



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

**Volume 18 Number 1**

**Fall/Winter 2007-8**

*From the President*

## Institutional Change and the Law: Comparative Institutionalism, American Political Development, and Public Law in Dialogue

***Kathleen Thelen***

*Department of Political Science, Northwestern University*

One of the defining features – and great strengths – of the Politics and History section is that it provides an intellectual meeting place for scholars to transcend the confines of the different subfields into which political science has been sliced and diced. As Pierson points out in a recent review article, there are

strong methodological and theoretical connections between the work of students of American political development and macro-historical work in comparative political science and sociology (Pierson 2007). There also exist very fruitful exchanges within particular substantive areas, notably the literature on welfare regimes and public policy, democracy and democratization, federalism, and immigration, among many others.

I wish to use my president’s letter to draw attention to a theoretical issue on which an intensification of a conversation among three vital constituencies within our section —comparative institutionalists, American political development scholars, and scholars of public law – seems particularly promising. The area I have in mind has to do with advancing our understanding and theoretical grasp of processes of institutional change. This is an issue with which institutionalists of all varieties are currently grappling (e.g., Greif and Laitin 2004 from a rational choice

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# POLITICS & HISTORY

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

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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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## Politics and History Nominations for Section Officers, 2008-2009

The Nominating Committee for section officers for 2008-2009 was chaired by Kathleen Thelen and included Richard Bensel, Cathie Jo Martin, Sheri Berman, and Robert Lieberman. Professor Bensel was chosen last year as President-Elect, and under the section bylaws, he automatically assumes the presidency at the 2008 section Business Meeting.

President-Elect:

**Sven Steinmo**, European University  
Institute

New Council Members, full 2-year term:

**Richard John**, Columbia University  
(fall 2008)

**Mimi Keck**, Johns Hopkins University  
**Evan Lieberman**, Princeton University  
**Julie Lynch**, University of Pennsylvania

The Program Chairs for the Politics and History section at the 2009 American Political Science Association Meetings are:

**Kimberly Morgan**,  
George Washington University  
**Julian Zelizer**,  
Princeton University (History)

Section by-laws provide for challenges by petition prior to the section meeting. The Nominating Committee should receive any petitions prior to August 10, 2008. The by-laws do not permit challenges from the floor to be entertained during the business meeting, which will be held at the Boston APSA meetings on Friday at **6:15**, followed by a reception at **7:30 pm**. **Note: the times are a little different from previous years.**

## Reflections on “Before the CIA: American Actions in the German Fine Arts (1946-1949)”

Cora Sol Goldstein, California State University - Long Beach

*(Professor Goldstein was co-recipient of the Politics and History section's 2007 Mary Parker Follett Award for the best article or chapter in politics and history. She received the award for “Before the CIA: American Actions in the German Fine Arts (1946-1949),” published in Diplomatic History volume 29, number 5, November 2005. We invited Professor Goldstein to share some reflections about her research).*

In 1997 I wrote my qualifying paper at the University of Chicago on Nazi art policy. The Third Reich suppressed modern art in Germany, repressed modern artists, patronized and commissioned its own official art, and succeeded in making the fine arts an integral part of the regime's propaganda machine. The study of Nazi art policy and its impact on German visual culture led me to wonder what happened after the collapse of the Third Reich. Therefore, I started a research project exploring the way in which the American military government dealt with Nazi art and Nazi visual propaganda during the occupation period (1945-1949). This in itself posed another set of questions—did the American military government have an explicit and coherent cultural policy? Did the other Allies?

It soon became evident to me that the control of visual culture is a key element in modern mass politics. The Allies, in particular the Soviet and the American military governments, suppressed Nazi art, exerted censorship over the visual media, and relied on visual propaganda in their own psychological warfare operations. Psychological warfare, also known as strategic propaganda, was a key factor in the Cold War. In the absence of overt war between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., the two superpowers designed and executed psychological warfare campaigns to influence the opinions,

emotions, attitudes, and behavior of target populations, and to limit the reach of the other power in key regions of the world. In fact, occupied Germany was the first battlefield of the postwar chapter of psychological warfare between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. By 1949, the Office of Military Government U.S. in Germany (OMGUS) and the *Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland* (SMAD) were using all the avenues of mass communications and cultural affairs—newspapers, journals, feature and nonfiction films, posters, radio, music, literature, theater, caricature, and the fine arts—to disseminate their strategic propaganda and to deliver the messages coming from Washington and Moscow. This research agenda led to several articles and a forthcoming book, *Psychological Warfare in Peacetime: American Visual Propaganda in Occupied Germany* (to be published by the University of Chicago Press, Spring 2009).

Neither the classic studies of the American occupation of Germany, nor the recent political science literature on democratization by force, analyze the role of cultural policy as strategic propaganda. Furthermore, the comparison of American propaganda policies in postwar Germany with those of the Nazis or the Soviets would have been considered preposterous and anti-American during the Cold War. It is now evident that, contrary to the leitmotiv of American propaganda throughout the Cold War period, the U.S. also used culture as a political weapon. The Americans censored images, and relied on film, photography, and the fine arts to project their political agenda and to seduce, dissuade, and control the German population in the American zone and sector. The content of American visual propaganda changed according to the fluctuating American strategic and tactical needs in

*continued on page 50*

## Member Awards

**Fredrick C. Harris** (Columbia University), **Valeria Sinclair-Chapman** (University of Rochester), and **Brian D. McKenzie** (Texas A&M University) received the Ralph J. Bunche Award for the best scholarly work in political science published in the previous calendar year that explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism. The co-authors won for *Countervailing Forces in African-American Civic Activism, 1973-1994* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

The Legislative Studies Section for the Richard F. Fenno for theoretically and empirically strong work was awarded to **Gregory Wawro**, Columbia University, and **Eric Schickler**, University of California, Berkeley for *Filibuster: Obstruction and Lawmaking in the U.S. Senate* (Princeton University Press, 2007).

The European and Politics and Society section presented its Best Book Award to co-reipients **Julia Lynch**, University of Pennsylvania, for *Age in the Welfare State: The Origins of Social Spending, on Pensioners, Workers, and Children* (Cambridge University Press, 2006) and **Daniel Ziblatt**, Harvard University, for *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism* (Princeton University Press, 2006).

**Gerald Gamm**, University of Rochester, and **Thad Kousser**, University of California, San Diego, received the Best Paper Award from the State Politics and Policy Section for their work, "Localism and Factionalism in American State Legislatures."

The Best Book Award for Race, Ethnicity, and Public Participation presented by the Race, Ethnicity and Politics Section went to **Byron E. Shafer**, University of Wisconsin-Madison, and **Richard Johnston**, University of British Columbia for *The End of Southern Exceptionalism: Class, Race, and Partisan Change in the Postwar South* (Harvard University Press, 2006).

**Saskia Sassen**, University of Chicago, was the recipient of the Jervis and Schroeder Best Book Award presented by the International History and Politics Section for *Territories, Authority, Rights, From Medieval to Global Assemblages* (Princeton University Press, 2006).

**Lawrence C. Dodd**, University of Florida, received the *University of Florida Doctoral Mentoring Award*, given to five members across the university who demonstrate excellence, innovation, and effectiveness in mentoring doctoral students through to dissertation completion.

**Jennifer Hochschild**, Harvard University, received the *Everett Mendelsohn Excellence in Mentoring Award* given annually by the Harvard Student Council of Harvard University to up to three faculty across the university for effective mentoring of graduate students.

**David J. Tichenor**, Rutgers University, was named *Rutgers Research Mentor of the Year* to honor outstanding mentorship of undergraduate research.

**Victoria A. Farrar-Myers**, University of Texas, Arlington, was given the *UT Arlington Honors College Distinguished Faculty Award*, which recognizes a faculty member for outstanding support of the Honors College through teaching, advising, supervising theses, and support of Honors College programs.

**James A. Morone**, Brown University, was given the Barrett Hazeltine Citation by graduating seniors as a recognition of an outstanding teacher at the university.

**Virginia Sapiro**, University of Wisconsin-Madison, received the *University of Wisconsin System Regents Underkofler Teaching Excellence Award* as recognition of outstanding career achievements in teaching.

**The 2007 Mary Parker Follett Award**  
*for the best article or chapter on Politics and History*

*(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).*

**To Frederick Harris**  
*Columbia University*

for “It Takes a Tragedy to Arouse Them: Collective  
Memory and Collective Action During the Civil  
Rights Movement”

in

*Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social,  
Cultural, and Political Protest,*  
Volume 5, No. 1, May 2006

In “It Takes a Tragedy to Arouse Them: Collective Memory and Collective Action during the Civil Rights Movement,” Fredrick Harris contributes to the History and Politics subfield by both forwarding social movement theory and uncovering a significant historical surprise. Harris discovers—against the grain of most traditional scholarship—that in the South the collective memory of Emmet Till’s murder was more influential in inspiring black insurgency than the Scottsboro Trials, the Brown decision, or the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The resonance of this event in African American memory and culture also more positively predicted civil rights activism outside the South than has been understood. Analyzing data from a rare Harris-Newsweek opinion survey of blacks from 1966, as well as biographical and autobiographical narratives, historical accounts, and cultural artifacts, Harris deftly combines qualitative and quantitative research to build a framework to help us understand the links between collective memory, issue framing, and political mobilization. If we want to know anything about why and how certain memories survive across generations to catalyze collective action, we will benefit from the tools and insights Harris has given us.

