Clio

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From the President

Reconnecting Theory and History: Or Moving Beyond Fordist Political Science

Victoria Hattam,
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The Politics and History section at APSA has been a vibrant intellectual space in which cross fertilizations have been dense and numerous. Yet, there is a striking absence in our midst: theorists are rarely to be found. To be sure Anne Norton has been a past president of the section, but few theorists venture to our business meetings, and even more surprising, few if any theorists ever sit on Politics and History panels. As president of the section this year, I have made a point of fostering connections between theory and history. I have recruited theorists to each of the award committees and put together a panel bringing political theorists and Americanists together. I am delighted that Anne Norton, Jason Frank, George Shulman, Lawrie Balfour, Kitty Holland, and Alyson Cole all have agreed to participate in section activities at the 2007 meetings.

In this Issue

The theory-empirical split is a deep and enduring one in political science; it was forged at least fifty years ago with the détente established between theorists and behavioralists in the early sixties. Benjamin Barber, David Kettler, and Emily Hauptmann have recently published elegant accounts of the divide detailing the struggle and compromise between behavioralist on the one hand and Strauss and Wolin on the other.[1] To be sure, theorists were by no means united; Strauss and Wolin attacked each other as much as they did the behavioralists. Both nevertheless wanted to distinguish "Theory" with a capital T from

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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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The Carl Albert Center's Visiting Scholars Program

The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center at the University of Oklahoma seeks applicants for its Visiting Scholars Program, which provides financial assistance to researchers working at the Center's archives. While no fixed amount is specified, research grants range up to $1000. There is a $500 limit for graduate students. The Center's holdings include the papers of many former members of Congress, such as Robert S. Kerr, Fred Harris, and Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma; Helen Gahagan Douglas and Jeffery Cohelan of California; Sidney Clarke of Kansas; and Neil Gallagher of New Jersey. Besides the history of Congress, congressional leadership, national and Oklahoma politics, and election campaigns, the collections also document government policy affecting agriculture, Native Americans, energy, foreign affairs, the environment, the economy, and other areas. Topics that can be studied include the Great Depression, flood control, soil conservation, and tribal affairs. At least one collection provides insight on women in American politics. Most materials date from the 1920s to the 1970s, although there is one nineteenth century collection. The Center's collections are described on the World Wide Web at http://www.ou.edu/special/albertctr/archives/ and in the publication titled *A Guide to the Carl Albert Center Congressional Archives* (Norman, Okla.: The Carl Albert Center, 1995) by Judy Day, et al., available at many U. S. academic libraries. Additional information can be obtained from the Center. The Visiting Scholars Program is open to any applicant. Emphasis is given to those pursuing postdoctoral research in history, political science, and other fields. Graduate students involved in research for publication, thesis, or dissertation are encouraged to apply. Interested undergraduates and lay researchers are also invited to apply. The Center evaluates each research proposal based upon its merits, and funding for a variety of topics is expected. No standardized form is needed for application. Instead, a series of documents should be sent to the Center, including: (1) a description of the research proposal in fewer than 1000 words; (2) a personal vita; (3) an explanation of how the Center's resources will assist the researcher; (4) a budget proposal; and (5) a letter of reference from an established scholar in the discipline attesting to the significance of the research. Applications are accepted at any time. For more information, please contact Archivist, Carl Albert Center, 630 Parrington Oval, Room 101, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019. Telephone: (405) 325-5835. FAX: (405) 325-6419. E-mail: channeman@ou.edu.

Reflections on the Rise of the Unitary Presidency: Why Now?

Richard Valelly, Swarthmore College

Recently, President Bush issued a remarkable signing statement in connection with his signature on an obscure Postal Service bill. The President announced that the United States is free to search first-class mail in "exigent circumstances" including anything connected to "foreign intelligence collection." This statement was only the latest instance of a much intensified use by the Bush Administration of the signing statement to retroactively and unilaterally tailor the construction of a statute to executive – often national security — purposes.

The Administration has indeed been peopled with lawyers, such as John Yoo and David Addington, who take unusually aggressive stances on the meaning of Article II. They hold that Article II authorizes literally anything that has the color of executive action and that can be related to any forceful and reasonable construction of executive power intended to frame a national purpose and to carry it out, whatever the extant statutory or judicial understanding that might affect the action.

One source notes that presidents issued 75 signing statements between 1817 and 1981. From 1981 to 2001 there were 322. In President Bush's first term alone, he issued 435. Of these, 95, or about 22%, used the term "unitary executive."[1]

Why is this happening now? To whom or what should we turn to make sense out of this increasingly frequent action?

My answer: Steve Skowronek and his project on presidential politics. I wrote a piece for the Chronicle of Higher Education in Fall, 2003 in which I characterized the surprisingly *predictive* character of Skowronek's theory.[2] Think of this essay as a follow-on to that Chronicle piece. I argue here that Skowronek's theory contains a predictive element that I did not see in Fall, 2003 and that illuminates why we are seeing the unitary presidency now, indeed why we are likely to see more of it.

In his book, The Politics Presidents Make, Skowronek suggested that "institutional thickening" (by which he meant the legacy of agencies, programs, and organized interests left by previous reconstructive presidents and regimes) would inexorably blunt what presidents could do. Thomas Jefferson could double the size of the country with the Louisiana Purchase. But by Reagan's presidency, institutional thickening would make it much harder for presidential actions to launch a new era in public philosophy.

As Skowronek put it, *political time* was speeding up. Skowronek anticipated enormous pressures for presidents to escape political time – at some point. Someone would, soon, find it impossible to be president in one of (the four) recurring and remarkably persistent ways identified by Skowronek's theory. S/he would instead begin to be president in fresh and hopefully valuable ways.

Initially these two claims seemed quite persuasive — that "political time" was folding in on itself, as it were, due to institutional thickening, and that American presidential politics were on the brink of unanticipated types of leadership. When the book appeared, President George H.W. Bush was a particularly weak version of his presidential type. Relatedly, Clinton initially seemed both activist and unwedded to Democratic orthodoxies.

But the vigor and scope of George W. Bush's performance have eclipsed the suggestion of a break toward something new which Skowronek's theory emphasizes. George W. Bush's presidency

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Member Awards

Suzanne B. Mettler, Syracuse University, was the co-winner of the The American Political Science Association's Gladys M. Kammerer Award, given for the best political science publication in 2005 in the field of U.S. national policy. Professor Mettler won the award for her book, *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation* (Oxford University Press).

Jennifer Hochschild, Princeton University, received the 2006 Heinz I. Eulau Award For the best article published in the Perspectives on Politics during the previous calendar year. She received the award for "Editor's Notes."

Robert Mickey, University of Michigan, received the E.E. Schattschneider Award for the best dissertation in the field of American Politics. Professor Mickey completed his dissertation, "Paths Out of Dixie: The Decay of Authoritarian Enclaves in America's Deep South, 1944-1972," at Harvard University, where Theda Skocpol chaired the dissertation.

Justin Wert, University of Oklahoma, received the APSA's **Edwin S. Corwin Award for the** best dissertation completed in the field of public law. Professor Wert completed **his dissertation,** "The Not-So-Great Writ: Habeas Corpus and American Political Development" at the University of Pennsylvania, where Rogers M. Smith, chaired the dissertation.

The Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations section awarded the Martha Derthick Best Book Award to **Martha Derthick** for *New Towns, In Town: Why a Federal Program Failed* (Urban Institute, 1972) . The Derthick award is presented to the author of a book published at least 10 years ago that has made a lasting contribution to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations.

The Law and Courts section presented its Teaching and Mentoring Award to **Ronald Kahn**, Oberlin College. The award recognizes innovative teaching and instructional methods and materials in law and courts. The Award is supported by a contribution from the Division for Public Education of the American Bar Association.

The Political Organizations and Parties section presented its Emerging Scholar Award to **Andrea Campbell**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The award is presented to a scholar who has received his or her Ph.D. within the last seven years and whose career to date demonstrates unusual promise.

The Political Organizations and Parties section presented its Party Politics Award to **Hans Noel**, Princeton University for "Ideology, Party, and the Creation of the Anti-Slavery Coalition." This award honors the best paper presented on a POP panel at the preceding APSA Annual Meeting. The award recipient is offered the opportunity to publish the paper in *Party Politics.*

The Representation and Electoral Systems section presented the Lawrence Longley Award to **Samuel Kernell**, University of California-San Diego, for his co-authored article, "Manufactured Responsiveness: The Impact of State Electoral Laws on the Unified Party Control of the Presidency and House of Representatives, 1840–1940," in the *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 531–49. The Longley Award is given for the best article published in the previous year. Erik J. Engstrom co-authored the piece with Professor Kernell.

The Presidency Research section presented the Richard E. Neustadt Award to **Mark A. Peterson**, University of California, Los Angeles and his coauthor, Joel D. Aberbach, for *The Executive Branch* (Oxford University Press, 2005). The Neustadt Award is given for the best book and the best reference book published during the year that contributed to research and scholarship in the field of American presidency.

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Member Awards, continued from *preceding page*

The Urban Politics section presented its Best Book Award for the best book in urban politics for 2005 to **Richardson Dilworth,** Drexel University for *Urban Origins of Suburban Autonomy* (Harvard, 2005)

Dorothy Shipps, Teachers College, Columbia University, received the Urban Politics section's Best Paper Award for the best paper given at an Urban Politics Section panel at the previous year's APSA Annual Meeting. Professor Shipps received the award for "'Sticky' School Reform: A Path Dependent Argument about Corporate Influence and Union Weakness in 20th Century Chicago"

Elisabeth Ellis, Texas A&M University, was the co-recipient of the Foundations of Political Theory section's First Book Award. The award is given for a first book by a scholar in the "early stages of his or her career" in the area of political theory or political philosophy. Professor Ellis received the award for *Kant's Politics: Provisional Theory for an Uncertain World* (Yale University Press, 2005)

Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University, was the co-recipient of the Race, Ethnicity and Politics section's Best Book Award for *Shaping Race Policy: The United States in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton University Press, 2005). The Best Book Award is given for the best book in the field of race, ethnicity, and politics.

Naomi Murakawa, Yale University, was the co-recipient of the Race, Ethnicity and and Politics Best Dissertation Award for the for the best American doctoral dissertation on race,ethnicity, and politics accepted in the previous year.

Christopher Allen, University of Georgia, received the *Excellence in Teaching Award.*

Eileen Botting, University of Notre Dame, received the *Thomas P. Madden Award* for outstanding teaching of freshmen

Andrew Polsky, Hunter College, received the TIAA-CREF/Hunter College Outstanding Faculty Lecturer award.

