



Newsletter of Politics & History
an organized section of
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Spring/Summer 2008

Remembering Charles Tilly

Richard Franklin Bensel

Department of Government, Cornell University

Charles Tilly passed away on April 29, 2008. He was seventy-eight years old. He was the Joseph L. Bottenwieser Professor of Social Science at Columbia University with a global reputation in sociology, political science, and history. Shortly before he died, he was awarded the Albert O. Hirschman Prize by the Social Science Research Council. This distinction was only the latest of numerous recognitions and awards he received during his career, including the Distinguished Scholarship Award from the American Sociological

Association (2005), seven honorary doctorates in social sciences, and numerous book awards. His curriculum vita lists over 600 articles and 51 books and monographs.

In this Issue

<i>Remembering Charles Tilly.....</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Editor's Note.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>2008 APSA Officer Nominees.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Diane Pinderhughes Presidential Address.....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>From The President.....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>2008 APSA Panels.....</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>2008 Midwest PSA Abstracts.....</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>2008 Western PSA Abstracts.....</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Journalscan.....</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>Booknotes.....</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>Bookscan.....</i>	<i>35</i>

His first major book was The Vendee, published by Harvard University Press in 1964 and later translated into French and Italian. In fact, there is probably no better measure of his global influence on history and the social sciences than the number of translations of his books. An incomplete accounting totals 27 editions in languages other than English, including Chinese (2), Croatian (1), French (4), Greek (1), Italian (5), Korean (1), Portuguese (3), Spanish (7), Swedish (1), and Turkish (2). Aside from the edited volume, The Formation of National States in Western Europe (1975), the most influential of his books include Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons (1984), The Contentious French (1986), Coercion, Capital, and

continued on page 47

POLITICS & HISTORY

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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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Editor's Note

We'd like to recognize and acknowledge the outstanding job that **Kim Casey** has done as Managing Editor this past year. Kim had to do more work on Journalscan than her predecessors, and she did a great job. We all thank her for her efforts. We also thank the Department of Political Science at the University of Missouri for its continuing support.

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)

**Diane Pinderhughes's
Presidential Address
to the American Political Science
Association**



On August 28, at 8:00 p.m. in Salon E of the Boston Marriott Copley Place, Politics and History section member and APSA President Dianne Pinderhughes of the University of Notre Dame will deliver her Presidential Address on “The

Challenges of Democracy: Explorations in American Racial Politics.” Following the Presidential Address, APSA will host the 104rd APSA Annual Meeting Opening Reception.

Pinderhughes is Professor in the Departments of Africana Studies and Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. She also has taught at Dartmouth College and the University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign. She holds a B.A. from Albertus Magnus College and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Chicago. Her teaching focuses on racial and ethnic politics in the U.S., Voting Rights policy and American urban politics. Pinderhughes’s research addresses issues of inequality with a focus on racial and ethnic politics and public policy, explores the creation of American civil society institutions in the twentieth century, and analyzes their influence on the formation of voting rights policy. Her publications include her book, *Race and Ethnicity in Chicago Politics: A Reexamination of Pluralist Theory*. Pinderhughes also examines the intersection of race and gender in American electoral representation, in a current study, the Gender and Multicultural Leadership Project.

There is much more on Professor Pinderhughes’s work in “Dianne Pinderhughes: A Career Dedicated to Understanding the Racial Dynamics of American Politics and to Serving as an Agent of Change,” by Ruth Nicole Brown and Louis DeSipio, *PS*, January, 2008, pp. 233-238.

***From the President:
With Thanks for an
Extraordinarily
Productive Year***

**Kathleen Thelen,
Department of Political Science,
Northwestern University**

I want to take the opportunity of my second, and final, letter as president to report on some of the section’s activities over the past year, including several new initiatives we have undertaken, and to thank the many members who contributed their time and efforts to make this an especially productive year for our section.

New Dissertation Award

At a meeting of the Executive Council last year, we brainstormed about what the section can do to promote younger scholars working in our field. 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. As a result, the first dissertation award will be presented already at the 2008 APSA meeting. I am grateful to the committee members who were involved in selecting the winner in this inaugural year: Theda Skocpol (chair), Paul Frymer, and Sheri Berman. A separate committee was charged with canvassing the membership and making a proposal at the 2008 business meeting on what name to give this new award. Dan Tichenor chaired this committee, and Dorian Warren and Doug Reed served on it, as did (ex officio) Dave Robertson, Richard Bensel and myself.

Ongoing awards

In addition to this new award, the section is grateful to those members who served on the committees charged with making our section’s other, traditional,

continued on page 46

Politics and History Panels
at the 2008 American Political Science Association Meetings

Co-Chairs:

James Mahoney, Brown University
Adam Sheingate, Johns Hopkins University

Business Meeting: Friday, August 29, 6:15 PM
Reception: Friday, August 29, 7:30-9:00 PM, Sheraton Liberty C

Thursday August 28

Panel 7-3 Building Institutional Capacity, Thursday, August 28, 8:00 AM

Chair: **Desmond King**, Oxford University, desmond.king@nuffield.oxford.ac.uk

The Privatization of Social Dependency: Work-Family Balance and Gender Equity in the United States, **Gretchen Ritter**, University of Texas, Austin, ritterg@mail.utexas.edu

Educational Pioneer or Laggard? The Development and Decline of American Institutional Capacity to Expand Access to Higher Education, **Suzanne Mettler**, Cornell University, sbm24@cornell.edu

Race, Politics, and the American State: Creating Administrative Capacity for Federal Agenda-Setting in Relations with American Indian Tribes, **Ruth Anne French-Hodson**, University of Oxford, rafrenchhodson@gmail.com

Political Entrepreneurs in the Early U.S. Army: Secretaries of War and Bureaucratic Autonomy, **William D Adler**, CUNY, Graduate Center, wadler@gc.cuny.edu

Discussant: **Daniel P. Carpenter**, Harvard University, dcarpenter@gov.harvard.edu

Panel 7-1 & 1-12 The Crisis of the Liberal Center, Thursday, August 28, 2:00 PM

Chair: **David Ciepley**, University of Denver, ciepley@alumni.princeton.edu

The Fateful Alliance of Liberal Religion and Liberal Politics, **Eldon J. Eisenach**, University of Tulsa, eldon-eisenach@utulsa.edu

The Crisis of the Liberal Center: Morality and Power in the Global Age, **James E. Block**, DePaul University, jblock@condor.depaul.edu

The Organizational Society and the Inadequacy of Liberalism, **David Ciepley**, University of Denver, ciepley@alumni.princeton.edu

The Decline of the Liberal Mandarinate, **Michael E. Lind**, The New America Foundation, lind@newamerica.net

Discussants: **Isis I. Leslie**, Texas Tech University, & **Jeffrey C. Isaac**, Indiana University, Bloomington, isaac@indiana.edu

Panel 7-14 & 22-5 History of Congress, Thursday, August 28, 2:00 PM

Chair: **Gerald Gamm**, University of Rochester, gerald.gamm@rochester.edu

The Effect of Popular Election on the Partisan Composition of the U.S. Senate, **Charles Stewart**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, cstewart@mit.edu & **Wendy J. Schiller**, Brown University, wendy_schiller@brown.edu

How Do Legislators Commit to Partisan Logrolls in Emerging Democracies? **Jeffrey D. Grynviski**, University of Chicago, grynav@uchicago.edu

Legislation as Insurance: A Reconsideration of Ambition Theory and the Realignment of 1854, **John R. Baughman**, Bates College, jbaughma@bates.edu

Pivots in the Party: Assessing Partisanship and Policy Content in Historical Time, Quinn W. Mulroy, Columbia University, qwm1@columbia.edu & Ira Katznelson, Columbia University, iik1@columbia.edu

Discussant(s): **Gerald Gamm**, University of Rochester, & **Jeffery A. Jenkins**, University of Virginia, jajenkins@virginia.edu

Panel 7-12 & 15-9 City Hall, Local Investment Credits and Clientelism: Comparative Historical Analysis of Local Party Dominance in Post-War France, Italy and Japan, Thursday, August 28, 2:00 PM

Chair: **Richard F. Bense**, Cornell University, rfb2@cornell.edu

Explaining Varied Historical Paths to Local Party Dominance in France: Allocation Patterns of Local Investment Credits and Their Impacts on Party Networks, **Yohei Nakayama**, University of Tokyo, y-naka@j.u-tokyo.ac.jp

French Socialism Diluted in Municipal Institutions? An Institutional Approach, **Rémi Lefebvre**, University of Lille 2, remi.lefebvre@univ-lille2.fr

Farewell to the Odd Twins? The Historical Transformation of Clientelistic Political Networks in Postwar Italy and Japan, **Takeshi Ito**, Senshu University, tito@isc.senshu-u.ac.jp & **Masako Sugino**, Sophia University, ms828@goo.jp