**To Cora Sol Goldstein**  
*California State University - Long Beach*

for “Before the CIA: American Actions in the  
German Fine Arts (1946-1949)”  
in *Diplomatic History,*  
Volume 29, No. 5, November 2005

We are making an extraordinary second award this award this year in recognition of Cora Goldstein’s achievements in telling us something new and important about the politics of art, an area in which few political scientists study or teach. But she makes clear why we ought to be in her “Before the CIA”

There is a well-known controversy among revisionist and post-revisionist cold war historians about the role and objectives of the CIA in covert funding of arts and letters in Europe. The best-known work on the subject though is by a British journalist, rather than scholar, and her best-known protagonist is an art critic. They have gone back and forth on the role of the CIA in particular in supporting abstract expressionism as a new, depoliticized mode of art. Goldstein has now elevated the level of scholarship and advanced our understanding of these matters. She does three things actually, in order of growing importance. 1. She complicates the CIA/conspiracy version of the story. 2. She introduces us to the roots of the later CIA story by looking at an earlier moment in US-German relations, under the Office of Military Government. 3. And she shows how the US policy emerged because of the Soviets’ own intense involvement in the arts. She is first to do this kind of comparative, multi-country, multi-language archival work. She is now the scholar to be reckoned with in the future, while pointing the way forward for others interested in the broad area of American post-World War II imperial development.

## The 2007 J. David Greenstone Award

for the Best Book on Politics and History

to **Istvan Hont** for *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective* (Belknap/Harvard University Press, 2005).

(Here are the award committee's comments on the J. David Greenstone Award.

**Jeff Tulis** chaired the committee, which included **Alyson Cole** and **Ellen Immergut**)

In a review of *Jealousy of Trade* in the *Times Literary Supplement*, Richard Bourke writes that the aim of this book “is to rewrite the history of modern liberalism, beginning with its foundations.” If anything, Bourke’s praise diminishes the achievement of *Jealousy of Trade*: Hont not only reinterprets the origins and structure of modern liberalism, he has redefined the origin and meaning of modernity itself.

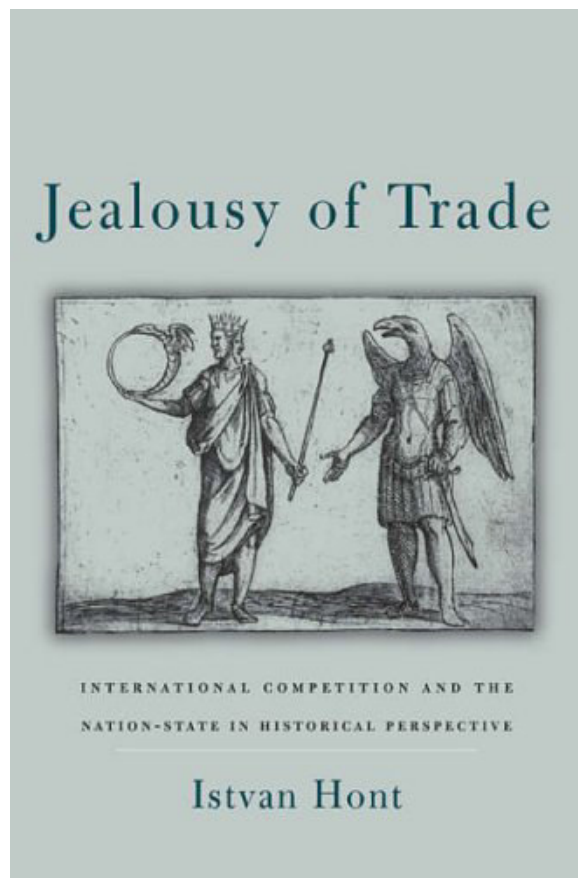
This is a stunningly ambitious and erudite project that covers an extraordinary array of figures from Hobbes, Grotius, Pufendorf, to the Physiocrats, Montesquieu, Hume, and Smith; just as important, it contributes distinctively to issues that occupy contemporary political scientists and political theorists, including nationalism, socialism, republicanism, capitalism and globalization theory.

Any crisp summary will necessarily distort a book of this scope. Still it is possible to highlight a few of its striking arguments and interpretations. Hont’s title, *Jealousy of Trade*, is taken from Hume and underscores his central preoccupation and discovery, a movement from Hobbes notion of the jealousy of kings and persons of sovereign authority to Hume’s jealousy of trade. This shift marks the emergence and

construction of the idea of economics as a constitutive component of political theory. Members of this section, including previous winners of this prize, have traced the ways politics is more fundamental than economics, how particular economic configurations were not inevitable but rather the product of political contestation and choice. It would be hard to find a deeper analysis of that insight than the one developed in *Jealousy of Trade*. Hont reflects on the absence of economics in political thought prior to Hume as well as its distorted displacement of politics later in Marx. In between Hume and Marx, Hont locates the central political problematics of our time.

If commercial society was not inevitable, neither was it, on Hont’s account, an accumulation of accidents. Rather it reflected a design, worked out by thinkers large and small, remembered and forgotten, of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Though Hont remembers them all, his work draws our attention to the most profound of these, David Hume. In his telling, modernity effectively begins not with Machiavelli, not with Hobbes, but in the mind of the Scottish Enlightenment, Hume.

An inspiring example of political theory at its best, this book contributes not only to one subfield, but to the broader intellectual inquiry into politics and history.



## Special Award for Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek

Founding Editors of *Studies in American Political Development*

*Studies in American Political Development* provided a place for scholars of American political development. That place was not only a place of shelter, sanctuary, and solidarity; it was a laboratory, a place of invention and experimentation.

*Studies in American Political Development* was an opening. Orren and Skowronek opened American political science. Those who read and wrote for *Studies* read work in other disciplines, other languages, worked with archives and methods alien to other political scientists. They constantly crossed the disciplinary divide that separated politics and history. *Studies* made American political science interesting and important to other disciplines. As knowledge of the work in *Studies* spread, political science departments opened themselves to new work and a new conception of political science.

*Studies* was mobile and dynamic, moving back in history, pushing the discipline forward. Work in *Studies* turned political science back to historical, genealogical, developmental questions, and in doing so thrust political science forward, breaking new ground in theory and method. Skowronek and Orren altered conventional views, they challenging conventional wisdom and they remained dynamic. They changed their views of history and theory as they changed ours, maintaining their provocative engagement with an ever-extending corps of readers.

Orren and Skowronek never lost sight of American politics. All those who read *Studies* learned something of America, and found something to challenge, amend, and fuel their politics. This will continue. Those read *Studies* teach what they have learned and put it to use in their writing. Those who will read *studies*, in the library or on the Web, still find the seeds for future projects.

This is not a memorial to a project Skowronek and Orren have completed, but (like *Studies* itself) a text that looks back to a past that is still with us, and hopes to move politics and scholarship forward. We—their comrades, their students—look back with gratitude, and forward with the strength solidarity gives.

Anne Norton  
The University of Pennsylvania  
*on behalf of the Politics and History Section*



## STUDIES IN AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

### Editors

Karen Orren, *Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles*

Stephen Skowronek, *Political Science, Yale University*

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## Politics and History Section Business Meeting

Sheraton Chicago, Parlor G

Friday, August 31, 2007

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President Victoria Hattam brought the meeting to order at 6:15 pm. She noted that the section is thriving, and has 700 members. The section sponsored or co-sponsored 22 panels at the APSA convention. She thanked Janice Fine and Kevin Bruyneel for doing a great job as panel organizers for the convention.

Victoria Hattam thanked those who served on the book and article prize committees.

The committee for the J. David Greenstone Best Book Award was chaired by Jeff Tulis and included Alyson Cole and Ellen Immergut. The Mary Parker Follett Best Article or Chapter Committee was chaired by Robert Vitalis, and included Catherine Holland and Nancy Wadsworth.

Jeffrey Tulis spoke about the Greenstone Award. Seventy books were nominated for the award this year. The entire pool was strong. Twenty books were particularly prize-worthy. These numbers indicate that the field of politics and history is very strong. There were five finalists. This year's winner was Istvan Hont for *Jealousy of Trade* (see the comments on the book by Jeffrey Tulis on page \*\*)

Anne Norton and Ira Katznelson presented a special award to Stephen Skowronek and Karen Orren for creating and serving as the founding editors of *Studies in American Development* (see comments by Anne Norton on page \*\*). Stephen Skowronek welcomed the new editorial team, Daniel Carpenter, Elisabeth Clemens, and Scott James. He thanked Cambridge University Press for its support over the years, the various readers of manuscripts over the years, and those who have contributed to the journal.

Robert Vitalis announced the Mary Parker Follett award co-winners for 2007. The winners were Frederick Harris for "It Takes a Tragedy to Arouse Them: Collective Memory and Collective Action During the Civil Rights Movement" in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 5, Number 1 (May 2006),

pp. 19-43 and Cora Sol Goldstein for "Before the CIA: American actions in the German fine arts (1946-1949)," *Diplomatic History*, Volume 29, Number 5 (November 2005) pp.747-768. (Dee the comments on the articles by Robert Vitalis on page \*\*)

The members next took up the election of new officers.

The nominations committee included Anne Norton, Stephen Skowronek, Kathleen Thelen, and Victoria Hattam. The slate of candidates included Richard Bensel as President-Elect, and Andreas Kalyvas, Joseph Lowndes, Ruth Collier, and Douglas Reed for two-year terms on the section council. Dave Robertson was nominated for another term as Secretary/Treasurer. The members approved the slate unanimously.

Retiring President Victoria Hattam presented the section with the gift of a gavel, which many members appreciated greatly.

Incoming president Kathleen Thelen then assumed the chair of the meeting. She thanked the continuing members for their support. She announced that the section council met before the business meeting and discussed three topics: first, the APSA's new formula for allocating panels, a formula that was likely to have a neutral impact on the section; second, the opportunities to take advantage of the breath of the section and encouraging more conversations across fields and specialties; and third, a blanket invitation to members of the council to contribute to the section and the newsletter.



Adam Sheingate spoke about the 2008 section panels for the APSA meeting, which he and James Mahoney chair.

Dan Tichenor raised the possibility of introducing a new section award for the "Best Dissertation in the Field of Politics and History." The Executive Council brought the idea to the section's subsequent business meeting where it was enthusiastically endorsed — so enthusiastically in fact that we were able to vote on implementing the idea immediately.