Sean Theriault, University of Texas at Austin, received the *President's Associates Teaching Excellence Award.*

The 2006 Mary Parker Follett Award
for the best article or chapter on Politics and History

To ***David Brian Robertson,***
University of Missouri -St Louis

for "Madison's Opponents and Constitutional Design," in *American Political Science Review*, *99:2* (May 2005): 225-243

(***Peter Swenson****, chair of the 2006 Follett Award Committee, read these comments in presenting the award.* ***Gretchen Ritter*** *and* ***Adam Sheingate*** *also served on the Follett Award committee*).

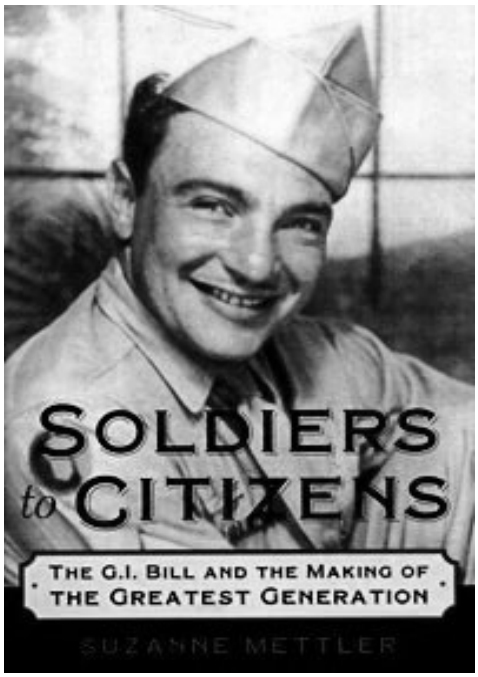
Speaking for myself and my fellow prize committee members Gretchen Ritter and Adam Sheingate, it is an honor to award this year's Mary Parker Follett prize to David Brian Robertson, for his article "Madison's Opponents and Constitutional Design," which appeared in the *American Political Science Review* in May 2005. "Madison's Opponents" is an elegantly written and richly researched piece that invites us to revisit and rethink Madison as both a thinker and politician. Specifically, Robertson's revisionist view, persuasively founded in a rigorous rereading of the Records of the Federal Convention of 1787, is that in his Federalist Papers Madison famously defended a constitutional design that was actually forced on him by his opponents. Madison's "Virginia Plan" had called for population-based congressional representation and strong, broad national authority independent of state governments. Madison's opponents, mostly from smaller, economically disadvantaged states, and led by Roger Sherman of Connecticut, spoiled Madison's real intent with strong unequal representation favoring small states, a guarantee of strong state authority, and hence substantially circumscribed power of the national government. With his analysis, Robertson's article has changed our understanding of the founders' intents, and and generated original and important new knowledge about American history and politics. It is a special pleasure to me to be able to award this prize to David, given his many years of service to the Politics and History section, not least through his excellent editorship of the section newsletter, *Clio*.

The 2006 J. David Greenstone Awards

for the Best Book on Politics and History

co-winner: **Suzanne Mettler** for *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

(*Here are the award committee's comments on the J. David Greenstone Award.*
Carol Nackenoff *chaired the committee, which included* ***Peter Trubowitz*** *and* ***R. Shep Melnick***)



Suzanne Mettler's *Soldiers to Citizens* is a terrific example of problem-driven social science research. Mettler puts mainstream data analysis at the service of an important and timely policy relevant question: do redistributive public programs strengthen or weaken the country's social fabric? This is a highly engaging project, written with verve. The study is well constructed and executed, and reflects enormous effort. It is methodologically complex, using both written surveys and face-to-face interviews. Mettler worked to integrate the experiences of African-Americans and women into her study when their small numbers in existing surveys made it otherwise difficult to talk about their experiences. Since surveys deal with respondents' perceptions of the educational benefits provisions of the G.I. Bill, Mettler supplements her analysis with other kinds of evidence about how this program worked. She argues that the G.I. Bill worked rather well as a "universal" social program. She is careful not to overstate her findings.

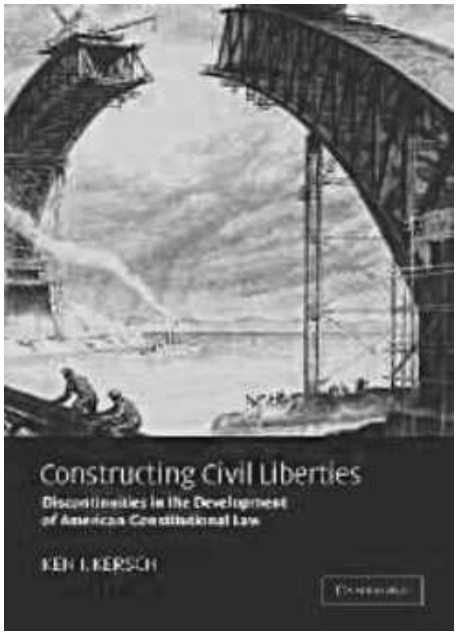
Good public programs, Mettler demonstrates, do more than reduce socioeconomic inequalities; they foster civic involvement and a sense of political efficacy. In arguing that federally-funded programs can play an important role in encouraging participation in public life, Mettler speaks to Putnam and the civic engagement literature. This big idea about the "virtuous circle" also has important political implications. Those inside the Washington beltway could point to her book as "proof" that properly-designed social programs can work and moreover, transmit "good values." Mettler argues that how people experience government bears on their sense of belongingness and sense of political obligation; when government makes a positive difference in the lives of citizens, they participate. Through programs such as the G.I. Bill's education benefits, government's positive presence in the lives of World War II veterans across the class spectrum was palpable. She argues that government's post-1980 retreat from social provision for ordinary young and middle-aged wage-earning citizens discourages civic engagement in America. Her contention has already generated a great deal of debate in academic and policy circles, and is sure to continue to do so.

The 2006 J. David Greenstone Awards

for the Best Book on Politics and History

co-winner: **Ken I. Kersch** for *Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2004)

(*Here are the award committee's comments on the J. David Greenstone Award.*
Carol Nackenoff *chaired the committee, which included* ***Peter Trubowitz*** *and* ***R. Shep Melnick***)



In this highly original, sophisticated, wide-ranging, and provocative book, Ken Kersch offers a superb example of how to integrate the Supreme Court into the study of political development. Kersch challenges what he terms the "Whig history" that dominates constitutional narratives of the twentieth century—the story told about progressive victories for individual civil rights and liberties as the Court gradually "gets it" and enshrines the New Deal as a constitutional moment of particular import. Kersch demonstrates that the construction of rights in the American polity has been non-linear and inherently political. He also contends that the Court, never free of *Lochner*-era formalism, re-establishes formalism in the process of developing new constitutional constructions.

Constructing Civil Liberties engages in careful and extensive historical research and is rich in ironies and complexities. The central policy chapters are vivid, nuanced case studies concerning privacy and criminal process rights, labor rights and their relation to civil rights, and education rights and the role of education in American statebuilding.

Kersch shows himself to be an outstanding legal scholar, political historian, and scholar of American political development. He contributes importantly to our understanding of the role of the Court in American state building, and underlines the role of rights in that project. It is not the invention or expansion of individual rights, but the substitution of new conceptions of rights for older ones, recognizing new persons and groups at the expense of others, that provided the underpinning of the New Deal state, Kersch argues. He shows how judges, legal scholars, and activists of that era understood issues and trade-offs in definitions of rights and privacy far better than we do today. Kersch finds that Progressive Era and New Deal partisans of reform and progress had a much more ambiguous relation to the protection of civil liberties than we now like to think. Winners' histories of constitutional construction are, he argues, inadequate to the task of understanding processes of constitutional change and their institutionalization. Kersch's case studies and his entire book are sure to shape and influence debate in the field of political development.

Politics and History Section Business Meeting

Philadelphia Convention Center Room 102B, Philadelphia Friday, September 1, 2006

The business meeting of the Politics and History section came to order at 6:11 pm. President Sidney Milkis began the meeting by noting the good turnout. He worked with the APSA to schedule the meeting in the evening, with the reception following. The reception this year is sponsored by Cambridge University Press, in honor of the twentieth anniversary of *Studies in American Political Development.*

President Milkis reported that the section membership is healthy, with 699 members. He concluded that the section is in good shape, with a lot of very good, young, talented members. Though the section appeals to graduate students, more could be done to bring graduate students into the section. He mentioned collateral conferences, such as the Race and Political Development Conference at the University of Oregon, and the Policy History Conferences (in 2006 at the University of Virginia).

He thanked Kathleen Thelen and Dan Tichenor for an excellent job of organizing the 2006 Politics and History panels at the APSA meetings. Thanks also to Rick Valelly along with Judith Goldstein, for a spectacular job of organizing the entire APSA conference program. He thanked Brian Glenn for organizing a very helpful short course on "Studying Public Opinion Before Polling." Thanks to Ira Katznelson for an outstanding year as president of the American Political Science Association. Finally, thanks to section secretary/treasurer and *Clio* editor Dave Robertson.

The meeting proceeded with the election of officers. Professor Victoria Hattam of the New School for Social Research was chosen last year as President-Elect, and under the section bylaws, she automatically assumed the presidency at the 2006 section Business Meeting. President Sidney Milkis chaired the Nominating Committee for section officers for 2006-2007, and Desmond King, David Vogel, Suzanne Mettler, and Victoria Hattam also served on the committee. The Committee nominated Kathleen Thelen, Northwestern University, as President-Elect, and four new members for the Council: Daniel Tichenor, Rutgers University; Dorian Warren, Columbia University; Adam Sheingate, Johns Hopkins University; and Eric Patashnik, University of Virginia. Thanks to those who are finishing a two-year term on the Council: Stephen Amberg, Kimberley Johnson, Richard Ned Lebow, and Deborah Yashar.

Treasurer Dave Robertson made a case for a dues increase of $2 a year. The dues had not increased for over a decade, but printing costs and the costs of the reception continued to increase. The members unanimously approve the dues increase.

The meeting turned to the annual awards. Peter Swenson chaired the Mary Parker Follett Committee, and Gretchen Ritter and Adam Sheingate also served on the committee. This year's Follett Award went to "Madison's Opponents and Constitutional Design" by David Brian Robertson, published in the *American Political Science Review* in May, 2005.

Carol Nackenoff chaired the J. David Greenstone Award Committee for the Best Book published 2004 or 2005. Peter Trubowitz and R. Shep Melnick also served on the Greenstone Committee. This year's Greenstone Award went to Suzanne Mettler for *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation* (Oxford University Press, 2005). Professor Mettler thanked the committee and the section, expressing how much she has enjoyed her participation in the section and how it helped her move into the profession.