Discussant: **Daniel F. Ziblatt**, Harvard University, dziblatt@fas.harvard.edu

Panel 7-4 Explaining Institutional Change: From historical institutions to ideas and discourse,

Thursday, August 28, 4:15 PM

Chair: **Sheri Berman**, Barnard College, sberman@barnard.edu

Why Institutions Evolve: Ideas, Agents and Evolutionary Theory, **Sven Steinmo**, European University Institute, sven.steinmo@eui.eu

From Historical Institutionalism to Discursive Institutionalism: Explaining Institutional Change in Political Economy, **Vivien A. Schmidt**, Boston University, vschmidt@bu.edu

Beyond Institutions and Ideas: The Politics of Affirmative Action, **Robert C. Lieberman**, Columbia University, rcl15@columbia.edu

Ideas, Organizational Conflict, and the Problem of Institutional Change, **Margaret Weir**, University of California, Berkeley, mweir@berkeley.edu

Discussant: **Sheri Berman**, Barnard College, sberman@barnard.edu

Panel 7-20 & 46-4 Explaining Institutional Change: Contributions from Historical Institutionalism, Thursday, August 28, 4:15 PM

Chair: **Peter A. Hall**, Harvard University, phall@fas.harvard.edu

Infiltrating the State: Health Reforms Under Authoritarianism and Democracy in Brazil, **Tulia G. Falletti**, University of Pennsylvania, falletti@sas.upenn.edu

Policymaking as Political Constraint: Institutional Development in the U.S. Social Security Program, **Alan M. Jacobs**, University of British Columbia, jacobs@politics.ubc.ca

Rethinking Rules: Complexity and Creativity in the House of Representatives, **Adam Sheingate**, Johns Hopkins University, adam.sheingate@jhu.edu

How Historical Institutionalists Explain Change, **James Mahoney**, Northwestern University, James-Mahoney@northwestern.edu, and **Kathleen Thelen**, Northwestern University, thelen@northwestern.edu

Discussants: **Peter A. Hall**, Harvard University, phall@fas.harvard.edu, and **Paul Pierson**, University of California, Berkeley, pierson@berkeley.edu

Friday August 29

Panel 7-6 Author Meets Critics Roundtable: Rick Perlstein's Nixonland: The Rise of a President and Fall of the American Consensus, Friday, August 29, 8:00 AM

Chair: **Henry Farrell**, The George Washington University, henry@henryfarrell.net

Paul Krugman, Princeton University, pkrugman@princeton.edu

Paul Pierson, University of California, Berkeley, pierson@berkeley.edu

Nolan M. McCarty, Princeton University, nmccarty@princeton.edu

Eric Rauchway, University of California, Davis, earauchway@ucdavis.edu

Rick Perlstein, The Village Voice, perlstein@aol.com

Panel 7-7 & 27-1 Terms of Inclusion: Gender, Status Relations, and Constitutional Designs for Equality, Friday, August 29, 10:15 AM

Chair: **Priscilla Yamin**, University of Oregon

Women's Political Leadership: A Policy Feedback Model, **Eileen McDonagh**, Northeastern University, e.mcdonagh@neu.edu

Status and Rights in Women's Citizenship, **Kathleen S. Sullivan**, Ohio University, sullivak@ohio.edu

The Reality of Rights in the Postcolonial State: Equality, Recognition and Land Claims in South Africa, **Jennifer Y. Terrell**, New School for Social Research, jyt360@gmail.com

Gender and Social Cooperation: Theories of Sameness and Difference, **Linda C. McClain**, Boston University, lmcclain@bu.edu

The Gender of Citizenship: A Study of the U.S., 1875-1924, **Carol Nackenoff**, Swarthmore College, cnacken1@swarthmore.edu

Discussants: **Priscilla Yamin**, University of Oregon, & **Julie L. Novkov**, SUNY, Albany, jnovkov@albany.edu

Panel 7-8 & T-5 Theme Panel: Inequality and International Migration in Comparative and Historical Perspective, Friday, August 29, 10:15 AM

Gary P. Freeman, University of Texas, Austin, gfreeman@austin.utexas.edu

Migration, Trade and the Political Economy of Development, **James F. Hollifield**, Southern Methodist University, jhollifi@mail.smu.edu

The Political Economy of High-Skilled Immigration Policies, **Lucie Cerna**, University of Oxford, lucie.cerna@politics.ox.ac.uk

The Dynamics of Political Conflict: Immigration, American Unionism, and the Changing Structure of Labor, **Daniel J. Tichenor**, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, tichenor@polisci.rutgers.edu, **Janice Fine**, Rutgers University, fine@smlr.rutgers.edu, and **Brian Burgoon**, University of Amsterdam, b.m.burgoon@uva.nl

Illegal Refugees: The Rise of Restrictive Asylum Policies in Canada, Australia and the United States, **Rebecca E. Hamlin**, University of California, Berkeley, rebecca.hamlin@gmail.com

Discussant: **Gary P. Freeman**, University of Texas, Austin

Panel 7-15 & 25-9 Author Meets Critics Roundtable: Eric Patashnik's REFORMS AT RISK: WHAT HAPPENS AFTER MAJOR POLICY CHANGES ARE ENACTED, Friday, Aug 29, 10:15

Chair: **Julian E. Zelizer**, Princeton University, jzelizer@princeton.edu

Eric M. Patashnik, University of Virginia, ericpat@virginia.edu

Paul J. Quirk, University of British Columbia, quirk@politics.ubc.ca

Adam Sheingate, Johns Hopkins University, adam.sheingate@jhu.edu

Suzanne Mettler, Cornell University, sbm24@cornell.edu

Meg Jacobs, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, mjacobs@mit.edu

Christopher Howard, College of William & Mary, cdhowa@wm.edu

Panel 7-11 & 11-22 American Political Development in Non-Western-European Comparative Perspective, Friday, August 29, 10:15 AM

Chair: **Richard F. Bensel**, Cornell University, rfb2@cornell.edu

Rulers and Capital in Historical Perspective: State Formation and Financial Development in India and the United States (1757-1800), **Abhishek Chatterjee**, University of Virginia, ac7y@virginia.edu

Health Policy in the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, **Dean E. Robinson**, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, deanr@polsci.umass.edu

Race and Postwar Party Competition in the United States and South Africa, **Jesse H. Rhodes** University of Massachusetts, Amherst, jrhodes@polsci.umass.edu and **Shamira M. Gelbman**, Illinois State University, sgelbman@ilstu.edu

Religion, Immigration and Political Participation in Argentina and the USA, **Hanan Alhajeri**, New School University, hananboston@aol.com

Discussant: **Richard F. Bensel**, Cornell University, rfb2@cornell.edu

Panel 7-16 & 25-13 The Historical Development of U.S. Public Policy, Fri, August 29, 2:00 PM

Chair: **Patrick S. Roberts**, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, robertsp@vt.edu

A Pivotal Moment in Family Policy? The Progressive Era and the Development of Partisan Family Policy, **Gwendoline M. Alphonso**, Cornell University, gma22@cornell.edu

Conservatives and American Political Development, **Brian J. Glenn**, Emerson College, brian_glenn@emerson.edu

The GI Bill's New Deal Origins and Place in the Welfare State, **Ann M. Robbart**, University of Massachusetts, Boston, ann.robbart001@umb.edu

The Metrics of Equality, **Jean C. Robinson**, Indiana University, Bloomington, robinso@indiana.edu, **Julia Lamber**, Indiana University, lamber@indiana.edu, & **Pamela Barnhouse Walters**, Indiana University, walters@indiana.edu

Discussant: **Stephen Amberg**, University of Texas, San Antonio, stephen.amberg@utsa.edu

Panel 7-2 Roundtable: The Role of History in Political Science: A Discussion Among APSA Presidents, Friday, August 29, 2:00 PM

Chair: **Anne Norton**, University of Pennsylvania, anorton@sas.upenn.edu

Participant(s):

Ira Katznelson, Columbia University, iik1@columbia.edu

Margaret Levi, University of Washington, Seattle, mlevi@u.washington.edu

Susanne Hoerber Rudolph, University of Chicago, srudolph@midway.uchicago.edu

Theda Skocpol, Harvard University, skocpol@fas.harvard.edu

Matthew Holden, University of Virginia, ITMProject@aol.com

7-10 Colonization and Empire in American Political Development, Friday, August 29, 4:15 PM

Chair: **Joseph E. Luders**, Yeshiva University, luders@yu.edu

Not-So-Strange Stillbirth of the American Colonization Society, **David F. Ericson**, SUNY, Albany, DEricson1@uamail.albany.edu

