

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

Volume 19 Number 2

Spring/Summer 2009

Comparative Perspectives on American Political Development

Richard Franklin Bensel

Department of Government, Cornell University

I write to you as the 19th president of the section, a section now mature enough to have spanned a generation. We, as the Jefferson Airplane once sang, “are no longer young.” But we are also not old. We are somewhere in between, neither idling at a crossroads nor hurtling down a freeway. The section has its share of challenges but seems to be in good shape. But this is not a “state of the section” essay. Instead, I write as one who, along with the rest of you, have watched Politics and History develop over the years. We have, as I will describe below, become a bit of a tribe but our tribalism has always been less developed than most of our peer sections. And this is all to the good.

A tension lurks at the center of most academic life, a tension between the sociological imperative of a profession and the individualizing, creative spirit of scholarship. The sociological imperative implacably demands that we belong to an identifiable intellectual community. These communities, in turn, come to have boundaries marked out by the analytical assumptions the members share, the subject matter of their investigations, and the texts they regard as foundational statements of their mission. In this they are much like tribes: the shared assumptions morph into a customary culture (replete with code words, shared recognition of sites of engagement, and common journals that disseminate news and events); the subject matter delineates the territory the tribe inhabits; and the texts become the canon that initiates must master. These are not original observations

In this Issue

<i>From the President</i>	1
<i>Editor's Note</i>	2
<i>2009 APSA Officer Nominees</i>	2
<i>Nichols on Realignment</i>	3
<i>2009 APSA Panels</i>	4
<i>2009 Midwest PSA Abstracts</i>	12
<i>2009 Western PSA Titles</i>	21
<i>Journalscan</i>	22
<i>Booknotes</i>	33
<i>Bookscan</i>	35

continued on page 53

POLITICS & HISTORY

an organized section of the
American Political Science Association
Website: <http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~apsaph/>

Founders

Amy Bridges & David Brady

Past Presidents

*Jeffrey Tulis
Theda Skocpol
Ira Katznelson
Martin Shefter
Ian Lustick
Anne Norton
Eileen McDonagh
Elizabeth Sanders
Victoria Hattam*

*Walter Dean Burnham
Stephen Skowronek
Karen Orren
Margaret Weir
James Morone
Rogers Smith
Paul Pierson
Sidney Milkis
Kathleen Thelen*

Current Officers

*President
President - Elect
Secretary/Treasurer
2009 APSA Panel Organization*

*Richard Franklin Bensel
Sven Steinmo
Dave Robertson
Kimberly Morgan
Julian Zelizer*

Council

*2007-2009
Joseph Lowndes
Andreas Kalyvas
Joseph Lowndes
Douglas Reed*

*2008-2010
Richard John
Margaret Keck
Julie Lynch
Evan Lieberman*

Newsletter

*Editor
Managing Editor*

*Dave Robertson
Jessica Curtis*

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:

Dave Robertson
Department of Political Science
University of Missouri - St. Louis
One University Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63121-4499

Clio is published twice a year. *Politics & History* section fees are \$10.00 for APSA members. The APSA membership form is available online at <http://www.apsanet.org/> and by regular post addressed to:

APSA Membership Office
1527 New Hampshire Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone: (202) 483-2512

©2009, American Political Science Association. For continuous receipt, section membership must be renewed yearly in addition to the annual membership required by the APSA.

Editor's Note

We'd like to recognize and acknowledge the outstanding job that **Jessica Curtis** has done as Managing Editor this past year. Jessica had to exert a lot of initiative in this election year, and she did a fine 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, 2009-2010

The Nominating Committee for section officers for 2009-2010 was chaired by Richard Bensel and included Sven Steinmo, Jytte Klausen, Julie Novkov, and Eric Patashnik. Professor Steinmo was chosen last year as President-Elect, and under the section bylaws, he automatically assumes the presidency at the 2009 section Business Meeting.

President-Elect:

Suzanne Mettler, Cornell University

New Council Members, full 2-year term:

Pamela Brandwein,
University of Michigan
Victoria Tin-bor Hui,
University of Notre Dame
Ken Kersch,
Boston College
Kimberly Morgan,
George Washington University

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)

Reconsidering Realignment from a Systemic Perspective

Curt Nichols, University of Texas at Austin

(Curt Nichols was co-recipient of the Presidency Research section's 2008 Founder's Award in Honor of David Neveh for the best paper by a graduate student. He received the award [along with Adam Myers] for: "The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly: Exploiting the Opportunity for Reconstructive Leadership." He will begin teaching as an Assistant Professor at Baylor University in the Spring of 2010.)

There can be little doubt that critics gained the upper hand in debates about the realignment synthesis over the past quarter-century (McCormick 1982, Shafer 1991, Gerring 1998). Indeed, many argue that David Mayhew issued the theory its final coup de grâce in 2002 with his fifteen-pronged attack against what he calls the once “vibrant source of ideas” that had become “an impediment to understanding” (5). However, the recent concurrence of dramatic events — including the collapse of the Republican party brand, the onset of a financial crisis, President Obama’s historic victory, the strengthening of Democratic majorities in Congress, and the apparent willingness of partisan leaders to use their newfound authority to pursue path altering legislation — have suggested to many that a realigning moment has again come to American politics. If this is the case, and I would argue that it is, political science has the chance to observe the phenomenon while it happens and to learn from it. Indeed, as was suggested in the prompt calling for thoughts on this topic, “if this is a realigning moment for American politics, it is likely to be a realigning moment for the study of American political development as well.”

In answering the call for renewed debate, let me first clarify that my aim is not to lavish uncritical praise on the canonical version of realignment theory but rather to prevent the best aspects of it from being buried. I thus propose to outline how the

theory can be given its best reading in light of its own foundations and advances in American political development research.

If the best way to make a bold transition is simply to make it, then the way for me to begin is by suggesting that we must abandon the misconception that the best reading of realignment theory holds that it is primarily about mass electoral behavior. While this proposition may seem to destroy the premise on which the realignment edifice is constructed (e.g., Key 1955; Burnham 1970; Schattschneider 1960; Sundquist 1983), it does not end up doing so upon further inspection. The proposition does, however, acknowledge the main thrust of the realignment critique, which has long based its attack in an electoral record strewn with irregularities, discrepancies, alternate patterns, and missing evidence. Yet, it suggests that this avenue of assault (as well as defense) has been focused at the wrong level of analysis and on the wrong causal mechanisms. If my starting proposition is correct, and realignment isn’t fundamentally about critical elections, then much from past debates need not be rehashed and we can get to the heart of the phenomenon by turning to examine its underexplored foundations.

As is so often overlooked in narrowly-focused electoral debates (by both champions and critics), Burnham rooted the “mainsprings” of realignment in a broad systemic perspective (1970). From this view, the American polity combines a stasis-tending political system with a dynamic socio-economic one. Realignments are then “tension-management” mechanisms, periodically allowing the former system to come into line with the later. As a result of this macro view, Burnham adopted what evolutionary paleontology would later call a punctuated equilibrium model of change to describe the general contours of American political

continued on page 50

**Politics and History Panels
at the 2009 American Political Science Association Meetings**

Co-Chairs:

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

Business Meeting: **Friday, September 4**
 6:15-7:15 pm, Convention Centre 713B

Reception: **Friday, September 4**
 7:30-9:00 pm, Convention Centre 711

Thursday, September 3, 8:00 AM

Panel 7-6 Standardizing the American State: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives

Chair: **Robert C. Lieberman**, Columbia University, rcl15@columbia.edu

Bioequivalence: The Regulatory Career of a Medical Concept

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

The American State and Imperial Standardization: Western Expansion and Native American Removal

Paul Frymer, Princeton University, pfrymer@princeton.edu

Failed Standardization: Social Capital and Political Participation in the Jim Crow South

Kimberley S. Johnson, Barnard College, kimjohnson@barnard.edu

Standardization and the American State: A Theoretical Framework

Desmond King, Oxford University, desmond.king@politics.ox.ac.uk

Marc Stears, University of Oxford, marc.stears@univ.ox.ac.uk

Discussant: **Margaret Weir**, University of California, Berkeley, mweir@berkeley.edu

Thursday, September 3, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-1, 11-10 North, Wallis and Weingast's "Violence and Social Orders"

Chair: **Margaret Levi**, University of Washington, Seattle, margaret.levi@gmail.com

Participant(s): **David Stasavage**, New York University, ds166@nyu.edu

Barry R. Weingast, Stanford University, weingast@stanford.edu

Douglass C. North, Washington University, batt@arts.wustl.edu

John Wallis, University of Maryland, wallis@econ.umd.edu

Discussant(s): **Robert H. Bates**, Harvard University, robert_bates@harvard.edu

Larry Diamond, Stanford University, ldiamond@stanford.edu

Thursday, September 3, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-15, 25-3 The Politics of Social Policy: Historical Perspectives

Chair: **Patricia Strach**, Harvard University, pstrach@rwj.harvard.edu

Conspicuous and Inconspicuous Public Health Spending alongside the Development of a Private Health Care System in the United States

Colleen M. Grogan, University of Chicago, cgrogan@uchicago.edu

Urban Housing and the Rise of the Public-Private Partnership in United States Social Policy
Alexander Von Hoffman, Harvard University, alexander_von_hoffman@harvard.edu

Nixon's Northern Strategy: Welfare Reform and Race after the Great Society
Scott Spitzer, California State University, Fullerton, sspitzer@fullerton.edu

Discussant: **Patricia Strach**, Harvard University, pstrach@rwj.harvard.edu

Thursday, September 3, 2:00 PM

Panel 7-2, 11-25 The Persistence of Nationalism and Nation-Building in the 21st Century

Chair: **Henry E. Hale**, George Washington University, hhale@gwu.edu

All Good Things Do Not Go Together: The Political Economy of Nation Formation in Tanzania
Elliott D. Green, London School of Economics, E.D.Green@lse.ac.uk

Theories of Nationalism in Latin America: Exploring Insights and Limitations
Matthias vom Hau, University of Manchester, Matthias.VomHau@manchester.ac.uk

Regions of Nationalism in Europe: Toward a More Complex East/West Divide?
Zsuzsa Csergo, Queen's University, csergo@queensu.ca
Stefan Wolff, University of Nottingham, stefan.wolff@nottingham.ac.uk

Testing Mechanisms of Change in National Identity: Making the Case for an Evolutionary Dynamic
Nadav G. Shelef, University of Wisconsin, Madison, shelef@wisc.edu

"Hinduization" of Civil Society: A Study of Subregional Variation in the Proliferation of Hindu Nationalism in India
Soundarya Chidambaram, Ohio State University, chidambaram.2@osu.edu

Discussant: **Ashutosh Varshney**, Brown University, Ashutosh_Varshney@Brown.edu

Thursday, September 3, 2:00 PM

7-14 Experts in the American Polity

Chair: **Ronald F. King**, San Diego State University, rking@mail.sdsu.edu

Amateurs, Experts, and Regulatory Transformations in American History
Ann-Marie E. Szymanski, University of Oklahoma, ams@ou.edu

Overlooked or Out-of-Sight?: Congressional Oversight of Intelligence, 1945-2005
Meredith Wooten, University of Pennsylvania, mwooten@sas.upenn.edu

Information and Bureaucratic Expertise: The Bureau of Corporations, 1903-1914
Jonathan Chausovsky, SUNY-Fredonia, jchaus@gmail.com

Going Up, Getting Out or Moving In? The Rise of Professional Politicians in the U.S., 1812-1944
Scott A. MacKenzie, University of California, San Diego, samackenzie@ucsd.edu
Samuel Kernell, University of California, San Diego, skernell@ucsd.edu

The National Defense Education Act: Sputnik, "Intermestics" and the Making of Federal Education Policy
Jody Schmid, University at Albany

Discussant: **Ruth O'Brien**, Graduate Center, City University of New York, robrien@gc.cuny.edu

Thursday, September 3, 4:15 PM

7-4 The Life and Scholarship of Charles Tilly

Chair: **Brian Balogh**, University of Virginia, balogh@virginia.edu

Participant(s):

Richard F. Bense, Cornell University, rfb2@cornell.edu

Sidney Tarrow, Cornell University, sgt2@cornell.edu

Ira Katznelson, Columbia University, iik1@columbia.edu

Sven Beckert, Harvard University, beckert@fas.harvard.edu

Friday, September 4, 8:00 AM

7-9 New Perspectives on Congress and History

Chair: **Frances E. Lee**, University of Maryland, flee@gvpt.umd.edu

Public Opinion, the Congressional Policy Agenda, and the Limits of New Deal Liberalism, 1935-1945

Eric Schickler, University of California, Berkeley, eschickler@berkeley.edu

Congress and the Resurgence of a Democratic National Security Advantage, 1954-1960

Julian E. Zelizer, Princeton University, jzelizer@princeton.edu

The Dynamics of Lawmaking within Sovereignty Related Issues, 1877-1994

John Lapinski, University of Pennsylvania, lapins@sas.upenn.edu

Congress and the Roots of Sunbelt Conservatism

Joseph Crespi, Emory University, jcrespi@emory.edu

Discussant: **Frances E. Lee**, University of Maryland, flee@gvpt.umd.edu

Friday, September 4, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-20, 35-8 The Scholarly Legacy of Nelson W. Polsby

Chair: **Raymond J. La Raja**, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, laraja@polsci.umass.edu

The Divided Democrats Revisited: Ideological Cohesion in the American Party System, 1996-2008

William G. Mayer, Northeastern University, w.mayer@neu.edu

Title TBD

Stephen D. Ansolabehere, Harvard University, sda@gov.harvard.edu

Presidential Cabinet Formation and Party-Building

Harold F. Bass, Ouachita Baptist University, bassh@obu.edu

The Problem of Ideology,

John R. Zaller, University of California, Los Angeles, zaller@ucla.edu

Continuity and Change in the Study of Congress

David W. Brady, Stanford University, dbrady@stanford.edu

Friday, September 4, 10:15 AM

7-11 Shifting Modes of Governance: A Punitive Turn in American Social Policy?

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

Governing the Poor: The Rise of the Neoliberal Paternalist State

Richard C. Fording, University of Kentucky, rford@uky.edu

Sanford F. Schram, Bryn Mawr College, sschram@brynawr.edu

Joe Soss, University of Minnesota, jbsoss@umn.edu

From Shifting Modes of Governance to Transformed Civic Attitudes? Exploring Social Program Effects, 1970-2008

Suzanne Mettler, Cornell University, sbm24@cornell.edu

Punitive Governance in Education: The Strange Origins of No Child Left Behind

Jesse H. Rhodes, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, jrhodes@polsci.umass.edu

Experimenting with Punitive Tools: The Changing Governance of Crime Control

Vesla Mae Weaver, University of Virginia, vmweaver@virginia.edu

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

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

Friday, September 4, 12:15 PM

Plenary Session: Barack Obama: The Politics of Change

Chair: **Larry M. Bartels**, Princeton University, bartels@princeton.edu

Participant(s):

Glenn C. Loury, Brown University, glenn_loury@brown.edu

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

Rogers M. Smith, University of Pennsylvania, rogerss@sas.upenn.edu

Friday, September 4, 2:00 PM

42-10 Roundtable: 40 Years Since J David Greenstone's "Labor in American Politics": Reflections on Where We've Been, Where We Are, and Where We Should Go

Chair: **Susan E. Orr**, SUNY College at Brockport, sorr@brockport.edu

Participant(s):

Michael Goldfield, Wayne State University, m.goldfield@wayne.edu

Paul Frymer, Princeton University, pfrymer@princeton.edu

Janice Fine, Rutgers University, fine@smlr.rutgers.edu

Peter L. Francia, East Carolina University, franciap@ecu.edu

Dorian T. Warren, Columbia University, dw2288@columbia.edu

Ira Katznelson, Columbia University, iik1@columbia.edu

Friday, September 4, 2:00 PM

Panel 7-17 Institutional Analysis of the Courts

Chair: **John D. Skrentny**, University of California, San Diego, jskrentny@ucsd.edu

Adversarial Legalism and the Civil Rights State

R. Shep Melnick, Boston College, melnicrs@bc.edu

Institutions, Rulemaking, and the Politics of Judicial Retrenchment

Sarah Staszak, Brandeis University, staszak@brandeis.edu

Delegation and Democracy: the Legislative Choice between Administrators and Courts

Sean Farhang, University of California, Berkeley, farhang@berkeley.edu

Intercurrence and the Politics of Injury Compensation

Jeb Barnes, University of Southern California, barnesj@usc.edu

Thomas F. Burke, Wellesley College, tburke@wellesley.edu

Discussant: **Ken I. Kersch**, Boston College, kersch@bc.edu

Friday, September 4, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-18 Economic Regulation in Historical and Comparative Perspective

Chair: **Stephen Weatherford**, University of California, Santa Barbara, weatherford@polisci.uscb.edu

Law and Economic Regulation in Nineteenth Century Canada and the United States

Ryan R. Hurl, University of Toronto, rhurl@utsc.utoronto.ca

The National Recovery Administration Reconsidered, or Why Shipping Container Code Succeeded

Gerald Berk, University of Oregon, gberk@uoregon.edu

Still Seeking Rents, After All These Years? Testing A Neo-Beardian Account of The Birth of the Bank of the United States

Eric Lomazoff, Harvard University

The Creation of a Regulatory Framework: The Enactment of Glass-Steagall

Erik M. Filipiak, Cornell University, emf34@cornell.edu

Discussant: **Stephen Weatherford**, University of California, Santa Barbara, weatherford@polisci.ucsb.edu

Friday, September 4, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-3 Bringing Sexual Orientation In: Gay Citizenship and American Political Development

Chair: **Richard M. Valelly**, Swarthmore College, rvalel1@swarthmore.edu

Participant(s):

Stephen M. Engel, Yale University, stephen.engel@yale.edu

Margot Canaday, Princeton University, mcanaday@princeton.edu

Mary Bernstein, University of Connecticut, mary.bernstein@uconn.edu

Priscilla Yamin, University of Oregon

David Rayside, University of Toronto, david.rayside@utoronto.ca

Politics and History Business Meeting

Friday, 6:15-7:15 pm, Sheaton Superior A

Politics and History Reception

Friday, 7:30-9:00 pm, Convention Centre 711

Saturday, September 5, 8:00 AM

Panel 7-12 Social Movements and Their Tactics

Chair: **Eileen McDonagh**, Northeastern University, e.mcdonagh@neu.edu

The Modern Presidency and Social Movements: the Allegiances and Rivalries that Reform Politics Make

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

Daniel J. Tichenor, University of Oregon, tichenor@uoregon.edu

Patience and Manly Virtue: First-Class Citizenship Rights as Men's Rights

Julie L. Novkov, SUNY, Albany, jnovkov@albany.edu

State Constitutions as Tools for Educational Change

Emily Zackin, Princeton University, ezackin@princeton.edu

Innovation Edges, the Mobilization of Bias, and the Evolution of Political Campaigns: Modeling Changes in Campaigning over Time

David A Karpf, University of Pennsylvania, karpfd@sas.upenn.edu

Discussant: **Eileen McDonagh**, Northeastern University, e.mcdonagh@neu.edu

Saturday, September 5, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-10 The Political Analysis of Policy Development

Chair: **Jacob S. Hacker**, University of California, Berkeley, jhacker@berkeley.edu

The Theoretical Benefits of Policy-Focused Analysis

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

Unsustainability of Equal Opportunity: the Development of the Higher Education Act, 1965-2007.