**Abstracts of Politics & History Papers  
from the 2007 APSA Meetings**

**“Repertoires of Labor Regulation  
and the Redefinition of Employee Status in the  
United States”**

Stephen Amberg, University of Texas, San Antonio

The institutionalist literature on the 1960's has vastly expanded our understanding of how the political conflicts over civil rights were shaped by historical institutional legacies from the 1930's as well as of how the resolution of these conflicts in turn conferred a distinctive legacy to the post-1960's politics of race, ethnicity and class. One of the signal conflicts that defined that era was the one between civil rights advocates and unions, the principal organization of working class interests which had been one of the constituents of the 1930's New Deal political coalition as well as a crucial agent for economic justice through the process of collective bargaining. Like New Deal welfare institutions, however, collective bargaining perpetuated racial discrimination. Both welfare and labor policies became the objects of civil rights reform. But most of the literature takes too narrow a focus on the intersection of race with welfare and labor commitments. Another prominent commitment from the 1930's was U.S. leadership to create a liberal international economic order. This paper argues that many scholars have not appreciated the wide range of international influence on domestic reform in the 1960's. This failure is linked to a misconception of the organization of work, which was the primary field of action for equal employment opportunity. This paper focuses on how primary and institutional agents contended over work in the context of international economic policy commitments. New Deal regulation of class conflict did not abolish worker-employer conflict nor fix the division of labor; there were significant differences between how work was regulated in union and non-union workplaces, manufacturing and construction, public and private sectors, and northern and southern labor markets. The multiple fields of work also were a context for civil rights reform. Regulation engaged multiple agents who acted to create new configurations, only part of which was aimed to advance race and class justice. Among the long-term legacies is that the U.S. now has integrated labor markets (strong protection for those discriminated against at work and corporate commitment to diversity) with poor working conditions (because key New Deal labor institutions did not reproduce) and a large economically marginalized working class population.

**“Strict Parents and Nurturing Environments:  
Republican and Democratic Family Ideation,  
1989-2005”**

Gwendoline M. Alphonso, Cornell University

All policy flows from the ideational construction of policy subjects and how they are imagined to be affected by a proposed policy intervention. Policymaking, of all types, must have a distinct imagination of the subjects that the policy is purported to effect; those subjects could be the family, victims of crime, industrial and corporate workers, enemy combatants, immigrants, taxpayers, or what have you. The crucial point is that policymaking cannot occur in the absence of legislators' imagination of policy subjects. In this paper, I develop this argument in the context of the 'family' as a policy subject that underlies all family legislation, where family legislation or policy is loosely defined as inclusive of all those policies that are seen to affect the functioning and well-being of American families. Family policy therefore covers a diverse range of policy categories, such as tax, health care, labor, social security, crimes against children, contraception, welfare, marriage, and education policies, from a multitude of others. Driving, or underlying, all these policies is a distinct imagination of 'family' as the subject of legislation. As we shall see in this paper, members of congress from the two major parties have two distinct ideational frames or mental images of the family. These ideational frames are, I suggest, a Republican one of a Strict Parent family and a Democratic one of a Nurturing Environment family. Fundamental differences in the imagination of 'family' as a policy subject inform equally fundamental variations in how members from the two parties come to see and understand problems that assail the family and accordingly, how they purport to fix those problems through policy.

**“Divisions in the Democratic Party and the  
Transformation of U.S. Social Policy”**

Eva Bertram, University of California, Santa Cruz

Divisions in the Democratic Party and the Transformation of U.S. Social Policy This paper seeks to explain a fundamental shift in U.S. social policy in the 1960s, when federal public assistance policies toward poor families began to turn from a New Deal welfarist model of assistance toward a work-based approach. I trace this shift to deep divisions within the Democratic Party. The paper argues that an uneasy New Deal compromise within the party became an open conflict in the 1960s, between a welfarist vision of public assistance held primarily by northern liberals and moderates, and a contending workfarist approach, most prominent among southerners. This division proved decisive not only in thwarting expansionary initiatives by presidents Nixon and Carter in

the 1970s, but also in determining the pace and character of welfare retrenchment initiatives in the 1980s and 1990s. During the 1960s, I argue, liberal Democrats in the White House sought to expand the New Deal agenda for public assistance to poor families while mollifying conservative critics, through reforms such as extending AFDC aid to two-parent families, boosting food, medical and other in-kind assistance, and providing social services (including a small work and training program) for poor families. But these strategies backfired. I show that the major public assistance reforms introduced by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations breached the carefully-drawn New Deal distinction between aiding the employable and the unemployable poor. This eroded the existing welfarist rationale for public assistance (which limited aid to poor “unemployables”) providing and defending an alternative justification for aid. I demonstrate that the reforms unintentionally created both the political rationale and the opportunity for pro-workfare Democrats in Congress to seize the policy initiative from liberals in the White House. Frustrated by rising welfare caseloads and costs—and with the New Deal intraparty compromise to limit aid to unemployables in tatters—southern Democrats led by Rep. Wilbur Mills took the offensive in 1967. Using a modest Johnson work initiative as a pretext, they legislated a freeze on AFDC payments and mandated the creation of state work programs through the Work Incentive (WIN) amendments. This marked a change in the role of southern Democrats in welfare politics—from exercising veto power in order to curtail liberal ambitions to developing and passing federal policy initiatives that reflected their own brand of public assistance. The spending freeze never took effect, and the new work requirements failed to meet their stated objectives. But the politics of AFDC were set on a new developmental course. From the 1967 debate through the 1975 passage of the Earned Income Tax Credit for the working poor spearheaded by Sen. Russell Long, southern Democrats began to develop and promote their own proposals, and to craft their own version of work-based public assistance as a conservative alternative to New Deal welfarism. In the final section of the paper, I demonstrate how the agenda of conservative Democrats repeatedly stymied liberal attempts to expand or hold the line on core New Deal commitments to public assistance from the 1970s through the 1990s.

### **“After Victory: Institutional Recalibration and Political Change”**

Stuart L. Chinn, Yale University

For all that has been written about political change and American political development, there has been remarkably little scholarly illumination about the dynamics of political order-creation. Most of the prevailing theories of political change—including, most notably, punctuated

equilibrium theory—are content to more or less just postulate the easy and seamless rise of a new political order established by reformers, once the heavy lifting of political reform has ended. I believe this oversight poses at least one fundamental problem for the prevailing theories: namely, they tend to be unable to account for the seeming resilience of political losers after transformative periods of reform. For example, Southern Democrats erected the Jim Crow system just several decades after Reconstruction; employers’ managerial prerogatives enjoyed a notable resurgence in judicial rulings in the late 1930s several years after the enactment of the Wagner Act; and in the aftermath of the 1960s Civil Rights Revolution, Southerners joined a Republican electoral coalition that would energetically contest extensions of that revolution—such as affirmative action and busing—in subsequent decades. In this paper, I address this developmental oversight by tracing the constitutive role of political losers in helping to construct the new political order that arises after a major institutional dismantling has occurred. Specifically, I focus on the three most conspicuous instances of a dismantling in American political history, where entrenched, complex, and significant systems of authority were fundamentally repudiated and permanently discarded. These three incidents were the dismantling of slavery by the Thirteenth Amendment in Reconstruction, the dismantling of an intricate system of employer-employee relations embodied in master-servant common law doctrines by the Wagner Act during the New Deal; and the dismantling of Jim Crow in *Brown v. Board of Education* and in several major civil rights statutes. Relying principally upon primary historical materials such as Supreme Court opinions and Supreme Court briefs, which were supplemented by extensive secondary historical research, I uncover two recurring stages of “institutional recalibration” repeated in each of my case-studies: a) an initial period of judicially-driven “counter-reform,” where the Supreme Court was able to delimit the reach of the new reforms, and b) a second period of “institutional construction” when the terms of the new equilibrium or political order were jointly-crafted by legislative bodies and the Supreme Court. These general political-judicial processes illuminate the means by which changed institutions and resilient institutions undergo a mutual recalibration that results in the creation of a new, largely unanticipated political order. Uncovering these historical processes of “institutional recalibration” subjects the complex pathways of systemic political change to fresh scrutiny, and takes direct critical aim at metaphorical concepts such as “punctuated equilibrium” and “critical junctures” that prevail in the literature. More generally, illuminating these pathways by which the polity reconstitutes itself after the dismantling of arrangements once vital to its operation should aid legal theorists and political scientists in fundamentally rethinking the nature of political change.

## **“National Health Care Reform is Around the Corner Again: Lessons from the Clinton Plan, State Children’s Health Insurance Program and Massachusetts Reform”**

Michael Doonan and Signe Peterson, Brandeis University

Our analysis identifies profound contrasts in politics, political strategy and programmatic details between the Clinton plan and the successful expansions. The Clinton plan was partisan, leadership and ownership of the plan was limited to the White House, it altered Draft Not For Distribution, Citation or Attribution the way most people would receive health insurance, challenged entrenched interests, lacked grassroots support, and was susceptible to charges of “socialized medicine.” In contrast, SCHIP and Massachusetts reform were and are bipartisan, leadership and ownership are broad-based, the way most people receive insurance remains the same, these programs build off the existing system, and administration is state-based. Further, while the Clinton plan provided detailed policy prescriptions, SCHIP allows for significant state flexibility and innovation, and the Massachusetts Legislature left many of the plan details to a Board with broad interest group and consumer representation. The process by which SCHIP and Massachusetts reform were developed helped consolidate support and forge the political compromises necessary to achieve legislative success. This was not the case with the Clinton plan.