American Political Development, Space, and Citizenship, **Bartholomew H. Sparrow**, University of Texas, Austin, bhs@mail.la.utexas.edu

Subaltern Sovereignty Versus Settler Nationalism: Hierarchy and Hybridity in Late 19th Century North American Political Development, **Kevin M. Bruyneel**, Babson College, kbruyneel@babson.edu

Turning American Political Development Inside Out: The Empire of Liberty and the the Dream of Liberia **Joseph E. Lowndes**, University of Oregon, jlowndes@uoregon.edu

Discussants: **Michael G. Hanchard**, The Johns Hopkins University, mhancha1@jhu.edu, & **Mark Q. Sawyer**, University of California, Los Angeles, msawyer@polisci.ucla.edu

6:15 Friday: Politics & History Business Meeting

7:30 Friday: Politics & History Reception

Saturday August 30

Panel 7-9 Author Meets Critics Roundtable: Victoria Hattam's IN THE SHADOW OF RACE: JEWS, LATINOS AND IMMIGRANT POLITICS IN THE U.S. Saturday, August 30, 8:00 AM

Chair: **Janice Fine**, Rutgers University, fine@smlr.rutgers.edu

Mark Q. Sawyer, University of California, Los Angeles, msawyer@polisci.ucla.edu

James A. Morone, Brown University, james_morone@brown.edu

Cristina Beltran, Haverford College, cbeltran@haverford.edu

Taeku Lee, University of California, Berkeley, taekulee@berkeley.edu

Stephen Steinberg, CUNY, Graduate Center, ssteinberg1@gc.cuny.edu

Victoria Hattam, New School University, hattam@earthlink.net

Panel 7-5 & 23-1 The American Presidency and Civil Liberties: A Conversation Across Disciplines, Saturday, August 30, 10:15 AM

Chair: **Jeffrey K. Tulis**, University of Texas, Austin, jtulis@mail.la.utexas.edu

Of Pirates and Presidents: The Southern Borderlands and the Origins of the War-Making Executive, 1800s-1830s, **Jason M. Opal**, Colby College, jopal@colby.edu

A Scholar and a Statesman: Woodrow Wilson's Conception of "Responsible" Opposition in Theory and Practice, **Jeffrey Selinger**, Bowdoin College, jselinge@bowdoin.edu

Contextualizing Presidential Prerogative and Freedom: Agency, Structure, and American Philosophical Traditions, **Daniel J. Tichenor**, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, tichenor@polisci.rutgers.edu

Discussant: **Sidney M. Milkis**, University of Virginia, smm8e@virginia.edu

Panel 7-17 & 25-16 Roundtable: Steve Teles' THE RISE OF THE CONSERVATIVE LEGAL MOVEMENT, Saturday, August 30, 10:15 AM

Brian J. Glenn, Emerson College, brian_glenn@emerson.edu

Participant(s):

Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University, mes14@cornell.edu

Ken I. Kersch, Boston College, kersch.ken@gmail.com

Frank R. Baumgartner, Pennsylvania State University, frankb@la.psu.edu

Steven M. Teles, University of Maryland, steles2@jhu.edu

Marc Landy, Boston College, Landym@bc.edu

Panel 7-18 & 27-7 The Anatomy of Constitutional Crises, Saturday, August 30, 2:00 PM

Chair: **Mark A. Graber**, University of Maryland, mgrab@law.umaryland.edu

Three Types of Constitutional Crises, **Sanford Levinson**, University of Texas, Austin, slevinson@law.utexas.edu

Jack M. Balkin, Yale University, jack.balkin@yale.edu

Constitutional Showdowns, **Eric Posner**, University of Chicago, eric_posner@law.uchicago.edu

Adrian Vermeule, Harvard University, avermeule@law.harvard.edu

The Search for Legitimacy and the Redefinition of the Institutional Role of the Supreme Court in Argentina, **Alba Ruibal**, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, albaruibal@gmail.com

Discussant: **William E. Scheuerman**, Indiana University, wscheuer@indiana.edu

Sunday August 31

Panel 7-19 & 42-14 Roundtable: Join the Party? George McGovern, American Liberalism and the Politics of Hope in U.S. Presidential Politics, 1972 and Today, Sunday, August 31, 8:00 AM

Chair: **Alethia Jones**, SUNY, Albany, ajones@albany.edu

Frances Fox Piven, CUNY, Graduate Center, Fpiven@hotmail.com

Philip A. Klinkner, Hamilton College, pklinkne@hamilton.edu

Rick Perlstein, The Village Voice, perlstein@aol.com

James Shoch, California State University, Sacramento, shochj@csus.edu

Shelley L. Hurt, Vassar College

Bruce Miroff, SUNY, Albany, miroff@albany.edu

**Abstracts of Politics & History Papers
from the 2008 Midwest Political Science
Association Meetings**

“An Unconstitutional Governor: Woodrow Wilson and the People’s Executive, 1885-1913”

Saladin Malik Ambar, Rutgers University

This paper explores the governorship and executive vision of Woodrow Wilson in the context of emerging Progressive Era notions of executive governance. Wilson’s Trenton tenure is the key bridge between the governor-presidencies of Cleveland and FDR.

“State Formation and Market Formation in Historical Perspective”

Abhishek Chatterjee, University of Virginia

Explains the establishment of institutionalized capital markets in the United States and the development thereof in the context of late eighteenth century to nineteenth century state formation.

“Emergence of the Elected Senate: The 17th Amendment and Institutional Change”

Daniel A. Cicenia, University of Florida

This research will attempt to uncover some of the internal and external processes contributing to the passage of the 17th Amendment, allowing for direct election of U.S. Senators.

“Congress and Nazi Anti-Semitism: Issue Advocacy and Policy Formation”

Jeffrey Scott Demsky, University of Florida

During the years that spanned 1933-1944, legislators spoke out against Nazi anti-Semitism. These lawmakers observed in the reports of violence against Jews a potentially larger threat to such civic liberties as unfettered speech, religion and assembly.

“Government and Sport Policy: Evolution and Implications”

Amanda Ross Edwards, North Carolina State University

The current relationship between government and sport policy is useful for understanding an important context relevant to political and social change.

“James Madison, Executive Power, and the Question of Consistency”

Gregory J. Edwards, Empire State College, SUNY

This paper will argue that the apparent inconsistency between his political thought and behavior in the 1780’s and 1790’s was a result of his ambivalence toward executive power.

“Van Buren’s Error: The Rise and Fall of Party as a Constitutional Claim and the Contingent Logic of Coordinate Construction”

Stephen Marcus Engel, Yale University

By evaluating Martin Van Buren’s theory of political party, this paper reassesses the predominant characterization of the second party system and argues that coordinate construction is a politically contingent constitutional claim.

“The People’s Party: The Birth of a New Democracy in Postbellum Kansas”

James W. Fox, Stetson University

In this paper I will examine the relationship between citizenship/civil society theories and the constitutional citizenship established during American Reconstruction through the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments. These Amendments created in law a universal citizenship previously unknown. The content of that citizenship, however, has been left largely undeveloped. I will develop this content by looking at citizenship, civil society, and public sphere theories, applying them to the efforts of black Americans at claiming and creating citizenship during and after Reconstruction. First I will examine to what extent democratic citizenship ideas were held by the lawmakers who wrote the Amendments and Reconstruction legislation. Then I will examine the lived experience of freedom and this new citizenship by post-war African Americans, which, I argue, demonstrated the need to conceive of citizenship far more broadly and deeply than had been imagined up to that point. I look at, for example, the black national and state conventions of the period and the expressions of citizenship evident in them, as well as in activities of black citizens during Reconstruction. What emerged in this period was a growth of what Jeffrey Alexander calls a bifurcated public sphere, one where African Americans had to create counterpublics (and, in large part, counter civil

societies) in order to maintain and begin transforming citizenship into something closer to the constitutional ideal. In this process of transformation lies the crucial revision of both citizenship and civil society theory, a transformation still taking place to this day.

“Institutional Friends of Pollsters Before and Just After the 1948 Election”

Amy Fried, University of Maine

While the 1948 election was a blow to the polling industry, pollsters faced earlier legitimacy challenges. Survey researchers, foundation staff, and marketers defended pollsters, viewing them as compatriots with institutional ties and common values

“Parties as Political Institutions in American Political Development”

Daniel Galvin, Northwestern University

Political parties figure prominently in studies of American political development; they are depicted as integral to many of the most significant turning points in American history. Remarkably, however, little effort has been given to understanding how, exactly, party structures and operations change, and under what conditions we might expect to see different kinds of changes in the parties. The reason is that the approach most political scientists have taken to studying parties over the last century has given us only limited purchase on parties as institutions of political significance in their own right. As parties are generally depicted as reflections of change rather than themselves integral to the processes through which they change, their own capacities to generate, obstruct, or redirect change seldom receive direct attention. What escapes investigation is the possibility that each party has its own capacities to mediate and negotiate change in politically significant ways, that each follows its own internal logic, has its own rhythm and pattern of development, and is on its own historical trajectory. This paper aims to take a first step toward addressing these shortcomings by treating parties as political institutions with identifiable mechanisms of reproduction and change.