Suzanne Mettler, Cornell University, sbm24@cornell.edu

Deondra Rose, Cornell University, der33@cornell.edu

The Delegated State: Marketizing Governance of American Social Provision

Andrea Louise Campbell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, acampbel@mit.edu

Kimberly J. Morgan, George Washington University, kjmorgan@gwu.edu

When Policy Does Not Remake Politics: The Limits of Policy Feedback

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

Julian E. Zelizer, Princeton University, jzelizer@princeton.edu

Discussant: **Jacob S. Hacker**, University of California, Berkeley, jhacker@berkeley.edu

Saturday, September 5, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-19, 23-2 Presidential Development in Historical Perspective

Chair: **Ann-Marie E. Szymanski**, University of Oklahoma, ams@ou.edu

From Substance to Symbol: Head Start and the Change From Modern to Postmodern Presidents

Joseph Cammarano, Providence College, jpcammar@providence.edu

The Presidency and Prerogative: Lessons From History

Michael A. Genovese, Loyola Marymount University, mgenovese@lmu.edu

Presidential Leadership in the Early United States

Fred I. Greenstein, Princeton University

Reliving the Lover's Quarrel: The Creative Destruction of Federalism and Presidential Power
Elvin T. Lim, Wesleyan University, elim@wesleyan.edu

Judicial Politics in the Streets: How Nixon's Court Changed American Politics
Kevin J. McMahon, Trinity College, kevin.mcmahon.1@trincoll.edu

Discussants: **Andrew J. Dowdle**, University of Arkansas, adowdle@uark.edu
Graham G. Dodds, Concordia University, gdodds@alcor.concordia.ca

Saturday, September 5, 2:00 PM

Panel 7-5 Rethinking the American State: Historians and Political Scientists Converse

Chair: **James T. Sparrow**, University of Chicago, jts@uchicago.edu

Beyond Retrenchment: Republicans and the Welfare State
Jeremy Johnson, Brown University, Jeremy_Johnson@Brown.edu

Ironies of the American State
Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University, rcl15@columbia.edu
Desmond King, Oxford University, desmond.king@politics.ox.ac.uk

A Government out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America
Brian Balogh, University of Virginia, balogh@virginia.edu

Challenging Corporate Liberalism: The Convergence of Right and Left Critiques of Economic Regulation in the United States, 1960-1973
Eduardo Canedo, Princeton University, ecanedo@princeton.edu

Private Litigants, Public Policy Enforcement: The Regulatory Power of Private Litigation and the American Bureaucracy
Quinn W. Mulroy, Columbia University, qwm1@columbia.edu

Discussant: **James T. Sparrow**, University of Chicago, jts@uchicago.edu

Saturday, September 5, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-7 Fresh Debates in Southern Politics: Race, Class, Religion, and Partisanship in a Changing American South

Chair: **Byron E. Shafer**, University of Wisconsin, Madison, bshafer@polisci.wisc.edu

Participant(s): **James M. Glaser**, Tufts University, jglaser@tufts.edu
John C. Green, University of Akron, green@uakron.edu
Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University, mes14@cornell.edu
Harold W. Stanley, Southern Methodist University, HStanley@smu.edu
Richard G.C. Johnston, University of Pennsylvania, rgcj@sas.upenn.edu

Sunday, September 6, 8:00 AM

7-16, 32-11 Race and American Political Development

Chair: **Catherine Paden**, Simmons College, catherine.paden@simmons.edu

Drawing the Color Line – Racial Identity and Antebellum Courts in New Orleans, 1840-1860
Gwendoline M. Alphonso, Cornell University, gma22@cornell.edu
Richard F. Bense, Cornell University, rfb2@cornell.edu

Crime and Citizenship

Megan Ming Francis, University of Chicago

Police Chief Ben C. Collins and Law Enforcement in Clarksdale, Mississippi, 1961-1966"

Daniel Kryder, Brandeis University, kryder@brandeis.edu

A History of Black Presidential Candidates: 1872-2008

Christina M. Greer, Smith College

Discussants:

Catherine Paden, Simmons College, catherine.paden@simmons.edu

Alvin B. Tiller, Rutgers University, atillery@rci.rutgers.edu

Sunday, September 6, 8:00 AM

Panel 7-8 Author Meets Readers: Sheldon Pollack's "War, Revenue, and State Building: Financing the Development of the American State."

Chair: **Leslie Friedman Goldstein**, University of Delaware, lesl@udel.edu

Participant(s):

Stephen Skowronek, Yale University, stephen.skowronek@yale.edu

Bartholomew H. Sparrow, University of Texas, Austin, bhs@mail.la.utexas.edu

Sheldon D. Pollack, University of Delaware, pollack@udel.edu

David B. Robertson, University of Missouri, St. Louis, daverobertson@umsl.edu

Leslie Friedman Goldstein, University of Delaware, lesl@udel.edu

Sunday, September 6, 10:15 AM

7-13 Engines of Change? American Political Parties in Historical Perspective

Chair: **Elizabeth Sanders**, Cornell University, mes14@cornell.edu

Partisan Regimes in American Politics

Andrew J. Polsky, Hunter College, CUNY, apolsky@hunter.cuny.edu

Party Factions and the President

Daniel R. DiSalvo, City College of New York-CUNY, disalvodaniel@gmail.com

Mass Opinion and American Populism

Samuel DeCanio, Georgetown University, samueldecanio@hotmail.com

The Vietnam War and the American Party System

Robert P. Saldin, University of Montana, robert.saldin@umontana.edu

Parties as Political Institutions in American Political Development

Daniel Galvin, Northwestern University, galvin@northwestern.edu

Discussants: **Nancy L. Rosenblum**, Harvard University, nrosenblum@latte.harvard.edu

Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University, mes14@cornell.edu



**Abstracts of Politics & History Papers
from the 2009 Midwest Political Science
Association Meetings**

“Bankruptcy and Progressivism: Enactment and Implementation of the Bankruptcy Act of 1898, 1880-1930”
Kevin Ball, Wayne State University

This paper reinterprets the origins of US bankruptcy law. Current bankruptcy law has its roots in the Bankruptcy Act of 1898. Existing studies describe that law as the product of conflicts between regional, commercial, and populist interests, or as a legislative reaction to the depression of 1894, or simply as an expression of Congress’ and the public’s pro-business sympathies. This paper departs from those studies and instead identifies the statute as one of Progressivism’s early national successes. Progressive influences on the legislation can be seen in the critical role played by commercial organizations of middle class businessmen in drafting and lobbying for the Act, and in the Acts’ emphasis on professional administration and efficiency. Likewise, focusing on implementation in Southeast Michigan, the paper demonstrates that the 1898 law endured where earlier national insolvency laws failed because it provided key roles for progressive-minded professionals. In short, Progressivism provided the platform for the 1898 Act’s successful enactment and implementation, and set the course for the shape of current bankruptcy law.

“A History of American Premillennialism: The Politics of the Apocalypse”
Paula Nicole Booke, University of Chicago

Premillennialism is one type of Christian eschatology that is politically significant because proponents suggest that the theology forecasts the rise of a political and religious leader (the Antichrist) who sweeps over the geopolitical and economic landscape ushering in the end of days. Premillennial elites have through the decades suggested that disasters and political turmoil present on the world stage has continually put us on the cusp of the final era in human history. This paper offers an introductory primer on premillennialism in the American context and examines the politicization of this theology from its introduction to by Nelson Darby to its current pervasiveness within American evangelicalism.

“The Irrelevance of War for State and Regime Formation”
Deborah Boucoyannis, Harvard University

Most literature on state and regime formation, whether on Europe or the developing world, assumes war as a key

independent variable, following Tilly’s classic formulation. Cases where war is found to be less relevant, like Africa or Latin America, are deemed deviations in need of explanation. Accounts such as Herbst’s and Centeno’s have enriched our understanding precisely by showing how war was not relevant for institution-building in these cases. I argue, by contrast, that there is no ‘deviation’ to be explained. The developing world seems ‘pathological’ in its history, often in need of a ‘stronger’ state, only because we have failed to correctly assess what the historical record really teaches about the European experience for state formation. I offer both logical and historical reasons to show why the Tilly paradigm, like most purely structural approaches, even in their most refined, enriching, and informative versions, like those of Tilly himself, rests on insufficient foundations. The experience of the developing world, as we know it, has many more similarities with the European one than we commonly acknowledge.

“The Birth of Liberty”
Sarah Mackenzie Burns, Claremont Graduate University

For those who look upon the current manifestation of liberal democracy and find it wanting, there is some comfort in studying the thoughts and deeds of men who stood astride the course of history and diverted its path. This study, however, is not without its pitfalls. The desire to praise and blame these men often leads scholars to subject the words and deeds of historical figures to a particular political agenda. Adding more difficulty to this endeavor, there is often a dearth of primary source material, leaving even the most meticulous and ambitious knowledge seekers with only a partial understanding. In an effort to combat the problematic but unavoidable nature of this type of study I have endeavored to engage in a careful study of The Federalist Papers in the hopes of shedding more light on the philosophical traditions that informed this document. Throughout the course of this study, it becomes apparent that the current scholarship has some fundamental flaws.

“Redirecting National Programs: State Interests and National Antebellum Railroad Plans”
Zachary Callen, University of Chicago

Beginning in 1850, Congressional land grants shifted American rail development from a local into a national issue. Congressional involvement drastically altered American rail planning, resulting in a greater emphasis on direct connections between urban shipping centers rather than dense local networks. However, even within the national program, state and local interests still possessed significant latitude to shape their rail development. Yet, not all states were equally adept at redirecting national directives for maximum local benefit. For states without

any meaningfully pre-existing infrastructure, such as Illinois, national intervention provided an opportunity to jump-start local economic growth. States with prior infrastructure systems, particularly those that conflicted with the national agenda, were not so lucky. Thus, Missouri, with its reliance on St. Louis and waterways, was unable to adapt to national rail intervention. The result was Chicago displacing St. Louis as the major shipping hub of the Midwest. I argue, through GIS, historical, and statistical analysis, that states' ability to redirect national plans to local benefit varies with the degree to which local plans coincide with national projects.

“The Delegated Welfare State: Marketizing American Social Provision in Historical and Comparative Perspective”

Andrea Campbell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Kimberly Morgan, George Washington University

This paper explores the concept and origins of the delegated welfare state. Adapting a term developed by sociologist Elisabeth Clemens to describe the relegation of government functions to the non-profit sector in the early 20th century, the delegated welfare state refers to delegation of the governance of social programs to non-state actors. We discuss how the focus of delegation has changed over time, first shifting from contracts with non-profit actors to contracts with for-profit actors, and then later leaving contracts behind and invoking instead market-based models in which the locus of competition and risk is shifted from government to individuals. We argue that this phenomenon results from a persistent conflict in 20th century American politics: the imperative to respond to public demands for security and prosperity but also to keep government small. Relying heavily on private actors for the delivery of social programs has been a way to seemingly achieve both goals.

“Faith-Based Initiative in the New Deal: Clarence Pickett, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Subsistence Homestead Program”

Michael D. Cary, Seton Hill University

This paper traces the connections between the AFSC, a Quaker organization, and the development and implementation of the subsistence housing program in the 1930s, and concludes that government reliance on AFSC personnel and expertise in providing housing assistance stands as a precedent and precursor to the faith-based initiatives under President Bush. President Bush signed an executive order creating White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. • In 2005 over two billion dollars in social service grants were awarded to faith-based organizations. While the faith-based initiatives' program is seen as a departure in government policy, it is not unprecedented. In the 1930s President

Roosevelt relied on a Quaker organization, American Friends Service Committee, to help develop and implement his subsistence housing program, because of AFSC expertise in aiding the homeless and dispossessed. AFSC projects provided a model for the subsistence housing initiatives, and AFSC executive secretary Clarence Pickett was chosen to administer the Division of Subsistence Homesteads. AFSC involvement in creating the model community of Norvelt, Pennsylvania, (250 homes on 2 to 7 acre lots) provides illustration.

“The State and the Money Market in Historical Perspective: United States, 1800-1836”

Abhishek Chatterjee, University of Virginia

Money markets have historically been pivotal to the development of now-developed countries due to their role in mobilizing capital for industrial development. This paper will seek to explain the variation in institutionalized money markets over time. It will focus on two principal variations: (1) money markets or banking structures with high barriers to entry and “hard money” • or “sound” banking practices, (2) markets with low barriers to entry and “easy money” • or “liberal” banking practices. It will be argued that both are an outcome of a dependence relationship between rulers on one hand, and financial capital holders, on the other. It will be argued that markets with low barriers to entry and easy money result when rulers have an advantage in this relationship, assuming the preexistence of institutionalized markets. The case of the United States during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, especially the considerable lowering of barriers to banking in the aftermath of Jackson's veto of the Second Bank of the United State's charter provides a good demonstration of the argument. The capital market is therefore also shown to be an important locus of the relationship between political elites and capital holders.

“‘What the Hell Are You Fellows Afraid of? Women Want Protection’: American Race Riots from the Progressive Era through World War II”

Ann Collins, McKendree University

From 1898 to 1943, at least 50 significant race riots flared throughout the United States. Against the backdrop of white Radicalism, Jim Crow laws, political unrest, economic turmoil, labor strife, two world wars, African American assertions for equality at home as they fought for democracy abroad, and demographic change and its resultant effect on such issues as housing, race riots plagued the American landscape for the first half of the 20th century. My work identifies the conditions and factors that produce the specific instances in time at which race riots coalesce. I find that for race riots to occur three conditions must exist: certain structural factors, such as demographic change or economic turmoil; cultural framing,

including white supremacist mentality and African Americans' assertions for rights; and a precipitating event, alleged or actual black infractions toward whites.

“Justifying the Constitutional Convention:
Federalist 40 and the Use of the Rhetorical Syllogism”
William Collins, Samford University

The Federalist 40 is an example of Aristotle's constitutive rhetoric. The term constitutive rhetoric is described, and its uses in political discourse are outlined. A case is made that rhetorical approach in 40 Federalist came to frame the subsequent legal and constitutional debates over the Constitutional text itself.

“Cycles of Anti-Catholicism”
Douglas Dion, University of Iowa

The liberal democratic theory that (arguably) forms a bed-rock of American political development has a long history of anti-Catholicism. Despite the availability of these tools throughout history, episodes of anti-Catholic fervor occur at particular times rather than others. Traditional explanations for these episodes based on immigration pressures fail to account for the timing. A stronger account might be found by looking at the changing nature of the Roman Catholic Church, particularly as it has reacted to European liberalism. Such an approach can explain, for example, the timing of the Know-Nothing movement and the rise of the Second Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s. This study is based archival work with the anti-Catholic collection at the University of Notre Dame, and an analysis of Harper's Weekly articles from 1857 to 1912.

“Truman's Committee on Civil Rights and the Rise of a
Civil Rights Litigation Support Structure”
Lynda Dodd, American University

This paper examines the post World War II development of a civil rights “support structure”• for plaintiffs. Previous scholarship, such as Charles Epp's, *The Rights Revolution*, has highlighted the importance of a litigation support structure for the growth of civil rights litigation. In this paper, I plan to build on this work by focusing my archival research on the records of the Committee on Civil Rights. In addition, I examine the views of the NAACP, the ACLU, and other leading civil rights groups, concerning the advantages of plaintiff-led civil rights suits compared with DOJ enforcement of criminal violations.

“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 political institutions of 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 is on its own historical trajectory, follows its own internal logic, and has its own capacities to mediate and negotiate change in politically significant ways. 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.

“A Liberal Beat with Illiberal Palpitations”
Robert Garrow, Claremont Graduate University

This paper will assess one particular angle from which one may adjudicate the seemingly intractable struggle between liberalism and republicanism, namely American citizenship, specifically as witnessed in Section One of the Fourteenth Amendment. The question that inspires this essay, then, is this: Is the American conception of citizenship, as defined by the Fourteenth Amendment, a liberal one or a republican one? In short, the liberal conception subsumes the republican conception.

“L.Q.C. Lamar and the New South”
Michael A Gattis, Gulf Coast Community College

It is my thesis that Lamar was not a pragmatist or a nationalist, as previous works have argued, but rather an opportunist. He said the right words at the appropriate moment to a listening audience, while not revealing his ulterior motives. Lamar returned to Washington while Reconstruction still remained a winning issue for Republicans, but losing interest among the electorate in the changing Gilded Age. I emphasize on a central character that many southern historians tend to leave in obscurity, by emphasizing not only his biography but also to expose his calculated decisions that certainly affected Reconstruction policy in the North and South. In addition, I would like to strengthen the arguments made by C. Vann Woodward, Russell Mattie, and James Murphy about the role Lamar played in establishing this New South. In addition to Lamar's work in helping to create a New South, I will dedicate another chapter to analyze and identify key Democrats along with Lamar who orchestrated the re-taking of the House of Representatives during the midterm elections of 1874. Finally, I will define Lamar's legacy, not just the South, but in the National Democratic Party.

“Conscription, Monopoly of Violence, and Consolidation of Private Patriarchies: First World War France and the United States.”
Dorith Geva, University of Chicago

This paper argues that the modern state’s monopoly of violence reproduced private patriarchy, especially in the age of total war. Max Weber’s view that the modern state’s coercive capacities were enabled by weakening competing coercive powers held by corporatist or kinship groups is largely correct. However, the coercion/family nexus is more complex than the shifting of legitimate violence from the family to the state. Examination of conscription exemptions in First World War France and the U.S. shows that the American draft system established in 1917 incorporated familial dependency deferrals as a central feature of the draft system, becoming a durable feature of the Selective Service System. Likewise, French policymakers established special service exemptions for men from large families during WWI and in the years leading to WWII. Thus, mandatory conscription rules exemplify consolidation of the state’s coercive capacities, while they also reveal how patriarchal ideologies entered into the logic of conscription by exempting men viewed as carrying patriarchal obligations. Conscription exemptions must therefore be viewed as a key site for understanding the overall nature of gendered citizenship in a given state.

“Race Riot Memory Projects and Support for Redress of Past Racial Injustices: Evidence from Wilmington and Greensboro”
R. A. Ghoshal, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Recent years have seen a rising tide of commissions and memory projects developed to commemorate past incidents of violent racial conflict in the United States. At the same time, the African American reparations movement has drawn increasing scholarly and public attention. But until now, there has been virtually no research on the effects of memory projects concerning US racial violence on public opinion about redress of such violence. This paper examines draws together the themes of memory projects and redress/reparations movements through an examination of the effects of two memory projects, both coming to fruition in early Twenty-first Century North Carolina, on views about redress. Using a representative survey of 800 North Carolinians, this paper shows that knowledge of the memory projects and the incidents they recognize yield increased public support for redress. The effects are not spurious, and are largely not explicable through an array of control variables that might be expected to be linked to redress views. The study provides evidence that whites’ widespread opposition to racial redress is not solely a function of material interests, but rather grows partly from historical unawareness.

“Institutional development as a consequence of displaced capacity: The creation of the New York state police force and the 1916 National Defense Act”
Simon Gilhooley, Cornell University

The subfield of American Political Development has concerned itself with explaining how the United States moved from being the “state of courts and parties” to the form associated with the modern state. However in the course of examining this shift little attention has been paid to one of the most overt developments of state capacity in America - the creation in the first half of the Twentieth century of a state police force in every state bar Hawaii. This rapid and intense creation of a police capability by the states has been largely overlooked by the subfield, with only one serious attempt to provide an explanation for this trend in terms of American political development, which itself predates much recent APD literature. This paper seeks to review the creation of one force, New York, with the intention of showing that state police development can offer scholars an important site for assessing the manner in which state capacity grows. Drawing on the work of Carpenter, the paper argues that in some instances institutional development can be most effectively explained not in terms of the demonstrated capacity of a bureaucracy itself, but paradoxically as a consequence of another bureaucracy’s demonstration of capacity.

“Rethinking Diversity and Social Democracy: Catholic Incorporation in Australia, the United States, and Canada in the Early 20th Century”
Willie S. Gin, University of Pennsylvania

In the past decade there has been a proliferation of research on the relationship between diversity and redistributive social welfare policy. In conceptualizing the independent variable, diversity, the paper argues for distinctions between diversity as richness and diversity as evenness. In the dependent variable, redistributive welfare policy, the paper argues for looking beyond measures of generalized trust and spending on welfare to measures such as labor market policy and electoral reform. In terms of causal mechanisms, the paper argues for looking as well at the organizational capacity of the minority groups and policy framing. The usefulness of such concepts are demonstrated by looking at the case of Australia in the early 20th century which faced considerable diversity in that 20 percent of its population was Catholic, a minority population stigmatized by many Protestants. Yet up to the 1930s, Australia was one of the most progressive nations in the world, with considerable unionization, electorally successful labor parties, compulsory voting, and high levels of social welfare spending, while simultaneously raising Catholics to levels of political representation never before seen in Australian history. Brief comparisons with the United States and Canada are drawn.

“Public Goods Provision and Ruling Party Type: A Study of Fire Control in American Cities”

Jeffrey D. Grynaviski, University of Chicago

A common theme in recent scholarship on political parties is that political machines are harmful to developing political economies—by securing the votes of marginal members of society through small amounts of selective incentives (and using government revenues to enrich/entrench machine operatives) rather than through the provision of pure public goods that benefit economic and social development, political machines retard development. Grynaviski (2007) argues instead that the formal organizational structure of political machines may actually lead to higher levels of public goods provision than other party types. Briefly, his argument is that the incentives for rent-seeking at the expense of public goods provision decrease with party organization size because the spoils of office have to be divided among a growing number of party members while public goods are shared among all members of society. This paper uses actuarial data that the author has collected on the performance of municipal fire departments during the period of industrialization of American cities, along with indicators for income inequality and ethnic fractionalization, to test Grynaviski’s claim that machine-run cities provide greater amounts of public goods.