## **“Where’s the Rest of Us? Rights and Nation in Reagan’s America”**

Jeffrey R. Dudas, University of Connecticut

Scholars occasionally marvel at the capaciousness of Ronald Reagan’s nationalistic political vision. Reagan “was no populist demagogue catering to our worst instincts,” writes John Patrick Diggins (2007: xviii; see also Noonan 1990; Bimes 2003; and Hecl 2003). Rather than demonizing specific populations, Reagan’s vitriol, we are assured, was saved for the excesses of “big government.” Reagan thus told “Americans that each and every one of them was a ‘hero’” (Diggins 2007: xviii). But for all of its optimism and grace, Reagan’s nationalism, like all nationalisms, harbored a punitive, exclusionary logic. This logic rendered his vision of America ambiguous; it celebrated certain people (those who practiced “ordered” freedom) and castigated others (those whose disorder and license endangered the body politic). The identification of heroes and villains, moreover, was at the heart of the popular appeal of Reagan’s political vision. I shall thus

argue that Reagan’s consistent naming of threats internal to the nation made America intelligible both to Reagan himself and to his audience. In addition, I shall argue that legal rhetoric – particularly the discourse of individual rights – was one of the primary means through which Reagan’s nationalism proceeded. Reagan was, in fact, an ardent user of a particular version of “rights talk”; it was at the core of his understanding of the nation and so too at the center of the process by which he distinguished America’s heroes from its villains. Accordingly, I will argue that it was at the intersection of rights and nation that Reagan found the rest of himself. It is his lasting rhetorical achievement to convince large numbers of Americans that that intersection contains similar generative possibilities for the rest of us.

## **“The ‘Three Races’ and State Development in the Early United States”**

David F. Ericson, Wichita State University

This study explores the ways that the federal government sometimes officially, but most often unofficially, triangulated the relations among African, European, and Native Americans in its Native-American removal efforts in the southeastern United States. Though the dynamics of Native-American removal were similar in the Northern and Southern states in terms of the general desire of European-Americans for Native-American lands and their general antipathy toward Native-Americans, the presence of slavery was a critical, additional variable in the Southern states, especially in the case of the forcible removal of the Seminoles from Florida. The ensuring Second Seminole War has been an under-appreciated factor in the development of the early-American state.

## **“Litigation over State Secrets: Checking Executive Claims in Court”**

Louis Fisher, Law Library of Congress

Covers the Supreme Court case of *United States v. Reynolds* (1953), which first recognized the state secrets privilege, allowing the government to withhold documents from private litigants and even from judges. In this particular case, it was later learned that the Air Force accident report withheld from three widows who sued the federal government over the deaths of their husbands in a B-29 crash did not contain state secrets. The state secrets privilege is currently being invoked in such cases as NSA surveillance and the “extraordinary rendition” cases, where individuals such as Maher Arar and Khaled el-Masri are sent to foreign prisons for interrogation and torture.

## **“Apartheid Didn’t Happen Here: Lessons for the United States from the South African Race-Making Experience”**

Shamira M. Gelbman, University of Virginia

This paper revisits the thesis, advanced most prominently in Anthony Marx’s *Making Race and Nation* (1998), that political elites embrace racial exclusion as a means for mitigating tensions between dominant-race subgroups that threaten to impede their state-building projects. While Marx’s comparison rightly emphasizes similarities in the turn-of-the-century United States and South Africa’s segregationist racial orders as they contrast to Brazil’s “racial democracy,” it downplays the extent to which their initially similar paths grew increasingly divergent by mid-century. Whereas World War II signaled the beginning of the end of Jim Crow in the US, the same international event led to the installation of the apartheid regime in South Africa. By the 1960s, the contrast was even starker: While this was the “golden age” of South African apartheid, it marked the highpoint of the American “civil rights revolution.” To make sense of the initial convergence and subsequent divergence of the American and South African racial orders and refine Marx’s thesis accordingly, the paper offers a case study of the Union of South Africa’s first half-century of party competition and racial policymaking. The imposition of apartheid, it shows, followed a very different logic than that which prevailed in the wake of the Anglo-Boer War. Specifically, rather than unify whites across the ethnic divide, its goal was to advance Afrikaners’ particularistic interests. This finding in turn suggests a new typology of “race-making” strategies that illuminates both longitudinal differences within the South African case and its cross-national comparison to the United States.

## **“War Reimagines the State: the Military Technical Revolution and State Formation in Early Modern Europe”**

Stacie Goddard, Wellesley College

This essay recasts both why the military technical revolution was important, as well as how it influenced the modern European state. First, I argue that the military transformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth century was not simply a material revolution; it was an ideational revolution as well. Second, I argue that the military technical revolution did not only increase a sovereign’s power or his ability to control territory. Rather the military revolution reconstructed social relations within the modern state. In particular, the military technical revolution reorganized societies into populations, conceptualizing social relations as organized and governed by virtue of their geographic boundaries. In sum, the military technical revolution reimagined the state, creating a revolutionary

social organization, one with no equivalent in European society. Although confined at first to the battlefield, this organization would ultimately reorder dynastic governance networks, producing the territorially-organized societies that underpin the modern state.

## **“Historical Precedent? American Press Policy in Occupied Iraq”**

Cora Sol Goldstein, California State University, Long Beach

In this paper, I compare American information control policy in Germany (1945-1949) and Iraq (2003-2006). The comparative analysis indicates that the American information control policy was very different in the two cases. In Germany, the U.S. Army and the Office of Military Government U.S. in Germany exerted rigorous control over the media to block Nazi and Soviet propaganda, and to introduce the American political agenda. In Iraq, the Coalition forces did not establish rigorous information control, and the Pentagon was more concerned with the manipulation of the American press than with regulating information in Iraq. As a result of this strategic error, the insurgency and civilian movements opposed to the American presence in Iraq have been able to control information and spread their anti-American messages.

## **“So Dysfunctional...it’s Frightening’: The Department of Homeland Security and Public Policy in the Car Bomb Age”**

Andrew D. Grossman, Albion College

After the attacks on September 11, 2001 (9/11), the moribund public policy of “civilian defense” got a new name: “homeland security”; although the semantic change had its supporters and detractors (the Orwellian ring did not sit well with many), it did not translate into an efficient national policy. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has endured public ridicule since it was established, but why does it seem so inept? My question is: why the push for a highly centralization of civilian defense/homeland security bureaucracy in the face of sixty years of failure in this particular policy arena? I contend that, given the structure of the American state, a massive, centralized, and growing bureaucracy that is primarily a policing entity is a problematic institution for the implementation of a comprehensive national civilian defense policy. This essay has three parts: In the first section, the DHS is considered in historical perspective. What came before and how did it affect the organizational structure of the homeland security apparatus? In a sense, the DHS is a bureaucratic institution that was born to fail; that is, it is pastiche of emergency management agencies that seemingly are not equipped to handle a variety of civil

defense policies. This ad hoc approach to state-building is not, for the most part, a result of incompetent professionals or legislators (most of whom are trying to do good); instead, it is a consequence of an enigma related to American political development (APD): the American state has proven supremely adept at war mobilization and war-fighting, but not at creating long-term internal security bureaucracies. The second part of the essay examines a particular kind of policy (an old strategy): deterrence by denial as one possible way to define civilian defense/homeland security policy. Finally, the third section of the essay concludes with some ideas of possible ways to re-conceptualize a public policy of homeland security.

### **“The Evolution of Varieties of Capitalism in Europe”**

Peter A. Hall, Harvard University

Against the view that globalization is rendering all developed political economies hybrids, this paper argues that it is still useful to speak of distinctive varieties of capitalism. It substantiates that view by putting the process of ‘globalization’ in a longer historical perspective that explores the response of four political economies to changes in the international economy since 1945. The cases of Britain, France, Germany and Sweden are examined to assess how each responded to economic challenges in the 1950s, late 1960s-1970s, and 1990s-2000s with an emphasis on three types of problems: the work problem, the wage problem, and the problem of total factor productivity. The paper finds that shifts in the international monetary regime and changes endogenous to the existing institutional structure of the economy were as important as exogenous shocks in posing challenges to the economy and that existing institutions conditioned the nature of the response of firms and governments. It concludes that varieties of capitalism continue to display some distinctive features of importance to economic performance and the distribution of well-being and that those varieties can usefully be thought of as the basis for institutionally-conditioned adjustment paths.

### **“Coordination and Organization: The Two Dimensions of Nonliberal Capitalism”**

Martin Hoepner, Max Plank Institute for the Study of Societies

This paper suggests a two-dimensional concept of nonliberal capitalism: coordinated capitalism (as described in the varieties of capitalism framework) and organized capitalism. The organized capitalism framework distinguishes forms of capitalism with respect to the status of firms in society. Political economies are highly organized when firms are not only the private business of owners and insiders but, in addition, quasi-public infrastructures and, therefore, highly constrained in their

economic decisions by institutionally sanctioned collective interests. I construct an index on organized capitalism by combining data on ownership structures, board level codetermination, the density of employers’ associations and trade union density in order to allow for comparison between varying extents of coordination and organization in OECD countries. In order to demonstrate the usefulness of the framework in qualitative terms, I describe the main features of German capitalism in terms of its organization and current disorganization. The distinction between two dimensions of nonliberal capitalism is particularly helpful for analysis of the current phase of transformation among European capitalisms as it allows for differentiation between two forms of liberalization: declining coordination and disorganization.

### **“The Routinization of Charisma: The Public Opinion Apparatus of the Modern Presidency”**

Lawrence R. Jacobs, University of Minnesota

Weber posits personal charisma and impersonal legal-rational institutions as two generally quite distinct bases of authority. Modern society has challenged this bifurcation. This paper has traced routinized institutional efforts to create and sustain the charismatic personality of U.S. presidents. The development of a White House public opinion apparatus has been used by presidents since John Kennedy to monitor public evaluations of their personal image and to attempt to fashion favorable perceptions of them as extraordinary individuals. Kennedy and Nixon possessed quite different personality traits but both utilized the White House’s institutionalized apparatus to foster perceptions of their charisma. The allure of institutionalized charisma seeking is, however, often a political snare. Presidential attempts to construct personal appeal and charisma often fall far short of White House expectations.

### **“The Beginning of the End: African American Voter Registration in the South Before 1954 and the Shaping of the Civil Rights Movement”**

Kimberley S. Johnson, Barnard College

This paper presents an analysis of the rise in African American voter registration in the South, from 1940 to 1954. Using a random effects, panel data model and controlling for a variety of socio-economic factors, the analysis estimates the impact on black voter registration rates of electoral institutional changes such as the reform/abolish of the poll tax; state level political competition; the growth in African American social capital and political organizing; and the impact of other types of socio-economic changes such as unionization. The analysis shows that poll tax reform, black social capital and organizations, as well as unionization rates had a

significant effect on shaping black voter registration rates prior to the emergence of the Civil Rights Movement. Since the enactment of the Voting Rights Act (VRA), the study of African American voting participation has focused on the impact of that legislation as well as other political and social changes created in part by the civil rights movement, to explain the rise in African American voting. This research suggests that the roots of the VRA as well as the civil rights movement itself lie in an earlier period.