“Building: Antebellum American Nation-State Formation in Comparative Perspective”

Stefan Heumann, University of Pennsylvania

This paper argues that imperial expansion and governance drove antebellum federal state-building in the U.S. Drawing on insights from the historical-comparative literature on state-formation in Europe, the paper claims that the acquisition, control and incorporation of new territories and the need to finance these endeavors led to the build-up of significant state capacities on the national level. Government officials chose to pursue territorial expansion through the application of military force and the projection of governing authority to constantly westward moving peripheries. This could not be achieved without significant administrative and extractive capacities. The federal government had to generate sufficient revenue to finance a military, capable of overpowering and controlling the Native population, asserting U.S. expansionism against Spain, France, Britain, and Mexico, and projecting governing authority to frontier regions. The U.S. Constitution concentrated the authority, needed to organize and finance territorial expansion, in the hands of the newly created federal government. Drawing on the model of British imperial rule, the federal government built administrative capacities in the executive to effectively push its national boundaries westward and to integrate the newly acquired territory into the American political system. After discussing the relationship between territorial expansion and state-building, empirical evidence for the theoretical claims is presented and discussed. An analysis of the federal budget in the period from 1789 to 1859 underscores the importance of territorial expansion to antebellum state-building. Showing striking resemblances to the British “fiscal-military” state in the 18th and early 19th century, federal expenditures were mainly concentrated on the military, navy, and the retirement of war-related debt. In addition the federal government spent a large share of its budget on the acquisition and administration of western territory. The federal government relied on custom revenues and the sale of the public domain to finance the rising costs of imperial expansion. While the federal government tended to leave social and economic policies to state and local levels of governance, it developed important administrative and military capacities to finance, organize, and conduct territorial expansion across North America.

“Parliamentary Clubs and Voting Behavior in Austria, 1907-1918”

Philip J. Howe, Adrian College

This paper examines the relationship between parliamentary club membership and roll-call voting in the Austrian Parliament between 1907 and 1918, the period after universal manhood suffrage was introduced for that legislative body. The purpose of this investigation is to determine what function parliamentary clubs actually served, a matter that effectively has been ignored in the historical literature. Since several of those clubs were multi-national in character, this also promises to further our understanding of how a legislature might function effectively in an ethnically divided society. Austria's pre-WWI population was highly divided along ethno-linguistic lines, consisting of Croats, Czechs, Germans, Italians, Jews, Poles, Romanians, Ruthenians, Serbs, Slovenes and others, none of whom comprised a majority of the overall population. In line with historians' emphasis on the "Nationalities Question" and the breakup of the Monarchy, Parliament has conventionally been seen as a weak institution that fell to national division. However, recent research has begun to portray Parliament, and indeed the Monarchy itself, in a more favorable light. Similarly, Parliament has long been portrayed as dominated by ethnically defined clubs. My own archival research, however, indicates that each parliamentary representative was in fact typically a member of *multiple* clubs and associations, including those representing specific socio-economic interests that transcended ethnic divisions. This in turn suggests a legislature in which representatives joined multiple clubs in order to address the diversity of interests that motivated their constituents, and therefore a parliament where club membership is reflected in voting on actual legislation. Examining the relationship between club membership and roll call voting allows us to adjudicate between three hypotheses: 1) Members of the same club consistently vote with each other on legislation; 2) Members of the same club consistently vote with each other on legislation that affects the interests of that particular group; 3) No significant relationship can be found between representatives' voting patterns and club membership. The findings allow us to reevaluate the classic historical case of a "multi-national empire." Further, by drawing on the literature on democracy in plural societies, this

research offers significant insight into the possibilities for representative institutions in an inevitably plural world.

“Electoral Order and Political Participation: Scheduling, Calendar Position, and Antebellum Turnout”

Scott C. James and Sara M. Butler, University of California, Los Angeles

Why doesn't surge-and-decline theory extend to antebellum electoral politics? We argue that the era's distinctive election-scheduling regime helps account for distinctive electoral patterns and clarifies present day surge-and-decline dynamics.

“Electoral Order and Political Participation: Scheduling, Calendar Position, and Antebellum Turnout”

Joseph Luders, Yeshiva University

Why doesn't surge-and-decline theory extend to antebellum electoral politics? We argue that the era's distinctive election-scheduling regime helps account for distinctive electoral patterns and clarifies present day surge-and-decline dynamics.

“The Harassment of Black Elected Officials: A Congressional Case Study”

John Mack, Labette Community College

This paper explores black Congresspeople's allegations of government "harassment" over the course of the past seventy years.

“The Origins of American Fair Housing Policy: Restrictive Covenants, Housing Segregation, and the Truman Administration”

Charles M. Lamb, University at Buffalo, SUNY

This paper examines the role of the Truman administration in the early development of fair housing policy in the United States based on archival documents from the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and National Archives II.

“Did the UN Contribute to the Decline of U.S. Civic Engagement?”

Lanethea Mathews-Gardner and Kirill Meleshevich, Muhlenberg College

Examining the Formation of the UN as a Definitive Moment in American Political Development with lasting consequences for state-society relationships.

“How Big the Camel’s Nose? Funding Religious Schools in Australia and the U.S.”

Damon Mayrl, University of California, Berkeley

Divergent patterns of funding for religious schools in Australia and the U.S. can be traced to (1) stronger institutional constraints in the U.S., (2) lingering sectarianism in the U.S, and (3) partisan fluidity in Australia during the period 1955-1970.

“The Public Control of Corporate Power: The 1909 Corporate Tax, the Sixteenth Amendment, and the Legal Foundations of the Modern Fiscal State”

Ajay K. Mehrotra, Indiana University

This paper explores the historical and legal context of the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which permitted a federal income tax.

“Party Competition and the Development of Federal Crime Policy”

Naomi Murakawa, University of Washington

This paper examines how federal crime policy becomes more punitive with Democratic distancing from black civil rights.

“Civil Rights and the Logic of Political Change”

George Derek Musgrove, Carnegie Mellon Univ.

Under what conditions do organized benefit-seekers succeed in winning concessions from political actors? To answer this question, I combine political science research on public policy with the sociological literature on social movement outcome.

“A Partisan Regime Approach to Shifts in Coalitional Dominance”

Curtis W. Nichols, University of Texas, Austin

I account for the shifts in coalitional dominance that periodically punctuate the course of APD by borrowing from Schattschneider’s focus on conflict in politics and Toynbee’s developmental insights, extending a theory of partisan regimes.

“Explaining the Institutional Form of the FRB, the Supreme Court of Finance”

Hiroshi Okayama, Keio University

This paper explains why the Federal Reserve Board as a fully government-controlled institution regulating regional reserve banks was accepted by U.S. policy makers at its founding, when the central bankmaned by experienced bankers was the dominant organizational form of central-banking system. It is demonstrated that the FRB gained legitimacy by being associated with certain existing government institutions that people held in high esteem, namely the Supreme Court and the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC). The link between the FRB and the two institutions became widely acknowledged, and also the connection worked in favor of the supporters of the Wilson administration’s federal reserve bill. In addition, it is shown that the combination of the three institutions was not an ad hoc one, but that it constituted part of a distinct tradition of state building in the United States that has its roots in the judiciary.

“Development of National Membership Regimes”

Katherine Tegtmeier Pak, St. Olaf College

This paper proposes a new typology for organizing cross-national comparisons of immigration/citizenship politics. It replaces underexamined descriptions with categories that capture the consequences of sequencing in institutional development.

“The Retrenchment of Bilingual Education in America 1968-2001: A Policy Feedback Approach”

Vanessa Perez, Columbia University

Contemporary attacks on bilingual education fail to acknowledge the decline in bilingual education policy taking place in the US since the 1980s. This paper first shows historical and institutional changes influenced the creation of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968. After implementation, the policy generated the mechanisms that set in motion processes of policy expansion. This in turn influenced the creation of opposition forces, which benefited from the changing political environment. I demonstrate how the 1980s institutional context and past re-authorizations of the policy influenced retrenchment strategies.

“State-Level Educational Politics and the Origins of No Child Left Behind”

Jesse Hessler Rhodes, University of Virginia

This paper shows that the expansion of federal authority in raising educational standards, monitoring performance, and holding schools accountable for results stemmed from elite efforts to overcome the limits of state-level education policymaking.