It was announced that Suzanne Mettler also was a co-winner of the APSA's Gladys Kammerer Award for the best book on U.S. national policy. Rob Mickey won the E.E. Schattschnieder award for the best dissertation in the field of American Politics. Several members called attention to forthcoming conferences with politics and history panels. Ron King mentioned the Western Political Science Association meetings in Las Vegas, March 8-10. The Social Science History Association meetings convene in Minneapolis in early November.

Professor Victoria Hattam assumed the presidency and announced that the organizers of the Politics and History panels at the 2007 APSA meetings are Kevin Bruyneel of Babson College and Janice Fine of Rutgers University. Kevin Bruyneel said that, in keeping with the APSA's theme, next year's program will seek work that crosses disciplinary boundaries in order to bring historical, theoretical and/or empirical approaches into the study of politics and political life. He said that there would be more efforts to span the boundaries across sections, including cosponsored panels. President Hattam also noted that working groups could encourage political history themes. She echoed Suzanne Mettler's comments about the section helping individuals develop in the profession. She said this is particularly valuable and important for graduate students and new Assistant Professors. She and Gerry Berk have discussed the possibility of "agency and change" in political history.

Abstracts of Politics & History Papers from the 2006 APSA Meetings

Karen M. Anderson. "Labor Movement Visions and Welfare State Restructuring in Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany"

Much of the welfare state literature implicitly assumes that labor movements everywhere would choose roughly the same set of institutions if only they possessed the power resources to do so. Sweden is implicitly or explicitly seen as the model, with a large public sector providing comprehensive social services and income maintenance during sickness, unemployment, and old age. That countries such as Germany and the Netherlands fell short of achieving this standard is typically attributed to the inferior power resources of labor movements in these countries (i.e. they had to share power with strong Christian Democratic and/or Liberal Parties) and/or an unfavorable institutional context. An issue which has received less attention is whether labor movements in Germany and the Netherlands even wanted to follow a more "Swedish" strategy. In short, labor movements have developed their own, nationally distinct understandings of the role of the state in the provision of social welfare and regulating the market. This paper asks how labor movement visions of "the good society" in Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany shaped their responses to pressures for welfare state restructuring in the 1990s and 2000s. To do so, the paper first compares and contrasts the ideas, norms and cognitive understandings embedded in the Swedish, German and Dutch social democratic cognitive framing of the welfare state and asks how these under-standings shaped welfare state restructuring processes in the 1990s and 2000s. What were the core values that social democratic parties and unions sought to defend when faced with pressures to reform? How did the embedded-ness of norms and cognitive understandings in specific welfare state institutions shape labor's approach to restructuring?

Uwe Becker. "Change and Path Continuity of Dutch Corporatist Capitalism (Dutch Corporatist Capitalism Moving Into Liberal Direction: How to Theorize?)"

There is much discussion in the varieties of capitalism (VoC) literature whether currently a general move into liberal direction can be identified or that the different political economies are, because of the complementary character of their elements, more or less locked into the paths they have developed on. Other topics of discussion are which forces and mechanisms bring about change and whether the dichotomous typology of only a liberal and a coordinated variety is sufficient for adequately analyzing politico-economic reality and its processes of change. This paper wants to contribute to these discussions by taking recent changes in the Dutch political economy as point of departure. Since varieties of capitalism in the most prominent view of Hall and Soskice (2001) are conceived of as entities the parts of which are complementary the paper will also have to come to terms with change in configurations of complementarities.

Victoria Belco. "Remembering Which Victims: Disputed Memorials and their Process in Post-WWII Italy"

This paper examines how the phrasing, organization, and placement of memorials to Italy's WWII dead both reflected and contributed to Italians' postwar memory and identity as victims of war. Victimhood offered (and served as) an alternative / parallel postfascist, postwar memory, more universally available than the generally acknowledged memories of Resistance, self-liberation, and "Italiani brava gente". Victimhood was more problematic than the memory of Resistance or the myth of self-liberation, however. From the beginning of the process, in the immediate postwar days, Italians argued bitterly at the local level over which deaths were to be memorialized. Oftentimes the very placcement of a postwar memorial was controversial, as were the questions of just who "deserved" memorial placques and stones, who would be included, and who would "share" the collective memory. Current debate centers around Italy's reluctance to come to terms with its fascist and wartime past, as evidenced by Italy's selective memory of Resistance, Liberation, and general national "goodness". The debate should also consider the role victimhood played in absolving Italians of their fascist past and wartime guilt.

Britt Ashton Cartrite. "How Deep are the Ruts in Path Dependency?"

This paper argues that complexity theory offers a way to build on and supersede the limitations of historical institutionalism. The argument, however, is not grounded in an epistemological debate regarding the appropriateness of complexity theory, including the likely most widely discussed application of complexity theory – neo-Darwinian evolution, in contradistinction to more traditional research approaches to political science. This debate is a crucial one, to be sure, as political science as a discipline seeks to continually improve its scientific inquiry. Rather, this paper suggests that while some phenomena studied by political scientists are most appropriately addressed through such approaches as linear rational choice or functionalist analyses, many of the subjects of study appear to be phenomena for which complexity theory is better suited.

Matthew Crenson. "Learning to Lobby and Litigate: Baltimore's Contributions to the Civil Rights Movement"

Race is an issue of fundamental importance in Baltimore, but it rarely becomes a central issue in city politics — and hasn't for more than a hundred years. The city's muted & cautious approach to the race issue reflects, in part, the sectional ambivalence of a border city. But other border cities have hardly been so skittish about racial politics as Baltimore. It reflects distinctive characteristics of both white and black politics in the city. Half a century before the Civil War, Baltimore had the largest population of free black people in the United States. They created a complex web of institutions that became the basis for internal political divisions which posed obstacles to racial mobilization in politics. Whites have been sharply divided themselves. The city's antebellum business and social elite mixed southern patricians with Quaker abolitionists. More recently, the city has been governed by a combination of racial liberals (disproportionately Jewish) and the party polticians who represent white ethnics and white southern in-migrants. White Baltimore doesn't like to talk about race in public. They thus aggravate black problems of racial mobilization by providing few public insults against which to mobilize. In response to these local conditions, black leaders developed alternatives to electoral politics. Civil rights litigation was an early specialty in Baltimore and Maryland. The use of compromise and accommodation to build coallitions of black and liberal interest groups became a second alternative. And it is probably no accident that the two most vital leaders to more from Baltimore into the national civil rights movement were Thurgood Marshall and Clarence Mitchell, Jr.

John Dinan. "The Meaning of the Education Clauses in American State Constitutions"

State courts have been quite active in recent decades in interpreting "equity," "adequacy," and "uniformity" language in state constitutional education clauses, and these rulings have frequently overturned legislative judgments regarding school financing, with significant consequences for state politics. In this paper I analyze the 114 extant state convention debates surrounding the drafting and revision of these education clauses, with an eye toward determining the meaning of these clauses as understood by their drafters. It turns out that the extant state convention debates provide little support for the notion that these clauses were drafted to create judicially enforceable provisions to be used in overturning legislative judgments regarding school financing. Rather, these clauses were in many cases intended to be hortatory, and were in other cases intended to be obligatory on legislators to perform specific tasks, but with legislators retaining discretion over the manner in which these tasks were performed. The only statements to the contrary come from several proposals advanced in late-20th century conventions with an eye toward empowering courts to review legislative judgments regarding school financing, but these proposals were, in all but one case, defeated, either in the convention or by voters.

Morris Fiorina. "Parties as Problem Solvers"

Scholars generally agree that American political parties today more closely resemble the ideal of the responsible party advocates than did the parties of their time. But there is no general agreement that today's parties are superior to those of the mid-twentieth century in the sense of addressing and solving the pressing problems of our time. This paper argues that the parties today differ in composition and behavior from those of the mass parties of earlier periods in American history. Thus, implicit and explicit assumptions about how parties behave are no longer accurate. In consequence, rather than solve today's problems better than the decentralized, disunited parties of a half century ago, today's centralized, cohesive parties are no better at solving problems and may even make them worse.

Gerald Gamm and Thad Kousser. "Localism and Factionalism in American State Legislatures**"**

The study of state legislatures is usually grounded in the idea that state legislators navigate their way through an array of statewide issues, that the bills considered at the state level look, in miniature, like those considered by Congress. But a significant portion of legislative business, today and in the past, has been entirely about local governments. Drawing on a new database of 170,000 bills—covering selected sessions over the last 120 years for thirteen different states—we demonstrate the prominence of bills affecting specific localities on state legislative agendas. We then develop a theory linking the goals of legislators to their propensity to introduce these special bills, rather legislation with a statewide impact. The analysis demonstrates the powerful effect of legislator salaries and state incomes on the numbers of special bills introduced, as well as a robust and strong effect of party competition. As Key (1949) predicted, one-party state legislatures are much more likely to consider special bills, while competitive, two-party states are more likely to debate statewide policy.

Thomas Georges. "Constitutional Drift: The Progressive Reconstruction of Constitutional Authority"

Dahlian approaches have become ubiquitous in law and courts scholarship and essentially see the Court as sustaining the current political or constitutional regime. If such approaches are a welcome antidote to

"countermajoritarian" criticism of the Court, they now threaten to underestimate the Court's independence from the political branches and reduce all Court action to a tautology. That is, the Court acts as it does, because that's what the governing coalition wanted. Against such facile perspectives, this paper argues that the Madisonian Constitution fragments constitutional authority in such a manner that makes it very difficult to speak of a simple "governing coalition" or constitutional regime. This paper focuses on the progressive reconstruction of constitutional authority as it represents an important era that is not easily captured by the variety of Dahlian approaches. While scholars like Graber and Lovell have shown "legislative deference" to the Court during this era, progressives did not bring about a "new constitutional regime" or governing coalition that was, then, maintained by the Court. Indeed, the discontinuities in constitutional thought during this era do not sit easily with critical realignment theory, attaching the Court to the governing coalition of the 1896 election, or with a reconstructive president who fundamentally reshapes constitutional commitments. Rather, progressives drew on earlier stands of constitutional thought, reworking Alexander Hamilton and Abraham Lincoln to justify the expansion of national power as rooted in constitutional possibilities, rendering the "state-building" project a natural extension of earlier constitutional thought. But they were only partly successful. This was a forty-year long era of constitutional uncertainty and flux: a national "debate over the content of our most fundamental commitments," but one that resulted in constitutional tensions, partial successes and failures. Even while the Court worked with the executive and legislature on some issues (anti-trust over time, for example), the Court was tremendously independent on other issues (due process, for example). Thus, rather than "following the election returns," given fragmented constitutional authority the Court may be "deferential" and "active" within the same period depending upon the particular constitutional issue. This suggests two important points that push beyond the variety of Dahlian approaches: (1) the Madisonian separation of powers provides for and fosters discontinuity and "intercurrence" that are not easily amenable to Dahlian regime politics and (2) so-called periods of "ordinary politics" are fraught with constitutional struggle and the uneven and conflicted development of constitutional thought.