### **“The Diffusion of Failure: Targeted Employment Policies in the U.S. and the U.K.”**

Kimberly S. Johnson, Barnard College

Restructuring the Welfare State: Tax Expenditures, Welfare Reform, and Employment Policy in the US and UK This paper explores the similarities as well as difference in one aspect of the USA’s and the UK’s welfare reform effort: the use of employment tax credits. In the case of the USA, this is the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) and the Welfare to Work Tax Credits (WOTC/WtW). In the case of the UK, this is the Working Family Tax Credit (WFTC). The first section of this paper traces the common elements of the political context from which this policy choice emerged. The second section traces the key differences between the countries in terms of implementation and outcomes. The final section of the paper assesses the degree to which preexisting institutional and organizational commitments and structures shapes the both the adoption as well as the outcomes of new ideas and policy tools. This analysis offers the chance to explore how not only welfare reform, but also the politics of welfare state transformation played out in different political and institutional settings and thus offers greater leverage into debates over the transformation of the welfare state.

### **“Seismic Shifts: How Federal Policy in the 1980s Foreclosed State Options for Sustainable Health Reform”**

Elizabeth Kilbreth, University of Southern Maine

In the 1970s and 1980s, a number of states adopted all payer rate setting systems as strategies to control the rate of increase in health care costs. These systems brought stakeholders to the table to negotiate the allocation of costs associated with caring for the uninsured and created, briefly, an opportunity for states to address access problems more broadly with participation of major stakeholders. This paper uses a case study of Maine and comparisons with other states to argue that Medicare’s decision not to participate in all payer rate setting systems on equal terms with other payers destabilized cost containment efforts and created barriers that still exist today preventing comprehensive and long-term state

solutions to rising costs and declining insurance coverage.

### **“Ironies of State Building: A Comparative Perspective on the American State”**

Desmond King, Oxford University and Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University

The purpose of this essay is to take stock of recent contributions in comparative politics to the study of the State to assess their utility for accounts of the state in American political development. There are two important intellectual backdrops to this undertaking. First, it is now well established that the apparent “statelessness” of the United States is an illusion. Second, not only has the view of the American state changed but the comparative template of the state against which American state-building has been measured has shifted as well. We argue in this essay that these two puzzles are closely linked and that these new directions in the very comparative literature that once found the United States to be “stateless,” following J. P. Nettl’s classic paper on the state as a multidimensional conceptual variable, ironically provide the basis upon which to build an alternative perspective on the American state, enriched by comparative insights. In this emerging view, American state building, strength, and institutional capacity form through links with society, not necessarily through autonomy from society. In this essay we explore these paradoxes in some greater detail, beginning with the general comparative literature on the state before turning our attention to the parallel ironies of the state in American political development. We then survey a small number of recent works drawn from comparative, international, and American politics, all of which highlight in a variety of ways an alternative, more multidimensional view of the state. This reconceptualization of the state, we then suggest, is particularly applicable to the United States and helps to resolve the paradoxes of the American state.

### **“The Promotion of Republican Culture and Politics in the Jeffersonian Press”**

Melvin C. Laracey, University of Texas, San Antonio

Presidential newspapers, a form of the political newspapers that dominated mass communications for many decades in nineteenth century America, played a crucial role in the articulation and promotion of key principles in American political thought and practice, while also promoting the political interests and strategies of their presidential sponsors. These points are illustrated in a study of how the first presidential newspaper, the Washington, D.C., National Intelligencer, was used in 1801 to promote Thomas Jefferson’s presidency and the principles of Jeffersonian Republicanism.

## **“Ages of Anxiety: Cold War Civil Defense and its Relationship to Post-9/11 Security Policy”**

Genevieve Lester, University of California, Berkeley

The “post-9/11 security environment” is heralded as a new age of threat, civilian risk, and shifting strategic goals. This paper aims to demystify the current environment through investigating the precedent of the early Cold War period – the Truman and Eisenhower administrations – with a focus on strategic and security strategies and tactics of that time. Most relevant to the current debate on homeland security, this paper demonstrates how the civil defense measures of the 1950s provide analogues and precedents for current policy development. While perceived by many to be silly after the fact, ‘Bert the Turtle’ and other methods were engaged as methods to communicate a complex message through a simple mechanism. This paper explores the issues of mass communication, civilian panic management, and risk perception within the context of ambiguous but all-encompassing and devastating threat to the civilian population.

This paper investigates these issues on a theoretical level, based on risk perception and organizational theory literature, but also delves deeper into an operational issue: that of selective evacuation of communities within the context of the current threat. Through comparing analogous threat paradigms between the Cold War and the current security environment, this paper hopes to link theory with the operational and policy-relevant needs of decision-makers.

## **“Indigenous Peoples’ Rights and the Australian State”**

Sheryl R. Lightfoot, University of Minnesota

An “over-compliant” state is one that paradoxically takes actions which recognize specific rights or a category of rights that go beyond or even against that state’s international human rights treaty obligations or its normative international commitments. Since there is no existing literature in International Relations which would explain why a state might paradoxically comply or “over-comply” with its stated commitments, there is also no theory to explain what would propel a state to “over-comply” with an emergent norm. “Over-compliance” in indigenous rights occurs under a particular set of conditions: 1) when there is a strong presence of the international indigenous rights movement within the state, 2) when the state places high value on its reputation as a “good global citizen”, and 3) when change occurs in the state’s domestic discourse as it seeks to locate its own post-colonial identity in a globalized world. By examining the “over-compliance” of Australian behavior in

indigenous rights, I aim to expose the limits of the current international discourse and the potential to push that discourse further to better accommodate the full spectrum of indigenous rights.

## **“Race and U.S. Political Development”**

Joseph E. Lowndes, University of Oregon, Julie L. Novkov, SUNY, Albany, and Dorian T. Warren, Columbia University

In this paper, we discuss the role of race in American political development and provide an overview of our book, *Race and American Political Development*. We situate a political developmental approach within the discipline of political science and argue that an American political development (APD) approach to the study of racial politics expands the range of questions we ask, while centering race within APD fundamentally alters our common understandings of American politics. We then outline the chapters in this volume, briefly discussing how the contributors integrate race and APD in their analyses, and suggest a future and expansive research agenda that those focusing on race and political development can pursue.

## **“Who Wins, Who Loses?: A Comparative Analysis of Feminist, Environmental, Gay Rights, and Civil Rights Movement Outcomes”**

Joseph E. Luders, Yeshiva University

Under what conditions do social movements succeed in winning concessions from political actors? Surprisingly, social movement theory has largely neglected studies of partisan legislative politics and interest organizations. In this paper, I combine these bodies of research from political science with the sociological literature on social movement outcome. This analysis begins with the conventional assumption that elected officials are mainly concerned with their reelection, and therefore that their responses are based heavily on calculations of electoral advantage and disadvantage. Political parties, organized interests, and social movements matter to elected officials insofar as they control votes, campaign contributions, volunteers, or other electorally useful resources. By threatening to withhold or shift their electoral support to a competitor, organized benefit-seekers can impose disruption costs upon their political targets. Weighed against these disruption costs, public officials estimate the costs of acceding to movement demands as well. I argue that the electoral costs associated with conceding new benefits depend upon mass preferences, public attentiveness, and the relative electoral leverage of organized opponents. Further, I explore the relationship between certain policy characteristics, on the one hand, and public opinion/attentiveness, on the other. From this rudimentary starting point, I devise a set of hypotheses

about variation in the responsiveness of political targets to social movement demands. I evaluate the merits of this approach in an analysis of the outcomes of three social movements – feminism, environmentalism, and gay/lesbian rights – across multiple policy domains from equal pay to same-sex unions. I conclude with a specification of the different paths toward movement victory or defeat based on various combinations of the foregoing factors. Additional observations are offered concerning the analytic significance of policy characteristics, public opinion, and counter-mobilization. The findings have implications not only for studies of movement impact, but for explanations of the political influence of interest organizations as well.

### **“Varieties of Coordination and Trajectories of Change: Social Policy and Economic Adjustment in Coordinated Market Economies”**

Cathie Jo Martin, Boston University, and Kathleen Thelen, Northwestern University

This paper investigates the politics of change in coordinated market economies, and explores why some countries (well-known for their highly cooperative arrangements) manage to sustain coordination when adjusting to economic transformation, while others fail. We argue that the broad category of “coordinated market economies” subsumes different types of cooperative engagement: macro-corporatist forms of coordination are characterized by national-level institutions for fostering cooperation and feature a strong role for the state, while forms of coordination associated with enterprise cooperation more typically occur at the level of sector or regional institutions and are often privately-controlled. Although these diverse forms of coordination once appeared quite similar and functioned as structural equivalents, they now have radically different capacities for self-adjustment. The role of the state is at the heart of the divergence among European coordinated countries. A large public sector affects the political dynamics behind collective outcomes, through its impact both on the state’s construction of its own policy interests and on private actors’ goals. Although a large public sector has typically been written off as an inevitable drag on the economy, it can provide state actors with a crucial political tool for shoring up coordination in a post-industrial economy. We use the cases of Denmark and Germany to illustrate how uncontroversially coordinated market economies have evolved along two sharply divergent paths in the past two decades, and to reflect on broader questions of stability and change in coordinated market economies. The two countries diverge most acutely with respect to the balance of power between state and society; indeed, the Danish state—far from being a constraint on adjustment (a central

truism in neoliberal thought) – plays the role of facilitator in economic adjustment, policy change, and continued coordination

### **“The Developmental Paradoxes of the Anglo-American State”**

Jeffrey W. Meiser, Johns Hopkins University and Richard P. Young, Seattle University

From the ratification of the United States Constitution until the Civil War, the Anglo-American state was a predatory state in its dealings with non-whites, but a contract state in respect to the internal governance of the dominant group, Anglo-American males. During the 1840s and 1850s, the Anglo-American republic became more of a market economy, grew more prosperous, offered greater economic opportunities to its citizens, developed a more pluralistic civil society, further democratized its political institutions, and gained greater military strength. However, contrary to what one would expect after reading the scholarly literature on economic and political development, the Anglo-American state not only increased its exploitation of slaves and American Indians, but it also invaded a neighboring nation and annexed half its territory, and ultimately collapsed into disunion and civil war. This essay is an early report of our attempt to apply the insights of multiple orders theory to the task of explaining why the Anglo-American republic disintegrated into sectional warfare when it was at the height of its success. In this paper, we present our understanding of four complementary approaches to the study of American political development—path dependence, multiple orders/institutional dissonance, political entrepreneurship/constructivism, and institutional economics—and apply their theoretical insights to the task of explaining southern secession in 1860. We find that an intra-racial civil war resulted from the competition between Anglo-American political entrepreneurs acting in the institutional context of multiple political orders divided into two geographical sections with opposing systems of property rights.