“Prudence and Moderation in the Statesmanship of Abraham Lincoln”

Jon D. Schaff, Northern State University

Ancient political thought puts the virtues of prudence and moderation at the heart of statesmanship. This paper shows how Abraham Lincoln exemplified these virtues and how they are necessary for the success of the liberal American regime.

“Title IX in the 1970s: From Stealth Politics to Political Negotiation”

Jean C. Robinson, Indiana University, Bloomington, Julia C. Lamber, Indiana University, and Pamela Barnhouse Walters, Indiana University, Bloomington

This paper examines the political conflicts surrounding Title IX in the 1970s. We focus on discourse during its adoption and regulatory phases. A key issue is how the tension between “separate” and “equal” in gender policy is addressed in public.

“Parties, Patriot Kings and the Republican Logic of Going Public, 1789-1800”

Chris West, Rutgers University

A close look at the Jeffersonian opposition movement’s rationale for connecting with public opinion reveals important precursors to the development of presidential partisanship and popular rhetorical leadership



Abstracts of Politics & History Papers from the 2008 Western Political Science Association Meetings

“James Wilson: Founder and Constitutional Visionary”

J. Mark Alcorn, St. Cloud State University

James Wilson of Pennsylvania was one of only six men to sign both the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, yet he is virtually unknown to most Americans. Born in Scotland, he moved to the American colonies in 1765 where he practiced law in Pennsylvania and became active in the politics of the day almost immediately. As a member of the Continental Congress, he was active in the politics that led to the Declaration of Independence and was a member of Congress in the 1780s. In Philadelphia, at the Federal Convention in 1787, he was arguably the most important member with the exception of James Madison. He served on the Committee on Detail and was active and influential throughout the convention, especially in the formation of the office of Chief Executive. This paper argues that Wilson’s vision for what the constitution should and could be is closer to the constitution as it exists today than what any of the other founders envisioned. The paper will develop the argument by considering Wilson’s speeches, actions, and writings in the 1770s including those at the Constitutional Convention, during the ratification period, his law lectures at the College of Philadelphia, and his time as an Associate Justice on the U.S. Supreme Court.

“The Paradox of Public Assistance in the 1960s”

Eva Bertram, UC-Santa Cruz

This paper examines early sources of the conservative shift toward workfare in U.S. public assistance in the 1960s. Federal support for work programs for welfare recipients were authorized first in 1962, then expanded in 1964 and 1967. What explains this shift? Why were the first steps in the conservative turn toward workfare taken at the height of the War on Poverty and Great Society? I argue that first Kennedy and then Johnson inadvertently created opportunities for conservatives

within their own party to seize the agenda on welfare reform. More specifically, I argue that from 1961 to 1967, the two administrations sought four liberal expansions of public assistance, but chose strategies that backfired, undermining New Deal welfarist principles and strengthening the hand of southern Democrats in Congress with a conservative workfarist agenda. The reforms eroded a core premise of New Deal public assistance by extending cash assistance to individuals considered “employable.” Equally important, the reforms provided both the political rationale (failed promises that the rolls would decline) and the vehicle for Democrats in Congress to seize the policy initiative for conservative reform. In 1967, conservative Democrats transformed a modest Johnson work program into a mandatory workfare requirement. The resulting WIN amendments failed to meet their stated objectives, but set AFDC politics on a new developmental trajectory, culminating in the welfare reform of 1996.

“Political Families in American Electoral Politics”

Kimberly Casey, University of Missouri, St. Louis

Family members of politicians proliferate in American politics, as evidenced by the 2008 presidential race. This paper explores why this is so, utilizing a path dependent framework. I argue that political kin, when properly defined, exist in the United States today in sizeable numbers if multi-leveled participation is quantified. This fact contradicts the conclusion of scholars such as Clubok, Wilensky, and Berghorn (1969) who indicated that political families decreased significantly in numbers over time in Congress, indicating their demise. I counter those findings. When the definition of “political family” is strengthened to include marital kin and women within a generational span, the strength and importance of kin relations in candidacy and office holding is far more apparent since the English first colonized American soil. Political families continue to be vital to American politics at the national level. They have been entrenched through legitimacy mechanisms, including reinforcement cycles during critical junctures over time, thus forming a critical case for path dependency theory in American politics. This paper looks at the course political families, as a collective entity, have had throughout the history of the United States.

“Elite Democracy: Representation, Participation, and Citizenship in an Expanding Electorate”

Jesse Chupp and Nathan Ilderton, Texas A&M University

The modern expansion of the voting franchise is nearly universal; only children under eighteen, certain convicted criminals and those not registered to vote are excluded. However, it is provocative to wonder whether the extension of voting rights is the same as an increase in democracy, democratic citizenship and democratic participation. Specifically, modern democratic citizenship is not as extensive as ancient democratic citizenship in that most modern citizens are only expected to act as voters rather than as both voters and office holders. This paper explores the mechanism by which most “citizens” in modern representative democracies are disenfranchised from the office holding portion of citizenship. We use census data to examine the differences that existed between the average United States House of Representatives member and the average member of American society during all periods of voting qualifications ranging from the most restrictive to the most inclusive. We maintain that while the increased right to vote has brought more persons and more diverse types of persons into the voting arena, there has been little change in the “demographic distance” that exists between the two groups, office holder and non-office holder, regardless of the non-office holding group’s voting status.

“Clubs, Associations and Voting Behavior in the Austrian Parliament, 1907-1918”

Philip Howe, Adrian College

This paper examines the relationship between parliamentary club membership and roll-call voting in the Austrian Parliament (Reichsrat) between 1907 and 1918. The purpose of this investigation is to determine what function parliamentary clubs actually served, thereby shedding light on the early development of representative politics among the German, Polish, Czech, etc. populations of East Central Europe. Since several of these clubs were multi-national in character, this also furthers our understanding of how a legislature might function effectively in an ethnically divided society.

“Decolonizing history as an aesthetic political enactment: Asian settler colonialism in Hawaii”

Bianca Isaki, University of Hawaii-Manoa

Jacques Ranciere’s aesthetic politics offers a framework for the audacious project (as Gayatri Spivak has called it) of decolonization - specifically, in my work, decolonizing history. Politics is an event in which those who have no part, take up a position. This motion is fundamentally aesthetic because it marks a moment of shifting the field of political visibility; that which can be seen and sensed as having a political position has changed in some crucial way. Decolonizing history means marking the unmarking of the justice, nation and political self-determination of the colonized. Making these marks visible, I argue, is an aesthetic political enactment. I catalog the decolonial endeavor through the disidentification of Asian settlers with the U.S. occupation of Hawai’i, recovering an imagination of political community beyond the U.S. and parsing the forms of nation, justice and selfhood that tether identity-attachments to maintaining a colonial order. I locate these forms in the upward mobility of plantation workers as they left the plantations, the transition of interracial labor organization into relatively more economic and bureaucratic business unionism and by contrasting earlier communal plantation architecture (dormitories, intergenerational living quarters, housing camps) with planter promises of American dream homes.

“Assessing the Impact of the WWI Environment on Public Finance Policy Development”

Gina Keel, SUNY-Oneonta

This paper applies the methodology of Bartholomew Sparrow (From Outside In, 1996) to extend the investigation of major war effects on U.S. state-building in public finance domain and enable a comparison of WWI effects with WWII effects argued by Sparrow. I will use a resource dependence perspective (political support is the crucial resource) that focuses on the organizational environment of policy-making, characterized by world war in this case. I will control for shifts in the environment—preparedness period, war crisis period, at war’s end—when assessing its impact on public finance policy development. This paper will emphasize environmental effects on the following dimensions of

state building: Who directs public finance policy in each period and in what direction; the form of bureaucratic development and newly institutionalized relations between government and societal actors; permanence of finance policies and finance agendas during the periods.

“The Myth of the United States as a Nation of Immigrants”

Jan Michael Kotowski, UC Santa Cruz

It is the objective of this paper to shed light on the myth of America as a nation of immigrants, to analyze when and how it came into being, to trace and follow its historical development to the current situation, and to explain its underlying functions for the national self-understanding of the United States. The main reason for this approach lies in the significance of the immigrant myth within the broader discourse of American nationalism as it 1) is a seemingly obvious story of the nation’s origins, 2) romanticizes the nation’s past and its individual members, 3) neglects and disavows the nation’s act of brutality and exclusion, 4) portrays the United States as a fundamentally generous and hospitable country, and 5) reinforces beliefs in the exceptionalist democratic nature and the meritocratic economic system of the regime.