Andrew D. Grossman. "The Paradoxes of Civilian Defense: Political Development and the Fate of Homeland Security in the United States"

This paper is a consideration of what, at its core, is a state-building question: is the United States adept at creating highly centralized internal security bureaucracies such as the DHS? After the attacks of 9/11, the resurrection of a national civilian defense program, under the moniker "homeland security," has become a crucial domestic policy of the federal government. Disaster planning and civilian defense, subjects that had been relegated to the academic sub-discipline of security studies, are now the daily grist of newspapers and television news channels. There has always been a tension among the general public, state and local government, and the federal government regarding civilian defense policy and its expected outcomes. One area that is worth closer analysis is how expectations are dealt with in a large nation that is, by constitutional design, a federal republic. This essay examines the fate of the DHS in light of its place within a federal republic and the conflicting types of civilian defense that its organizational structure produces. The paper is organized in two sections. The first section outlines a conceptual problem related to civilian defense and its objective. The second section outlines how DHS organizational development perpetuates the conditions necessary for the flaws summarized in the first section of the essay.

Victoria Hattam and Joseph Lowndes. "Race, Faith, and War: Can Republicans Reclaim Civil Rights Politics as their Own?"

The Republican Party has launched a multi-faceted campaign to reposition the GOP and its relation to civil rights politics from decades past. Secretary of State Condi Rice, Chairman of the Republican National Committee Ken Mehlman, and President George W. Bush himself all have given speeches contesting the presumptively Democratic framing of civil rights reform. Moreover, the Republican National Committee is currently fielding African American candidates in several key states. What are we to make of these Republican efforts to reconfigure the relation between race and party in the United States today? Are they mere window dressing, divorced from substantive policy change? Or do they present a more serious challenge to long-standing presumptions that race and civil rights are naturally Democratic terrain? The first half of the paper examines a series speeches delivered by Rice and Bush over the last two years. The speeches themselves are amazing—their very strangeness signaling that something new is going on here. After examining these political appeals in detail we turn to issues of reception and significance. We contend that political commentators have underestimated the importance of these republican appeals—dismissing them as deluded at best, duplicitous at worst. In contrast, we suggest that although by no means embraced, these appeals harbor a greater political ambition that needs to be reckoned with. Doing so requires that were conceptualize issues of order and change, the status of culture in political science, and the domestic-international divide. Only after tackling all three issues can we begin to take the full measure of the Republican initiative now on offer.

Martin O. Heisler. "Power(s) in the Politics of Memory and Memorialization"

The politics of memory unfolds in arenas with differing degrees and forms of cognitive, socio-cultural, political and institutional coherence. Those arenas include states or smaller, larger, or different socio-political units – or even just the minds of individuals. The literature on the politics of memory privileges the collective level, especially the state, nation or society, since these are presumed to have (or the potential to create) a high degree of cognitive solidarity and the means to reinforce it. I suggest caveats and refinements to that literature, which, taken together, challenge important aspects of prevailing formulations. I argue that the politics of memory and the collectivities in which they play out need to be carefully contextualized and viewed in a more nuanced, conceptually and empirically refined, fashion. In modern, more or less democratic, contexts the centripetal functions of collective memory construction may have lost some of the importance they had in the 19th century and in the first three-quarters of the 20th. Further, collectively constructed memories and memorials engage individuals in different ways and degrees; individuals may have greater autonomy and agency than is commonly assumed in the virtually paradigmatic "collective memory" literature. There is a shifting, fuzzy, balance between the power of collective memory to engage and enmesh groups and individuals and the latter's recourse to dissent, resist or ignore its force. These memory games are characterized by tension and mediated through different kinds of power. There are no certainties in the power games of memory: like physics in the post-Newtonian, post-Einstein era of string theory, they are played according to probabilities, not laws – not even the laws of probability. Illustrations are drawn from several countries.

Martin Hoepner. "A new phase of European Integration: How the EU threatens Organized Capitalism**"**

European integration traditionally increased competition between different European political economies. In the past, this was largely compatible with the persistence of different national varieties of capitalism. We contend, however, that a new phase of European integration has emerged in which EU integration is no longer agnostic about national forms of capitalism. The Commission's and the ECJ's attempts to further economic integration systematically challenge the institutions of organized capitalism. We show this by discussing the struggles over the service directive, the takeover directive, and company law. Organized capitalism and European integration are increasingly becoming incompatible. In the current phase, the Com-mission's liberalization attempts either transform organized capitalism and draw them closer to liberal market economies (LMEs) or create political resistance that questions European integration.

Ellen M. Immergut. "Cognitive Framing and Constitutional Choice"

This paper compares the ability of rational, normative, and non-rational theories to explain constitutional choice, focusing on the partial revision of the Swedish constitution in 1967-1969. It shows that while normative and rational choice theories may contribute to an understanding of the decision-making process leading to this constitutional change, the best explanation is based on cognitive framing. Rational ignorance and rational deference place specific decision-makers into key positions during constitutional bargaining, such that their own biographies and political socialization decisively impact the range of institutional solutions under consideration. In particular, institutional solutions that these actors 'recognize' seem to serve as 'institutional catalysts' or 'cognitive templates' around which political consensus crystallizes. Consequently, constitutional choice is driven neither by normative and rational considerations (though these are by no means irrelevant) but rather by the non-rational effects of sequence and the "recognition heuristic."

Jason Kaufman. "Town and Country in the Redefinition of State-Federal Power: Canada and the United States, 1630-2005"

This paper approaches the issue of the role of urbanization in American political development from a comparative-historical perspective. By comparing the role of urbanization in Canadian political development with that of the United States, we gain valuable new insight into the different roles cities can and do play in the erection of jurisdictional power between national and sub-national political domains. As centers of economic and political activity, cities play a crucial — but variable — role in national networks of prominence and power. Historically, this resulted in a disproportionate role for urban elites in Canadian and American national development. Given the incremental, local nature of 19th century American state formation, the current provincial-federal relationship in Canada might at first appear surprising, for example. The origins, and ultimate failure of, the American "states' rights" movement is equally surprising. The United States is both a less "urban" and more politically centralized society than Canada. Its origins, too, lie in the past. When Congress "nationalized" the near-west (trans-Appalachia), federal government took jurisdictional reign over what would be the majority of the nation's new state governments. American municipal governments were similarly subjugated to state jurisdiction, often via the Army and state guards. In Canada, city dwellers were both more powerful and their city governments were more

autonomous in the scope and size of programs under their purview. In America, in sum, rural constituents exert inordinate power at the federal level via Congress, and particularly the Senate; Canadian federal government is more beholden to the provincial governments, which serve largely at the behest of their urban constituents.

Daniel Kryder and Sarah Staszak. "Constitution as Clockwork: The Temporal Foundations of American Politics"

Recent work by Paul Pierson and Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek have illuminated the ways that temporal sequence and "multiple temporal orders," respectively, affect institutional change and stasis. Such research both rejects simple assertions about progress and historical periodization, but also makes clear that time, while complex, is an "essential constitutive dimension of politics." This paper examines the Framers' conceptions of time and political change over time, and describes and analyzes the various definitions of time embedded in Constitutional provisions. Some features, like staggered terms of office, purposefully disrupt uniform notions of time as a single recurrent cycle, in this case to break the power of factions cresting on waves of discontent. Some provisions create fixed terms – like four year terms - or periods of time; other provisions set deadlines, after which political possibilities will change substantially; other provisions – like election dates - create regular and repeated junctures. The framers used a variety of such temporal schemes to make power more contingent, contested, and unpredictable. However, such Constitutional provisions also create mechanisms of regularity which help to periodize politics and locate power in ways that can be readily anticipated and analyzed. This paper analyzes Constitutional time(s) as a web of overlapping temporal logics and attempt to associate these temporal logics with the foundational constitutional challenges of defining political agency, political authority, and political processes.

Ian S. Lustick. "Toward a Solution to the Problem of Counterfactual Reasoning: Exploiting Evolution, Complexity, and Computers"

Thinking clearly about counterfactuals is a logical requirement of any political science with historical content. However, disciplined counterfactual thinking is notoriously difficult, not least because of the problem of cotenability. This requires, inter alia, that changes in an antecedent condition must not entail other changes in narrative or the imagined laws of the social universe that would have theoretical importance for the putative consequent. I will analyze the solutions and shortcomings offered by contributors to the important volume edited by Philip E. Tetlock and Aaron Belkin, COUNTERFACTUAL THOUGHT EXPERIMENTS IN WORLD POLITICS, in order to focus my argument that evolutionary and complexity theory, supported by computer-assisted agent-based modeling, can amplify those solutions and correct most shortcomings. Fundamental to my analysis are the evolutionary concept of "accessibility in state space," complexity theory distinctions among different types of chaos, and explication of agent-based modeling as a bottom up expression of evolutionary principles that permits operationalization of "possible worlds" thinking by producing distributions of outcomes as the dependent variable for counterfactual analysis. Agent-based modeling is a crucial tool in this endeavor because it enables exact virtual implementations of assumptions, automatically enforces cotenability, and can be used to produce large distributions of outcomes with exquisite control over constants and variables.

Margitta Mätzke. "Production, War, and Reproduction: State Interests in the Welfare State across Time"

Welfare state research has focused on the preferences or power of societal actors to explain corss-sectional and cross-temporal variation. The state has entered these accounts primarily as institutional structure, constraining or enabling civil society impulses. Policymakers appear as representatives of social groups, translating their demands into policies and laws. However, this society-centered approach has difficulties capturing dominant themes in current social policy debates, such as worries about low fertility, population ageing or even population decline. The focus on societal demands detracts attention from an important theme underlying social policy, namely the (financial and man-power-) *resources* required for financing and carrying out public tasks. These resources hinge a number of factors, ultimately rooted in individual behaviors, such as long and steady work biographies, adequate skill-levels, care-giving for children and the elderly in families, and, last but not least, fertility. This paper analyses social policies through the lens of such resource requirements. This (state-centered) perspective reveals that much of social policy-making has been informed by such population policy motives (however implicit these may have been at times). In this perspective residents in a country are not only citizens, who have social rights and raise demands, but they are also workers, taxpayers, soldiers, mothers, and caregivers; they are the resource basis of private and public wealth. This resource-perspective accounts for variation in the timing and kind of social policy-intervention. It allows us to see, for instance, why the post- WW II decades saw a drastic expansion of contributory pensions in nearly all Western welfare states, while in the beginning of the 21st century family policy remains one of the few growing sectors of the welfare state. The paper demonstrates how the implicit demographic motive has shaped the substantive contents

of social policy intervention in Western welfare states; and how it has changed over time.