### **“Gender Bias and Citizenship: Women, Policy, and Inequality”**

Rosemary Nossiff, Marymount Manhattan College

Since the 1960s several authors have identified factors which contribute to social, political and economic inequality between women and men. Few, however, have sought to determine if there exists a pattern of discriminatory attitudes about women, specifically assumptions regarding their competency, and suitability for paid work, which shapes policies affecting their rights as citizens. This paper examines the developments in three key areas affecting women: employment practices, reproductive rights, and the effort to ratify the Equal

Rights Amendment. It focuses on the period 1963-1976, when the contemporary debate on women's equality emerged, and when the framework to review equal protection cases was established. It analyzes the legislative outcome of the Equal Pay Act and the ERA, as well as major judicial decisions rendered in major employment and abortion cases. By comparing three different policy areas I seek to determine if there is evidence for the claim that attitudes about women expressed in legislative debates and court decisions have implications for their equality and citizenship.

### **“Immigrants, Citizenship, and Political Action: A Cross-National Study of 21 European Democracies”**

Aida Paskeviciute, University of Essex and  
Christopher J. Anderson, Cornell University

Although immigrants constitute an increasing share of the population and the electorate in many established democracies, we know surprisingly little about how immigrants participate in civic life and how migration may help to transform the patterns of political engagement in contemporary democracies. In particular, we know little about the differences in impact of citizenship versus immigrant status on participation. While citizenship is a requirement for electoral participation, research is less clear about the impact of citizenship on other forms of political engagement. Drawing a distinction between citizenship and foreign-born status, and using survey data collected as part of the European Social Survey (ESS) in 21 European democracies, we find that the impact of citizenship on non-electoral participation is positive but modest compared to its effect on electoral participation. Moreover, the impact of citizenship is reduced further when we control for immigrant experiences in their country of origin and their host environment.

### **“From Educational Agenda To Educational Policy: Explaining State Responses to the Early Educational ‘Excellence’ Agenda, 1977-2000”**

Jesse H. Rhodes, University of Virginia

Due to the advocacy and organizing of business elites, governors, and conservative intellectuals, education reform emerged on state-level policy agendas beginning in the late 1970s. Although the movement had strong national backing, the opportunities for major changes in the organization of educational governance were strongly shaped by state-level characteristics, most notably, by state racial demographics. Indeed, as this study demonstrates, states with more diverse populations were at significantly greater risk of adopting a greater proportion of the reform policies examined here. The analysis suggests that race played a much larger role in

shaping the actual implementation of reform than was previously realized, and that other oft-cited explanations – such as economic conditions, human capital endowments, and public demand – actually played a very small role in this development.

### **“Adjusting the Justice: Sandra Day O’Connor and the Making of a Supreme Court Moderate”**

Melody Rose, Portland State University

This paper analyzes the quizzical discovery that the media routinely described Justice Sandra Day O’Connor as a moderate at the time she retired from service at the U.S. Supreme Court in 2006. Despite being the architect of the intellectual framework in *Casey* that would later help to dismantle *Roe v. Wade*’s central premise and invite a new, radical strategy from anti-abortion forces, when she left the bench the Court’s first woman occupant was heralded as a “centrist,” “moderate,” and “swing voter.” How Justice O’Connor came to be understood in this light is the subject of this paper. Using media analysis, the paper argues that Justice O’Connor was publicly constructed as a moderate mid-way through her tenure on the high court. Setting this public understanding of the Justice alongside her development of the “undue burden” standard and that standard’s implications in the 2007 *Gonzales v. Carhart* case, I argue that the public persona of the justice does not reflect accurately her ideological place on the court, and was constructed by media and interest groups alike just as the justice’s conservative impact on reproductive rights was unfolding.

### **“The Swift Rise and Fall of Immigrants’ Social Rights in the United States”**

Diane Sainsbury, Stockholm University

In a comparative context, several aspects of the development of immigrants’ social rights in the United States stand out. The first is the fragile nature of their rights and pendulum swings in their entitlements. The fragility of immigrants’ rights is most apparent in their swift rise and fall in their access to federal welfare benefits and the extraordinary disenfranchisement of immigrants with legal residence status. Thus the 1996 welfare act established the principle of eligibility based citizenship, creating a divide in the welfare benefits of citizens and noncitizens, whereas in most countries the dividing line goes between the benefits of legal and illegal residents. Finally, US lawmakers took the unparalleled step of making social insurance contributions an eligibility condition for means tested benefits for legal residents. The paper seeks to explain this unusual trajectory of social rights, using a methodology of process tracing that focuses on 1) framing 2) policy venues and their institutional dynamics 3) the

territorial dimension of immigrant policy and 4) patterns of coalition building and 5) the nature of ethnic and immigrant mobilization and penetration of the political process.

### **“Mobilizing Christians for Cold War”**

Andrew J. Schlewitz, Albion College

Drawing on archival material from the Eisenhower library, this paper recounts the Cold War mobilization of Christians in the United States, either through grassroots efforts by groups in civil society, or orchestrations by the government. While ignoring the fierce criticism of Christian fundamentalists, the Eisenhower administration tried to harness the stalwart anti-communism of the Catholic Church, and worked to win over liberals at home and abroad, as well as leaders of non-Christian faiths, by quietly, even covertly, supporting Christian ecumenicists and ecumenical movements. And as the administration and Congress instituted state religious rituals and welcomed Protestant efforts to evangelize the public square, religious, civic, and media organizations worked to infuse daily life and the Cold War with sacred meaning. This paper suggests that in ideological terms, this was nothing new. Since Independence, Americans had described themselves as having a special mission in and to the world, one sanctioned by God, and administrations had described their aggressive actions abroad in terms of divine providence. In institutional terms, however, something did change. The early Cold War state built a civic religion with a Protestant evangelical sensibility, including a millenarianism that dovetailed nicely with the modernization perspective that prevailed among policymakers and scholars. These sacred and secular versions of mission confirmed and codified the US's Cold War stance, and gave the President and other officials an expansive rhetorical repertoire for describing and explaining US foreign policy among themselves, and to the public.

### **“Race and the State: The Importance of Original Incorporation in the Development of the United States for the Current Political-Social-Economic Status of National-Origin Groups”**

Richard D. Shingles, Virginia Tech

The paper addresses the roles of conquest and racism as principle explanations for long term inequality among ethnic/racial groups in the United States. It examines the fundamental consequences of nation-building in which Americans of European ancestry forcibly incorporated, subjugated, and expropriated the land and labor of certain peoples of color. It is about the maintenance of privileges won by conquest through the institutionalization of white

power and prejudice, and the protracted subordination of native peoples of color, which has disadvantaged them relative both to European-Americans and more recent immigrants, including immigrants of color. The paper develops an incorporation theory of group inequality.

### **“Recognition of a Right to Know in Eighteenth-Century America”**

Jeffrey Smith, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

The origin of the idea of a right of the public to know government information is usually traced to Cold War concerns about official secrecy. The Right to Know Movement of the 1950s culminated in the Freedom of Information Act (1966), a law that recognized a right of access to government records that is limited only by some specified exceptions. Attempts to locate earlier understandings of the right frequently begin and end with a statement James Madison made about education in 1822: “A popular Government without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a Prologue to a Farce or a Tragedy; or, perhaps both.” How was the right to know understood in the eighteenth century when the state and federal constitutions were written? What issues arose and what fundamental conclusions were reached? Some answers can be found in public debate and documents.

Eighteenth-century Americans apparently assumed and at times explicitly recognized a general need for information about government. Journalists were early and strong advocates of openness, but political leaders were also concerned about public knowledge. The founding generation saw access to facts as a foundation of self-government and as a way of holding officials accountable. The Declaration of Independence condemned George III for calling together legislative bodies “at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depositories of their public Records.” Popular sovereignty, political theorists reasoned, meant that citizens, as the ultimate rulers, had to be aware of the actions of their servants in government. “The people have a right to know what their Agents are doing or have done,” James Wilson said at the Constitutional Convention, “and it should not be at the option of the Legislature to conceal their proceedings.”

The requirement for openness, however, was usually qualified to some degree in cases involving the military and treaties. In 1749, for instance, Boston's Independent Advertiser said that restrictions on the “RIGHT TO KNOW” were necessary in “extremely rare” cases and perhaps only in wartime when public knowledge might hinder battle plans. Delegates to the Constitutional Convention and to the ratifying conventions accepted prudential rationales for secrecy in armed conflict and sensitive negotiations. The press, politicians, and public, however, demanded such government information during

the Washington and Adams administrations. The experiences of Early America show that even in its nascent state, democracy involved both a right to know and often futile efforts to conceal.