“The American Farmer as Virtuous Citizen: Representations of Agriculture and Farmers in American Agricultural Policymaking”

Julie Lester, Macon State College

Throughout history scholars have recognized the important contributions that farmers have made to the economy and political culture of nations. In ancient cultures scholars such as Cicero, Xenophon, Socrates, Cato and Aristotle extolled the virtues of agriculture being “a way of life which promotes certain distinctive human virtues: justice, honesty, independence, courage and a capacity for hard work” (Montmarquet 1989, 26). Many of those virtues are also attributed to American farmers through the agrarian myth influenced by the scholarship of Thomas Jefferson, John Taylor, Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson. While it is apparent that ideas of the American farmer as a “virtuous” citizen have appeared in popular culture such as literature, music and movies it is important to consider if the same ideas have been presented in political dialogues and whether or not farmers have

been represented as a special class of citizens that may deserve unique privileges or protections because of their economic and political contributions. It is the purpose of this research to consider how farmers have been represented as citizens in agricultural policymaking narratives, more specifically in Congressional testimony for general farm legislation (the “farm bills”).

“The Age of Reaction”

William Lunch, Oregon State University

The political era starting in 1980 (that may be ending) has been one characterized by many efforts to reverse policy changes from the 60s & 70s in the areas of civil rights and civil liberties, environmental policy, education policy, and many other domestic policies, but more generally by cultural, political, and policy dominance for those who reacted against the changes of the 60s & 70s. This paper attempts to synthesize the era historically and as a time of reaction, similar to the twenties and the fifties in the 20th century.

“Not So Meritorious: Early Statehood and Partisan Politics”

Justin Moeller, University of Georgia

While earlier works by McCarty, Poole, and Rosenthal (2000) and Stewart and Weingast (1992) have demonstrated the links between admission to the American Union and politics, little works exist on the admission of states prior to the Missouri Compromise. In general, there is a traditional assumption that early states were admitted based on the criteria of merit established by the Northwest Ordinance in 1787. However, such traditional assumptions neglect a wealth of state histories that emphasize the intersection of politics and statehood. This paper through the use of case studies and empirical evaluation attempts to demonstrate the relationship between the rise of factional politics and admission to the American Union. While the politics behind initial entries to the Union lacked the rhetorical diatribes of the antebellum period and the political arrogance of the free-coinage era – this work hopes to establish that statehood has always been connected to the politics of the day. Therefore, the institutional behavior regarding statehood examined by previous authors is useful for understanding institutional development – however,

politics intersecting with admission to the Union was not unique to the time periods they examined.

“Traces of Utopia: Socialist Values and Soviet Urban Planning”

Jason Myers, California State University, Stanislaus

In the late 1960s, a small group of urban planners in what was then the Soviet Union published a book entitled *The Ideal Communist City*. Following a brief analysis of the connections between urban design and historical social development, the book offered an initial outline of what the authors called the New Unit of Settlement (NUS): a city of the future – but more specifically, a city of the communist future. What is particularly striking about the NUS vision today is the extent to which it continued to articulate core values of the broad socialist tradition, even in the face of their denial under the real limits of the USSR. Despite the vast gap between the vision expressed in the NUS design and the practices of Soviet leaders, an re-examination of *The Ideal Communist City* offers an opportunity to reflect on the core values of socialist political philosophy itself. The proposed paper will reveal the traces of socialist values in the NUS design and from those traces explicate the core of socialist, social democratic, and communist political philosophy.

“The Problem of Reconstruction After the American Civil War”

Forrest Nabors, University of Oregon

Contemporary scholars diverge remarkably in characterizing Reconstruction after the American Civil War. Some consider Reconstruction a successful revolution (Ackerman); some, the completion of the American Revolution (Zuckert); some, an unfinished revolution (Foner). This paper argues that Reconstruction was not a revolution, but a marginally successful counter-revolution, taking the founding of the political nation in 1776 as the point of reference. Under the Constitution of 1787, the national government could not arrest the development of a revolutionary movement centered in the South, culminating in the founding of the Confederacy, a new political nation with new fundamental principles. The problem of Reconstruction was the problem of uprooting entrenched oligarchic republicanism, and restoring liberal republicanism to the insurrectionary and slave-holding border states. This problem was not widely understood, and proved a formidable

challenge to political skill. Radical Reconstruction leaders attempted to reconcile the governments of those states with the principles of 1776, but their attempts yielded mixed results. Within the reunified nation the principles and institutions of both regimes survived. That James Madison foresaw the possibility of a revolutionary regime coextensive with slavery, developing within, and hostile to (liberal) republicanism, links the problem of Reconstruction to the problem of establishing stable republicanism in modernity.

“A Partisan Regime Approach to Shifts in Coalitional Dominance”

Curt Nichols, University of Texas-Austin

In this paper I explore how to more fully elaborate a theory of partisan regimes (Polsky, 1997; Plotke, 1996). Specifically, I seek to extend this holistic paradigm to better account for periodic shifts in coalitional dominance. I start by tracing the downfall of both the ‘realignment synthesis’ (Burnham, 1970) and Hartz’s liberal consensus thesis (1955), locating this as the source of the problem that has thrown the American Political Development research agenda into “disarray” (Orren and Skowronek 2004, 74). Then I argue that the corrective lens for this myopia is a comprehensive partisan regime approach which more consciously borrows from E.E. Schattschieder’s awareness of the centrality of conflict in political action (1960). This supplement is important not only because it highlights the discursive and thematic elements of partisan regime building, but because it elevates coalition construction and maintenance to the forefront of the study of political development. Additionally, I suggest how this extension makes better sense of hard test cases, like the ‘system of 1896’ and the long ‘dealignment’ of the late twentieth century. By conceiving of these events as instances when partisan leaders chose to support new uniting conflicts that succeeded in rallying their coalitions around cleavages that consigned them to minority status, I show how an extended partisan regime approach accounts for all the shifts in coalitional dominance that America has experienced.

“The Intellectual in Question: Antonio Gramsci and the production of ideas”

Emanuele Saccarelli, San Diego State University

This essay reviews some of the essential features of Gramsci’s theory of intellectuals. Fundamentally, these concern the social affiliation of the intellectual as well as his political functions. The substance of Gramsci’s theory is itself quite complex, as it encompasses a historical sociology (the aggregation and disaggregation of social classes producing intellectual strata through various epochs), a social geography (the regional and national differentiation of various species of intellectuals), a sociology of knowledge (the socially stratified character of the production of ideas), and a theory of consciousness (including the “fetishistic” play of misinterpretation of one’s own intellectual products). However, as I try to show, the essential thrust of his theory, at least at the level of argumentation, is unambiguous: to unveil the ideological appearance of the neutrality and independence of the intellectual. Gramsci developed this analysis not in the interest of self-awareness or even political honesty – although he was no doubt remarkably self-reflective and famously insistent on truth as a political imperative – but in order to conduct a struggle to win over the most conscious and responsible of intellectuals to the side of the working class and the revolutionary transformation of society.

“The US Military’s First Counter Insurgency: Habeas Corpus, Collective Responsibility and the Reconstruction Era Suppression of the Ku Klux Klan”

Michael Reinhard & Phillip Cortese, Millsaps Coll.

The current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan have focused attention on the ability of the US to conduct counter insurgency operations effectively while respecting the civil rights of those countries’ civilian populations. These issues are often treated with an historical perspective that goes back no farther than Vietnam. We examine a case that has often been overlooked—the US military’s suppression of what may fairly be described as a fascist insurgency: the Ku Klux Klan’s campaign against African American enfranchisement during reconstruction. Several aspects of this historical episode are worth recalling as a guide to current policy decisions. First, the military was remarkably, indeed, devastatingly effective in suppressing the KKK in the face of widespread popular support and a chilling willingness on the part of insurgents to use violence. Second,

success required Congressionally authorized suspension not only of the writ of habeas corpus and rights to freedom of association but also resort to some notion of collective responsibility. Third, the gains of the military's successful counter insurgency evaporated as soon as the military withdrew. We examine this history using descriptive statistics and newly available primary source material and, cautiously, seek to draw lessons for the current conflicts based on quantitative evidence and our own fieldwork in Afghanistan and Central Asia.

“Ambivalent Sage: Thomas Jefferson and Political Philosophy”

David Siemers, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

This paper examines Thomas Jefferson's approach to political theory. Jefferson is known as an avid reader and a devotee of the democratic political philosophies of the late Enlightenment. In contrast to his reputation, however, evidence from his writing indicates that he was far less interested in political theory than contemporaries like John Adams or James Madison. The reasons for this are several. First, Jefferson tended to be dismissive of political theory. He believed that most historical political philosophy was elitist and misguided, in that it attempted to co-opt democracy by setting out timeless ideals. Second, Jefferson's personality was such that he tended to overlook controversies and contradictions. This was the case in politics proper, but also in his approach to political theory. Instead of picking apart arguments and their implications, which reveals that they are often at odds, he did not bother to deeply digest political theories. Third, Jefferson privileged action over thought, yielding an impatience for theorizing in general. All of this contributes to a curious conclusion: the president that we often think most indebted to political philosophy was actually someone who was quite ambivalent toward it.