“Indigenous people, Culture and Citizenship in Late Colonial Mexico and Peru”

Claudia Guarisco, *El Colegio Mexiquense A.C.*

This paper is about the indigenous people who lived in the rural towns surrounding the Viceroyalty capitals of New Spain and Peru, & how they dealt with the new local political institutions that the Constitutional Monarchy tried to establish across its territories. It was during this time that the wars of independence were taking place with different intensities in Spanish America. The explanation for the adoption and rejection of the new forms of vote and representation lies in the cognitive force of indigenous political traditions. The central argument is that in New Spain, many of the values, beliefs & representations made the transition easier, while in Peru it was not the case. This was due to cultural differences that arose from the density and frequency of local commercial interactions between Indians, low rank Spaniards & Mestizos.



“Turn Out the Lights the Party’s Over: Analyzing the Southern Walkout at the 1860 Democratic Party Convention Using James Ceaser’s Party Classifications”

Darren Guerra, Christian Community College
Dustin Guerra, Vanguard University of Southern California

Abraham Lincoln would not have been elected president had the Democrats not split in 1860 along sectional lines. The Party was the only sectional moderating force in the nation and as such its rupture was a decisive blow to union. Valuable insight into this rupture may be gained by applying the party criteria articulated in James Ceaser’s work *Presidential Selection* to the major factions in the Democratic Party represented at Charleston. Ceaser, drawing on Tocqueville and historian Richard Hofstadter, articulates three party types; the Great party, the Burkean party, and the Small party. Great parties hold views about the fundamental manner society should be ordered. Analysis reveals that Southern Democrats pursued a vision of “great” party politics in their efforts to shape the Democratic Party. In contrast, “small parties” exist simply to gain power and distribute largess or political patronage. In this sense, Northern Democrats tended to act in a manner consistent with a “small” party and as such they provided little principled resistance to the passionate secessionists. Evidence for these classifications will be drawn from actual floor debates of the 1860 Democratic Party Convention in Charleston.

“Subversive of the Constitution: The True Nature of the Southern States’ Rights Claims”

Dustin Guerra, Community Christian College

In Antebellum America, Southerners complained that abolitionist attempts to limit slavery’s influence was clearly a violation of the Constitution and an unnecessary intrusion into the Southern way of life. At the 1860 Democratic Convention, the South called for a pro-Southern platform that sought to guarantee the rights of all Americans through what the South thought was a less intrusive government. After Lincoln’s election, the South left the Union claiming that Lincoln would surely violate their state sovereignty. Modern Americans often assume that secession was the first attempt to limit the size of government and protect the states from the federal government. Careful study of the fugitive slave laws, Southern rhetoric, and the Southerners platform at the 1860 Convention clearly demonstrates that the states’ rights movement actually advocated for a big intrusive government that would seek limits to Northern states’ sovereignty in regards to how they react to the fugitive slave laws; to develop an aggressive foreign policy to prevent the seizure of slaves on the high seas and to get those who were hiding in Canada; and to call for the acquisition of Cuba and parts of Central America to get more land for slavery.

“Social Reformers in the National Liberal League, 1876-1883”

Russell Hanson, Indiana University-Bloomington

During the 1870s self-styled Liberals in the USA organized clubs for the purpose of education and political action. The proliferation of these clubs across the North, Midwest, and Pacific states encouraged reformers to establish the National Liberal League in 1878 and a National Liberal Party two years later. The National Liberal Party died a quick death in disputes over the Comstock Law, and the National Liberal League splintered, too. Why did the liberal alliance emerge so rapidly, only to collapse so quickly, during this period of American history? My answer is that the formation of an alliance in the mid 1870s, its subsequent disintegration, and then eventual reorganization along different lines was the result of identifiable features of the social network connecting reformers to each other. Out of a disparate movement of individuals two well-organized factions developed in the mid 1870s, with few personal connections between them. When these connections were attenuated in the conflict over the tactical question of how far to oppose the Comstock law, the movement bifurcated and pursued reform on two fronts, not one, as originally envisioned. One of those fronts survives to this day, in the American Civil Liberties Union.

“Core – Periphery Relations and federal State-Building in American political development”

Stefan Heumann, University of Pennsylvania

Distinctions between core polity and territorial periphery point to an important spatial dimension in the exercise of federal governing authority. In the core polity, the Constitution divided governing authority between the federal government and the states. At the periphery, the federal government exercised broad powers outside of the limitations that federalism imposed on federal governing authority. Extensive authority and the need for government institutions made the territorial periphery a central site for 19th century federal state-building. After exploring the historical roots of federal authority over the territorial periphery, the article discusses the role of the U.S. Army, the Indian office and the General Land Office in the establishment of governing authority in U.S. territories during the antebellum republic. A territorial analysis of federal state-building during the 19th century revises prevalent conceptions of the 19th century American state. While federal authority was restrained in the core polity, sweeping federal authority and the need for the establishment and enforcement of governing institutions made the territorial periphery a major site of federal state-building. A revised account of 19th century federal state-building acknowledges the weaknesses of the federal government at the core and emphasizes its strengths at the periphery.

“The Formation of the American Police State”

Andrew Kolin, *Hilbert College*

Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo Bay and the Patriot Act share one thing in common: they represent the culmination of events that led to the creation of an American police state. In all of the research and publications that have been written about the government response to 9/11, there is a surprising historical disconnect when discussing the oppressive measures that were put into place during the Bush administration, as if measures taken during prior administrations had not happened. In this paper, I propose to examine in detail how the post-9/11 police state was linked to the overall historical trend in post-Revolutionary War America to expand state power at the expense of democracy. It was political movements, which delayed and resisted the expansion of state power during the 19th and 20th centuries. The United States government was able to undermine democratic movements and in so doing, set the stage for the police state, which has appeared in post-9/11 America.

“Race, Class, and Interest: Constructed Identities and the Politics of Collective Inter-Ethnic Violence”

Ryan Jerome LeCount, Purdue University

Much of the literature dealing with inter-ethnic conflict has treated notions of identity and interest as static. This paper interrogates the means by which shifts in identity and interest—which often precede conflict—occur. Both structural and discursive data will be examined in order to better understand the environment in which identity and interest become aligned toward violent action. It is expected that structural conditions play a necessary but not sufficient role in activating these shifts, while frames and narratives cultivated by elite actors are often the catalytic force in the eruption of violence of this kind. The role of elites—those who stand to gain the most from a hostile and divided working class—in the period before the outbreak of inter-ethnic violence is under-examined, and this piece seeks to expand this area. Cases examined will include Rock Creek, WY (1885); Wilmington, NC (1898); Atlanta (1906); and Tulsa (1921).

“Christian Citizenship and Protestant Nationalism in Antebellum America”

Allison Malcom, University of Illinois at Chicago

Citizenship was an ambiguous category in the three decades before the American Civil War. Nonetheless, it took on a specific meaning to anti-Catholic nativists. These people, who represented themselves as both patriots and Christians, had much in common with the Protestant mainstream of the time. And their conclusions, describing a citizenship national in scope, and linked to specific political rights, was decidedly modern. Yet, they

coupled these assumptions with more traditional perceptions of the obligations of a man to his country. Specifically, I argue that their concept of citizenship included a social and historical understanding of Protestant Christianity as inherently linked with the history and success of the republic.

“Why Didn’t the United States Establish a Central Bank Until After the Panic of 1907?”

Jon Moen, University of Mississippi
Ellis Tallman, Oberlin College

Monetary historians link the establishment of the Federal Reserve System in 1913 to the financial turbulence of the Panic of 1907. But why 1907 and not earlier panics? The 1907 panic marked a significant change from previous National Banking Era panics, which either had struck national banks within the New York Clearing House or had their origins outside of New York. The Panic of 1907 started in New York City, and it focused on trust companies. In the aftermath, New York Clearing House member bankers recognized threats to the financial system arising from institutions, the trust companies, outside of the clearing house but participating in the same financial markets as the banks, the call loan market. Turbulence in the call loan market was the core of the Panic. The New York bankers realized that they would not have adequate resources to curb financial crises arising from institutions outside the Clearing House in future panics. This convinced the influential New York bankers that a central bank was finally necessary, an institution that they had previously been able to suppress. By lending their political support, the way for a central bank, ultimately the Federal Reserve System, was clear.

“Delegated Empire: Information, Networks, and Political Control of the American Colonial State in the Philippines, 1900-1913”

Colin Moore, Yale University

How strong is political control of the bureaucracy outside the domestic state? In recent years scholars have drawn attention to a number of ways that bureaucratic agents may increase their autonomy from Congress, but evidence for these theories has been confined to domestic bureaucracies. Drawing on original archival and quantitative data, this paper examines the political control exercised by Congress over the colonial state established to govern the Philippines after the Spanish-American War. I find that the American colonial state was able to achieve significant autonomy from Congress as a result of its unique organizational form, which allowed for easy coordination among bureaucratic agents, but contributed to informational asymmetries that dramatically increased the costs of congressional supervision. American executive officials built upon this favorable organizational hierarchy through their management of information flows to Congress and by developing close ties to private interests.

“A Fundamental Article of Republican Government: Fixity of Suffrage Law in the United States Constitution of 1787-88”

Kirsten Nussbaumer, University of Minnesota

This paper considers the efforts of late-eighteenth-century Americans to reconcile their traditional republican or whig understandings about election reform with the design of a new federal republic. It demonstrates that the U.S. Constitution initiated a split in the tradition between (what we today would call) substantive rules (the qualifications of electors and elected) and most of the procedural election rules. While the latter were de-constitutionalized, the former (along with inter-state apportionment and fixed legislative terms) were understood as remaining within the constitutional tradition. The paper then questions whether, after the Founding, the constitutional election rules operated differently in practice than the rules that were shifted to routine legislative processes (i.e., it inquires into the empirical soundness of the late-eighteenth-century theories of election reform). [Note: I will likely post a longer version of this draft article on SSRN in December.]

“We Are Coming Father Abraham, 300 Thousand Strong (Or Somewhere Thereabouts): Buffalo and the ‘Militia Draft’ Crisis of 1862”

Michael Pendleton, Buffalo State College

Casualties from Union military operations prompted the Lincoln Administration to make two calls for 300,000 new troops each in the summer of 1862. Each Union state was assigned a quota and recruiting was left to state and local governments. Should a state fail to meet its quota, it would have to resort to a draft, a process governed by state militia laws. This paper will address Buffalo’s collective public and private sectors’ response to the “Militia Draft” crisis of June through November, 1862. The city, like its Great Lakes counterparts, was young with civic institutions often less than three decades old, and a city government feeling its way along in dealing with mounting urban problems. Most of the adult population was born elsewhere and the political-economic elites of the early canal era were giving way to a new generation of merchants, shippers and a small but growing group of manufacturers. A new ethnic pluralism was developing as German and Irish immigrants were gaining consciousness of their own identities while slowly integrating into the city’s social fabric. Buffalo’s capacity for civic activism, and political and social organization, enabled it to meet the President’s call without resorting to a threatened draft.

“Explaining the Politics of Big Government Conservatism: Financial Bailouts, War in Iraq, and Education Reform”

Jesse Rhodes, Amherst College

The conventional wisdom in American political development is that conservative ascendance in American

politics has fostered a politics of governmental retrenchment and policy drift. However, the last 8 years has been a period of both substantial conservative influence and government expansion in many areas of American life. This paper examines the politics of Big Government Conservatism in three enormously consequential areas: financial bailouts, war in Iraq, and education reform. Common processes undergird the expansion of federal governmental authority in each case. Each was marked by a crisis atmosphere; limited information about the origins and scope of the problem; and uncertainty about the appropriate course of policy. In each case, political entrepreneurs exploited these conditions to forge compelling policy agendas explaining the crises and providing policy paths for resolving them. These solutions were adopted because they attracted interest groups from both sides of the political aisle and catered to the electoral interests of factions within both political parties. Rising conservative influence in national politics has not been inconsistent with expanding governmental activism outside the traditional welfare state.

“Building the Disaster State: Disaster Relief from the Founding to the Twentieth Century”

Andrew Roberts, Northwestern University

How did the federal government assume responsibility for preparing for disaster? The US government has provided ad hoc aid since the early days of the republic. What 18th and 19th century Americans understood the concepts of response and recovery to mean, however, is different than their contemporary definitions. Disaster response in the early days of the republic was intended to relieve suffering, save lives, and restore critical functions. Today, citizens and some politicians expect the government to engage in recovery by returning a community to its pre-disaster condition. Ultimately, Congress’ responsiveness to local rather than strictly national concerns and its authority over taxing and spending for the general welfare led to a ratcheting up of disaster spending over time, punctuated by debates over central state authority during the Civil War. The emergence of private-sector and non-profit organizations that responded to disaster allowed the federal government to provide relief without increasing direct central government control and risking the ire of state and local authorities.

“The Good South:
Moderation and the Changing Politics of Race”

Randy Sanders, Southeastern Louisiana University

In 1970 four racially moderate Democrats won the governor’s chairs of Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina and Georgia. These southern gubernatorial campaigns and the subsequent inaugural speeches signaled a change in racial politics in the region. As the campaigns began, however, persistent ambivalence concerning the pace of integration and court-ordered busing of school children to achieve

racial balances tempted many politicians to exploit these concerns. Their efforts failed; southerners had decided to obey the law. The successful candidates understood that the electorate had come to this decision with varying degrees of enthusiasm and that their campaigns must reflect this uncertainty; they would eschew the rhetoric of resistance without uttering strong words in favor or desegregation or busing. Subtle evasion of racially charged issues appealed to a moderate electorate that had grown weary of upheaval. The 1970 gubernatorial campaigns marked the first time in southern politics that candidates who refused to play the race card won office. This paper examine the growing moderation tapped by a new breed of southern politician.

“Secularism and State Formation
in Turkey and the United States”

April Wilson Susky, University of Alaska, Anchorage

This paper compares the meaning and function of secularism in two states, Turkey and the United States of America, during their formative periods. Due to political circumstances of their times, each state sought to impose strict limitations on the interaction between organized religion and state offices in order to stabilize the new state. These limitations were provided in constitutions, statutes, case law and political practices. From these beginnings and in practices over time, each state has developed its own variant on the secular idea, to the extent that what each state calls “secularism” would not be recognized as such by the other state. In terms of state support of and involvement in religion, the two states appear to be opposites. Where the United States adheres more or less to Jefferson’s ideal of a “wall of separation”• between religion and the state, Turkey’s government directly finances religion, controls its practices, and it requires religious education in its schools. Yet Turkey is adamant that it is a secular state. This paper explores the history and development of both states in order to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the concept.

“The Lost Liberalism of the Prairie Populists: The Legacy of William Jennings Bryan and Robert M. La Follette”

Jeff Taylor, Jacksonville State University

In their day, William Jennings Bryan and Robert M. La Follette spoke for a significant portion of the American people within their respective parties. Their day lasted for three decades (1896-1925). Quite distinct from the elitist, urban, corporate, bureaucratic, and imperial liberalism of Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, the thought and techniques of Bryan and La Follette reflected their base of support arguably a majority of Americans despite their national election losses. What happened to the liberalism they championed after they left the scene? Where does this ideology fit on the political spectrum today? Neither man has served as a role model for the most powerful politicians in the decades since their

deaths, but the type of populist liberalism they embodied is alive and well in 21st-century America. It can be found in surprising places, under a variety of labels. The careers of the two men also suggest unlikely-but-potentially rewarding alliances for Democrats and Republicans of our own day: identification with evangelical Christians in Bryan's case, and with African Americans in La Follette's.

“John M. Daniel's War on Jefferson Davis:
An Interpretation”

Ted Tunnell

John M. Daniel was among the most influential editors in the Southern Confederacy. His *Richmond Examiner* waged a long and bitter print war against Confederate president Jefferson Davis. Historians of Confederate military and political history make liberal use of Daniel's paper; students of Confederate morale and nationalism mine the *Examiner* and debate its influence. Despite his importance, no historian has looked beneath the surface of Daniel's writings. This paper, part of a broader study of Southern editors, suggests a psychological basis for Daniel's antipathy to Davis. Daniel was a frail and sickly man; of average height, he weighed barely 120 pounds. According to contemporaries, “he worshipped strength, and nothing but strength. He waxed rhapsodic over the robust physiques of men he admired. On the other hand, he loathed physical weakness in others and moral sensitivity, which he equated with women. It does not take Freudian analysis to suspect a connection between Daniel's obsession with manly strength and his hatred of Davis, a chief executive plagued by chronic, incapacitating illness. Davis, moreover, refused to ill treat Yankee POWs and northern civilians, more evidence—in the editor's mind—of unmanly weakness.

“Did Roger Taney Author the 14th Amendment? Congress and the Definition of American Citizenship”

Richard Vallery, Swarthmore College

Lauren Kluz-Wisniewski,

AIDS Law Project of Pennsylvania

It is widely held among public law scholars and in legal academia that the drafters of Section One of the 14th Amendment worried about and intended to overrule Taney's holding in his *per curiam* opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. Taney held that African Americans never had been nor could ever be citizens of the United States. To prevent his holding from having a future effect Section One of the 14th Amendment voided it. But this view — when tested using a simple tool from qualitative methods — does not hold up. After demonstrating that this idea is exaggerated -- and made plausible primarily because of the rise and development of judicial supremacy — the paper analyzes the legislative sources of constitutional meaning and of the definition of citizenship and links them to the incentives that congressional party politicians have to use Article V for party-building.

“Conservative Counter-revolution:
Reconsidering the Nature and Development of
Presidential Popular Leadership in the Progressive Era”
Chris West

This paper examines the socio-political context & the philosophy of Teddy Roosevelt's and Woodrow Wilson's turn to presidential popular leadership. Rather than describing their behavior as complete innovations on Constitutional theory, I show their break from predominant 19th century leadership practices to be driven by a return to pre-party, Federalist doctrine. This Federalist doctrine is, in turn, informed by a core philosophy of “reason of state” as introduced to modern executive design by Machiavelli and other theorists of executive power. Though they betray a founding-era bias against direct presidential leadership, their intention is to combat the limitations put on the presidency by the institution and norms of the Jacksonian party system. The “rhetorical presidency” of the Progressive era should thus be described as conservative and anti-democratic, not radical. Wilson and TR see themselves as pre-empting and combating the demagoguery of leaders like William Jennings Bryan and Robert LaFollette, even while utilizing a leadership style that has been described as demagogic itself.

“What is a Historical Legacy?”

Jason Wittenberg, University of California, Berkeley

The transition of so many polities from one form of rule to another has given much impetus to the study of historical legacies and their consequences. Yet there is still no general consensus on what a legacy actually is, how to distinguish different kinds of legacies from one another, and what makes a legacy argument different from other kinds of arguments. This paper offers a conceptual analysis of historical legacies.

“Divided Business, Depression, and Free Trade:

The National Foreign Trade Council
and the Opening of the U.S. Market”

McGee Young, Marquette University

Scholars have long seen the opening of America's trade markets in the 1930s as an example of institutional dominance in policy making (though there is much debate within this perspective). Overlooked is the response by the business community to the policy initiatives of Cordell Hull, FDR's Secretary of State. Studies that indicate growing strength of exporters point to aggregate macroeconomic indicators, but generally ignore the efforts of advocacy organizations. Hull's success rested in part on his ability to convince key business leaders to support tariff reduction. Much of the persuasion that occurred took place within the context of leading business associations, especially the National Foreign Trade Council. With a Board of Directors comprising executives from General Motors, General Electric, Standard Oil, and

other major corporations, the NFTC stood in a unique position to shape business community perspectives on trade policy. This paper draws on newly-opened archives of the NFTC to explore the role of business leaders in providing political support for Hull's controversial policy agenda. In doing so it speaks to the growing literature on business influence in American political development.