Bruce Miroff. "Movement Activists and Partisan Insurgents: Collaboration or Conflict?"

The paper examines the sources of collaboration or conflict between movement activists and partisan insurgents. Contrary to the prevailing view, it emphasizes the sources of conflict: clashing agendas, time frames, and political identities. It studies the case of the McGovern insurgency in the Democratic Party in 1972 and its relationship with the women's movement, the gay rights movement, and the black civil-rights movement. Clarence Stone. "Power, Pluralism, and Urban Political Development: Modernization Reconsidered" Although classic pluralism has few vocal champions today, Who Governs? remains a revered work. And in amended form pluralism still guides much political analysis (McFarland 2004). Given many penetrating criticisms over the years, one might ask how that can be. Richard Merelman (2003) offers one answer. He argues that pluralism serves as the legitimating discourse for the American political order and that even those critical of its major claims often find themselves still attached to a pluralist framework. Indeed, across a wide range of studies, whether the topic is national agenda setting (Baumgartner and Jones 1993) or local initiatives to build mega-projects (Altshuler and Luberoff 2003), the influence of pluralist thinking is evident. A few years back a British scholar asks pointedly whether, in some fundamental sense, we are all pluralists now (Judge 1995).

Andrew J. Polsky and **William Adler.** "Collective Action, Economic Development, and the Early National Security State"

It may be useful, as a descriptive prelude to analysis, to divide the modern national state in the United States into broad functional categories – social welfare, economic growth/regulation, and national security. Scholars of American political development have proceeded from this point of departure to explore the developmental trajectory of each category. However, although the descriptive move to separate state functions may work for the modern era (that is, from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present), it is more problematic when we turn to the early national period. For the first hundred years after the Constitution, national security and economic development were closely connected. By extension, the executive branch, thru its control of the military, was more involved in economic tasks associated with territorial expansion and consolidation than the standard depiction of the "weak" traditional presidency would suggest. We propose in this paper to reexamine the role played by the national security state during the early national period in promoting economic expansion, focusing in particular on the political mechanisms that linked the military role to expansionist objectives. Both historians and APD scholars have puzzled over military-political linkages in the 1789-1900 period. Among the former, Robert G. Angevine recently has argued that the army played an important role in the development of public infrastructure from the earliest days of the republic. But military leaders often found themselves at odds with political leaders because each group was driven by different calculations. Where the former understood infrastructure investment as a solution to the collective goods challenge of national security – transportation was necessary to allow the army to move its very modest resources to a point of danger – the latter construed expenditures on public works as a distributive benefit that could be exploited for partisan gain. Among political scientists, Christopher McGrory Klyza has described a number of roles played by specialized branches of the army (such as the engineers and the topographical engineers) to promote economic development where private wherewithal proved insufficient. Put another way, his account reveals a military that could be used to solve classic collective goods problems. We seek to build upon this literature to explore our working hypotheses: (1) The army played a pivotal role in national economic development in the early republic by meeting a succession of collective goods shortages. (2) Recognizing the economic importance of the army, politicians sought to subordinate it to their partisan political imperatives. (3) The executive branch served as the key conduit between politicians and the army, translating the priorities of the former into the orders for the latter. (4) The War Department, and in particular the Secretary of War, became a key actor in economic development because the chief executive lacked the political and institutional capacity to manage routine peacetime army operations. (5) Features of the early partisan executive branch, notably limited presidential control over cabinet appointments, facilitated the integration of elite interests and military policy into what might be termed "the cavalry-railroad complex."

Douglas Reed. "Vouchers, Desegregation and the Segregationist Academies:"

This paper examines the use of school vouchers by residents of Alexandria during Virginia's Massive Resistance to school desegregation. Using a geographical statistical techniques under ArcMap, a geographical information systems software package, the paper analyzes three sets of data spatially in order to understand geographical patterns among voucher users. The first set of data is an individual-level data base of some 450 voucher recipients, which I combined with the 1960 Census block-level data of housing in Alexandria, as well as the reconstructed elementary school attendance boundaries in Alexandria (along with school-level data). The paper has a broad goal of relating the history of

Massive Resistance to the political development of public education in Virginia, but I also have three more immediate goals. First, I want to better understand the individual characteristics of those who used these vouchers, to the extent that is possible. Through a historical reconstruction of the individual level characteristics of voucher recipients, focusing on their homeownership status, but also exploring their school choice and student grade levels, I hope to develop more fully the picture of voucher use in Alexandria. I also hope to discern whether there were any geographical or demographic similarities among those who used school vouchers. Second, I want to examine whether the families who obtained these vouchers were confronted with a pending or immediate effort to desegregate the neighborhood school their children would attend if they were in public schools in Alexandria. Finally, this paper seeks to understand whether broader demographic patterns within the city better explain rates of voucher use than an immediate desegregationist "threat." By examining block-level Census housing data, we can see whether voucher recipients lived in close proximity to African-American families and whether their neighborhood school would confront significant racial change, if the school district shifted to a unitary system of neighborhood-based attendance boundaries. Using the school attendance boundaries detailed by local school officials, and combining those boundaries with the racial and class demographics from the 1960 Census of housing, we can gain a window on what white Alexandrians who opposed desegregation saw looming ahead of them. The results of the paper indicate that most voucher recipients were not located a) close to individual desegregating African-American students; b) in neighborhoods with significant percentages of African-American residents or c) in school attendance zones with significant potential African-American students. Instead, these residents were clustered in higher income areas of Alexandria, leading to the conclusion that the prospects of one's local school being desegregated had little to do with voucher use, at least in Alexandria. The implication is that the voucher program did not come close to achieving its objective of making segregation affordable for all Virginians. Instead, the voucher program effectively acted as a wealth transfer mechanism from the general fisc of Virginia to the private school elite.

Bo Rothstein and **Markus Tegnhammar**. "The Mechanisms of Corruption. Interest vs. Cognition"

This paper starts by identifying a central theoretical problem in contemporary research about political corruption. While a lot of energy has been spent trying to figure out what types of political and economic institutions that relates to low corruption, very little is yet known about the process of changing government institutions in a severely corrupt country in to the better. We address this problem by combining existing explanations of corrupt behaviour with the theoretical discourse of path dependency in institutional analysis. Two self-reinforcing mechanisms are developed which identifies the intrinsic obstacles to change in corrupt political institutions. One mechanism is interest based (the strategic resistance from corrupt networks) while the other is based on cognition (self-fulfilling expectations). Both are analysed with material form five international agencies' methods for fighting corruption. The agencies are the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (ERBD), the European Council, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) the Swedish International Aid Organization (SIDA) and Transparency International (TI) The empirical analysis is based on policy documents and on thirteen interviews with persons in these agencies who are responsible for anti-corruption policy. The result is that corruption is reproduced over time due to resistance from strategic interests and due to the self-fulfilling character of expectations about corruption. We end the paper by discussing the relative weight of cognitive vs. interest based explanations in institutional analysis.

Vivien A. Schmidt. "Bringing the State Back into the Varieties of Capitalism and Discourse Back into the Explanation of Change"

The Varieties of Capitalism (VOC) literature's difficulties in accounting for the full diversity of national capitalisms and in explaining institutional change result at least in part from its tendency to downplay state action and from its rather static, binary division of capitalism into two overall systems. This paper argues first of all that by taking state action—used as shorthand for government policy forged by the political interactions of public and private actors in given institutional contexts—as a significant factor, national capitalisms can be seen to come in at least three varieties: liberal, coordinated, and state-influenced market economies. But more importantly, by bringing the state back in, we also put the political back into political economy—in terms of policies, political institutional structures, and politics. Secondly, the paper shows that although recent revisions to VOC that account for change by invoking open systems or historical institutionalist incrementalism have gone a long way toward remedying the original problem with regard to stasis, they still fail to explain institutional change fully. It is not enough to turn to rational choice institutionalist explanations focused on the micro-foundations of action, as some do, since this does not get at the dynamics behind changing preferences and innovative actions. For this, I argue, it is necessary to add discursive institutionalist explanations focused on the role of ideas and discourse. Bringing the state back into the substantive account of capitalism actually promotes this methodological approach, since an important part of politics is political communication and deliberation on the

choice of policies within given institutional contexts, economic as well as political.

Liam Schwartz. "Congress and the Party System"

This paper challenges the reigning conception of party change in America. Whether dressed as realignment theory, politics in "political time," or merely empirical analysis with little theoretical superstructure, this idea asserts that presidents are the agents of party development. Further, we can recognize change only after a major on-year electoral shift (1800, 1828, 1860, 1896, 1932). I show this view to be theoretically naive and historically inaccurate. More than simple critique, I offer an alternative model. Forming a new party is fundamentally an exercise in coalition building. For a variety of reasons, regimes develop opposition. Yet these malcontents do not inevitably form a new party. Instead, this group (often heterogeneous) must negotiate its disagreements and raise an organizational structure. Both, I argue, are done in Congress. Regional elections – by state and single-member district – allow opposition members to win office with local appeals. Once in office, legislators must solve the basic dilemma of social choice: molding their manifold complaints against the incumbent into a single (perhaps coherent) platform. This might be simply a matter of logrolling, in which case leaders can "buy" cooperation from wavering members. Likewise, rule change can rivet a coalition together (Reed's Rules) or pull one apart in hopes of establishing something new (the revolt against Speaker Cannon). The most important party-building work comes before the newly-minted opposition wins its first presidential election. After outlining its theory, the paper goes on to offer several illustrative cases. Given the limitations of a conference paper, these are exploratory, not actual tests of my approach. We see that activities in Congress, forging a coalition prior to contesting presidential elections, mark important changes in the 19th Century party system. "Jeffersonian" Republicanism, "Jacksonian" Democracy, along with the Whig and Republican parties, all spent years building durable legislative coalitions before winning the presidency. Recent developments follow a similar logic. Moreover, third-party movements fail when reaching for the White House without gaining a legislative foothold (Free Soil, Liberal Republican, Populist, Progressive, Socialist, and others). As the paper will show, when considering changes in the nature of the American party system, we must lend Congress a central role.

