, by the executive. As in regulatory policy, the courts had veto power, and their constructions had to be accommodated; further, UNLIKE regulatory policy, some social policy initiatives BEGAN in the courts. When Congress and the president were too timid to act, the courts were willing, beginning in the early 1930s, to move in a piecemeal but very important campaign to push back the iron fence of segregation.

We know a lot about these two states, the central issues they posed for democratic theory, who the major actors (individual and collective) were, the chains of action and reaction through which Congress, the executive, and the courts built these new states.

But what about the THIRD state, the national security state that emerged after World War II? With a few exceptions, APD has left the construction of this huge and increasingly problematic state to the historians and to international relations and foreign policy scholars who look at history not so much in a developmental or institutional way, but as the outgrowth of the decisions of small groups of executive branch actors in a world of unitary rational actors fueled by power-seeking and threat-perceiving considerations. Not much room here for the messy interactions we dealt with in regulatory and social policy. In the national security state, we are in the realm of grand chess games in which there may or may not be an invisible hand of rational power calculation—it MAY all be conceived and constructed in the heads of a few actors on the world stage—but it surely is a different ball game from the first two stages of state expansion.

There is periodization here, but it is less dynamic. There is the pre-World War II state only fitfully involved with the rest of the world (or so the story goes); World War II and the Cold War period; and the only recently begun POST-Cold War period, which may consist of a short (and, in retrospect, sweet!) interlude in the 1990s before a NEW Cold War with a different enemy emerged. But this time the US is an undisputed hegemon.

The American presidency thrives on threat and fear, and does what it can to magnify them. If I am right about the pathological tendencies of the institution, the presidency is going to assure us an ongoing war with somebody. Only the identities will change. This institution, unprecedented in the democratic world (and its imperial capacity unprecedented in world history) has the power to create the very danger it warns us about. By acting as if the world is a very dangerous place beset with enemies, and its problems only amenable to military solutions, it exacerbates the very fear and rage that makes the world so dangerous….and executive power so indispensable.

I think it's time APD turned more attention to the national security state. After all, it's the only game in town now and for the conceivable future; the other two are in retreat, vanishing before our eyes. And this third state has VERY big consequences. Without the long-term institutional, political economy, cultural, and social group perspectives that APD offers, Americans will be even more inclined to ignorance about their history, to perceive that history

From the President, continued from preceding page

as irrelevant to the present, to think every political transition leads to a new world, new ideas and conflicts we've never dealt with before. And that a-historicity, I suspect, encourages us to hand over more and more authority to our Commander-in-Chief.

Those of us who lived through the 1960s were shocked to see Congress—even Vietnam vets like John Kerry— once again pass a Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. And then came a new McCarthyism, a new version of the Communist Control Act, new attention to surveillance and covert action, and a newly imperial president, determined to hang tough, prodded by a nest of ideologues. And a revived national security industry churning out new products, this time home protective devices, airport screening systems, strategic missile defense weapons, and the tools and techniques of occupation. Been there, done that. But where were APD voices when all this was happening?