Titles of Politics & History Papers from the 2009 Western Political Science Association Meetings

"Perhaps it was Gordon Wood who had it wrong: James Wilson, not William Findley and the Antifederalists had the most prescient view of the United States Constitution"

Mark Alcorn, St. Cloud State University,
jmalcorn@stcloudstate.edu

"Edmund Burke's Anti-Revolutionary Interventionism"

Joonbum Bae, University of California, Los Angeles,
jbbae@ucla.edu

"Political History as a Contested Concept: The Case of First Nations Peoples in Canada"

Paul Baxter, York University, pjbaxter@yorku.ca

"Making New Citizens: The Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation's Americanization Program"

Gayle Berardi, Colorado State University-Pueblo,
gayle.berardi@colostate-pueblo.edu

"Local Rail Innovations: Antebellum States and Policy Diffusion"

Zachary Callen, University of Chicago,
zcallen@uchicago.edu

"Optional Wars, the Media, and Falling Empires"

Eric Fattor, University of Denver, efattor@du.edu

"The Politics of Cleaving: Reagan, Initiative 350, and the Local Politics that would Define a Nation, 1982-1989"

Jennifer Hehnke, University of Oregon,
jhehnke@uoregon.edu

"Balance versus Hegemony in the Evolution of International Relations: Ideas, Interests, Institutions and Other Sources"**Martin Hewson**, University of Regina, Martin.Hewson@uregina.ca

"Property Wrongs: Exploring the Negative Dimensions of Ownership and the Prospects for Transformation"

Steven Horn, Everett Community College,
shorn@everettcc.edu

"The Republican Tradition in America"

Aaron Keck, Duke University, aaron.keck@duke.edu

"Constitutional Rejection: Failed U.S. State Constitutional Conventions in the 1960s and 1970s"

Jeffrey Lenowitz, Columbia University,
jal2154@columbia.edu

"A Violent Premise: Gender and the Revolutionary Legacy of the American State"

Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University,
e.mcdonagh@neu.edu

"The God (Talk) Debate: Atheism, Communism, and Discourse"

Richard Meagher, Marymount Manhattan College,
rmeagher1@mmm.edu

"Equality Talk, Claims Making, and Educational Reform: Reconsidering 1972"

Jean Robinson, Indiana University,
robinso@indiana.edu

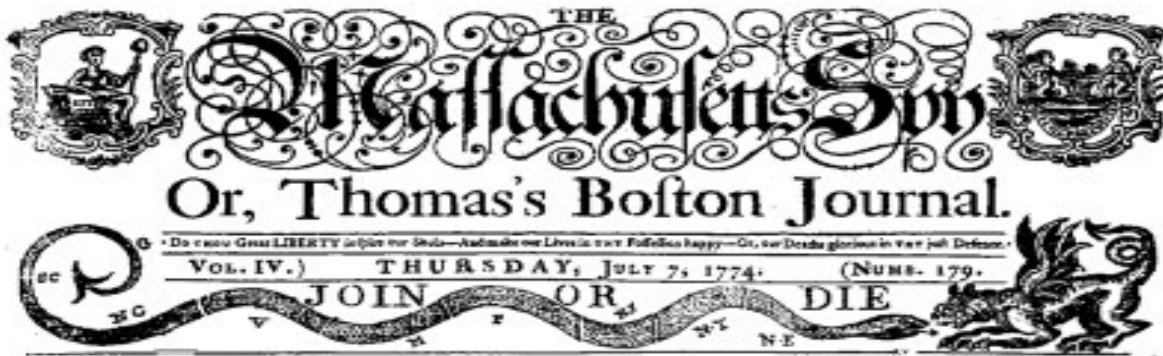
Pamela Walters, Indiana University,
walters@indiana.edu

Julia Lamber, Indiana University,
lamber@indiana.edu

Emily Meanwell, Indiana University,
emeanwel@indiana.edu

"Nixon's Welfare Reform and the Northern Strategy: The Politics of Poverty after the Great Society"

Scott Spitzer, California State University, Fullerton,
sspitzer@fullerton.edu



Journalscan

Administration and Society

Jennifer Alexander and Renée Nank. "Public-Nonprofit Partnership: Realizing the New Public Service" 41 (May 2009): 364-386.

Administrative Science Quarterly

Akbar Zaheer and Giuseppe Soda. "The Origins of Structural Holes" 54:1 (Mar. 2009).

Kjersten Bunker Whittington, Jason Owen-Smith, and Walter W. Powell. "Networks, Propinquity, and Innovation in Knowledge-intensive Industries" 54:1 (Mar. 2009).

Wesley D. Sine and Brandon H. Lee. "The Environmental Movement and the Emergence of the U.S. Wind Energy Sector" 54:1 (Mar. 2009).

American Behavioral Scientist

Jon Val Til. "A Paradigm Shift in Third Sector Theory and Practice: Refreshing the Wellsprings of Democratic Capacity" 52:7 (Mar. 2009): 1069-1081.

Helmut K. Anheier. "What Kind of Nonprofit Sector, What Kind of Society?: Comparative Policy Reflections" 52:7 (Mar. 2009): 1082-1094.

The American Economic Review

Lena Edlund and Wojciech Kopczuk. "Women, Wealth, and Mobility" 99:1 (Mar. 2009): 146-178.

Carlos Dobkin and Nancy Nicosia. "The War on Drugs: Methamphetamine, Public Health, and Crime" 99:1 (Mar. 2009): 324-349.

Anne Case and Christina Paxson. "Early Life Health and Cognitive Function in Old Age" 99:2 (May 2009): 104-109.

John Felkner, Kamilya Tazhibayeva, and Robert Townsend. "Impact of Climate Change on Rice Production in Thailand" 99:2 (May 2009): 205-210.

Hoyt Bleakley. "Economic Effects of Childhood Exposure to Tropical Disease" 99:2 (May 2009): 218-223.

Gregory Clark and Neil Cummins. "Urbanization, Mortality, and Fertility in Malthusian England" 99:2 (May 2009): 242-247.

Nico Voigtlander and Hans-Joachim Voth. "Malthusian Dynamism and the Rise of Europe: Make War, Not Love" 99:2 (May 2009): 248-254.

Joel Mokyr Mokyr. "Intellectual Property Rights, the Industrial Revolution, and the Beginnings of Modern Economic Growth" 99:2 (May 2009): 349-355.

John C. Ham. "Public Policy and the Dynamics of Children's Health Insurance, 1986-1999" 99:2 (May 2009): 522-526.

The American Historical Review

Alison Frank. "The Petroleum War of 1910: Standard Oil, Austria, and the Limits of the Multinational Corporation" 114:1 (Feb. 2009): 16-41.

Nancy L. Green. "Expatriation, Expatriates, and Expats: The American Transformation of a Concept" 114:2 (Apr. 2009): 307-328.

Jeffrey L. Gould. "Solidarity under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968" 114:2 (Apr. 2009): 348-375.

Richard Ivan Jobs. "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968" 114:2 (Apr. 2009): 376-404.

American Journal of Political Science

Kai Arzheimer. "Contextual Factors and the Extreme Right Vote in Western Europe, 1980–2002" 53:2 (Apr. 2009): 259-275.

Sean Gailmard and Jeffrey A. Jenkins. "Agency Problems, the 17th Amendment, and Representation in the Senate" 53:2 (Apr. 2009): 324-342.

Thomas T. Holyoke. "Interest Group Competition and Coalition Formation" 53:2 (Apr. 2009): 360-375.

Jonathan McDonald Ladd and Gabriel S. Lenz. "Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of the News Media" 53:2 (Apr. 2009): 394-410.

Brett Ashley Leeds, Michaela Mattes, and Jeremy S. Vogel. "Interests, Institutions, and the Reliability of International Commitments" 53:2 (Apr. 2009): 461-476.

American Journal of Sociology

Kimberly J. Morgan. "The Origins of Tax Systems: A French American Comparison" 114:5 (Mar. 2009): 1350-1395.

Andrew G. Walder and Songhua Hu. "Revolution, Reform, and Status Inheritance: Urban China, 1949–1996" 114:5 (Mar. 2009): 1395-1427.

American Political Science Review

Daniel Ziblatt. "Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Germany" 103:1 (Feb. 2009): 1-21.

Peter J. Steinberger. "Analysis and History of Political Thought" 103:1 (Feb. 2009): 135-146.

American Politics Research

Matthew Hall. "Experimental Justice: Random Judicial Assignment and the Partisan Process of Supreme Court Review" 37:2 (Mar. 2009): 195-226.

American Quarterly

Sara E. Johnson. "'You Should Give them Blacks to Eat': Waging Inter-American Wars of Torture and Terror" 61:1 (Mar. 2009): 65-92.

Yu-Fang Cho. "Domesticating the Aliens Within: Sentimental Benevolence in Late-Nineteenth-Century California Magazines" 61:1 (Mar. 2009): 113-136.

Tiya Miles. "'Circular Reasoning': Recentering Cherokee Women in the Antiremoval Campaigns" 61:2 (Jun. 2009): 221-243.

Steven Belletto. "The Game Theory Narrative and the Myth of the National Security State" 61:2 (Jun. 2009): 333-357.

The American Review of Public Administration

Robert F. Durant. "Theory Building, Administrative Reform Movements, and the Perdurability of Herbert Hoover" 39:4 (Jul. 2009): 327-351.

American Sociological Review

Kyle Crowder and Scott J. South. "Spatial Dynamics of White Flight: The Effects of Local and Extralocal Racial Conditions on Neighborhood Out-Migration," 73:5 (October 2008), 792-812

Bruce Western, Deirdre Bloome, and Christine Percheski. "Inequality among American Families with Children, 1975 to 2005," 73:6 (December 2008), 903-920

Rhonda Evans and Tamara Kay. "How Environmentalists 'Greened' Trade Policy: Strategic Action and the Architecture of Field Overlap," 73:6 (December 2008), 970-991

Arne L. Kalleberg. "Precarious Work, Insecure Workers: Employment Relations in Transition," 74:1 (February 2009), 1-22.

Edward T. Walker. "Privatizing Participation: Civic Change and the Organizational Dynamics of Grassroots Lobbying Firms," 74:1 (February 2009), 83-105

Sheryl Skaggs, "Legal-Political Pressures and African American Access to Managerial Jobs," 74:2 (April 2009), 225-244.

C. Elizabeth Hirsh, "The Strength of Weak Enforcement: The Impact of Discrimination Charges, Legal Environments, and Organizational Conditions on Workplace Segregation," 74:2 (April 2009), 245-271.

The Annals

Gale Iles. "The Effects of Race/Ethnicity and National Origin on Length of Sentence in the United States Virgin Islands" 623:1 (May 2009): 64-76.

British Journal of Political Science

Anthony M. Bertelli and Jeffrey B. Wenger. "Demanding Information: Think Tanks and the US Congress" 39:2 (Apr. 2009): 225-242.

Adam Przeworski. "Conquered or Granted? A History of Suffrage Extensions" 39:2 (Apr. 2009): 291-321.

Yasheng Huang and Yumin Sheng. "Political Decentralization and Inflation: Sub-National Evidence from China" 39:2 (Apr. 2009): 389-412.

Marc J. Hetherington. "Review Article: Putting Polarization in Perspective" 39:1 (Apr. 2009): 413-448.

Emizet F. Kisangani and Jeffrey Pickering. "The Dividends of Diversion: Mature Democracies' Proclivity to Use Diversionary Force and the Rewards They Reap from It" 39:3 (Jul. 2009): 483-515.

Business History Review

Naomi R. Lamoreaux, "Scylla or Charybdis? Historical Reflections on Two Basic Problems of Corporate Governance" 83:1 (Spring 2009)

Richard Sylla, Robert E. Wright, and David J. Cowen, "Alexander Hamilton, Central Banker: Crisis Management during the U.S. Financial Panic of 1792," 83:1 (Spring 2009)

Eric Hilt, "Rogue Finance: The Life and Fire Insurance Company and the Panic of 1826," 83:1 (Spring 2009)

Edward J. Balleisen, "Private Cops on the Fraud Beat: The Limits of American Business Self-Regulation, 1895-1932," 83:1 (Spring 2009)

Aldo Musacchio, "Laws versus Contracts: Shareholder Protections and Ownership Concentration in Brazil, 1890-1950" 82:3 (Autumn, 2008)

Marcelo Bucheli, "Negotiating under the Monroe Doctrine: Weetman Pearson and the Origins of U.S. Control of Colombian Oil" 82:3 (Autumn, 2008)

Canadian Journal of Political Science

Jonathan Fox, Patrick James, and Yitan Li. "Religious Affinities and International Intervention in Ethnic Conflicts in the Middle East and Beyond" 42:1 (Mar. 2009): 161-186.

David Altman and Rossana Castiglioni. "Democratic Quality and Human Development in Latin America: 1972-2001" 42:2 (Jun. 2009): 297-319.

Sylvia Bashevkin. "Party Talk: Assessing the Feminist Rhetoric of Women Leadership Candidates in Canada" 42:2 (Jun 2009): 345-362.

Canadian Public Policy

Ronald D. Kneebone and Katherine G. White. "Fiscal Retrenchment and Social Assistance in Canada" 35:1 (Mar. 2009): 21-40.

Anthony E. Boardman, Claude Laurin, Mark A. Moore, and Aidan R. Vining. "A Cost-Benefit Analysis of the Privatization of Canadian National Railway" 35:1 (Mar. 2009): 59-83.

Comparative Politics

Priscilla A. Lambert and Druscilla L. Scribner, "A Politics of Difference versus a Politics of Equality: Do Constitutions Matter?" 41:3 (April 2009)

Robert R. Kaufman, "The Political Effects of Inequality in Latin America: Some Inconvenient Facts" 41:3 (April 2009)

Jennifer Pribble, Evelyne Huber, and John D. Stephens, "Politics, Policies, and Poverty in Latin America," 41:4 (July 2009)

Michael Bernhard, "Methodological Disputes in Comparative Politics," 41:4 (July 2009)

Comparative Political Studies

John Gerring, Strom C. Thacker, and Carola Moreno "Are Parliamentary Systems Better?" 42:3 (Mar. 2009): 327-359.

Frances Hagopian, Carlos Gervasoni, and Juan Andres Moraes. "From Patronage to Program: The Emergence of Party-Oriented Legislators in Brazil" 42:3 (Mar. 2009): 360-391.

Emily Beaulieu and Susan D. Hyde. "In the Shadow of Democracy Promotion: Strategic Manipulation, International Observers, and Election Boycotts" 42:3 (Mar. 2009): 392-415.

Markus M. L. Crepaz and Regan Damron. "Constructing Tolerance: How the Welfare State Shapes Attitudes About Immigrants" 42:3 (Mar. 2009): 437-463.

Fabrizio Gilardi, Katharina Fuglister, and Stéphane Luyet. "Learning From Others: The Diffusion of Hospital Financing Reforms in OECD Countries" 42:4 (Apr. 2009): 549-573.

James Adams, Andrea B. Haupt, and Heather Stoll. "What Moves Parties?: The Role of Public Opinion and Global Economic Conditions in Western Europe" 42:5 (May 2009): 611-639.

Terence Lee. "The Armed Forces and Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Explaining the Role of the Military in 1986 Philippines and 1998 Indonesia" 42:5 (May 2009): 640-669.

Comparative Studies in Society and History

Luise White. "Heading for the Gun": Skills and Sophistication in an African Guerrilla War" 51:2 (Apr. 2009): 236-259.

David M. Pomfret. "Raising Eurasia: Race, Class, and Age in French and British Colonies" 51:2 (Apr. 2009): 314-343.

Selim Deringil. "The Armenian Question Is Finally Closed": Mass Conversions of Armenians in Anatolia during the Hamidian Massacres of 1895-1897" 51:2 (Apr. 2009): 344-371.

Diane P. Koenker. "Whose Right to Rest? Contesting the Family Vacation in the Postwar Soviet Union" 51:2 (Apr. 2009): 401-425.

Krisztina Fehérváry. "Goods and States: The Political Logic of State-Socialist Material Culture" 51:2 (Apr. 2009): 426-459.

The Economic History Review

Dan Bogart. "Turnpike Trusts and Property Income: New Evidence on the Effects of Transport Improvements and Legislation in Eighteenth-Century England" 62:1 (Feb. 2009): 128-152.

Adam Fox. "Sir William Petty, Ireland, and the Making of a Political Economist, 1653-87: 62:2 (May 2009): 388-404.

Electoral Studies

Kanchan Chandra. "Why Voters in Patronage Democracies Split Their Tickets: Strategic Voting for Ethnic Parties" 28:1 (Mar. 2009): 21-32.

Thomas L. Brunell and Bernard Grofman. "Testing Sincere Versus Strategic Split-ticket Voting at the Aggregate Level: Evidence from Split House-President Outcomes, 1900-2004" 28:1 (Mar. 2009): 62-69.

Michael Clark. "Valence and Electoral Outcomes in Western Europe, 1976-1998" 28:1 (Mar. 2009): 111-122.

Carina S. Bischoff. "National Level Electoral Thresholds: Problems and Solutions" 28:2 (Jun. 2009): 232-239.

Environmental History

Linda Nash, "Purity and Danger: Historical Reflections on the Regulation of Environmental Pollutants," 13:4 (October 2008), 651-659.

Barbara Allen, "Environment, Health, and Missing Information," 13:4 (October 2008), 659-666.

Frederick Rowe Davis, "Unraveling the Complexities of Joint Toxicity of Multiple Chemicals at the Tox Lab and the FDA," 13:4 (October 2008), 674-683.

José Luiz de Andrade Franco and José Augusto Drummon, "Wilderness and the Brazilian Mind (I): Nation and Nature in Brazil from the 1920s to the 1940s," 13:4 (October 2008), 724-750.

Michael J. Lansing, "Salvaging the Man Power of America": Conservation, Manhood, & Disabled Veterans during World War I," 14:1 (Jan 2009), 32-57.

Patrick Kupper, "Science and the National Parks: A Transatlantic Perspective on the Interwar Years," 14:1 (January 2009), 58-81.

José Luiz de Andrade Franco and José Augusto Drummond, "Wilderness and the Brazilian Mind (II): The First Brazilian Conference on Nature Protection (Rio de Janeiro, 1934)," 14:1 (January 2009), 82-101.

Emily T. Yeh, "From Wasteland to Wetland? Nature and Nation in China's Tibet," 14:1 (January 2009), 103-137.

Explorations in Economic History

Trevon D. Logan. "Health, Human Capital, and African-American Migration before 1910" 46:2 (Apr. 2009): 169-185.

Governance

Andrew Rudalevige. "'Therefore, Get Wisdom': What Should the President Know, and How Can He Know It?" 22:2 (Apr. 2009): 177-187.

Eric K. Stern. "Crisis Navigation: Lessons from History for the Crisis Manager in Chief" 22:2 (Apr. 2009): 189-202.

Carl Dahlstorm. "The Bureaucratic Politics of Welfare-State Crisis: Sweden in the 1990s" 22:2 (April 2009): 217-238.

Roland Zullo. "Does Fiscal Stress Induce Privatization? Correlates of Private and

Intermunicipal Contracting, 1992-2002" 22:3 (Jul. 2009): 459-481.

Government and Opposition

Mette Anthonsen and Johannes Lindvall. "Party Competition and the Resilience of Corporatism" 44:2 (Apr. 2009). 167-187.

Anthony M. Bertelli and Rachel M. Dolan. "The Demand and Supply of Parliamentary Policy Advocacy: Evidence from UK Health Policy, 1997-2005" 44:2 (Jul. 2009): 219-242.

Aviad Rubin. "Political-Elite Formation and Transition to Democracy in Pre-State Conditions: Comparing Israel and the Palestinian Authority" 44:2 (Jul. 2009): 262-284.

The Journal of American History

Nicholas Guyatt. "'The Outskirts of Our Happiness': Race and the Lure of Colonization in the Early Republic" 95:4 (Mar. 2009): 986-1011.

Elna C. Green. "Relief from Relief: The Tampa Sewing-Room Strike of 1937 and the Right to Welfare" 95:4 (Mar. 2009): 1012-1037.

Sarah Keyes. "'Like a Roaring Lion': The Overland Trail as a Sonic Conquest" 96:1 (Jun. 2009): 19-43

Julia C. Ott. "'The Free and Open People's Market': Political Ideology and Retail Brokerage at the New York Stock Exchange, 1913-1933" 96:1 (Jun. 2009): 4-71.

Robyn Muncy. "Coal-Fired Reforms: Social Citizenship, Dissident Miners, and the Great Society" 96:1 (Jun. 2009): 72-98.

Joy Rohde. "Gray Matters: Social Scientists, Military Patronage, and Democracy in the Cold War" 96:1 (Jun. 2009): 99-122.

James Morton Turner. "'The Specter of Environmentalism': Wilderness, Environmental Politics, and the Evolution of the New Right" 96:1 (Jun. 2009): 123-149.

Journal of American Studies

M.J. Heale. "Anatomy of a Scare: Yellow Peril Politics in America, 1980-1993" 43:1 (Apr. 2009): 19-47.

Journal of Contemporary History

April 2009, Volume 44, No. 2

Paul Knepper. "The 'White Slave Trade' and the Music Hall Affair in 1930s Malta" 44:2 (Apr. 2009): 205-220.

Michael Goebel. "Decentering the German Spirit: The Weimar Republic's Cultural Relations with Latin America" 44:2 (Apr. 2009): 221-245.

Claire M. Hall. "An Army of Spies? The Gestapo Spy Network 1933—45" 44:2 (Apr. 2009): 247-265.

Barbara Korte and Christina Spittel. "Shakespeare under Different Flags: The Bard in German Classrooms from Hitler to Honecker" 44:2 (Apr. 2009): 267-286.

Mikael Nilsson. "Amber Nine: NATO's Secret Use of a Flight Path over Sweden and the Incorporation of Sweden in NATO's Infrastructure" 44:2 (Apr. 2009): 287-307.