Adam Sheingate. "Artful Politics and the Origins of Political Consulting**"**

In this paper, I explore how complex institutions make for creative or artful politics in which actors devise new ways to pursue political goals. Because these creative acts, themselves, have the potential to transform institutions, attention to these dynamics of innovation provide key insights into the process of institutional evolution and change. I explore these themes through a discussion of progressive era innovations in political communications. These experiments in artful politics, such as the use of press releases and public relations campaigns, became the basis for a nascent field of political consulting that would take shape over the course of the twentieth century. More broadly, these innovations contributed to several important developments, including the birth of the regulatory state, the corporate reconstruction of American capitalism, the proliferation of interest group politics, and the rise of candidate-centered campaigns

Nadav G. Shelef. "Evolution, Stability, and Change"

The evolutionary dynamic is a potentially powerful analytical tool that should be added to the conceptual arsenal of political science. By specifying the conditions for change, its timing and process, evolution is often better able to account for the presence of both stability and change. The successful translation of evolution to political science, however, must take note of the crucial differences between politics and biology. Perhaps the most important of these is based on the likelihood that intentional mechanisms of change will continue to exist alongside evolutionary ones. In pursuit of these twin arguments, this paper highlights key aspects of the evolution that are particularly relevant to its application in political science and address several common concerns about such a project. The potential inherent in applications of the evolutionary logic is highlighted using the study of nationalism as an example. This field is mired in a debate between scholars who focus on nationalism's stability and those who argue that it is largely fluid. The former account tends to assume that change, if it exists at all, is the result of massive exogenous shocks to which nationalist movements automatically adapt. The latter account tends to assume that change is the continuous product of purposeful actions by political entrepreneurs. An explanation of changes in nationalism that is based on evolution is able to synthesize these feuding ontological premises by contextualizing the role of both political agency and exogenous shocks. Rather than a priori assume the primacy of either change or stability, the use of an evolutionary mechanism allows us to peg the particular balance between them over time to the cadence of the political struggle among nationalist movements. After offering an empirical rubric that can be used to evaluate the plausibility of competing mechanisms to explain particular cases of change (or their absence), the paper concludes by demonstrating the empirical power of evolutionary dynamics and of the proposed rubric for understanding the balance between stability and change in the ideologies of three Israeli nationalist movements.

Sven Steinmo and Orion Lewis. "Taking Evolution Seriously".

In this essay we take evolutionary theory seriously. The term 'evolution' is generally used rather casually by political scientists and the basic idea motivating our inquiry was to see whether specific concepts and/or insights from theories based on biological evolution can be profitably applied to social and political institutions. The paper opens with a brief outline of several basic insights into the evolutionary process developed over the past 150 years. First, we highlight Darwin's fundamental (and highly controversial) insight that evolutionary change depends on the uniqueness of every individual within a population or species. Because all individuals are different, they will respond to or adapt to different environmental stimuli in unique ways. His 'Survival of the Fittest" theory does not imply that the strongest, smartest, or 'best,' creatures are the most likely to reproduce. Rather, he argued that those individuals who happen to have generated either physical or behavioral characteristics that give them some small advantage in their local environment are most likely to succeed in that environment. These individuals are more likely to have offspring than those without the advantage and therefore over time the population will be dominated with this physical or behavioral trait. Secondly, evolutionary theories begin with an understanding of change as being a simultaneously endogenous and exogenous process. Instead of seeing the process as one of fundamental stability (what political scientists and economists would call 'equilibrium') evolutionary theorists understand the world as a 'complex adaptive system.' From an evolutionary point of view it makes no sense to speak of "independent" and "dependent" variables when explaining long term change. The environment in which an organism lives affects the development of that organism, just as the organism affects the environment in which it lives. Evolution, then, is a dynamic and interactive process in which small changes in the environment and/or small changes in an organism's genes may result in significant long term changes in the environment and the population. We then briefly discuss the ontological and epistemo-logical implications of these insights. We show that evolu-tionary theorists have rejected the model of science drawn from early versions of Newtonian physics. In this view, traditional physics assumes stable units of analysis and fixed laws governing behavior. Neither of these assump-tions is useful for students of evolution. Instead, theirs is an historical science which utilizes comparative historical methods, presents historical narratives, and 'most plausible' explanations. Evolution is neither predictive nor falsifiable. In the second part of the paper we attempt to use some of the insights drawn from evolutionary theory to help solve two foundational questions that political science are currently addressing: The origins of human preferences and explaining institutional change. We suggest that evolutionary theorists' focus on the gene reproduction (all organisms' fundamental desire is to pass on their genes) is significantly more helpful for understanding the origins of human preferences than either Rational Choice's assumption that we are all individual utility maximizers, or Historical/Sociological Institionalism's assumption that preferences are produced by the institutions themselves. Finally, we attempt to push an analogy between genes (which are rules governing cell reproduction and behavior) and political institutions (which are also rules governing reproduction and behavior).

Peter A. Swenson. "Capital, Labor, and Medicine: Power Politics and Medical Care Quality in German and American History"

German health care is undergoing radical transformation today. During the postwar period, the statutory health insurance funds have bargained collectively with monopolistically organized physicians over terms of remuneration and how doctors' services are to be organized and delivered. That system, whose creation is explained here, is now being dismantled. The centralized system, first instituted during the Depression, gave organized medicine an enormous victory. Until then, big business and organized labor had stood on the same side in conflict over physician income and autonomy. But in 1931 organized labor broke with capital and sided with organized medicine, and handed doctors a long-sought victory. A resulting presidential emergency decree imposed collective bargaining on thousands of company health funds as well as the many local multi-employer funds dominated by organized labor. This internationally unique system did not survive the Nazi years, but it was restored in the postwar period. It was not until 2003 that capital and labor reunited in opposition to organized medicine, allowing critics of the system to turn the clock back to the 1920s. They say the old system tightly restricted how health care delivery could be organized and therefore obstructed quality improvements and rewarded waste. Decentralization of bargaining among competing networks of providers, they say, will improve cost effectiveness. Doctors fear a loss of income and professional autonomy. Comparative implications of this history suggest that the power of the medical profession lies less in a monopolization of prestigious scientific knowledge than in the configuration of outside economic and political forces easily able to challenge the quality of its application.

Peter A. Swenson. "The Political Transformation of Health Care: Capital, Labor, and Medicine in Germany"

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remuneration and how doctors' services are to be organized and delivered. That system, whose development is analyzed here, is now being dismantled. The centralized system, first instituted during the Depression, gave organized medicine an enormous victory. Until then, big business and organized labor had stood on the same side in conflict over physician income and autonomy. But in 1931 organized labor broke with capital and sided with organized medicine, and handed doctors a long-sought victory. A resulting presidential emergency decree imposed collective bargaining on thousands of company health funds as well as the many local multi-employer funds dominated by organized labor. This internationally unique system did not survive the Nazi years, but it was restored in the postwar period. It was not until 2003 that capital and labor reunited in opposition to organized medicine, allowing critics of the system to turn the clock back to the 1920s. They say the old system tightly restricted how health care delivery could be organized and therefore obstructed quality improvements and rewarded waste. Decentralization of bargaining among competing networks of providers, they say, will improve cost effectiveness. Doctors fear a loss of income and professional autonomy. Comparative implications of this history suggest that the power of the medical profession lies less in a monopolization of prestigious scientific knowledge than in the configuration of outside economic and political forces easily able to challenge the quality of its application.

Andrew Taylor. "Strategic Inter-Cameral Behavior and the Sequence of Congressional Lawmaking"

Abstract: In the vein of some fledgling theoretical work on congressional lawmaking, I look for evidence of strategic inter-cameral behavior in the sequence of the passage of 950 bills from 1955-2002. I test two models of inter-cameral strategic behavior, an informational one derived from Rogers's cross-sectional analyses of state legislatures and a partisan coordination version that assumes communication takes place between majority party leaders capable of choreographing bill passage using their agenda control powers so as to manipulate policy outcomes. There is no evidence to corroborate the informational model but the partisan coordination model is vindicated.

Sean Theriault. "Party Polarization in the U.S. Congress"

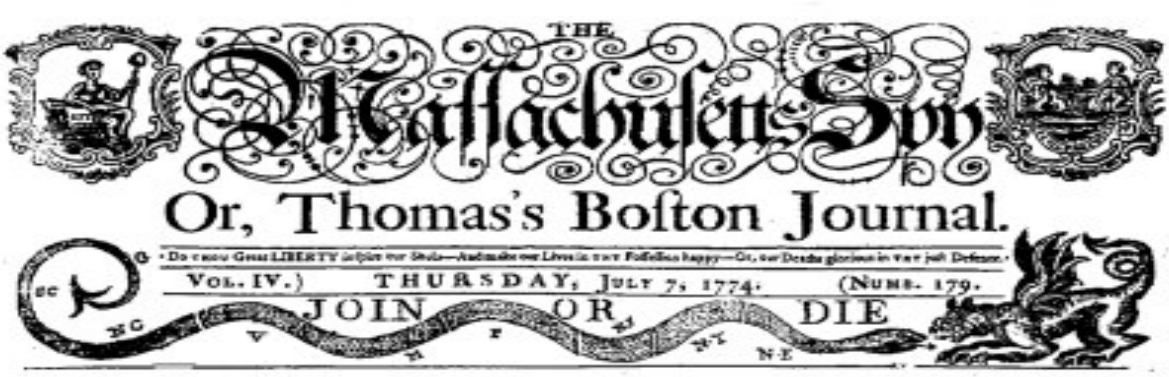
The growing divide between Republicans and Democrats in Congress is well documented, but its causes are not well understood. This article finds that almost the entire growth in party polarization in both chambers since the early 1970s can be accounted for by the increased frequency of and polarization on procedural votes. In comparison, final passage votes are relatively less frequent and not nearly as polarizing. Only when changes in the electorate interact with the legislative process can party polarization be properly understood and analyzed. This article also finds that the constituents' voices have become barely audible on procedural votes. These findings have important consequences in how procedural and final passage roll calls are voted on in Congress, viewed by the electorate, and interpreted by political scientists. This article argues that procedural voting needs to be taken more seriously by congressional observers and analyzed more carefully by political scientists if members are expected to view procedural votes as something more than "mere procedure."

Jenny Rosanna Wustenberg. "Civil Society as a Power in Memorial Politics: Shaping Public Remembrance in the New Berlin"

This paper argues that civil society, and more specifically, citizens' intiatives, are crucial actors in German memorial politics. I begin by defining and mapping what I mean by 'mnemonic civil society' and describing what I see as the most important initiators of memorials in contemporary Berlin: citizen's initiatives, interest groups, and quasi-state civil society organizations. I then trace the historical development of the 'history movement' starting in the 1980s as the social foundation of many of today's citizen's initiatives. I describe their main principles of focusing on everyday and local history, political engagement, innovative methods, and decentralization. Finally, I argue that this movement strongly determined memory politics today by influencing public consciousness, sending its members into institutions, changing the relationship between state and civil society, and establishing the citizens' initiative (or at least the pretension thereof) as the primary strategy to acquire a memorial.