### **“Responding to Racial Dynamics in the War on Poverty: LBJ and the Demise of a Universalist Social Policy”**

Scott Spitzer, California State University, Fullerton

Public opinion research has identified the central importance of racial attitudes in shaping opinions towards welfare (Gilens, 1999). As well, a number of prominent analyses of the 1996 welfare reform legislation, and its subsequent implementation over the last decade, have found that racial dynamics are a pervasive aspect of the politics of welfare (Soss, Schram, and Fording, eds., 2003). American Political Development studies of social policy have tended to focus on the New Deal programs and their precursors (Lieberman, 1998), but several important studies have documented the ways in which racial politics affected federal anti-poverty and welfare policies during and following the civil rights movement (Quadagno, 1994; Brown, 1999). This paper offers insight into the social construction of this politically important relationship between federal policies for the poor and race. It investigates the impact of the explosive racial politics of the mid-1960s on President Johnson’s War on Poverty, identifying in internal administration documents a growing sensitivity of the president and his leading domestic policy advisors to the political pressures of escalating racial conflict in urban areas. The paper describes the strategic response of the administration to the rapidly shifting dynamics of race and its growing importance for their War on Poverty, and argues that the administration’s efforts to grapple with the political challenges these changes created led to an establishment of a new political framework emphasizing race in subsequent policymaking initiatives addressing welfare and/or poverty. In responding to these racial politics dynamics, the paper argues that President Johnson was forced to abandon his initial intentions to promote his War on Poverty in universalist terms, as a continuation of the New Deal. Instead, his administration succumbed to the inescapable linkages between anti-poverty policies and race, and responded by redefining New Deal liberal social policy principles within a new context of strident racial liberalism. This racially charged framework led to concrete policy shifts, and held important implications for subsequent policymaking ventures in the arena of welfare or poverty.

Most importantly for the long-term, Johnson’s strategic political and policy responses undermined the original universalist foundations of the War on Poverty, and limited the potential for universalist social policy approaches through the present.

### **“Religious Bridging: Evangelical Racial Reconciliation as a Race Project”**

Nancy D. Wadsworth, University of Denver

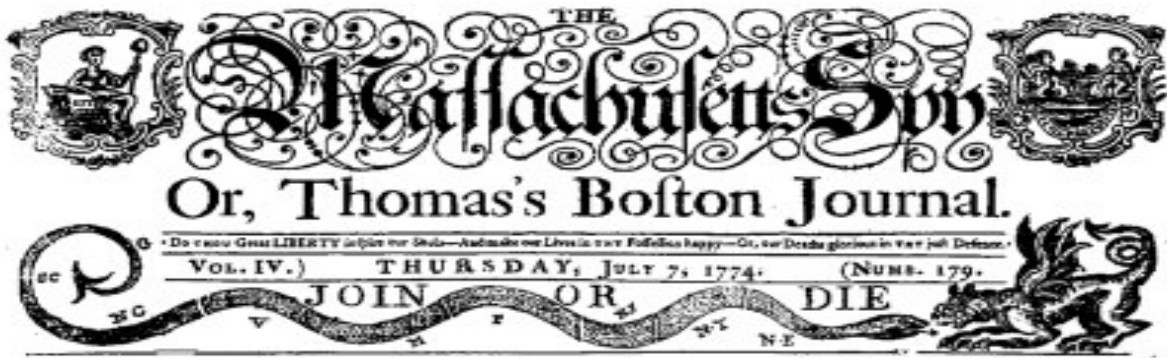
In the 1990s, conservative evangelical Christians developed a racial reconciliation discourse geared toward repairing divisions that haunted American evangelical race relations for 300 years. The few scholars that have studied evangelical racial reconciliation efforts argue that the different cultural “tool kits” employed by white and non-white evangelicals limit the long-term political applications of these efforts. What has not been fully appreciated, I maintain, is that many evangelical racial “reconcilers” of color also prefer a relationship-oriented model to more politicized one. Analyzing evangelical racial reconciliation through Howard Winant’s racial projects model, I argue that this movement represents a unique, “Religious Bridging” race project with cultural characteristics and end goals that differentiate it from other race projects. I draw from a review of evangelical racial reconciliation literature and qualitative interviews with people involved in the movement.

### **“The Political Roots of Small Business Identity”**

McGee W. Young, Marquette University

A divided and largely hapless small business lobby failed to advocate effectively on behalf of small firms in the post-New Deal era. While interest group scholars have accepted collective action based arguments for patterns of under-mobilization, this paper challenges conventional wisdom by examining historical and institutional causes of small business political development. It shows a fractured small business community emerging out of the populist era, and subsequent policy developments institutionalizing divisions and rivalries among competing factions. During the New Deal, when opportunities arose to forge a new consensus among small business groups, policymakers instead followed old scripts and reinforced received identities. Consequently, small business never came to occupy an important space in the post-New Deal political order.





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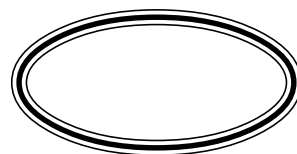
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Europe. The U.S. Army and OMGUS produced successive visual master-narratives of German fascism and of German-American relations, and employed visual strategies to attack and discredit first the Nazis, and then the Communists.

My work highlights the importance of information control and mass propaganda in radical regime change, and illustrates the role of the visual in mass propaganda. Although written and oral media play a central role in political propaganda, images have considerable importance in political indoctrination. In the television era, it is inconceivable to think of psychological warfare without images. Visual texts are often superior to verbal texts in their capacity to crystallize sentiments, and they tend to be more effective than words in capturing the attention of the viewer. Images simplify and convince, and the viewer tends to assume that if something is visually represented, it happened, it exists, and it is true. Visual images are overwhelmingly important in the interpretation of our conscious world, and shape the way individuals consider themselves and others. Visual propaganda can lead to profound changes of world-view with subtlety and speed. Image deprivation—subtracting elements from the habitual visual realm—changes points of reference and attenuates memories; the reiteration of images—through continuous exposure—provides new points of references and creates new memories. The manipulation of images is a central ingredient in mass politics, and particularly relevant during periods of political struggle aimed at producing sweeping ideological change.

While the Americans were quick to use photography and film as visual propaganda, they took much longer to develop an art policy. The fine arts are in some ways a strange bedfellow to conventional visual propaganda. Yet in the German context, the fine arts were already a politicized and contested battleground. The Nazis had eliminated modern art from museums, and used their own art as political and ideological propaganda. The Soviets, for their part, entered Germany with a blueprint of cultural

warfare already in place. By 1946, the Soviets had focused their cultural propaganda efforts on three main themes: the social responsibility of artists and intellectuals, the denigration of modern art, and the glorification of socialist realism in the arts. OMGUS was slow and tentative in its reactions to the SMAD cultural offensive. The War Department, that directly controlled OMGUS, was indifferent to the concept of international cultural warfare and failed to appreciate the importance of cultural politics in the postwar German context. Nonetheless, by 1946, a small group of cultural officers in OMGUS started to establish bonds with German modern artists to further German-American relations and stimulate the reintroduction of modern art. They relied on personal contacts, “informal” networks, and covert funding of cultural organizations. The American art policy in Germany, constrained and often vacillating as it was, is politically important because it prefigured the cultural policies of the CIA during the rest of the Cold War.

The American visual propaganda policy in occupied Germany was shaped by two factors—the fear of alienating the German population, and the constraints imposed by American domestic politics. OMGUS was faced with the challenge of making the American propaganda message acceptable, credible, and agreeable to the Germans. To do this, OMGUS progressively reduced its atrocity propaganda campaign, and tried to avoid antagonizing the Germans. OMGUS policies were also affected by the end of the fragile and unstable wartime alliance between the American right and the American left. In 1945, a newly elected Republican-dominated Congress pushed American domestic politics to the right. Using anti-Communism as a pretext, the Republican majority and the Southern Democrats, began the long fight to undo the New Deal, eliminate New Dealers and leftists from the administration, and rewrite the social contract in America. This shift in American politics influenced OMGUS policy in occupied Germany, because the military government was under the intense scrutiny of the U.S. Congress. This conditioned the OMGUS

*(continued on following page)*

response to Soviet anti-American offensive on two key propaganda issues—race, and modernism in art. The American project in Germany, although ambitious and ultimately successful, was shaped and constrained not only by the emerging Cold War, but also by domestic cultural battles over the definition of an exportable image of America.

The Cold War gave rise to policies and rhetoric of anti-Americanism and anti-Communism that increasingly encroached on the possibility of any independent political critique that evaded the “two camps” philosophy. The U.S.S.R., SMAD, and the German Communists intensified their anti-capitalist propaganda and stressed their interpretation of fascism as the necessary consequence of capitalism. The U.S. and its allies were accused of rearming Germany and posing a danger to world peace. The Western democracies denounced Soviet authoritarianism and censored anti-American and anti-capitalist rhetoric. The initial Allied emphasis on reeducation and denazification evolved into a battle to introduce and make desirable mutually exclusive political and social models. Censorship, previously aimed against the expression of Nazi ideology, expanded to encompass broader targets—capitalism, communism, liberalism, and freedom of artistic expression. In the late 1940s, the confrontation between OMGUS and SMAD became explicit and choleric, and ideological boundaries hardened. Both the Americans and the Soviets tried to limit each others propaganda in their respective zones and sectors, and their tolerance for direct opposition vanished.

I am honored that the Politics and History Section selected my article on the emergence of an American fine arts policy in occupied Germany for the Mary Parker Follett Prize. In “Before the CIA: American actions in the German fine arts (1946-1949),” I show that a small group of art experts in OMGUS, disconnected from and ignored by the American Information Control Division, realized that the American indifference towards the fine arts could be a serious political mistake. Starting in 1946, they

implemented overt and covert operations to retain German artists in the American zone and sector, and to encourage the rebirth of modern art. Yet these cultural officers were constrained by American domestic politics. They were unable to use modern art as the official icon of American cultural freedom because of the strong anti-modernist sentiment prevailing among social conservative elements in the U.S. government. Many influential members of Congress opposed modern art, distrusted the political loyalty of modernist artists, and viewed their work as Communist propaganda.