David Corkill and José Carlos Pina Almeida. "Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The Mundo Português Exposition of 1940" 44:2 (Jul. 2009): 381-399.

Roberto Villa García. "The Failure of Electoral Modernization: The Elections of May 1936 in Granada" 44:2 (Jul. 2009): 401-429.

Florentino Rodao. "Japan and the Axis, 1937—8: Recognition of the Franco Regime and Manchukuo" 44:2 (Jul. 2009): 431-447.

Julius Ruiz. "Seventy Years On: Historians and Repression During and After the Spanish Civil War" 44:2 (Jul. 2009): 449-472.

James W. Cortada. "Public Policies and the Development of National Computer Industries in

Britain, France, and the Soviet Union, 1940—80" 44:2 (Jul. 2009): 493-512.

Journal of the Early Republic

John L. Brooke. "Cultures of Nationalism, Movements of Reform, and the Composite-Federal Polity: From Revolutionary Settlement to Antebellum Crisis" 29:1 (Spring 2009): 1-33.

Mark Scmeller. "The Political Economy of Opinion: Public Credit and Concepts of Public Opinion in the Age of Federalism" 29:1 (Spring 2009): 35-61.

Steven Sarson. "Yeoman Farmers in a Planters' Republic: Socioeconomic Conditions and Relations in Early National Prince George's County, Maryland" 29:1 (Spring 2009): 63-99.

Matthew Rainbow Hale. "On Their Tiptoes: Political Time and Newspapers during the Advent of the Radicalized French Revolution, circa 1792–1793" 29:2 (Summer 2009): 191-218.

Ronald P. Formisano and Stephen Pickering. "The Christian Nation Debate and Witness Competency" 29:2 (Summer 2009): 219-248.

Phillip W. Magness. "Morrill and the Missing Industries: Strategic Lobbying Behavior and the Tariff, 1858–1861" 29:2 (Summer 2009): 287-329.

The Journal of Economic History

Mark Dincecco. "Fiscal Centralization, Limited Government, and Public Revenues in Europe, 1650–1913" 69:1 (Mar. 2009): 48-103.

Lee J. Alston, Shannan Mattiace, and Tomas Nonnenmacher. "Coercion, Culture, and Contracts: Labor and Debt on Henequen Haciendas in Yucatán, Mexico, 1870–1915" 69:1 (Mar. 2009): 104-137.

Christiana Stoddard. "Why did Education Become Publicly Funded? Evidence from the Nineteenth-Century Growth of Public Primary Schooling in the United States" 69:1 (Mar. 2009): 172-201.

Dan Bogart. "Nationalizations and the Development of Transport Systems: Cross-Country Evidence from

Railroad Networks, 1860–1912” 69:1 (Mar. 2009): 202-237.

Journal of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era

Peter H. Argersinger, “All Politics Are Local: Another Look at the 1890s,” 8:1 (January 2009)

Theresa A. Case, “Blaming Martin Irons: Leadership and Popular Protest in the 1886 Southwest Strike,” 8:1 (January 2009)

Troy Rondinone, “Guarding the Switch: Cultivating Nationalism during the Pullman Strike,” 8:1 (January 2009)

Mark H. Stevens, “The Enigma of Meyer Lissner: Los Angeles’s Progressive Boss,” 8:1 (January 2009)

Bluford Adams, “World Conquerors or a Dying People? Racial Theory, Regional Anxiety, and the Brahmin Anglo-Saxonists,” 8:2 (April 2009)

Christopher McKnight Nichols, “Rethinking Randolph Bourne’s Trans-National America: How World War I Created an Isolationist Antiwar Pluralism,” 8:2 (April 2009)

Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law

Fred Joseph Hellinger. “Tax-Exempt Hospitals and Community Benefits: A Review of State Reporting Requirements” 34:1 (Feb. 2009): 37-61.

The Journal of Policy History

Zachary M. Schrag. “How Talking Became Human Subjects Research: The Federal Regulation of the Social Sciences, 1965–1991” 21:1 (Winter 2009): 3-37.

Patricia Strach. “Making Higher Education Affordable: Policy Design in Postwar America” 21:1 (Winter 2009): 61-88.

Kelli L. Larson, Annie Gustafson, and Paul Hirt. “Insatiable Thirst and a Finite Supply: An Assessment of Municipal Water-Conservation Policy in Greater Phoenix, Arizona, 1980–2007” 21:2 (Spring 2009): 107-137.

Kevin Yuill. “Another Take on the Nixon Presidency: The First Therapeutic President?” 21:2 (Spring 2009): 138-162.

Kumiko Koyama. “The Passage of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act: Why Did the President Sign the Bill?” 21:2 (Spring 2009): 163-186.

Christopher M. Loomis. “The Politics of Uncertainty: Lobbyists and Propaganda in Early Twentieth-Century America” 21:2 (Spring 2009): 187-213.

The Journal of Politics

Christopher S. Parker, “When Politics Becomes Protest: Black Veterans and Political Activism in the Postwar South,” 71:1 (January 2009), 113-131.

Nolan McCarty. “Presidential Vetoes in the Early Republic: Changing Constitutional Norms or Electoral Reform?” 71:2 (Apr. 2009): 369-384.

Jeffrey S. Kopstein and Jason Wittenberg. “Does Familiarity Breed Contempt? Inter-Ethnic Contact and Support for Illiberal Parties” 71:2 (Apr. 2009): 414-428.

Timothy J. Lukes. “Descending to the Particulars: The Palazzo, The Piazza, and Machiavelli’s Republican Modes and Orders” 71:2 (Apr. 2009): 520-532.

Richard P. Caldarone, Brandice Canes-Wrone, and Tom S. Clark. “Partisan Labels and Democratic Accountability: An Analysis of State Supreme Court Abortion Decisions” 71:2 (Apr. 2009): 560-573.

John N. Friedman and Richard T. Holden. “The Rising Incumbent Reelection Rate: What’s Gerrymandering Got to Do With It?” 71:2 (Apr. 2009): 593-611.

Andrew Stark. “The Consensus School, Its Critics, and Welfare Policy: A Study of American Political Discourse” 71:2 (Apr. 2009): 627-643.

Linda Camp Keith, C. Neal Tate, and Steven C. Poe. “Is The Law a Mere Parchment Barrier to Human Rights Abuse?” 71:2 (Apr. 2009): 644-660.

Daniel Yuichi Kono and Gabriella R. Montinola. "Does Foreign Aid Support Autocrats, Democrats, or Both?" 71:2 (Apr. 2009): 704-718.

Keith L. Dougherty and Julian Edward. "Odd or Even: Assembly Size and Majority Rule" 71:2 (Apr. 2009): 733-747.

Journal of Public Policy

Markus Tepe and Pieter Vanhuyse. "Are Aging OECD Welfare States on the Path to Gerontocracy?" 29:1 (Apr. 2009): 1-28.

Russell Alan Williams. "Exogenous Shocks in Subsystem Adjustment and Policy Change: The Credit Crunch and Canadian Banking Regulation" 29:1 (Apr. 2009): 29-53.

Journal of Theoretical Politics

Jonathan B. Slapin. "Exit, Voice, and Cooperation: Bargaining Power in International Organizations and Federal Systems" 21:2 (Apr. 2009): 187-211.

Daniel Verdier. "Successful and Failed Screening Mechanisms in the Two Gulf Wars" 21:3 (Jul. 2009): 311-342.

Elizabeth Maggie Penn. "From Many, One: State Representation and the Construction of an American Identity" 21:3 (Jul. 2009): 343-364.

Journal of Urban Affairs

A.J. Jacobs. "Embedded Contrasts in Race, Municipal Fragmentation, and Planning: Divergent Outcomes in the Detroit and Greater Toronto-Hamilton Regions 1990-2000" 31:2 (May 2009): 147-172.

Joel Rast. "Regime Building, Institution Building: Urban Renewal Policy in Chicago, 1946-1962" 31:2 (May 2009): 173-194.

Journal of Urban History

Eric Avila and Mark H. Rose. "Race, Culture, Politics, and Urban Renewal: An Introduction" 35:3 (Mar. 2009): 335-347.

Andrew R. Highsmith. "Demolition Means Progress: Urban Renewal, Local Politics, and State-Sanctioned Ghetto Formation in Flint, Michigan" 35:3 (Mar. 2009): 348-368.

Irene V. Holliman. "From Crackertown to Model City?: Urban Renewal and Community Building in Atlanta, 1963—1966" 35:3 (Mar. 2009): 369-386.

Guian A. McKee. "'I've Never Dealt with a Government Agency Before': Philadelphia's Somerset Knitting Mills Project, the Local State, and the Missed Opportunities of Urban Renewal" 35:3 (Mar. 2009): 387-409.

Joshua Hagen. "Architecture, Urban Planning, and Political Authority in Ludwig I's Munich" 35:4 (May 2009): 459-485.

Stephen Robertson. "Harlem Undercover: Vice Investigators, Race, and Prostitution, 1910—1930" 35:4 (May 2009): 486-504.

José M. Coronado, F. Javier Rodríguez, and José M. Ureña. "Linear Planning and the Automobile: Hilarión González del Castillo's Colonizing Motorway, 1927—1936" 35:4 (May 2009): 505-530.

Jennifer S. Light. "The City as National Resource: New Deal Conservation and the Quest for Urban Improvement" 35:4 (May 2009): 531-560.

The Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy

Meg E. Rincker. "Masculinized or Marginalized: Decentralization and Women's Status in Regional Polish Institutions, 30:1 (Feb. 2009): 46-69.

Labor History

Michael L. Hughes. "'The Knife in the Hands of the Children'? Debating the Political Mass Strike and Political Citizenship in Imperial Germany" 50:2 (May 2009): 113-138.

Stephen H. Norwood. "Organizing the Neglected Worker: The Women's Trade Union League in New York and Boston 1930-1950" 50:2 (May 2009): 163-185.

Law & Social Inquiry

Karen Pearlston. "Married Women Bankrupts in the Age of Coverture" 34:2 (Spring 2009): 265-299.

Angela Fernandez. "Pierson v. Post: A Great Debate, James Kent, and the Project of Building a Learned Law for New York State" 34:2 (Spr 2009): 301-36.

Law & Society Review

Cheryl Holzmeyer. "Human Rights in an Era of Neoliberal Globalization: The Alien Tort Claims Act and Grassroots Mobilization in Doe v. Unocal" 43:2 (Jun. 2009): 271-304.

Legislative Studies Quarterly

Thad Kousser and Justin H. Phillips. "Who Blinks First? Legislative Patience and Bargaining with Governors" 34:1 (Feb. 2009): 55-86.

Eduardo Alemán, Ernesto Calvo, Mark P. Jones, and Noah Kaplan. "Comparing Cosponsorship and Roll-Call Ideal Points: 34:1 (Feb. 2009): 87-116.

New England Journal of Medicine

David Blumenthal and James Morone, "The Lessons of Success — Revisiting the Medicare Story" November 27, 2008, 359(22): 2384-2389

New Political Science

Sungmoon Kim. "Confucianism in Contestation: The May Struggle of 1991 in South Korea and Its Lesson," 31:1 (Mar. 2009): 49-68.

Parliamentary Affairs

Justin Fisher and David Denver. "Evaluating the Electoral Effects of Traditional and Modern Modes of Constituency Campaigning in Britain 1992–2005" 62:2 (Apr. 2009): 196-210.

Karen Hunt. "Rethinking Activism: Lessons from the History of Women's Politics" 62:2 (Apr. 09): 211-226.

Andrew Thorpe. "Reconstructing Conservative Party Membership in World War II Britain" 62:2 (Apr. 2009): 227-241.

Neophytos G. Loizides. "Elite Framing and Conflict Transformation in Turkey" 62:2 (Apr. 2009): 278-297.

Past & Present

Martin J. Wein. "'Chosen Peoples, Holy Tongues': Religion, Language, Nationalism and Politics in Bohemia and Moravia in the Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries" 202:1 (Feb. 2009): 37-81.

Yael A. Sternhell. "Communicating War: The Culture of Information in Richmond during the American Civil War" 202:1 (Feb. 2009): 175-205.

Kevin Morgan. "Militarism and Anti-Militarism: Socialists, Communists and Conscription in France and Britain 1900–1940" 202:1 (Feb. 2009): 207-244.

Peter J. Gurney. "'Rejoicing in Potatoes': The Politics of Consumption in England During the 'Hungry Forties'" 203:1 (May 2009): 99-136.

Michael A. Reynolds. "Buffers, not Brethren: Young Turk Military Policy in the First World War and the Myth of Panturanism" 203:1 (May 2009): 137-179.

Perspectives on Politics

Andrew R. Murphy. "Longing, Nostalgia, and Golden Age Politics: The American Jeremiad and the Power of the Past" 7:1 (Mar. 2009): 125-141.

Politics and Gender

Georgina Waylen. "What Can Historical Institutionalism Offer Feminist Institutionalists?" 5:2 (Jun. 2009): 245-253.

Teresa Kulawik "Staking the Frame of a Feminist Discursive Institutionalism" 5:2 (Jun. 2009): 262-271.

Political Research Quarterly

John G. Gunnell, "Political Inquiry and the Metapragmatic Voice: Weber and Oakeshott," 62:1 (March, 2009), 3-15.

Margit Tavits, "Direct Presidential Elections and Turnout in Parliamentary Contests," 62:1 (March, 2009), 42-54.

Andrew J. Dowdle, Randall E. Adkins, and Wayne P. Steger, "The Viability Primary: Modeling Candidate Support before the Primaries," 62:1 (Mar 09), 77-91.

Tom S. Clark, Measuring Ideological Polarization on the United States Supreme Court 62:1 (March, 2009), 146-157.

Jeffrey M. Drope and Wendy L. Hansen. "New Evidence for the Theory of Groups: Trade Association Lobbying in Washington, D.C." 62:2 (Jun. 2009): 303-316.

Richard A. Clucas. "The Contract with America and Conditional Party Government in State Legislatures" 62:2 (Jun. 2009): 317-328.

Nancy Scherer and Banks Miller, "The Federalist Society's Influence on the Federal Judiciary," 62:2 (Jun. 2009): 366-378.

Michael S. Rocca, Gabriel R. Sanchez, and Ron Nikora, "The Role of Personal Attributes in African American Roll-Call Voting Behavior in Congress," 62:2 (Jun. 2009): 408-414.

Political Studies

Russell L. Riley. "The White House as a Black Box: Oral History and the Problem of Evidence in Presidential Studies" 57:1 (Mar. 2009): 187-206.

Diana Coole. "Repairing Civil Society and Experimenting with Power: A Genealogy of Social Capital" 57:2 (Jun. 2009): 374-396.

Politics and Society

Jacob S. Hacker, "Yes We Can? The New Push for American Health Security," 37:1 (March, 2009), 3-31

Jeffrey Burds. "Sexual Violence in Europe in World War II, 1939-1945," 37:1 (March, 2009), 35-73.

Michele Leiby, "Digging in the Archives: The Promise and Perils of Primary Documents," 37:1 (March, 2009), 75-99.

Judith Stacey and Tey Meadow, "New Slants on the Slippery Slope: The Politics of Polygamy and Gay Family Rights in South Africa and the United States," 37:2, (June, 2009), 167-202.

Chris Howell, "The Transformation of French Industrial Relations: Labor Representation and the State in a Post-Dirigiste Era" 37:2, (June, 2009), 229-256.

Claes Belfrage and Magnus Ryner, "Renegotiating the Swedish Social Democratic Settlement: From Pension Fund Socialism to Neoliberalization," 37:2, (June, 2009), 257-287.

Rebecca Neaera Abers and Margaret E. Keck, "Mobilizing the State: The Erratic Partner in Brazil's Participatory Water Policy," 37:2, (June, 2009), 289-314.

Polity

William Crotty, "Introduction to Special Issue: The 2008 Election," 41:3 (July 2009), 279-281.

William Crotty, "Policy and Politics: The Bush Administration and the 2008 Presidential Election," 41:3 (July 2009), 282-311

Arthur Paulson, "Party Change and the Shifting Dynamics in Presidential Nominations: The Lessons of 2008," 41:3 (July 2009), 312-330

R Lawrence Butler, "Momentum in the 2008 Presidential Contests," 41:3 (July 2009), 331-344

Eric McGhee and Daniel Krimm, "Party Registration and the Geography of Party Polarization," 41:3 (July 2009), 345-367

David A Hopkins, "The 2008 Election and the Political Geography of the New Democratic Majority," 41:3 (July 2009), 368-387

Bruce E Caswell, "The Presidency, The Vote, and The Formation of New Coalitions" 41:3 (July 2009), 388-407

Presidential Studies Quarterly

Louis Fisher. "The Law: The Baker-Christopher War Powers Commission" 39:1 (Mar. 2009): 128-140

John Mark Dempsey and Eric Gruver. "'The American System': Herbert Hoover, the Associative State, and Broadcast Commercialism" 39:2 (Jun. 2009): 226-244.

Mitchell Lerner. "'To be Shot at by the Whites and Dodged by the Negroes': Lyndon Johnson and the Texas NYA" 39:2 (Jun. 2009): 245-274.

Fred I. Greenstein. "The Political Professionalism of James Monroe" 39:2 (Jun. 2009): 275-282.

Social Forces

Jeong-Woo Koo and Francisco O. Ramirez. "National Incorporation of Global Human Rights: Worldwide Expansion of National Human Rights Institutions, 1966-2004" 87:3 (Mar. 2009): 1321-1354.

Kiyoteru Tsutsui. "The Trajectory of Perpetrators' Trauma: Mnemonic Politics around the Asia-Pacific War in Japan" 87:3 (Mar. 2009): 1389-1422.

Social Politics

Catherine Bolzendahl. "Making the Implicit Explicit: Gender Influences on Social Spending in Twelve Industrialized Democracies, 1980-99" 16:1 (Spring 2009): 40-81.

Social Science History

Keith L. Dougherty. "An Empirical Test of Federalist and Anti-Federalist Theories of State Contributions, 1775-1783" 33:1 (Spring 2009): 47-74.

Tracey L. Adams. "The Changing Nature of Professional Regulation in Canada, 1867-1961" 33:2 (Summer 2009): 217-243.

The Social Science Journal

David L. Schecter. "Legislating Morality Outside of the Legislature: Direct Democracy, Voter Participation and Morality Politics" 46:1 (Mar. 09): 89-110.

State Politics & Policy Quarterly

Conor M. Dowling. "Explaining Major and Third Party Candidate Entry in U.S. Gubernatorial Elections, 1980-2005" 9:1 (Spring 2009): 1-23.

Richard Forgette, Andrew Garner, and John Winkle. "The French National Assembly's Oversight of the Executive: Changing Role, Partisanship and Intra-Majority Conflict" 9:2 (Summer 2009): 24-55.

Studies in American Political Development

Nancy Burns, Laura Evans, Gerald Gamm, and Corrine McConnaughey. "Urban Politics in the State Arena." 23:1 (Apr. 2009): 1-22

Sean Farhang. "The Political Development of Job Discrimination Litigation, 1963-1976" 23:1 (Apr. 2009): 23-60.

Steven M. Teles. "Transformative Bureaucracy: Reagan's Lawyers and the Dynamics of Political Investment" 23:1 (Apr. 2009): 61-83.

Janice Fine and Daniel J. Tichenor. "A Movement Wrestling: American Labor's Enduring Struggle with Immigration, 1866-2007" 23:1 (April 2009): 84-113.

Urban Affairs Review

Katherine M. Johnson and Charles G. Schmidt. "'Room to Grow': Urban Ambitions and the Limits to Growth in Weld County, Colorado" 44:4 (Mar. 2009): 525-553.

West European Politics

Sébastien G. Lazard. "The French National Assembly's Oversight of the Executive: Changing Role, Partisanship and Intra-Majority Conflict" 32:2 (Mar. 2009): 287-309.

André Blais and Peter John Loewen. "The French Electoral System and its Effects" 32:2 (Mar. 2009): 345-359.

William and Mary Quarterly

Jan Stievermann, A 'plain, rejected little flock': The Politics of Martyrological Self-Fashioning among Pennsylvania's German Peace Churches, 1739-65" 66: 2 (Apr. 2009): 287-324.

Miranda Frances Spieler. "The Legal Structure of Colonial Rule During the French Revolution" 66:2 (Apr. 2009): 365-408.

World Politics

Kenneith Scheve. "Institutions, Partisanship, and Inequality in the Long" 61:2 (Apr. 2009): 215-253.

Torben Iversen and David Soskice. "Distribution and Redistribution: The Shadow of the Nineteenth Century" 61:3 (Jul. 2009): 438-486.