Takakazu Yamagishi. "Health Insurance for National Defense: The Impact of WWII on the Health Insurance Systems in Japan and the United States"

I tackle two puzzles in this paper: why did Japan and the United States begin to develop health insurance policies almost from scratch during WWII; and why did they adopt different systems by the end of postwar reconstruction? For the first question, I argue that the health insurance systems in both countries were developed for making war mobilization more efficient. For the second question, I argue that the differences in each country's wartime experience—the state's projection about the duration and depth of mobilization, the eventual length of the war, the sequence of war planning, and the result of the war—influenced how, and to what degree, the Japanese and American states intervened in health insurance. The goal of this paper is to construct a framework for understanding the relationship between war and health insurance by examining the cases of Japan and the United States.



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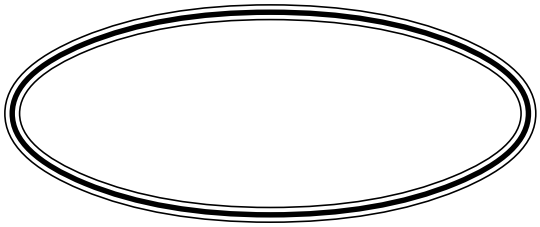

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matches, in every detail, the specific presidential form which the cycle element of Skowronek's theory assigns to him, i.e. the "orthodox-innovator" (on which more below). If anything, the cycle posited by the theory seems as strong as ever – a question which troubles Skowronek greatly, in fact, and which he explored in a recent piece for Perspectives.[3]

Nonetheless, the surprising resilience of the presidential leadership cycle hardly means that we should put the "institutional thickening" concept away. That concept predicts something big, after all. Call it "escape from political time" – action by presidents to perform the role in new, unprecedented ways.

In his book, Skowronek posits a truly epic counterpoint between cycle and trend. Each cycle "thickens" the institutional environment, generating new policies, programs, and bureaucracies – and, with them, the organized interests holding a stake in their perpetuation. Think of a kitchen floor that has heavy layers of linoleum laid on it, each regime raising the height of the floor closer and closer to the kitchen ceiling. This trend eventually sucks the oxygen out of the regime cycle in American presidential politics. Succeeding regimes must diminish in their scope — due to the resistance and friction generated by the thicker institutional environment of the presidency.

Skowronek forecast a structural crisis in presidential leadership that would one day, perhaps in our lifetimes, require presidents to throw away their tired old scripts. There are, after all, only *four* such scripts, one for each cell in the two-by-two matrix that has presidential (dis)affiliation on one axis and regime age on the other. Would we not see, therefore, a serious effort to do something new with the office?

Now the rupture predicted by the concept of institutional thickening is, of course, a hard thing

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to concretize. But it could mean one or some combination of three things.

First, the rupture from the cycle could generate creative leadership. Skowronek has shown that one of his four types – the "preemptive president" — is the likeliest candidate for such creativity. Woodrow Wilson and Dwight D. Eisenhower, both presidents of this type, have come to be appreciated as remarkably creative.

Second, the effort to escape political time can mean forging a new relationship with the vice-presidency. Is it any accident that this is in fact what we have seen more and more of since the Carter Administration?

Finally, the effort to escape political time might feature an effort to break or to redefine constitutional rules of the game permanently. It is of course too early to say that we are seeing just that kind of effort with the emergence of the unitary presidency. But the emergence of the unitary presidency is certainly consistent with a theory that also predicts a rupture from a long – indeed still – operating cycle that has institutionally thickened the presidency's environment, precisely because the cycle has taken so many turns.

The Unitary Presidency

At this point in the discussion it would help to take a closer look at the idea of the unitary presidency. Many of us do not know about the Post Office signing statement. But many of us followed the 2005-2006 debate on torture. When the President signed the McCain- sponsored statute prohibiting the torture of foreign nationals detained by the United States in the process of our "war on terror," recall that the President also issued a signing statement: "The executive branch shall construe Title IX in Division A of the Act, relating to detainees, in a manner consistent with the constitutional authority of the President to supervise the unitary executive branch and as Commander in Chief and consistent with the constitutional limitations on the judicial power…" The President and the Attorney General have until only recently asserted that their warrantless electronic surveillance of phone records does not violate the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act and, moreover, is a perfectly constitutional exercise of executive power.

We political scientists are, I think, a long way from "getting" the unitary theory on its own terms (with a few exceptions, principally the public law experts in our discipline who have troubled to learn the theory.) But if one takes the theory seriously, as opposed to dismissing it as a "power grab," it appears to have three prongs.

First, the president must militantly police incursions on executive authority by other branches. Second, executive power is far more manifold and elaborate than most constitutional lawyers understand. Article 2 is quite spare, yes. But that is the point. Article 2's simplicity betokens very wide boundaries for executive power. Third, the president's putative responsibility for minding the claims of other branches really does not bind him. The other branches should take care of themselves. It's not the president's business to do it for them if that will mean ceding, or simply risking, anything that rightfully belongs to the president.

Connecting Skowronek to the Case

Return now to the connections between Skowronek's theory and the case. Recall that Skowronek developed a very simple two-by-two classification of presidents. Presidents don't start from scratch when they launch their administrations. With the exception of Washington, they inherit a "regime." A regime is an ensemble of institutions and ideas. It comprises a public philosophy, public policies and programs, agencies and institutions, and, not least, a commitment by the dominant wing of one of the two national parties to sustaining and entrenching that ensemble.

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The orthodox innovator — the LBJ or George W. Bush — seeks party unity and each professes pious attachment to the verities of the still robust regime in which he is located. But this kind of seemingly pious president necessarily repudiates *something* about the existing, still vibrant regime, even as he proudly affiliates with it — because one way or another he cannot be a perfect defender of the regime. No one can. The regime already exists; its defenders invevitably disagree about tactics, and the "regime" meaning of some tactic. Thus the orthodox-innovator always risks splitting the regime.

Consequently, there is an incentive for a "splendid little war" that is inherent in this presidential situation. Such a war initially disorganizes the opposition, or it at least challenges the party opposition to risk seeming unpatriotic. By the same token, such a war, as long as it is successful, tends to unite the regime party. These incentives for a "splendid little war" at the "orthodox-innovation" phase of a regime cycle are so strong that (as Skowronek's book shows) they have *always* been acted on – that is, acted on *by every orthodox innovator.*

Since a war was inevitable, so were strong claims about executive power. Thus the "war on terror" and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan do just fine as an explanation for "why so much of this theory of the unitary presidency now?" The timing of the unitary theory's current influence is overdetermined. *Both the cycle and the secular trend predict it.*

But maybe not. The unitary theory of the presidency is obviously more: it is a new theory of the presidency. Bush is not the first orthodox-innovator to have launched a splendid little war. If it were the cycle that explains the theory, wouldn't we have seen a seemingly new theory of presidential power at the orthodox-innovation phase of every previous regime cycle?

Here we get to the three different observable implications of the "institutional thickening" trend. We might see more Wilsonian creativity or more of the "hidden hand" presidency of Eisenhower in our future. Or, we might see more of the dual executive experimentation of the past thirty years. Or we might see re-writing of the Article 1 rules – which, after all, the unitary presidency requires.

What if the last reconstructive president (read Reagan) or an orthodox-innovator (read Dubya) fully understood the reality of "thickening" — and sought a way around it? What would we expect to see? I think we would see, among other things, a move towards the unitary theory of the presidency.[4] And, in fact, it was during Reagan's presidency that the unitary theory was born. Remember Ed Meese? In 1986, this is what Meese said:
"To make sure that the President's own understanding of what's in a bill is the same…is given consideration at the time of statutory construction later on by a court, we have now arranged with West Publishing Company that the presidential statement on the signing of a bill will accompany the legislative history from Congress so that all can be available to the court for future construction of what that statute really means."[5] What better way to escape the constraints on presidents than simply to announce what the president believes a statute to mean?

In a sense, with the "unitary theory" *every president can be a reconstructionist president* – at least to an extent. What distinguishes the Roosevelts and Reagans is that their own words unilaterally define the field of action for the president. The orthodox-innovator, in contrast, is bound to work within the inherited public philosophy, and the Hoovers and Carters are trapped by their public philosophical heritage. *But a signing statement restores some part of what it means to be a repudiator and reconstructionist.* Thus Bush simply and unilaterally repudiated the ban on torture, to take that particular case. Or, to put it less disturbingly, he

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reconstructed the statute on the spot by saying that as far as he was concerned he would determine its meaning.

We have all had the distinct sensation of finding the Dubya years rather breathtaking (at least I have). The Supreme Court picked this president, portending a cautious use of presidential power. But nothing of the sort, as we now know. The President has so far issued only one veto in his entire time in office. He took us into Iraq in ways that have spawned an enormous literature. He has run up the public debt to enormous proportions. Katherine Harris reappeared in Ohio in 2004 in the form of Kenneth Blackwell. And then there are the secrecy, the unilateralism, the threats against reporters under a WWI statute.

So perhaps Skowronek's ideas – precisely because his book on the presidency anticipated a rupture from the pattern he discovered – are the best guide to the current moment. What I have offered is really nothing more than a speculation, of course. Divided government is already muting the unitary presidency, it seems. If a Democrat is elected president in 2008, s/he may further tone down the departmentalism of the unitary presidency. S/he might find a way to pursue the more Wilsonian path forward that the theory predicts. Or, in the end, she might be impeached and tried if s/he faces divided government, in which case the cycle will really have come back with a vengeance. I don't know. All I know is that I'll have a program to the game that will help me keep track of what's happening and what it means developmentally.

Let me close, then, with something we can all agree on, I think: APD is good stuff. *American political development, in showing how we got from there to here is about grasping contemporary public affairs in a particularly deep way.* APD has the very important function of "denaturalizing" the present, to use a striking formulation once offered in print by Vicki Hattam. APD provides a foundation for understanding public affairs. And this use of APD is particularly apparent, as we have known for quite some time now, in APD's rich tradition of treating the president and the presidency in American politics.

Endnotes

1. Jennifer Van Bergen, "The Unitary Executive: Is The Doctrine Behind the Bush Presidency Consistent with a Democratic State?"FindLaw: Legal News and Commentary 9 January 2006. writ.news.findlaw.com/commentary/20060109_bergen.html

2. "An Overlooked Theory on Presidential Politics," Chronicle of Higher Education Chronicle Review 31 October 2003, p. B-10.

3. Stephen Skowornek, "Leadership by Definition: First Term Reflections on George W. Bush's Political Stance," Perspectives on Politics 3 (December 2005): 817-831.

4. I also think we would see a strategy of "starving the beast," that is, permanently downsizing government and putting its most popular initiatives, such as Social Security, in the private sector. In a full analysis, I would discuss these phenomena as well.