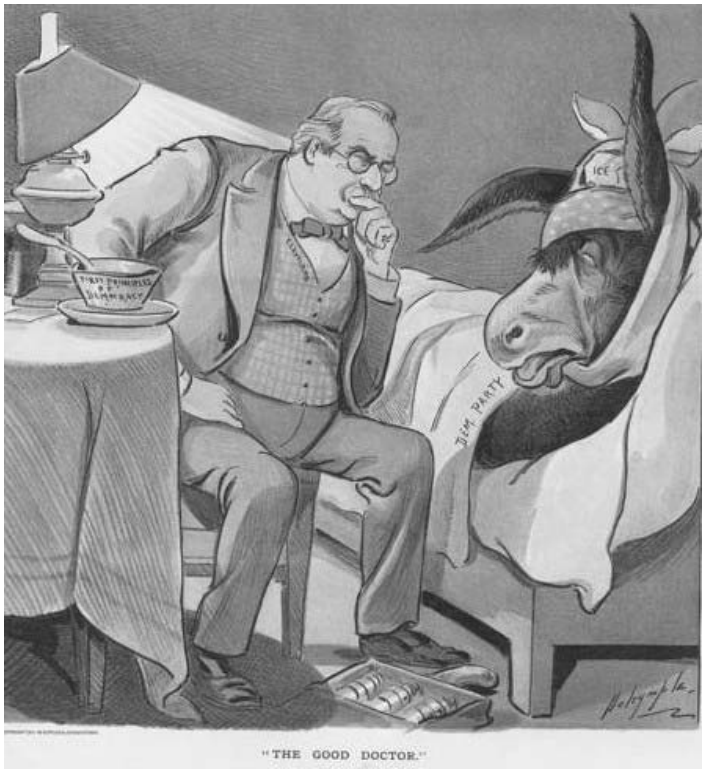
Some are out there, to be sure—enough to compose a sizeable syllabus component. For example, Andrew Grossman has written about the construction of a decentralized and privatized "homeland security" state in the 1950s. Amy Zegart, who wrote about the flawed beginning of the CIA, DOD, and NSA is now writing about intelligence failures and intelligence reform, joined by other IR scholars like Douglas A. Stuart and Aaron L. Friedberg. Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter, Bat Sparrow, and Theda Skocpol have examined the impact of international engagement on domestic groups and processes. William Keller has written about the conundrum of liberals in cold war politics (shades of John Kerry, Tom Daschle, Joe Lieberman, and the others); Keller also writes about the more recent growth of foreign military sales that kept defense production lines open, even while contributing immensely to global insecurity. Daniel Wirls's book on cold war militarism (and the partisan benefits it conferred), and Bruce Miroff's work on the bellicose presidency have many lessons for the current period. Gregory Hooks's work on the intertwined DOD-defense industry partnership is ripe for updating, as is Seymour Melman's contribution to the economics (and social costs) of the warfare state. The work of Peter Singer on the privatized military industry (and its consequences) begins to fill a void we APDers have largely ignored. We focus mostly on the creation and expansion of the state, not its contraction through deregulation, devolution, and privatization.

APD work is much more likely to be of a "qualitative" nature than to produce statistical fodder for the APSR; and so our leading journal may pay little attention to a new surge of APD studies dealing with the emergence, institutions, values, and implications for democratic theory of an expanded national security state. However, at the aggregate level, there are IR scholars whose search for the domestic causes of US military interventions (Benjamin Fordham is especially relevant here) might be married to a more institutional and developmental analysis of foreign policy decision-making.

The enormous contribution of American historians to our understanding of the first (Cold War) security state is not likely to be matched by a discipline that is steadfastly avoiding anything that smacks of powerful white men. But historians of other regions have much to offer, since they are acutely conscious of the impact of US foreign policy on the development of the nations they study and can take advantage of newly declassified documents to delineate that interaction. A good case in point is Latin American historian Peter Kornbluh's *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*, which raised so much controversy at the still fervently Kissingerian Council on Foreign Relations that Kornbluh had to resign his position there.

To supplement the work of international relations scholars we have a mountain of detailed historical description by investigative journalists and former public servants whose work can be mined. They have filled a vacuum that American politics scholars, finding accounts of foreign policy muck-ups unsuitable to our dignity and methodological standards (data hard to get, generalization difficult), have been loathe to enter. If the investigative journalists are careful and reliable with no obvious axes to grind (I am thinking here of Seymour Hersh, James Bamford, and James Mann, for example), there is no reason keep this work off the APD syllabus, since it fills important niches…and provides a lively addition to a sometimes dry and foreboding segment of the syllabus.

Foreboding or not, the national security state demands and deserves our attention. As President Kennedy said so succinctly (and he should know): domestic policy can hurt us; foreign policy can kill us. And he didn't just mean politically.



"THE GOOD DOCTOR."

Former President
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visits the ailing Democratic Party
after the 1901 election,
in which the Republican
presidential candidate defeated
the Democrat, 51.7% to 45.5%

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