Matthew M. Taylor. "Institutional Development through Policy-Making: A Case Study of the Brazilian Central Bank" 61:3 (Jul. 2009): 487-515.

Booknotes

Lee Ann Banaszak, *The Women's Movement Inside and Outside the State* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

CONTENTS: 1. Blurring the conceptual boundaries between the women's movement and the state; 2. Moving feminist activists inside the state: the context of the second wave; 3. Who are movement insiders?; 4. Mobilizing and organizing the second wave; 5. Choosing tactics inside and outside the state; 6. How insider feminists changed policy; 7. Changing with the times - how presidential administrations affect feminist activists inside the state; 8. What insider feminists tell us about women's movements, social movements and the state; Appendix.

Brian Balogh, *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

CONTENTS: 1. Introduction: why look back?; 2. How Americans lost sight of the state: adapting Republican virtue to Liberal self interest; 3. Between revolutions: the promise of the 'developmental vision'; 4. 'To strengthen and perpetuate that union': Republican political economy; 5. Outside the boundaries: 'powers and energies in the extreme parts'; 6. The uncontested state: letters, law, localities; 7. Restoring 'spontaneous action and self-regulation': civil war and civil society; 8. Judicial exceptions to Gilded Age laissez-faire; 9. 'A special form of associative action': new liberalism and the national integration of public and private; 10. Conclusion: sighting the twentieth-century state.

Gerald Berk, *Louis Brandeis and the Making of Regulated Competition, 1900–1932* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

CONTENTS: 1. Creative syncretism; Part I. Brandeis and the Theory of Regulated Competition: 2. Republican experimentalism and regulated competition; 3. Learning from railroad regulation; 4. The origins of an ambiguous Federal Trade

Commission; Part II. Regulated Competition in Practice: 5. Cultivational governance at the Federal Trade Commission; 6. Deliberative polyarchy and developmental associations; 7. From collective action to collaborative learning: developmental association in commercial printing; Part III. Regulated Competition Contested: 8. The politics of accountability; Part IV. Conclusion: 9. Civic enterprise; Appendix A: Industries and number of associations with at least substantial involvement in developmental association, by industry group.

Joseph E. Luders, *The Civil Rights Movement and the Logic of Social Change* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

CONTENTS: 1. The logic of social movement outcomes; 2. Civil rights and reactive countermobilization; 3. The calculus of compromise; 4. Local struggles; 5. Patterns of regional change; 6. Federal responses to civil rights mobilization; 7. Conclusion.

Mark D. Brewer and Jeffrey M. Stonecash, *Dynamics of American Political Parties* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

CONTENTS: 1. Democracy, representation, and parties; 2. Overview: social change and shifting party bases; 3. Taking shape: party coalitions in the post-bellum nineteenth century; 4. Republican ascendancy and Democratic efforts to respond: 1896–1928; 5. New Deal dominance and struggles with internal diversity; 6. The Democratic drive to the great society; 7. Republicans: reasserting conservative principles and seeking a majority; 8. The Democratic struggle to respond; 9. George Bush and further polarization; 10. The 2008 election and its interpretation; 11. Parties and the pursuit of majorities.

James H. Read, *Majority Rule versus Consensus: The Political Thought of John C. Calhoun*. (Lawrence, KS: Press of Kansas, 2009).

This work critically examines Calhoun's argument for government on the basis of consensus among all key interests - vesting each significant interest with

formal veto rights -- rather than by majority rule. Calhoun's thought is treated both in its original historical context (including its connection to slavery) and with regard to contemporary echoes including the 1998 Good Friday Agreement for Northern Ireland, the 1974 constitution of the former Yugoslavia, and contemporary theories of "consociational democracy."

Lawrence Jacobs, *The Unsustainable American State* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)

CONTENTS: *Part 1: The Strains of Governance* * 1. The Political Crisis of the American State: The Unsustainable State in a Time of Unraveling, Lawrence Jacobs and Desmond King * 2. Is Inequality a Threat to Democracy?, John Ferejohn * *Part 2: From Nineteenth Century Legacies to Twentieth Century Orthodoxy* * 3. The Resilient Power of the States Across the Long Nineteenth Century: An Inquiry into a Pattern of American Governance, Gary Gerstle * 4. The First New Federalism and the Development of the Modern American State: Patchwork, Reconstitution or Transition?, Kimberley S Johnson * 5. The Missing State in Postwar American Political Thought, Desmond King and Marc Stears * *Part 3: The Modern American State* * 6. No Class War: Economic Inequality and the American Public, Benjamin Page and Lawrence Jacobs * 7. Economic Inequality and Political Representation, Larry Bartels * 8. Promoting Inequality: The Politics of Higher Education Policy in an Era of Conservative Governance, Suzanne Mettler * 9. Moving Feminist Activists Inside the American State: The Rise of a State Movement Intersection and its Effects on State Policy, Lee Ann Banaszak * 10. From Kanye West to Barack Obama: Black Youth, the State and Political Alienation, Cathy J. Cohen * *Part 4: The Inherited State Moving Forward* * 11. American State Building: The Theoretical Challenge, Desmond King and Robert Lieberman * 12. A Historian's Reflection on the Unsustainable American State, Liz Cohen

Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)

CONTENTS: Introduction, Carles Boix & Susan C. Stokes * *Theory and Methodology* * Multicausality, Context-Conditionality, and Endogeneity, Robert J.

Franzese, Jr. * Historical Enquiry and Comparative Politics, James Mahoney & Celso M. Villegas * The Case Study: What it is and What it Does, John Gerring * Field Research, Elisabeth Jean Wood * Is the Science of Comparative Politics Possible?, Adam Przeworski * From Case Studies to Social Science: A Strategy for Political Research, Robert H. Bates * Collective Action Theory, Elinor Ostrom * *States and State Formation Political Consent* * War, Trade, and State Formation, Hendrik Spruyt * Compliance, Consent, and Legitimacy, Russell Hardin * National Identity, Liah Greenfeld, Jonathan Eastwood * Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict, Ashutosh Varshney * *Political Regimes and Transitions* * Mass Beliefs and Democratic Institutions, Christian Welzel & Ronald Inglehart * What Causes Democratization?, Barbara Geddes * Democracy and Civic Culture, Filippo Sabetti * Dictatorship: Analytical Approaches, Ronald Wintrobe * *Political Instability, Political Conflict* * Rethinking Revolutions: A Neo-Tocquevillian Perspective, Steven Pincus * Civil Wars, Stathis N. Kalyvas * Contentious Politics and Social Movements, Sidney Tarrow & Charles Tilly * Mechanisms of Globalized Protest Movements, Mark I. Lichbach & Helma G. E. de Vries * *Mass Political Mobilization* * The Emergence of Parties and Party Systems, Carles Boix * Party Systems, Herbert Kitschelt * Voters and Parties, Anne Wren & Kenneth M. McElwain * Parties and Voters in Emerging Democracies, Frances Hagopian * Political Clientelism, Susan C. Stokes * Political Activism: New Challenges, New Opportunities, Pippa Norris * *Processing Political demands* * Aggregating and Representing Political Preferences, G. Bingham Powell, Jr. * Electoral Systems, Rein Taagepera * Separation of Powers, David Samuels, * Comparative Judicial Politics, John Ferejohn, Frances Rosenbluth, & Charles Shipan * Federalism, Pablo Beramendi * Coalition Theory and Government Formation, Kaare Strom & Benjamin Nyblade * *Governance in Comparative Perspective* * Comparative Studies of the Economy and the Vote, Raymond M. Duch * Context-Conditional Political Budget Cycles, James E. Alt & Shanna S. Rose * The Welfare State in Global Perspective, Matthew E. Carnes & Isabela Mares * The Poor Performance of Poor Democracies, Philip Keefer * Accountability and the Survival of Governments, Jose Maria Maravall * Economic Transformation and Comparative Politics, Timothy Frye

Bookscan

- John Acacia, *Clark Clifford: The Wise Man of Washington* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2009)
- Michael J. Allen, *Until the Last Man Comes Home: POWs, MIAs, and the Unending Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Edwin Amenta, *When Movements Matter: The Townsend Plan and the Rise of Social Security* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008)
- Robert Andolina, Nina Laurie and Sarah A. Radcliffe, *Indigenous Development in the Andes: Culture, Power, and Transnationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009)
- Richard Archer, *As If an Enemy's Country: The British Occupation of Boston and the Origins of Revolution* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010)
- Robin Archer, *Why Is There No Labor Party in the United States?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008)
- Hadley Arkes, *Constitutional Illusions and Anchoring Truths: The Key of the Natural Law* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Beth Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer Force* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Jonathan Bailey, *Great Power Strategy in Asia Empire, Culture and Trade, 1905-2005* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Peter Baldwin, *The Narcissism of Minor Differences: How America and Europe are Alike* (Oxford & New York: Oxford Univ Press, 2009)
- Tomas Balkelis, *The Making of Modern Lithuania* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Brian Balogh, *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Bruce Baum and Duchess Harris, *Racially Writing the Republic: Racists, Race Rebels, and Transformations of American Identity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009)
- Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech, *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009)
- Timothy Baycroft, *What Is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Jonathan Bean, ed., *Race and Liberty in America: The Essential Reader* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2009).
- Louis Begley, *Why The Dreyfus Affair Matters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)
- Katherine Benton-Cohen. *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Pablo Beramendi and Christopher J. Anderson, eds., *Democracy, Inequality, and Representation: A Comparative Perspective* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008)
- Michele Tracy Berger and Kathleen Guidroz, *The Intersectional Approach: Transforming the Academy through Race, Class, and Gender* (Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina Press, 2010)
- Marcelo Bergman, *Tax Evasion and the Rule of Law in Latin America: The Political Culture of Cheating and Compliance in Argentina and Chile* (University Park, PA: Penn State Univ Press, 2009).
- Adam J. Berinsky, *In Time of War: Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

- Gerald Berk, *Louis Brandeis and the Making of Regulated Competition, 1900–1932* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Carol Berkin, *Clio in the Classroom: A Guide for Teaching U.S. Women's History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ Press, 2009)
- Randall P. Bezanson, *Art and Freedom of Speech* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009)
- Paul Bew, *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity 1789–2006* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Lucien Bianco, *Wretched Rebels: Rural Disturbances on the Eve of the Chinese Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- William A. Blair and Karen Fisher Younger, edss, *Lincoln's Proclamation: Emancipation Reconsidered* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Robert E. Bonner, *Mastering America: Southern Slaveholders and the Crisis of American Nationhood* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Fay Botham, *Almighty God Created the Races: Christianity, Interracial Marriage, and American Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Terry Bouton, *Taming Democracy: "The People," the Founders, and the Troubled Ending of the American Revolution* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- William G. Bowen, Matthew M. Chingos & Michael S. McPherson, *Crossing the Finish Line: Completing College at America's Public Universities* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- Joseph Bradley. *Voluntary Associations in Tsarist Russia: Science, Patriotism, and Civil Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Stefan M. Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s* (Champaign, IL: Univ of Illinois Press, 2009)
- James P. Brennan and Marcelo Rougier, *The Politics of National Capitalism Peronism and the Argentine Bourgeoisie, 1946–1976* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2009).
- Saul Brenner and Joseph M. Whitmeyer, *Strategy on the United States Supreme Court* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Mark D. Brewer and Jeffrey M. Stonecash, *Dynamics of American Political Parties* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Susan A. Brewer, *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ Press, 2009)
- Jennifer Brier, *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Alan Brinkley, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Pierre Brocheux and Daniel Hémerly, *Indochina: An Ambiguous Colonization, 1858–1954* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009)
- Charlotte Brooks. *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends: Asian Americans, Housing, and the Transformation of Urban California* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009)
- Pamela E. Brooks. *Boycotts, Buses, and Passes: Black Women's Resistance in the U.S. South and South Africa* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009)
- Peter Hendee Brown. *America's Waterfront Revival: Port Authorities and Urban Redevelopment* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009)
- Jürgen Buchenau and Lyman L. Johnson, eds., *Aftershocks: Earthquakes and Popular Politics in*

Latin America (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2009)

Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism* (New York: Harper/Harper Collins, 2009)

James MacGregor Burns, *Packing the Court: The Rise of Judicial Power and the Coming Crisis of the Supreme Court* (New York: Penguin, 2009)

William W. Buzbee, ed., *Preemption Choice: The Theory, Law, and Reality of Federalism's Core Question* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Robert McCluer Calhoun, *Political Moderation in America's First Two Centuries* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Benjamin L. Carp, *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Russ Castronovo and Susan Gillman, eds., *States of Emergency: The Object of American Studies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)

William H. Chafe, *The Rise and Fall of the American Century: The United States from 1890-2009* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Anthony Champagne, Douglas R. Harris, James W. Riddlesperger, Jr., and Garrison Nelson. *The Austin-Boston Connection: Five Decades of House Democratic Leadership, 1937-1989* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2009)

Anthony S. Chen, *The Fifth Freedom: Jobs, Politics, and Civil Rights in the United States, 1941-1972* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)

William J. M. Claggett and Byron E. Shafer, *The American Public Mind: The Issues Structure of Mass Politics in the Postwar United States* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Peter Clark, *European Cities and Towns 400-2000* (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ Press, 2009)

Cathryn H. Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge: Macau and the Question of Chineseness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)

Laura Jane Clifford, *The Center Cannot Hold: The 1960 Election and the Rise of Modern Conservatism* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009).

Charles E. Closmann, ed. *War and the Environment: Military Destruction in the Modern Age* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2009)

Francis D. Cogliano, *Revolutionary America, 1763-1815: A Political History*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)

David K. Cohen and Susan L. Moffitt, *The Ordeal of Equality: Did Federal Regulation Fix the Schools?* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)

Ruth Berins Collier and Samuel Handlin, eds., *Reorganizing Popular Politics: Participation and the New Interest Regime in Latin America* (University Park, PA: Penn State Univ Press, 2009).

Paul Conkin, *A Revolution Down on the Farm: The Transformation of American Agriculture since 1929* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2008)

Paul Corner, *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes: Fascism, Nazism, Communism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Terry Cox, ed., *Challenging Communism in Eastern Europe 1956 and its Legacy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)

Campbell Craig and Fredrik Logevall, *America's Cold War: The Politics of Insecurity* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2009)

Donald T. Critchlow and Nancy MacLean. *Debating The American Conservative Movement: 1945 to the Present* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009)

- Bruce Cumings, *Dominion From Sea To Sea: Pacific Ascendancy and American Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)
- Lew Daly, *God's Economy: Faith-Based Initiatives and the Caring State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Christian Davenport, *Media Bias, Perspective, and State Repression: The Black Panther Party* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- John A. Davis, *Naples and Napoleon: Southern Italy and the European Revolutions, 1780-1860* (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ Press, 2009)
- Mario Del Pero, *The Eccentric Realist: Henry Kissinger and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009)
- Jonathan Di John, *From Windfall to Curse? Oil and Industrialization in Venezuela, 1920–2005* (University Park, PA: Penn State Univ Press, 2009).
- Richardson Dilworth, ed. *The City in American Political Development* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann, ed., *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from 19th and 20th Century History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008)
- Richard F. Doner, *The Politics of Uneven Development: Thailand's Economic Growth in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Kirstin Downey, *The Woman Behind the New Deal: The Life of Frances Perkins, FDR'S Secretary of Labor and His Moral Conscience* (New York: Nan A. Talese, 2009)
- Laura Lee Downs and Stéphane Gerson, eds., *Why France? American Historians Reflect on an Enduring Fascination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009)
- Donald L. Drakeman, *Church, State, and Original Intent* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Daniel L. Dreisbach, Mark David Hall, and Jeffry H. Morrison, eds., *The Forgotten Founders on Religion and Public Life* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).
- Lee Alan Dugatkin, *Mr. Jefferson and the Giant Moose: Natural History in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Charles W. Dunn, ed., *The Enduring Reagan* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2009)
- Louise Nelson Dyble, *Paying the Toll: Local Power, Regional Politics, and the Golden Gate Bridge* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009)
- Charles W. Eagles, *The Price of Defiance: James Meredith and the Integration of Ole Miss* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Carolyn Eastman, *A Nation of Speechifiers: Making an American Public after the Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Dan Edelstein, *The Terror of Natural Right: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature, and the French Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- George C. Edwards III, *The Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Bruce Elleman, *Moscow and the Emergence of Communist Power in China, 1925-30 The Nanchang Uprising and the Birth of the Red Army* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Charles R. Epp, *Making Rights Real: Activists, Bureaucrats, and the Creation of the Legalistic State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- David Epstein and Sharyn O'Halloran, *Delegating Powers: A Transaction Cost Politics Approach to Policy Making under Separate Powers* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Mariola Espinosa, *Epidemic Invasions: Yellow Fever and the Limits of Cuban Independence, 1878–1930* (Chicago: Univ of Chicago Press, 2009).

- Adam C. Ewald, *The Way We Vote: The Local Dimension of American Suffrage* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2009).
- Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009)
- Daniel Farber, ed., *Security v. Liberty: Conflicts Between Civil Liberties and National Security in American History* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009)
- Crystal N. Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Michael Fellman, *In The Name Of God and Country: Reconsidering Terrorism in American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)
- William A. Fischel, *Making the Grade: The Economic Evolution of American School Districts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Louis Fiset, *Camp Harmony: Seattle's Japanese Americans and the Puyallup Assembly Center* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009)
- Conan Fischer and Alan Sharp, eds., *After the Versailles Treaty: Enforcement, Compliance, Contested Identities* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Patrick Fisher, *The Politics of Taxing and Spending* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009)
- Cynthia Griggs Fleming, *Yes We Did? From King's Dream to Obama's Promise* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2009)
- Matthew L. M. Fletcher, Wenona T. Singel, and Kathryn E. Fort, eds., *Facing the Future: The Indian Child Welfare Act at 30* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2009)
- Matthew Flinders, *The Oxford Handbook of British Politics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Shannon L. Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France: Foreigners, Undesirables, and Strangers* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Michael Forsberg, *Great Plains: America's Lingering Wild* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *Slavery in White and Black: Class and Race in the Southern Slaveholders' New World Order* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Christian G. Fritz, *American Sovereigns: The People and America's Constitutional Tradition Before the Civil War* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Kathleen J. Frydl, *The G.I. Bill* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Jennifer Fronc, *New York Undercover: Private Surveillance in the Progressive Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
- Beverly Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded: A Story of America in its First Age of Terror* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Amy Gajda, *The Trials of Academe: The New Era of Campus Litigation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Daniel J. Galvin, *Presidential Party Building: Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- James C. Garland, *Saving Alma Mater: A Rescue Plan for America's Public Universities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Elizabeth Garrett, Elizabeth A. Graddy, and Howell E. Jackson, *Fiscal Challenges: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Budget Policy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Christopher Gerteis, *Gender Struggles: Wage-Earning Women and Male-Dominated Unions in*

- Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Laura Jane Gifford, *The Center Cannot Hold: The 1960 Presidential Election and the Rise of Modern Conservatism* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009)
- James Gilbert, *Whose Fair? Experience, Memory, and the History of the Great St. Louis Exposition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Jay Gitlin, *The Bourgeois Frontier French Towns, French Traders, and American Expansion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)
- Betty Glad, *An Outsider in the White House: Jimmy Carter, His Advisors, and the Making of American Foreign Policy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009)
- George A. Gonzalez, *Urban Sprawl, Global Warming, and the Empire of Capital* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2009).
- Robert E. Goodin, *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Robert Gooding-Williams, *In the Shadow of Du Bois: Afro-Modern Political Thought in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Kristin A. Goss, *Disarmed: The Missing Movement for Gun Control in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight against AIDS* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Bob Graham and Chris Hand, *America, The Owner's Manual: Making Government Work for You* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009)
- D. Kurt Graham, *To Bring Law Home: The Federal Judiciary in Early National Rhode Island* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009)
- Gerald Grant, *Hope and Despair in the American City: Why There are No Bad Schools in Raleigh* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).
- Jack P. Greene, *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Fred I. Greenstein, *Inventing the Job of President: Leadership Style from George Washington to Andrew Jackson* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- Jeffrey D. Grynviski, *Partisan Bonds: Political Reputations and Legislative Accountability* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Sarah Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White: Race and Ethnicity in the Early Syrian-American Diaspora* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009)
- Patrick Hagopian, *The Vietnam War in American Memory: Veterans, Memorials, and the Politics of Healing* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009)
- Steven Hahn, *The Political Worlds of Slavery and Freedom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Zoltan Hajnal, *America's Uneven Democracy: Race, Turnout, and Representation in City Politics* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Maurice Hamington, *The Social Philosophy of Jane Addams* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009)
- Michael J. Hanmer, *Discount Voting: Voter Registration Reforms and their Effects* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Joel F. Harrington, *The Unwanted Child: The Fate of Foundlings, Orphans, and Juvenile Criminals in Early Modern Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- J. William Harris, *The Hanging of Thomas Jeremiah: A Free Black Man's Encounter with Liberty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)