5. Quoted in Van Bergen, "The Unitary Executive," p. 2.

Andrew Jackson on horseback, Nashville, Tennessee

barefoot empiricism. Eventually a tacit compromise was forged that exempted theorists from the strictures of behavioralist methodical critiques and left empirical political science supposedly devoid of larger theoretical ambition. The two schools of work carved up the disciplinary turf allowing scholars of different methodological persuasions to co-exist within most departments for the last half century. The discipline's flagship journal, the APSR, reflected the compromise when issue after issue contained a slate of behavioral articles accompanied single theory essay. An single essay on Plato, Hagel, or Habermas would frequently accompany several articles on Congress, turnout, or strategic voting.

For half a century the theory-behavioral divide has shaped the intellectual division of labor in political science in ways that have impoverished both. Whenever I teach Wolin's classic "Political Theory as a Vocation" I find myself getting angry at the options he puts on the table.[2] One is either an "epic theorist" or a behavioralist—there is no space for the kind of work that I aspire to. I have come to see Wolin's position as the hand maiden of behavioralism—both have made it incredibly difficult to connect theory and empirical research. Even the term "empirical research" already smacks of a problematic split that constricts my work. Indeed, I find that there is no adequate terminology for naming research that seeks to bridge rather than reinscribe the divide. Early on in graduate school one is forced to choose up sides between theory and empirical research—I think it high time to refuse this choice, time to actively deconstruct pernicious splits that pervade political science.

Although remembering the intellectual accommodations reached in the sixties brings into sharper focus the historical particularity of divisions that continue to hold sway in the discipline today, this framing is still too narrow. It limits questions concerning the intellectual division of labor to the discipline itself. In fact, creation of the sub-fields within political science are best understood within a broader frame in which the sciences, social sciences, and arts were designated as distinct cultural and scholarly domains. George Stocking has provided an amazing account of the emergence of the distinction between the biological and social in the late nineteenth century. Only once scholars broke with Lamarckian conceptions of hereditary which had long held that acquired characteristics could become heritable traits was there a clear realm of "the social" for social scientists to study.[3] For Stocking, the emergence of the leading social science disciplines was intimately connected to the changing conceptions of hereditary that enabled a bright line distinction to be drawn between biological and social processes.[4] As Lamarckian conceptions of hereditary were discredited, the social science disciplines began to form: the American economic association was established in 1885, the American anthropological association in 1902, the American political science association in 1903, and the American sociological association in 1905. Each institutionalized itself through the creation of university departments with distinct curricula and faculty appointments. Each of the national associations quickly launched discipline specific journals and annual meetings. Initially the boundaries between the different social science disciplines was blurred, but over time differences hardened as each discipline carved out and institutionalized a distinct intellectual mission.[5] Discipline formation was accompanied in short order by the identification of distinct sub-fields: when students entered the discipline they were tracked quickly into even more particular areas of specialization.

From this perspective, the behavioralist-theory "dust-up" thus might be seen as another moment of intellectual specialization in which parochial

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fiefdoms were further specified and defended. From the discipline's founding until now, the task has been one of increasing intellectual differentiation secured through ever more fine grained splitting of one field from another. Holistic approaches to intellectual endeavors were relegated to less prestigious interdisciplinary programs.

The formation of the social sciences into distinct research programs with ever more specific sub-fields was fueled by the post war boom in American universities in which many prestigious departments grew in size to fifty faculty or more thereby providing the material conditions for greater and greater specialization. The Fordist academy was accompanied by clearly specified product differentiation. Department intellectual life was increasingly organized by field: Americanists, comparativist, theorists, and international relations faculty mounted specific courses, speaker series, and examinations for their respective sub-fields. By the time I took up my first position in the academy in 1987 it was common for one to spend one's entire intellectual life within the confines of one's sub-field. The conversations came with many of the benefits of specialization: a common language and set of problems that often fosted very high level conversation. But it was the rare department that linked conversations across fields; certainly department receptions and social occasions provided moments for cross field interaction. But once the real business of intellectual work began, most faculty retreated to their areas of specialization.[6]

But even Stocking's account of the origins of the social sciences via the disarticulation of the biological and social processes is limited. It fails to map boundary drawing on the other flank where the humanities also were being distinguished from the social sciences. What was intellectual life like before the designation of Art and the artist as the repository of creativity and inspiration? An interesting project is currently underway at the New School for Social Research in which some are trying to reconnect social research and the Parsons School of Design. The gulf is substantial, but the possibilities are exhilarating. Faculty in both divisions are intrigued by the initial points of engagement in which we are beginning to attend to the visual, aesthetic, and spatial dimensions of culture and politics. What will come of this exchange remains uncertain, but I can attest to the sense of intellectual excitement that is accompanying the exchange.[7]

I have begun to see the ways in which disciplinary splits set in place over a hundred years ago are constricting intellectual life. Specialization obscures important political connections. I want to suggest that the Fordist mode of intellectual production has run its course. It is time not only to break down distinctions within political science, but also to look for new synergies across other intellectual divisions. Others are already making the leap: neuroscientists and psychoanalysts have begun to talk, race scholars are being confronted with new genetic research, design is now a crossroads for exploring the heretofore neglected aspects of globalization.[8] Political science might well serve as an important site for this new wave of intellectual work; our discipline has long forged its distinctive intellectual mission by fending off the humanities on the one side and the hard sciences on the other. If only we can turn our desire to distinguish into an appetite for engagement then perhaps political science might provide much needed terrain for intellectual experimentation. Certainly something will be lost as we move beyond our specialized professional circles, but much will be gained. I look forward to the next half century of border crossings both inside and outside the discipline.

From the President - Endnotes on following page

Endnotes

1. See Benjamin R. Barber, "The Politics of Political Science: "Value-free Theory and the Wolin-Strauss Dust-Up of 1962," APSR 100, 4 (2006): 539-45; David Kettler, ""The Political Theory Question in Political Science, 1956-1965," APSR 100, 4 (2006): 531-7; and Emily Hauptmann, "From Opposition to Accommodation: How Rockefeller Foundation Grants Redefined Relations between Political Theory and Social Science in the 1950s," APSR 100, 4 (2006): 643-9. See also James Farr's wonderful essay, "Remembering the Revolution: Behavioralism in American Political Science," in James Farr, John S. Dryzek, and Stephen T. Leonard eds., Political Science in History: Research Programs and Political Traditions (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

2. See Sheldon Wolin, "Political Theory as a Vocation," APSR 63 (1969): 1062-82.

3. See George W. Stocking Jr, Lamarckianism in American Social Science, 1890-1915," in Stocking, Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

4. For an extended account of the interplay of hereditary and the formation of the social sciences, see Hattam, In the Shadow of Race: Jews, Latinos and Immigrant Politics in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), chap. 2.

5. For an elegant account of the carving up of intellectual domains among the different social science disciplines, see Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner, "American Political Science: The Discipline's State and the State of the Discipline," in Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner eds, Political Science: The State of the Discipline (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002).

6. The story of subfield formation has not been fully told, but for a terrific account of history of International Relations, see Robert Vitalis's fascinating essay, "Birth of a Discipline," in David Long and Brian C. Schmidt, ed., Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005).

7. The exchange is taking place at many levels. Faculty are co-teaching classes across divisions that have really had any intellectual connection, university wide committees have just been formed to foster the exchange, and Arjun Appadurai has given a series of public lectures in the Parsons School of Design exploring the interface between the social sciences and design. See Arjun Appadurai, "How Objects Seek Meaning," lecture delivered New School, February 7, 2007.

8. For work exploring the interface between psychoanalysis and neuroscience, see Peter Fonagy, Gyorgy Gergely, Elliot Jurist, and Mary Target, Affect Regulation, Mentalization, and Development of the Self (New York: Other Press, 2004); and Toni Greatrex, "Projective Identification: How Does it Work?" Neuro-Psychoanalysis 4, 2 (2002):187-97 and other essay in this relatively new journal.

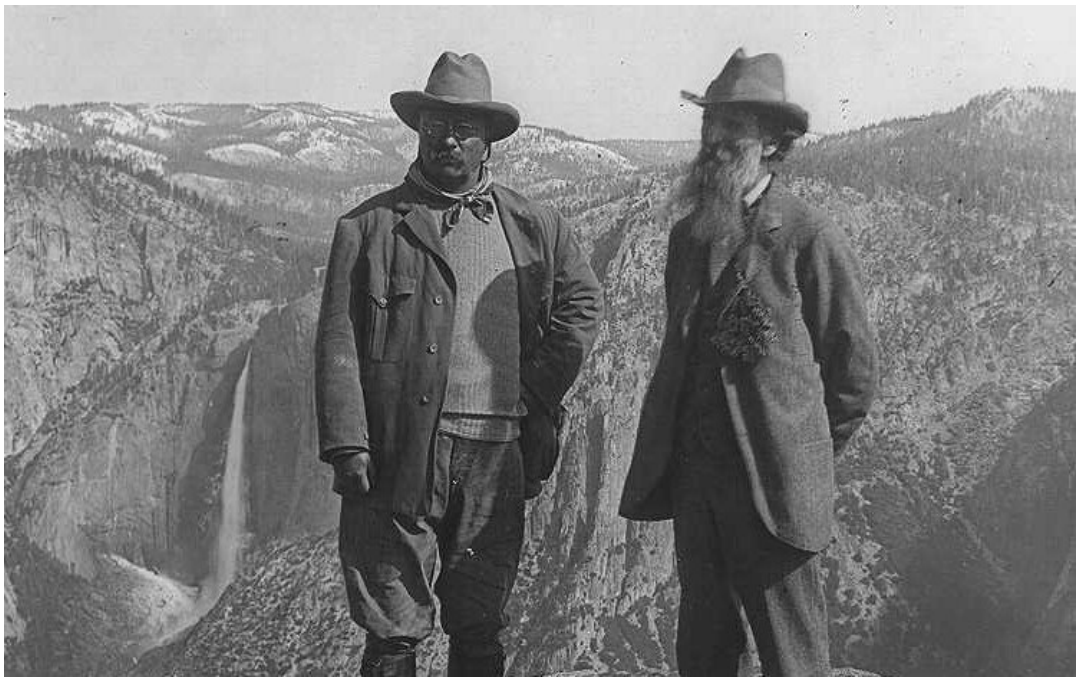
FUTURE CONFERENCES

The American Political Science Association meets in Chicago, August 30 - September 2, 2007, and in Boston, August 28 - August 31, 2008

The Western Political Science Association meets in Las Vegas, Nevada, March 8 - 10, 2007 and in San Diego, March 20 - 22, 2008

The Social Science History Association meets in Chicago, November 15-18, 2007

The Midwest Political Science Association meets in Chicago, April 12-15, 2007, and April 3-6, 2008



President Theodore Roosevelt and John Muir at Yosemite, May 1903 (*Library of Congress*)

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