“Consuming Politics: Breast Cancer Advocacy and the Marketing of Social Issues”

Patricia Strach & Marcus Schulzke, SUNY-Albany

Why do organized interests who wish to ameliorate social problems turn to the market to raise money and awareness rather than to government? This paper examines the origins of marketing social problems to consumers—what we call commodity politics—by looking specifically at breast cancer advocacy from

the 1970s to the current day. Though we can see examples of commodity politics from the environment (at Starbucks) to saving endangered species (at the grocery store), breast cancer is one of the most successful examples of this increasingly common strategy. Through a narrative historical analysis that identifies “the intervening causal process—the causal chain and causal mechanism—between an independent variable (or variables) and the outcome of the dependent variable” (George and Bennett 2005, 206) we re-construct the story of breast cancer activism by piecing together descriptive data on the number of congressional hearings, newspaper stories, registered non-profits as well as federal agency expenditures along with qualitative data on story content, hearings transcripts, interest group missions, and interviews with key interest group leaders. Together, these sources help to explain why breast cancer research advocates chose to market to consumers rather than lobby government.

“Prior Political Ground: What “Governance” Can Teach Us about American Political Development” Kathleen Sullivan, Ohio University and Patricia Strach, SUNY-Albany

Orren and Skowronek argue that all political development proceeds on “prior political ground” (20), but all too often scholars ignore the non-governmental and/or non-national in the political order. As the traditional functions of government are increasingly (and more visibly) farmed out to private corporations and other quasi-public entities, political scientists and the general public should have the tools to analyze, understand, and respond to such changing political conditions. We find a tool in the concept of governance, which we have borrowed from public administration and postmodern scholarship. Governance makes sense of the role of non-governmental actors in political authority. We used governance to explain political order in a WPSA paper delivered in 2006. In San Diego we will use governance to unearth the prior political ground of American political development. We will rethink the role of families, mutual aid societies, women's philanthropies, elite philanthropies, Progressive-era professional aid, federal and state pensions, and other organizations in delivering social services from the Civil War to the New Deal. We find social service provision was already underway by these organizations, and state, local, and federal governments maintained these institutions. Rather than measure development in terms of the rise of the administrative state, we measure development as the transition from one mechanism of governing authority to another.



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Richard Ned Lebow, "The Future of Memory," 25-41.

Michael Kammen, "The American Past Politicized: Uses and Misuses of History," 42-57.

James V. Wertsch, "Blank Spots in Collective Memory: A Case Study of Russia," 58-71.

Jenny Wüstenberg and David Art, "Using the Past in the Nazi Successor States from 1945 to the Present, 72-87.

Fatma Müge Göçek, "Through a Glass Darkly: Consequences of a Politicized Past in Contemporary Turkey," 88-106.

Claudia Schneider, "The Japanese History Textbook Controversy in East Asian Perspective," 107-122.

Hirofumi Hayashi, "Disputes in Japan over the Japanese Military 'Comfort Women' System and Its Perception in History," 123-132.

Carolyn P. Boyd, "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain," 133-148.

Andrew Bonnell and Martin Crotty, Australia's History under Howard, 1996-2007, 149-165.

Vladimir Tismaneanu, "Democracy and Memory: Romania Confronts Its Communist Past," 166-180.

Falk Pingel, "Can Truth Be Negotiated? History Textbook Revision as a Means to Reconciliation," 181-198.

Martin O. Heisler, "Challenged Histories and Collective Self-Concepts: Politics in History, Memory, and Time," 199-211.

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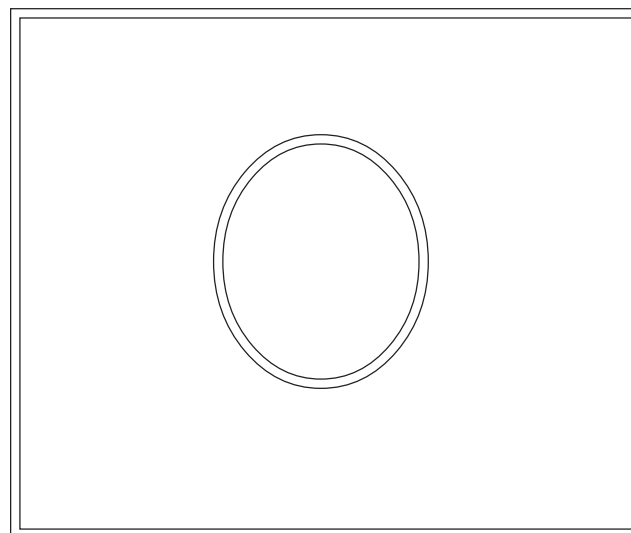
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- Thomas Kiffmeyer, *Reformers to Radicals: The Appalachian Volunteers and the War on Poverty* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2008)
- Harry W. Kopp and Charles A. Gillespie, *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008).
- Natasha Kirsten Kraus, *A New Type of Womanhood: Discursive Politics and Social Change in Antebellum America* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2008)
- Charles Kurzman, *Democracy Denied, 1905–1915: Intellectuals and the Fate of Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008)
- David E. Kyvig, *The Age of Impeachment: American Constitutional Culture since 1960* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008)
- Stephen J. Lee, *European Dictatorships 1918–1945* (New York: Routledge, 2008)
- Robert D. Leighninger Jr., *Long-Range Public Investment: The Forgotten Legacy of the New Deal* (Columbia, SC: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 2007)
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John Pollard, *Catholicism in Modern Italy: Religion, Society and Politics since 1861* (New York: Routledge, 2008)

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Gary Reichard and Ted Dickson, eds., *America on the World Stage: A Global Approach to U.S. History* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008)

John Phillip Reid, *Legislating the Courts: Judicial Dependence in Early National New Hampshire* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008)

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Philip G. Roeder, *Where Nation-States Come From: Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007)

Peter C. Rollins and John E. O'Connor, eds., *Why We Fought: America's Wars in Film and History* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2008)

Kermit Roosevelt III, *The Myth of Judicial Activism: Making Sense of Supreme Court Decisions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008)

Fred Rosen, *Empire and Dissent: The United States and Latin America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008)

Hannah Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Race in the Postemancipation South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)

Dietmar Rothermund, *India: The Rise of an Asian Giant* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008)

Satish Saberwal, *Spirals of Contention: Why India was Partitioned in 1947* (New York and New Dehli: Routledge, 2008)

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Jeremy Salt, *The Unmaking of the Middle East: A History of Western Disorder in Arab Lands* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008)

Francisco J. Romero Salvado, *The Foundations of Civil War: Revolution, Social Conflict and Reaction in Liberal Spain, 1916–1923* (New York: Routledge, 2008)

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- Douglas T. Stuart, *Creating the National Security State: A History of the Law That Transformed America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008)
- April D. Stumpff, *Ann Richards: "A Woman's Place is in the Dome"* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2008)
- Steven M. Teles, *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement: The Battle for Control of the Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008)
- Ty P. Tengan, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008)
- William H. Thomas, Jr., *Unsafe for Democracy: World War I and the U.S. Justice Department's Covert Campaign to Suppress Dissent* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008).
- Joseph S. Tiedeman, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence, 1763–1776* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008)

Charles Tilly, *Credit and Blame* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008)

Thomas M. Truxes, *Defying Empire: Trading with the Enemy in Colonial New York* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008)

Alexander Tsesis, *We Shall Overcome: A History of Civil Rights and the Law* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008)

Tom Waldman, *Not Much Left: The Fate of Liberalism in America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008)

Peter Wallenstein, ed., *Higher Education and the Civil Rights Movement: White Supremacy, Blacks Southerners, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2008).