- Donna Harsch, *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- Clyde A. Haulman, *Virginia and the Panic of 1819: The First Great Depression and the Commonwealth* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008)
- Samuel P. Hays, *The American People and the National Forests: The First Century of the U.S. Forest Services* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009)
- Christine Haynes, *Lost Illusions: The Politics of Publishing in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010)
- John M. Headley, *The Europeanization of the World: On the Origins of Human Rights and Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- Jacob Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right: The Rise of the Neocons* (N Y: Random House, 2008)
- Mary Heimann, *Czechoslovakia: The State That Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)
- Robert I. Hellyer, *Defining Engagement: Japan and Global Contexts, 1640 – 1868* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- David C. Hendrickson, *Union, Nation, or Empire: The American Debate over International Relations, 1789-1941* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2009)
- Marc J. Hetherington and Jonathan D. Weiler, *Authoritarianism and Polarization in American Politics* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Padhraig Higgins, *A Nation of Politicians: Gender, Patriotism, and Political Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010)
- Robert Higgs, *Depression, War, and Cold War: Challenging Myths of Conflict and Prosperity*. Oakland, CA: Independent Institute.
- Darlene Clark Hine, Trica Danielle Keaton, and Stephen Small, eds., *Black Europe and the African Diaspora* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009)
- James L. Huffman, *Japan in World History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ Press, 2009)
- Richard T. Hughes, *Christian America and the Kingdom of God* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009)
- D. Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster: The Unraveling of Chicago Public Housing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- David Hunt, *Vietnam's Southern Revolution: From Peasant Insurrection to Total War* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009)
- Horace Huntley and John W. McKerley, eds., *Foot Soldiers for Democracy: The Men, Women, and Children of the Birmingham Civil Rights Movement* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009)
- Therese Huston, *Teaching What You Don't Know* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Melanie Ilic, Jeremy Smith, eds., *Soviet State and Society Under Nikita Khrushchev* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Dan Immergluck, *Foreclosed: High-Risk Lending, Deregulation, and the Undermining of America's Mortgage Market* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009)
- Ellen M. Immergut, Karen M. Anderson and Isabelle Schulze, eds., *The Handbook of West European Pension Politics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Julian Jackson, *Living in Arcadia: Homosexuality, Politics, and Morality in France from the Liberation to AIDS* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Jaap Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland A Dutch Settlement in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009)

- Lawrence Jacobs, *The Unsustainable American State* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Jeffrey M. Jentzen, *Death Investigation in America: Coroners, Medical Examiners, and the Pursuit of Medical Certainty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Adrian Johns, *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
- Dennis W. Johnson, *The Laws That Shaped America: Fifteen Acts of Congress and Their Lasting Impact* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Robert David Johnson, *All the Way with LBJ: The 1964 Presidential Election* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Polly Jones, ed., *The Dilemmas of De-Stalinization: Negotiating Cultural and Social Change in the Khrushchev Era* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Kimberly Kagan, ed., *The Imperial Moment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010)
- David Karol, *Party Position Change in American Politics Coalition Management* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Homa Katouzian, *The Persians: Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)
- Eric P. Kaufmann, *The Orange Order: A Contemporary Northern Irish History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Bruce A. Kimball, *The Inception of Modern Professional Education: C. C. Langdell, 1826-1906* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Michael Kimmage, *The Conservative Turn: Lionel Trilling, Whittaker Chambers, and the Lessons of Anti-Communism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Gary King, Kay L. Schlozman, and Norman Nie, eds., *The Future of Political Science: 100 Perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Donald R. Kinder and Cindy D. Kam, *Us Against Them: Ethnocentric Foundations of American Opinion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Susan E. Klepp, *Revolutionary Conceptions: Women, Fertility, and Family Limitation in America, 1760-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Wim Klooster, *Revolutions in the Atlantic World: A Comparative History* (New York: New York University Press, 2009)
- Rebecca M. Kluchin, *Fit to be Tied: Sterilization and Reproductive Rights in America, 1950-1980* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press)
- Lada V. Kochtcheeva, *Comparative Environmental Regulation in the United States and Russia* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2009)
- Victor Konrad and Heather Nicol, *Beyond Walls: Re-inventing the Canada-United States Borderlands* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008)
- Jeremy Kuzmarov, *Vietnam and the Modern War on Drugs* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009)
- Michèle Lamont, *How Professors Think: Inside the Curious World of Academic Judgment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- John Lauritz Larson, *The Market Revolution in America: Liberty, Ambition, and the Eclipse of the Common Good* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Kurt T. Lash, *The Lost History of the Ninth Amendment* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Thomas J. Laub, *After the Fall: German Policy in Occupied France, 1940-1944* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Frances E. Lee, *Beyond Ideology: Politics, Principles, and Partisanship in the U.S. Senate* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Stephen J. Lee, *The Weimar Republic*, 2nd ed., (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)

Jan E. Leighley, *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Adriane Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: African Americans and World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)

Matthew Levendusky, *The Partisan Sort: How Liberals Became Democrats and Conservatives Became Republicans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Margaret Levi, James Johnson, Jack Knight, and Susan Stokes, eds., *Designing Democratic Government: Making Institutions Work* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008)

Jennifer S. Light, *The Nature of Cities: Ecological Visions and the American Urban Professionals, 1920-1960* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

Osumaka Likaka, *Naming Colonialism: History and Collective Memory in the Congo, 1870-1960* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009)

Chang Liu, *Peasants and Revolution in Rural China: Rural Political Change in the North China Plain and the Yangzi Delta, 1850-1949* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)

Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Craig Lockard, *Southeast Asia in World History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Joseph E. Luders, *The Civil Rights Movement and the Logic of Social Change* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Adrian Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy, 1919-1929* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)

Frank Mackey, *Done with Slavery: The Black Fact in Montreal, 1760-1840* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2010)

Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, *Women's Work: An Anthology of African-American Women's Historical Writings from the Era of Slavery to the Harlem Renaissance* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010)

L. Sandy Maisel, *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups* (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ Press, 2010)

Daniel R. Mandell, *Tribe, Race, History: Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780-1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

C. S. Manegold, *Ten Hills Farm: The Forgotten History of Slavery in the North* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010)

Christopher Manning, *William L. Dawson and the Limits of Black Leadership* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009)

Avishai Margalit, *On Compromise and Rotten Compromises* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)

Michael R. Marrus, *Some Measure of Justice: The Holocaust Era Restitution Campaign of the 1990s* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009)

Janet W. Martin, *The Presidency and Women: Promise, Performance, and Illusion* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2009)

Seth E. Maskett, *No Middle Ground: How Informal Party Organizations Control Nominations and Polarize Legislatures* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2009)

David Maybury-Lewis, Theodore MacDonald, and Biorn Maybury-Lewis, *Manifest Destinies and Indigenous People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)

- Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- Julie Mazzei, *Death Squads or Self-Defense Forces? How Paramilitary Groups Emerge and Challenge Democracy in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- John M. McCarthy, *Making Milwaukee Mightier: Planning and the Politics of Growth, 1910-1960* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009)
- Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009)
- Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano, ed., *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009)
- Eric L. McDaniel, *Politics in the Pews: The Political Mobilization of Black Churches* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2008)
- Eileen McDonagh, *The Motherless State: Women's Political Leadership and American Democracy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009)
- James G. McGann, ed., *Think Tanks and Policy Advice in the US: Academics, Advisors and Advocates* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Fearghal McGarry, *The Rising Easter 1916* (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ Press, 2009)
- Gillian McGillivray, *Blazing Cane: Sugar Communities, Class, and State Formation in Cuba, 1868-1959* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ Press, 2009)
- Brian McGinty, *John Brown's Trial* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Robert E. McGlone, *John Brown's War against Slavery* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Noeleen McIlvenna, *A Very Mutinous People: The Struggle for North Carolina, 1660-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Rebecca M. McLennan, *The Crisis of Imprisonment: Protest, Politics, and the Making of the American Penal State, 1776-1941* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Sally McMillen, *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, *The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Allan H. Meltzer, *A History of the Federal Reserve, Volume 2 [1970-1985]* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Lynn Metzger and Peg Bobel, eds., *Canal Fever: The Ohio & Erie Canal, from Waterway to Canalway* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2009)
- Kenneth P. Miller, *Direct Democracy and the Courts* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Kristie Miller and Robert H. McGinnis, eds., *A Volume of Friendship: The Letters of Eleanor Roosevelt and Isabella Greenway, 1904-1953* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2009)
- Alistair Milne, *The Fall of the House of Credit: What Went Wrong in Banking and What can be Done to Repair the Damage?* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Lawrence E. Mitchell, *The Speculation Economy: How Finance Triumphed over Industry* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2008)
- Joel Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)
- Deborah Dash Moore, ed., *American Jewish Identity Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2008)

- Irina Y. Morozova, *Socialist Revolutions in Asia: The Social History of Mongolia in the 20th Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Hilary J. Moss, *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African American Education in Antebellum America* (Chicago: Univ of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Vincent Phillip Muñoz, *God and the Founders: Madison, Washington, and Jefferson*: (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Premilla Nadasen, Jennifer Mittelstadt, and Marisa Chappell, eds., *Welfare in the United States: A History with Documents, 1935-1996* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Alexandra Natapoff, *Snitching: Criminal Informants and the Erosion of American Justice* (New York: New York University Press, 2009)
- Igor V. Naumov, *The History of Siberia* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Stephen C. Neff, *Justice in Blue and Gray: A Legal History of the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010)
- Daniel Nelson, *A Passion for the Land: John F. Seiberling and the Environmental Movement* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2009).
- Linda Nicholson, *Identity Before Identity Politics* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Frank Ninkovich, *Global Dawn: The Cultural Foundation of American Internationalism, 1865–1890* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Hans J. Nissen and Peter Heine, *From Mesopotamia to Iraq: A Concise History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Darrin Nordahl. *My Kind of Transit: Rethinking Public Transportation in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009)
- Stephen H. Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- John D. Nugent, *Safeguarding Federalism: How States Protect Their Interests in National Policymaking* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009)
- Cormac Ó Gráda, *Famine: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- James Oakes, *Of the People A History of the United States* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Victor Oguejiofor Okafor, *A Roadmap for Understanding African Politics: Leadership and Political Integration in Nigeria* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Gary Y. Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008)
- Stephen R. Ortiz, *Beyond the Bonus March and GI Bill: How Veteran Politics Shaped the New Deal Era* (New York: New York University Press, 2009)
- Dominic A. Pacyga, *Chicago: A Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Christopher S. Parker, *Fighting for Democracy: Black Veterans and the Struggle Against White Supremacy in the Postwar South* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- Glenn R. Parker, *Capitol Investments: The Marketability of Political Skills* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2008)
- Lynn Parsons, *The Birth of Modern Politics: Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and the Election of 1828* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- William Pencak, *Pennsylvania's Revolution* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2010).

- Michael Perman, *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Sheldon D. Pollack, *War, Revenue, and State Building: Financing the Development of the American State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009)
- Frank Pommersheim, *Broken Landscape: Indians, Indian Tribes, and the Constitution* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Roman Popadiuk, *The Leadership of George W. Bush: An Insider's View of the Forty-first President* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2009)
- Lucas A. Powe, Jr. *The Supreme Court and the American Elite, 1789-2008* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- James Powell, *The Bank of Canada of James Elliot Coyne* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009)
- Gene B. Preuss, *To Get a Better School System: One Hundred Years of Education Reform in Texas* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2009)
- Jedediah Purdy, *A Tolerable Anarchy: Rebels, Reactionaries, and the Making of American Freedom* (New York: Knopf, 2009)
- Stephen J. Pyne. *Voice and Vision: A Guide to Writing History and Other Serious Nonfiction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Jack N. Rakove, introduction and annotations, *The Annotated U.S. Constitution and Declaration of Independence* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2009)
- Deborah A. Reid, ed., *Seeking Inalienable Rights: Texans and the Quests for Justice* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2009)
- Michael A. Rebell, *Courts and Kids: Pursuing Educational Equity through the State Courts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Carmen M. Reinhart and Kenneth S. Rogoff, *This Time is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- Susan M. Reverby, *Examining Tuskegee: The Infamous Syphilis Study and Its Legacy* (Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- David A. J. Richards, *Fundamentalism in American Religion and Law: Obama's Challenge to Patriarchy's Threat to Democracy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Frank Riozi, *Selling Welfare Reform: Work-First and the New Common Sense of Employment*. (New York: New York University Press, 2009).
- Harriet Ritvo, *The Dawn of Green, Manchester, Thirlmere, and Modern Environmentalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Adam Roberts, *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Richard T. Rodríguez, *Next of Kin: The Family in Chicano/a Cultural Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009)
- Donald W. Rogers, *Making Capitalism Safe: Work Safety and Health Regulation in America, 1880-1940* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010)
- Robert P. Rogers, *An Economic History of the American Steel Industry* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Cesare P. R. Romano, ed., *The Sword and the Scales The United States and International Courts and Tribunals* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Pierre Rosanvallon, *Counter-Democracy: Politics in an Age of Distrust* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Paul C. Rosier, *Serving Their Country: American Indian Politics and Patriotism in the Twentieth*

- Century (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Randolph Roth, *American Homicide* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2009)
- Christian G. Samito, *Becoming American under Fire: Irish Americans, African Americans, and the Politics of Citizenship during the Civil War Era* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009)
- Robert A. Sauder, *The Yuma Reclamation Project: Irrigation, Indiana Allotment, and Settlement Along the Lower Colorado River* (Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 2009).
- Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009)
- Edward Schatz, ed., *Political Ethnography: What Immersion Contributes to the Study of Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Amit M. Schejter, *Muting Israeli Democracy: How Media and Cultural Policy Undermine Free Expression* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009)
- Gregory L. Schneider, *The Conservative Century: From Reaction to Revolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009)
- Susan M. Schweik, *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).
- Herman M. Schwartz, *Subprime Nation American Power, Global Capital, and the Housing Bubble* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009)
- James C. Scott, *The Art Of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)
- Patrick Sellers, *Cycles of Spin: Strategic Communication in the U.S Congress* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Robert E. Shalhope, *The Baltimore Bank Riot: Political Upheaval in Antebellum Maryland* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009)
- Randy Shaw, *Beyond the Fields: Cesar Chavez, the UFW, and the Struggle for Justice in the 21st Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009)
- Todd C. Shaw, *Now Is the Time!: Detroit Black Politics and Grassroots Activism*
- Tomoko Shiroyama, *China during the Great Depression: Market, State, and the World Economy, 1929-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008)
- Eduardo Silva, *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Gordon Silverstein, *Law's Allure: How Law Shapes, Constrains, Saves, and Kills Politics* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Kathryn Kish Sklar and Beverly Palmer, *The Selected Letters of Florence Kelley, 1869-1931* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009).
- Lauren Rebecca Sklaroff, *Black Culture and the New Deal: The Quest for Civil Rights in the Roosevelt Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Hugh Richard Sloten, *Radio's Hidden Voice: The Origins of Public Broadcasting in the United States* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009)
- Gary Scott Smith, *Faith and the Presidency From George Washington to George W. Bush* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Miriam Smith, *Political Institutions and Lesbian and Gay Rights in the United States and Canada* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- R.B. Smith, *Pre-Communist Indochina* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008)

- R.B. Smith, *Communist Indochina* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008)
- Suzanne E. Smith, *To Serve the Living: Funeral Directors and the African-American Way of Death* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010)
- Lawrence Sondhaus and A. James Fuller, eds., *America, War and Power: Defining the State, 1775-2005* (London & New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Sarah A. Soule, *Contention and Corporate Social Responsibility* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Jewel L. Spangler, *Virginians Reborn: Anglican Monopoly, Evangelical Dissent, and the Rise of the Baptists in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia Press, 2008).
- Jordan Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
- David Stasavage, *Public Debt and the Birth of the Democratic State: France and Great Britain 1688–1789* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Brent L. Sterling, *Do Good Fences Make Good Neighbors? What History Teaches Us about Strategic Barriers and International Security* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2009)
- Ludmila Stern, *Western Intellectuals and the Soviet Union, 1920-40: From Red Square to the Left Bank* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Garth Stevenson, *Unfulfilled Union, Fifth Edition, Canadian Federalism and National Unity* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009)
- Jonathan Strom, Hartmut Lehmann, and James Van Horn Melton, eds. *Pietism in Germany and North America 1680–1820* (Ashgate, 2009)
- Jeffrey M. Stonecash, *Reassessing the Incumbency Effect* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Michael Stoneham, *John Brown and the Era of Literary Confrontation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Jeannie Suk, *At Home In The Law: How the Domestic Violence Revolution is Transforming Privacy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)
- Mark Wahlgren Summers, *A Dangerous Stir: Fear, Paranoia, and the Making of Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Robert Surbrug, *Beyond Vietnam: The Politics of Protest in Massachusetts, 1974–1990* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009)
- Paul Michel Taillon, *Good, Reliable, White Men: Railroad Brotherhoods, 1877-1917* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009)
- Dorceta E. Taylor, *The Environment and the People in American Cities, 1600s-1900s: Disorder, Inequality, and Social Change* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009)
- Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Shabnum Tejani, *Indian Secularism: A Social and Intellectual History, 1890-1950* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008)
- Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, *Who Counts as an American? The Boundaries of National Identity* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- 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)
- Cecelia Tichi, *Civic Passions: Seven Who Launched Progressive America (and What They Teach Us)* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Stein Tønnesson, *Vietnam 1946: How the War Began* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009)

- Christopher Tomlins and Michael Grossberg, eds., *The Cambridge History of Law in America*. Volume 1, Early America (1580–1815); Volume 2, The Long Nineteenth Century (1789–1920); Volume 3, The Twentieth Century and After (1920–) (Cambridge and NY: Cambridge Univ Press, 2008)
- Stephen Tuck, *We Ain't What We Ought To Be: The Black Freedom Struggle from Emancipation to Obama* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ Press, 2010)
- Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indian Work: Language and Livelihood in Native American History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Richard Valelly, ed., *Princeton Readings in American Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).
- Lara Vapnek, *Breadwinners: Working Women and Economic Independence, 1865-1920* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009)
- Maris A. Vinovskis, *From A Nation at Risk to No Child Left Behind: National Education Goals and the Creation of Federal Education Policy* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2009)
- Bryan Wagner, *Disturbing the Peace: Black Culture and the Police Power after Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- J. Samuel Walker, *The Road to Yucca Mountain: The Development of Radioactive Waste Policy in the United States* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009)
- Alan Ware, *The Dynamics of Two-Party Politics: Party Structures and the Management of Competition* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Bernard Wasserstein, *Barbarism & Civilization: A History of Europe in Our Time* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Joan Waugh, *U. S. Grant: American Hero, American Myth* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)
- Stuart Weisberg, *Barney Frank: The Story of America's Only Left-Handed, Gay, Jewish Congressman* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009)
- Barbara Young Welke, *Law and the Borders of Belonging in America's Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Martin King Whyte, ed., *One Country, Two Societies: Rural-Urban Inequality in Contemporary China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010)
- Clair Wills, *Dublin 1916: The Siege of the GPO* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Andrew Witt, *The Black Panthers in the Midwest: The Community Programs and Services of the Black Panther Party in Milwaukee, 1966–1977* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Wendy A. Woloson, *In Hock: Pawning in America from Independence through the Great Depression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
- B. Dan Wood, *The Myth of Presidential Representation* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- John H. Wood, *A History of Macroeconomic Policy in the United States* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008)
- Robert Wooster, *The American Military Frontiers: The United States Army in the West, 1783–1900* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2009)
- Michael J. Yochim, *Yellowstone and the Snowmobile: Locking Horns over National Park Use* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2009)
- Julian E. Zelizer and Bruce J. Schulman, eds., *The Constitution and Public Policy in U.S. History* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2009)
- Bahru Zewde, ed., *Society, State and Identity in African History* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2009)

development (Niles and Eldridge 1972; Burnham 1999). This model predicts that an old status quo will be disrupted by a rapid-change event that establishes a new status quo. Burnham filled in this expectation for a rapid-change event with V.O. Key's conception of the critical election and led the field to concentrate on this aspect of the theory. While I suggest that this misdirects focus away from the most promising part of the theory, I do not conclude that it undermines the greater vision from which realignment is drawn.