Given the resistance to modern art as a symbol of American postwar cultural power, the art policy carried out in Germany by a small group of OMGUS cultural officers seems rather innovative and forward-looking, and surprisingly contrarian to the trends espoused by the American political establishment. These cultural officers were responsible for designing an American response to the Soviet offensive in the fine arts. In the article I argue that American actions in the fine arts established methods of involvement and control that later became the modus operandi of the CIA in the cultural field.



*The Berlin Airlift, 1948-1949*

perspective; and Zorn et al. forthcoming from a sociological-institutional perspective; Pierson 2004: ch. 5 from a historical-institutionalist perspective). Because of the attention historically minded political scientists have always paid to issues of timing and temporality and political developments over the *longue durée*, this is also an area in which I think members of our section are ideally poised to make breakthrough contributions. Clearly, there are already many insights to be found in the work of historical institutionalists within comparative politics, American political development, and public law. However, these insights have not yet gelled into a well-defined set of general theoretical claims, or even into a well articulated research agenda. My own sense that is that, while each of these strands of historical-institutional research can certainly make progress on its own, even more progress can be made through a more intensive engagement among diverse sub-groups within our section.

As is well known, several different varieties of institutionalism emerged in the 1970s and 1980s to draw attention to the role of institutions in political life. As one important strand in this scholarship (alongside rationalist and sociological versions), historically minded institutionalists emphasized how institutions shape the way actors define and pursue their interests and structure interactions among them in ways that shape political outcomes. Much of the early work in this vein within comparative politics was devoted to explaining how the different institutional arrangements that characterize different models of capitalism mediated national responses to common shocks and challenges (e.g., Katzenstein 1978). Other branches of historical-institutional research went in somewhat different, though complementary, directions. Core works in APD, for example, were concerned with explicating the role of preexisting institutional arrangements in mediating the development of new state capacities, with enduring consequences for politics subsequently (Skowronek 1982). Public law scholars, meanwhile, explored the role of judicial institutions in political and social change, among other things debating the extent to which courts should be seen as instruments of

dominant political interests or autonomous from them (for an overview see Smith 1988).

Ongoing efforts at bolstering the theoretical underpinnings of historical approaches to institutionalism have produced insights and conceptual tools that have begun to facilitate dialogue across the diverse empirical studies and substantive concerns that motivate the work of scholars working on different countries, topics, and periods. Paul Pierson's work on path dependence, for example, captured important features of politics and the resulting insights have resonated across these subfields. For comparativists, path dependence provided the basis for a more robust understanding of institutional stability or reproduction by pointing to the dynamic processes that previous accounts had chalked up, vaguely, to institutional "stickiness" or inertia. Not all APD scholars embraced path dependence as an encompassing model of historical change, but for some this concept helped to articulate in a more precise way the importance of critical junctures or "moments of opportunity" for setting subsequent developments on particular tracks that could not be easily reversed later on (Katznelson 2003). Public law scholarship could also link into and contribute to these debates by posing questions about the conditions under judges are more constrained by entrenched dominant legal doctrines or constitutive of them (for a discussion, see Smith 2008).

The analytic moves and theoretical developments emerging from the literature on path dependence have been important, but in the meantime it also seems clear that there exist ample opportunities to go beyond the insights that particular literature has had to offer. Within my own field of comparative politics, a growing number of scholars have turned their attention to questions of institutional evolution and change. This has been an exciting move, partly because it takes comparative institutional analysis out of its traditional "comfort zone" – since in the past comparativists have tended mostly to invoke institutions as independent or intervening variables to explain some other outcome. Recent forays into the question of how institutions themselves evolve and change over time have revealed the limits to dominant punctuated

equilibrium models of change, including those that often come bundled with path dependent explanations emphasizing moments of contingency followed by institutional “lock in.” There is an increased recognition that institutional change is by no means always abrupt and discontinuous, and frequently takes place through processes that are incremental though cumulatively transformative (e.g., Streeck and Thelen 2005). Related to this, recent works have begun to highlight the ways in which shifts in the coalitional foundations on which formal institutions rest can bring subtle but very significant changes in the scope, salience, and functions of these institutions, even in the absence of explicit formal institutional reconfiguration. These are insights, I think, that open up new avenues for exchange between comparativists and APD and public law scholars and indeed make such an exchange more urgent.

Clearly, much can be learned from APD scholars, who have long been concerned to elaborate a genuinely dynamic view of institutional development, setting this explicitly against versions of institutionalism based on equilibrium analysis (Orren and Skowronek 1994). One need only look at the footnotes of recent work on institutional change within comparative politics to see the influence of APD scholarship on our understanding of modes of incremental change (e.g., Hacker 2005 on institutional “drift;” Schickler 2001 on institutional “layering”). At the same time, it seems clear that even more could be done to forge a sustained dialogue between comparative and APD scholarship, and in particular to connect richly contextualized accounts of American political development to political and institutional dynamics elsewhere. Some of these conversations are already taking place, but comparativists and APD scholars alike can benefit from pulling back from the internal subfield debates that often preoccupy us, to engage in a more sustained joint attempt to arrive at a set of portable concepts and mid-range hypotheses that can define a distinctively historical-institutional approach to questions of institutional change generally.

A more sustained engagement between comparative politics and public law scholarship also

seems more important than ever. As mentioned above, the literature on institutional change in comparative politics has drawn attention to varieties of change that are accomplished less through formal rewriting of the rules and more through changes in the ways in which rules are interpreted and/or enforced. Arguments about incremental change thus frequently call into question the longstanding practice of focusing on legislative reforms and executive actions as the important arenas where institutional “change” will register for purposes of analyzing its origins and impact. In fact, what seems increasingly clear is that, in many realms, actors who are interested in changing institutions often specifically avoid noisy legislative battles (that often only serve to mobilize defenders of existing arrangements) and seek change instead through more subtle interventions — working to effect change through bureaucratic implementation and/or judicial re-interpretation. I have been struck by the insights and general relevance, for example, of the kind of argument Rob Lieberman constructs in his analysis of EEOC, which underscores how bureaucrats can reshape and revise legislated rules in the course of their application and enforcement. There is also a vast literature in American politics which examines the conditions under which the judiciary can act as an agent of change, through its interactions with the legislature as well as through authoritative reinterpretations of existing rules (e.g., Graber 1993; Kahn and Kersch 2006). These works carry broad and important messages for comparativists, who often overlook bureaucracies and courts, and are instead typically fixated on executives and legislatures as the primary agents and arenas of change.

I have emphasized here what comparativists stand to learn from APD and public law scholarship on the theme of institutional change, but the relationship is also of course two-way, and it also seems clear that these other subfields would profit from more sustained engagement with comparativists and the comparative literature. The literature in comparative politics offers much more than just additional empirical cases. When it comes to theorizing about institutional stability and change, this field has also been the site of significant advances at

both the conceptual and theoretical levels. The work by Giovanni Capoccia and Daniel Kelemen on “critical junctures,” for example, has been important in rendering this concept less ad hoc and more amenable to systematic application in diverse empirical settings (Capoccia and Kelemen 2007). Evan Lieberman has made important methodological contributions to debates on “periodization” – a concept that of figures prominently in much historical-institutionalist research (Lieberman 2001). Peter Hall’s essay on ontology and methodology in comparative politics offers general insights of value to anyone engaged in historically informed analysis (Hall 2003).

In terms of methods, comparative politics has been the site of quite a lot of serious thinking about how to assess causality in macro-historical analysis (e.g., among others, Mahoney 1999; Tilly 2006). On institutional evolution specifically, scholars have made some progress in elaborating an inventory of commonly observed modes and models of incremental institutional change, in effect developing a vocabulary that allows us to recognize and analyze changes that go beyond traditional models of institutional breakdown and replacement (Palier 2005; Hacker 2005; Pierson 2004). This work has formed the conceptual and theoretical basis for developing mid-range hypotheses on the conditions under which certain types of change are more likely to occur than others (see, for example, Mahoney and Thelen in progress, which includes contributions from comparativists and APD scholars).

In short, this seems a particularly opportune moment, and institutional change seems an especially promising theoretical issue, for pulling together some of these diverse strands of work by different constituencies within our section, and for forging a dialogue among scholars of APD, public law, and comparative institutionalism who are working on related theoretical themes and issues, though too often in isolation from one another. The core idea is to tap into streams of research that are already underway and indeed in some cases quite advanced, but to link them together in ways that emphasize their shared foundations in order to identify and

nurture promising new avenues for theory development within historical institutionalism generally.

\* \* \* \* \*

I would like to thank this year’s program committee co-chairs, James Mahoney and Adam Sheingate, who put together a fabulous program for our section for the upcoming APSR meetings in Boston. Among the many stellar panels on the program, I draw your attention in particular to the session on “The Role of History in Political Science.” This roundtable brings together four recent APSA presidents who have also been members of the Politics and History section: Ira Katznelson, Margaret Levi, Susanne Rudolph and Theda Skocpol. This panel offers an extraordinary opportunity for disciplinary leaders to reflect on the contributions and agendas of historical research in political science. The original inspiration and idea for this roundtable came from Anne Norton, who will serve as its moderator and chair. I look forward to seeing you there, as well as at the Politics and History “General Membership Meeting” (APSA’s new term for Business meeting), which will take place on Friday at **6:15 pm**. Our annual reception will follow at **7:30 pm**. Consult your conference program for the locations.

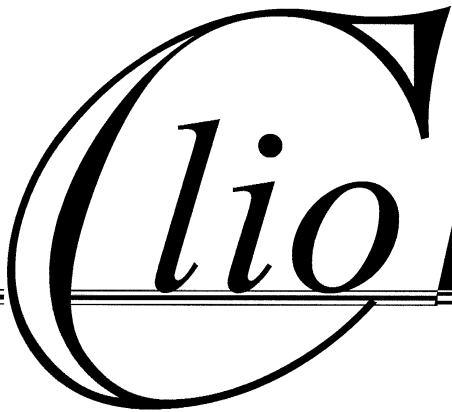
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The 1924 Democratic Convention, New York. The convention required 16 days and 103 ballots to choose John W. Davis as the party's presidential nominee. (Library of Congress)



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