Catherine Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap: The World Bank and the Poverty of Reform* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008)

Adrian Webb, *Routledge Companion to Central and Eastern Europe since 1919* (New York: Routledge, 2008)

Patrick Weil, *How to Be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008)

Lois Duke Whitaker, ed., *Voting the Gender Gap* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008)

Keith E. Whittington, R. Daniel Kelemen and Gregory A. Caldeira, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Bee Wilson, *Swindled: The Dark History of Food Fraud, from Poisoned Candy to Counterfeit Coffee* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008)

Catharine Anne Wilson, *Tenants in Time: Family Strategies, Land, and Liberalism in Upper Canada, 1799-1871* (Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009)

John Witte, Jr., *The Reformation of Rights: Law, Religion, and Human Rights in Early Modern Calvinism* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Michael Allan Wolf, *The Zoning of America: Euclid v. Ambler* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008)

Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez, eds., *Political Women and American Democracy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

B. Dan Wood, *The Politics of Economic Leadership: The Causes and Consequences of Presidential Rhetoric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007)

Richard E. Wood, *Survival of Rural America: Small Victories and Bitter Harvests* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008)

Barbara Bennett Woodhouse, *Hidden in Plain Sight: The Tragedy of Children's Rights from Ben Franklin to Lionel Tate* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008)

Robert E. Wright, *One Nation Under Debt: Hamilton, Jefferson, and the History of What We Owe* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2008)

Theodore Jun Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008)

Stephen T. Ziliak and Deirdre N. McCloskey, *The Cult of Statistical Significance: How the Standard Error Costs Us Jobs, Justice, and Lives* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2008)

awards. The members of the **Mary Parker Follett Award** committee were **Eric Patashnik (chair)**, Jason Wittenberg and Julie Novkov. The **J. David Greenstone Award** committee consisted of David Vogel (chair), Evan Lieberman and **Marie Gottschalk**. **The section extends its thanks to all of you for agreeing to serve on these committees.**

Website Update

Working together with University of Missouri, St. Louis graduate student Bruce Hannebrink, Dave Robertson presided over a much-needed and long-overdue update of our section's website. Check it out at [http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~apsaph/!](http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~apsaph/)

Increase in Section Dues

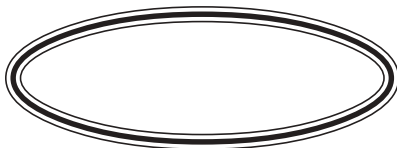
This year you will notice that our section dues have increased from \$8 to \$10, bringing them in more in line with the norm for most APSA organized sections. This was an increase that was actually approved at the 2006 business meeting, but by an oversight was not implemented immediately. The change thus went into effect beginning in fall 2007.

2008 APSA program

On behalf of the section, I want to extend deep thanks to our 2008 program chairs, James Mahoney and Adam Sheingate, who put together a fabulous program. One of the highlights of this program will undoubtedly be a roundtable based on an idea initiated by Anne Norton. This roundtable, on "The Role of History in Political Science: A Discussion among APSA Presidents," will include several past APSA presidents who have also been members in our section: Matthew Holden, Ira Katznelson, Margaret Levi, Susanne Hoerber Rudolph, and Theda Skocpol. Anne Norton will chair the session, which is designed to highlight the unique contributions our section makes to the study of politics and to the discipline of political science.

2009 APSA Program Chairs

The program chairs for 2009 will be **Kimberly Morgan** of George Washington University and **Julian Zelizer** of Princeton University. Please be in touch with them with any ideas you have for panels for our section. Many thanks to them in advance for agreeing to serve!



Nominations

The nominations committee for the section is delighted to recommend the following nominations for approval at the section business meeting in Boston.

For President-Elect:

Sven Steinmo, European University Institute

For Executive Council:

Richard John, History: University of Illinois, Chicago

Margaret Keck, Johns Hopkins University

Evan Lieberman, Princeton University

Julie Lynch, University of Pennsylvania

We thank the outgoing members of the executive committee for their service: Dan Tichenor, Dorian Warren, Adam Sheingate, and Eric Patashnik. The continuing members of the council are: Ruth Collier (University of California, Berkeley), Andreas Kalyvas (New School for Social Research), Joe Lowndes (University of Oregon), and Douglas Reed (Georgetown University).

Thank you to Dave Robertson

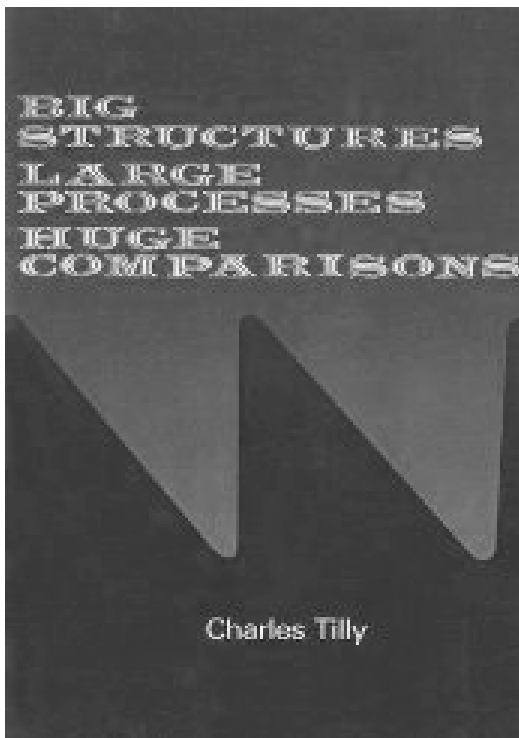
I think most of our members have at least some sense of Dave Robertson's central role in sustaining our section, but as president I developed an even deeper appreciation of all that he does for us. Some of Dave's contributions are visible to all of us — for example, the newsletter that he puts out, single-handedly, twice a year. Many of the contributions Dave makes, however, are less visible to the membership — despite the fact that they are crucial to our organization. Over the past year alone, Dave presided over the updating of the section's website and also updated our by-laws to clarify rules and procedures and clear up several ambiguities (e.g., regarding nomination procedures and award descriptions). Beyond all of this, I cannot count the times that I turned to Dave with questions, large and small, and sought his advice and tapped his experience. My deepest thanks go to Dave Robertson, our secret weapon and the Politics and History section's most valuable player.

New President, Richard Bense

Although I have thoroughly enjoyed my term as president, it is time to pass it on. In fact the transition has already begun. Already at many junctures over the past year, I turned to Richard Bense, and came to rely on his sound judgment in many issues. I am delighted to be able to turn the leadership of the section over to a person whose scholarship has served as an inspiration to many of us — and who is also just a wonderful colleague and person. I wish him well and pass the gavel (that Vicky Hattam gave us last year) in full confidence that the section will continue to thrive under his stewardship!

European States, AD 990-1992 (1990), Contentious Politics (with Sidney Tarrow, 2006), and Democracy (2007). But any such list is unavoidably idiosyncratic since he wrote in so many different areas. This one, for example, probably slights his contributions to social theory.

Most of his work falls into two interdisciplinary fields: comparative history (especially state formation) and social movements (historical and comparative analysis, as well general theory). In both instances, he was a major force in opening up the intellectual and professional space which our own subfield now occupies. At the Graduate Faculty at the New School for Social Research, for example, he both directed the Center for Studies of Social Change and was the leading member of the Committee on Historical Studies. When I joined the Graduate Faculty in 1984, Chuck had already set up what became his trademark intellectual venue. In this incarnation, it was called the Proseminar on State Formation and Collective Action and drew students and faculty from throughout the City of New York. I had the extraordinary privilege of being his co-leader of this weekly seminar for eight years. Meeting throughout both semesters, we welcomed any project, from anyone, from anywhere, making up the



agenda from the manuscripts and interests of those who wished to join us. This was a forum in which no one could invoke disciplinary boundaries as a reason to constrain creative imagination.

There are principles of life that many of us took away from those years in the seminar and the Center. One of them emerged when Chuck was talking to a graduate student who had just been turned down for a fellowship. As he leaned against one of the file cabinets, he told this student: “The only luck you get is the luck you make yourself.” Another principle, one that arose out of practice more than clear enunciation, went something like this: “You can influence the world far more by helping people who, like you, do good work than you can by condemning those who do bad.” Although there is certainly a place for serious criticism in scholarship, personal vendettas are both belittling and counter-productive. On the other hand, he almost invariably revealed both his identity and comments to those whose work he was asked to review because he felt that anonymity should not cloak an intellectual judgment. Another principle was also clearly rooted in practice: “If you agree to comment on someone’s manuscript, then you should not wait to read it and get back to them.” That was a sort of a “keep an empty in-box” principle from which literally hundreds, if not thousands, of students and colleagues benefited over the years. My favorite, however, was the general principle that formal hierarchy is a waste of time and effort: If you have earned the respect of your colleagues, titles and deference are not necessary to evidence that respect...and, if you have not, titles and deference will do nothing to disguise the problem. The Center was a very egalitarian place, the most egalitarian I have ever seen, with a very clear hierarchy of respect unencumbered by honorifics and ceremony.

On the opening page of its website, Cambridge University Press posted a simple black bordered box with the inscription:

“Charles Tilly
1929-2008

Distinguished social scientist and teacher, author,
friend, and *mensh*.”

He was all of that and much, much more.



Abigail Smith Adams,
b. Weymouth, MA, November 11, 1744
d. Quincy, MA, October 28, 1818

Wife of John Adams,
Mother of John Quincy Adams,
First Lady of the United States,
1797-1801

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