Indeed, Mayhew only spends three paragraphs within his one hundred and sixty-five page critique on the idea that tension alleviation dynamics drive the cycle. Yet his analysis — claiming that there were no signs of tension buildup before the Great Depression — is, at best, impressionistic (2002: 62-64). Furthermore, it ignores the comparative literature on party system change (Stewart and Clarke 1998; Mair 2001; Wellhofer 2001), which argues:

The (party system) landscape can retain its familiar features; but deep within the system, changes are accumulating. When the cumulative pressures caused by these changes reach some tipping point, fractures in the party system

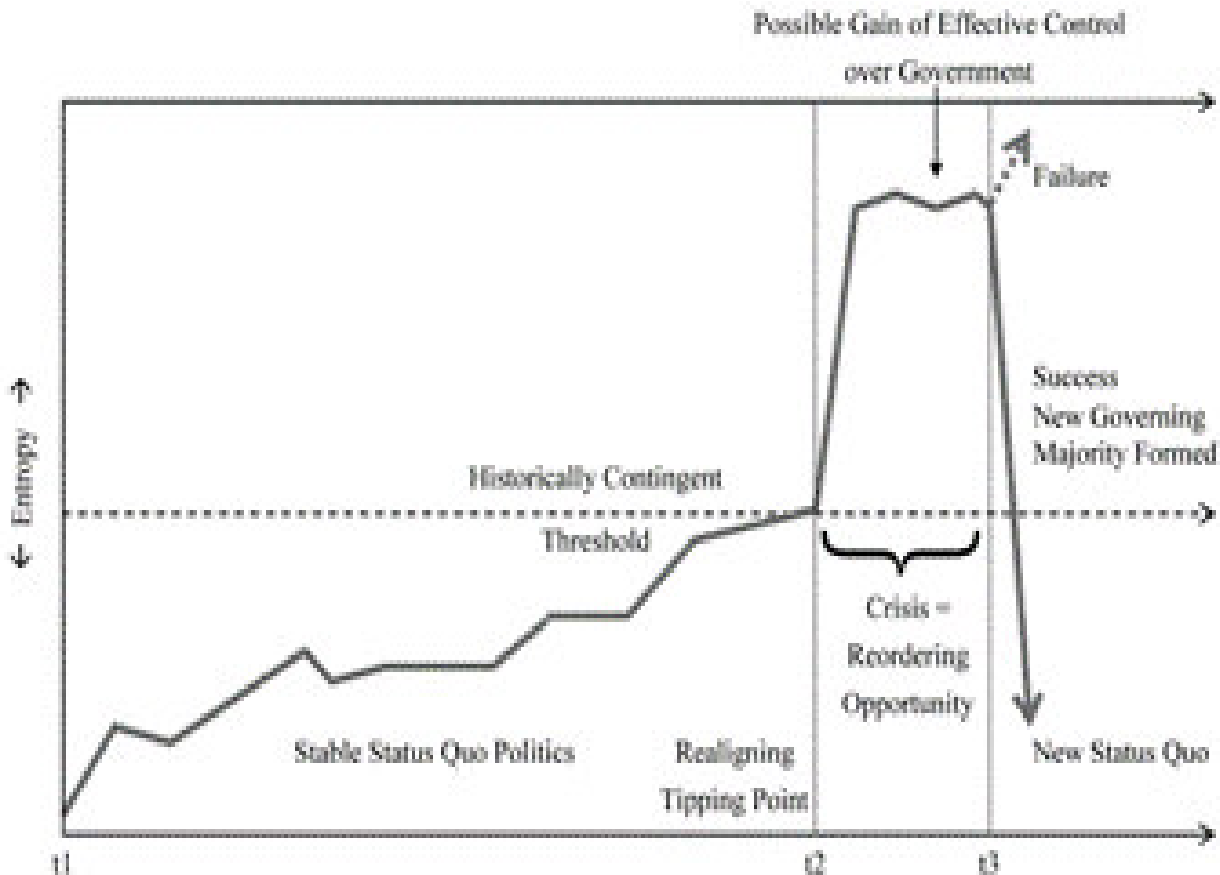
become visible. (Dietz and Myers 2007: 64).

In my own work, I have therefore begun to suggest that the tension build-up at the heart of realignment theory can be more fruitfully thought of in terms of increasing entropy (Nichols: forthcoming dissertation; Nichols and Myers 2009).

Following the Second Law of Thermodynamics, entropy is defined as the quantitative measure of the amount of energy NOT available to do work. It is the inevitable by-product of performing any work (turning inputs into outputs) and may therefore be loosely thought of as the amount of disorder or randomness that exists within a particular system. Importantly, entropy can only be reversed through systemic reordering that brings new energy into the system.

I trace the source of the build up of entropy in American politics back to the U.S. Constitution, and explore how America's unique combination of separation of powers and a two party system structure political competition to produce it. In short, I conclude that the design of the American political system is almost perfectly suited for governing majorities to use increasing returns dynamics to initiate "path dependent" pathways of development, which are then easily defended from major

Chart 1: Rising Entropy, the Realigning Tipping Point, and Reordering Politics



alterations for long periods of time (North 1990; Pierson 2004). This developmental lock-in brings the stability that the system was designed for. However, it also (unintentionally) makes it nearly impossible to reorder politics and dissipate the entropy that, over time, manifests itself in increasingly inefficacious coalitional and institutional arrangements. Eventually, at some historically contingent point, accumulated entropy causes the governing majority's institutional "regime" to be seen as an impediment to both progress and necessary change. When this happens, past arrangements lose their relevance and politics have reached a realigning tipping point (t2, Chart 1).

I argue that we should view this tipping point as the beginning of a critical moment or "juncture" (Collier and Collier, 1991) in which structural constraints posed by the old order diminish and "the space for human agency opens" (Katznelson, 2003, 282). This space allows partisan leaders to effectively repudiate the enervated status quo. These efforts function as a "structural cause" that produce an additional, and rapid, rise in entropy. This moves "the pressure on the status quo to a much higher level" and creates conditions of political crisis (Pierson 2004, 93). These crisis conditions then provide partisan elites the "leadership" opening to realign / reconstruct politics (Burns 1978; Miroff 2007).

The sequence of events that follow, within what I call the "reordering opportunity" (t2 to t3, chart 1), can be conceived of as a "reactive sequence" or temporally linked and casually tight chain of events that is nearly uninterrupted (Arthur 1989). Here attempts can be made to form a new governing majority by first shifting the main axis of partisan conflict (Schattschneider 1960) and then "outflanking" political opponents to assemble a new majority coalition (Miller and Schofield 2003, 2008). If these efforts are successful, and effective control over the Presidency and Congress is gained (in what has traditionally been viewed as a critical election) partisan leaders can then attempt to "reconstruct" politics by institutionalizing their partisan advantage and preferences and turning path dependent processes to their favor (Skowronek 1993). If partisan leaders succeed in this whole enterprise in a straightforward manner, systemic entropy should drop dramatically, a new status quo will be established, and development will proceed upon new pathways (t3, solid line, chart 1). Politics will thus be realigned and the cycle will begin again.

However, I also introduce the argument that it is possible for leaders to fail to complete all of these tasks. When this happens, entropy will continue to increase, the status quo will not (yet) be reordered, and development will proceed upon more complex and protracted pathways (t3, dashed line, chart 1). In cases that witness unexploited opportunities or initial failures, unexpected outcomes may therefore be produced. Specifically, there may be: 1) more than one administration involved in reconstructing; 2) extension of the previous partisan

majority's dominance through coalitional expansion; 3) more than one election that clearly shifts power -- or none at all. These are some of the things that I suggest happened in the two most controversial cases of realignment: the "System of 1896" and the late twentieth century's missing / long "sixth party system" realignment -- in which Cleveland and Bryan and then Goldwater failed in their initial opportunity / attempts to realign politics.

My "reimagining" of realignment thus attempts to give the theory its best reading, both in light of its own foundations and through incorporation of advancements that have been made in neo-institutional and regime centered APD research. This reading draws attention away from narrow electoral debates and centers focus on the periodic need to reenergize a high entropy political system through the reordering of political arrangements. In arguing that this phenomenon has constitutional origins, I suggest that the elite-led realigning response is as inevitable as its structurally produced cause is. Indeed, I suggest that successful realigning efforts will always require accomplishment of the following tasks: 1) shifting the main axis of partisan conflict; 2) assembling a new majority coalition that allows effective control of federal governing institutions, and; 3) institutionalizing a new governing regime. Finally, by allowing for the idea that leaders can fail in their opportunity to reorder, the new reading of the theory is able to offer fresh avenues of insight into the most difficult cases. All of this suggests that realignment theory deserves further articulation under a fresh systemic reading rather than a funeral procession.

My suggested reading also hints at things for APD. First and foremost, it recommends a return to broad and self-consciously systemic focused research within the sub-field. As Orren and Skowronek document, this sort of scholarship was once the mainstay of historical research in American politics until the "cultural critique" scourged it so badly that faith in the concept of development itself was shaken (2004). One way forward is, then, to take their advice and "double back" upon such iconoclastic conclusions (76). This would allow scrutiny of their idea that development is directionless and merely consists of "durable shifts in governing authority" when it is examined from the perspective of the polity and in light of partisan leaders attempts to respond to political, societal, and historical challenges (123).

This does not mean that systemic scholarship has to chase after teleological projections or tilt at metaphors. Rather, as is demonstrated by my modeling of the realignment dynamic in terms of rising entropy, macro level studies can be grounded in causally specific narratives that derive from neo-institutional theory and predict that empirically verifiable indicators and patterns will be witnessed. This suggests that APD research does not have to satisfy itself with necessary brush clearing efforts, micro-foundational analysis, and study of the

continued on following page

complexity and incongruence of clashing orders. Indeed, while all of these avenues of exploration have provided and will certainly continue to provide valuable insights, the sum of their parts still offers a fragmented vision of the whole, which is unable to explain something as large as why American politics seems to continue to need realigning. Therefore, if we are looking to suggest how current events could best help realign developmental research, we could do worse than hope that they will inspire confidence in widening our perspective.

References

- Arthur, W. Brian. 1989. "Competing Technologies, Increasing Returns, and Lock-In by Historical Events" *Economic Journal*. 99: 116-31.
- Burnham, Walter Dean. 1970. *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- . 1999. "Constitutional Moments and Punctuated Equilibria: A Political Scientist Confronts Bruce Ackerman's We the People." *The Yale Law Journal*. New Haven. Vol.108. (8) 2237-2278.
- Burns, James MacGregor. 1978. *Leadership*. NY: Harper and Row.
- Collier, Ruth B. and David Collier. 1991. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Dietz, Henry A. and David J. Myers. 2007. "From Thaw to Deluge: Party System Collapse in Venezuela and Peru." *Latin American Politics and Society*. 49 (2): 59-86.
- Eldridge, Niles and Stephen Jay Gould. 1972. "Punctuated Equilibria: An Alternative to Phyletic Gradualism" in *Models in Paleobiology*. ed. J.M Schopf.
- Gerring, John. 1998. *Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Katznelson, Ira. 2003. "Periodization and Preferences: Reflections on Purposive Action in Comparative Historical Social Science." in *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. eds. James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. Cambridge University Press.
- Key, V.O. 1955. "A Theory of Critical Elections," *Journal of Politics*. (17). 3-18.
- Mair, Peter. 2001. "The Freezing Hypothesis." in *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*, ed. Lauri Karvonen and Stein Kuhle. London: Routledge. 26-44.
- Mayhew, David R. 2002. *Electoral Realignments: A Critique of an American Genre*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- McCormick, Richard L. 1982. "The Realignment Synthesis in American History." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 13 (Summer): 85-105.
- Miller, Gary and Norman Schofield. 2003. "Activism and Partisan Realignment in the United States." *American Political Science Review*. 97 (2): 245-260.
- . 2008. "The Transformation of the Republican and Democratic Party Coalitions in the U.S." *Perspectives on Politics*. 6 (3): 433-450.
- Miroff, Bruce. 2007. "Leadership and American Political Development," in *Formative Acts : American Politics in the Making*, eds. Stephen Skowronek and Matthew Glassman. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Nichols, Curt. Forthcoming. *The Governing Cycle and the Dynamics of New Majority Formation*. Dissertation. University of Texas at Austin.
- Nichols, Curt and Adam Myers. 2009. "New Insights About Critical Junctures: Lessons From the Study of Governing Majority Formation in American Politics." Presented September 3rd at the *American Political Science Association Annual Conference*. Toronto, Canada.
- North, Douglass C. 1990. *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Orren, Karen and Stephen Skowronek. 2004. *The Search for American Political Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pierson, Paul. 2004. *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Shafer, Byron E. ed. 1991. *The End of Realignment? : Interpreting American Electoral Eras*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Schattschneider, E.E. 1960. *The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Skowronek, Stephen. 1993. *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Stewart, Marianne C., and Harold D. Clarke. 1998. "The Dynamics of Party Identification in Federal Systems: The Canadian Case." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (2): 97-116.
- Sundquist, James L. 1983. *Dynamics of the Party System: Alignment and Realignment of Political Parties in the United States, Revised Edition*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Wellhofer, E. Spenser. 2001. "Party Realignment and Voter Transition in Italy, 1987-1996." *Comparative Political Studies*. 34 (2): 156-86.

(see, for example, Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* or Tony Becher and Paul Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*).

The products of the sociological imperative are both internally driven and externally demanded. Internally, individual ambition and group recognition of particularly creative contributions generates a hierarchy of concepts, ideas, and research agendas. These, in turn, become the frame and format for what becomes more routinized, conventional research. Externally, other intellectual communities demand that their counterparts mark out their tribal claims. Failure to mark out and defend these claims in ways recognized by other tribes can and probably would entail a loss of intellectual identity and professional standing.

If a tribe were only organized for the purpose of defending its existence and professional standing, it would necessarily sacrifice much of the space in which creative scholarship might otherwise thrive. On the other hand, if a tribe were only organized for the purpose of liberating creative imagination, it would be unable to defend its identity and existence in what is often an intense competition for resources and position in the profession. In a sense, this is a classic Maoist dilemma: how to incorporate revolutionary (intellectual) insurgency as a legitimate and necessary element in the design of an institution (organized intellectual community). And, like most dilemmas—that is to say, real dilemmas—we cannot eliminate this inherent contradiction by formulating an explicit policy: so much of this and so much of that. Instead, we can only recognize the dilemma as one that haunts our professional and intellectual lives, coping as best we can.

It is in that sense that I now turn to what I believe to be one of the reasons that Politics and History has been able to live with this dilemma much more successfully than most sections and subfields. At the most general level, we borrow freely from and sometimes collaborate with colleagues from related disciplines: history, sociology, economics, law, and, somewhat less frequently, anthropology and philosophy. Within political science, we have even stronger connections to comparative politics, political theory, international relations, and, of course, American politics. Some would say that these connections are eclectic, perhaps too much so in that they blur our collective identity. But I would contend that they constitute our major strength and most important justification for existence. In order to show why I believe that, I would like to take us on a whirlwind tour of some of the analytical concerns and interpretations that have emerged at the intersection of American political development, comparative politics, and history. Please forgive the absence of citations. If I started providing them, they would easily overwhelm the narrative. And what I am after here is the ideas generated at the intersection, not their advocates.

We start, as most narratives of American political development do, with the original European settlement of the eastern and southern portion of the North American littoral. These coastal settlements were oriented toward what we have come to call the “Atlantic World:” English, for the most part, on the east coast, Spanish in Florida and New Mexico, and French and Spanish in Louisiana. Among the major interpretive concerns are how the differing colonial origins of what became the American nation affected political development. For instance, how did the Napoleonic Code that has served as the basis for Louisiana law distinguish the political development of that state from those in which the British common law tradition dominated legal thinking. But there are many other concerns as well, arising out of analysis of trade patterns, colonial commodity relations, the contrast between (at least nominally) free labor and slavery, and the movement of peoples between colonies and between colonies and the frontier.

The American Revolution and the adoption of the Constitution comprise the Founding. Here the intersection between law and political theory is particularly pronounced but the literature on the revolution and the early republic is vast in all directions. Comparisons are sometimes made to the French Revolution, for example. And the inheritance has been obvious throughout Latin America in terms of structural parallels in the organization of power into presidential regimes and of the constitutional construction of political institutions generally. A developing concern with equally clear contemporary applications is how the Constitution came to be, in Madison’s terminology, “venerated.” The Founding was, from this perspective, the first “democratic transition” and thus presented the first instance in which conscious political design faced the problem of becoming legitimated practice.

The United States became a very large nation through continental expansion. And that expansion has only a few comparative parallels. The one most commonly investigated is with Canada but the most promising might be with the eastward expansion of the Russian Empire. All three cases raise questions concerning how much the central state guided and controlled the expansion in that “spontaneous” migrations of peoples across the frontier often seem to have dragged sovereign authority in their wake. In the Russian case, serfdom created a parallel with the expansion of slavery in what became the American South. Slavery and emancipation has generated some of the richest cross-national comparisons. The most familiar are those with Prussia/ Junkers (serfs); Russia/nobility (serfs); and Brazil/coffee producers (slaves). All of these focus on the political economy of bonded labor and emancipation. One of the major questions addressed here is why American emancipation was so exceptionally violent.

The academic and popular literature on the American Civil War is said to be second in size only to that of

continued on following page

French Revolution. Most work is, of course, American-centric with no comparative applications or implications in view. Where comparative parallels are suggested or pursued, they might be more or less divided into three comparative frames. The modernization perspective views the American Civil War as part of a global transformation of labor into a market commodity, a bourgeois revolution in which market capitalism triumphed over an “ancient regime” dominated by an aristocratic, landed nobility. Even more generally, the conflict is seen to have enabled a change from “status” to “contract” as the basis for socio-economic relations. There are many comparative possibilities here, including, of course, Prussia, Russia, and Brazil.

Another, related frame through which to bring the American Civil War into comparative focus is separatism. In this perspective, the transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy engenders stress that frequently break up large, continental size empires (defined here as incompletely consolidated sovereignties) as uneven economic development imposes regionally unequal costs and benefits. Industrialization is often accompanied by completion of the “nation-building project” (the consolidation of political power in a central state that eventually imposes more or less uniform relations between the center and all parts of the nation). Because industrialization often creates very stark inequalities between regions in large states (e.g., between regions that remain agricultural while other industrialize), large states often break up during the twin industrialization and nationalization projects. The United States was a “near miss” in that sense. The Soviet Union, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire were casualties. India and China are contemporary cases that, in some ways, have yet to be decided.

The last frame presents the American Civil War as the occasion for the founding of a Republican party state which I have defined elsewhere as meeting three criteria: “(1) a political system in which a single party dominates all other contenders for power; (2) the dominant party coalition excludes important groups and classes in the national political economy from almost all participation in government decision making; and (3) membership in the dominant party is the most important single qualification for office holding within the state bureaucracy.” The most prominent parallels are the foundings of: Bolshevik party rule during the Soviet Revolution; the onset of party domination by the PRI after the Mexican Revolution; Congress Party rule in India following independence; and the ongoing Communist party domination of the Chinese state. The basic questions are when, how, and why a revolutionary party gives up control of the state.

American industrialization raises comparative questions revolving around the compatibility between democracy and development. Capital investment during

industrialization often reduces the share of national income going to agriculture. Because industrializing societies are usually poor, this redistribution causes acute suffering in rural areas. In the midst of this suffering, a redistribution of the wealth pouring into industrial expansion appears to offer immediate relief. Hence, a democratic system is problematic. Later, once industrialization has picked up pace, the income of most groups begins to rise and it is the anticipation that this increase will continue, plus the relief it offers the poorest segments of society, that decreases the urgency of political demands for a redistribution of wealth. And that has been the historical point at which suffrage reform begins to expand electorates. China, for example, may fit this scenario with the implication that it is too early to institute a democratic system there. But India is a very interesting counter-example because widespread poverty combined with the emergence of competitive party politics might have been expected to stifle industrialization. This comparative perspective stresses the probable incompatibility of, on the one hand, aggressive working class and agrarian claims on wealth and, on the other, heavy capital investment in industrial plant and supporting infrastructure. In these terms, the United States still presents the outstanding example of the possible (if unlikely) compatibility of rapid economic development with a democratic system.

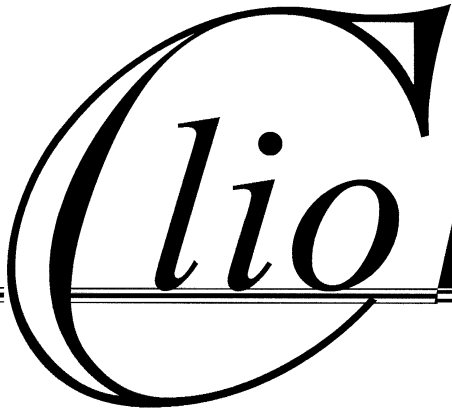
A closely related perspective focuses on the rampant, almost uncontrolled market forces that impelled American industrialization in the late nineteenth century. And the most likely parallel is again contemporary China. The basic problem addressed by the comparison is how to both exploit an explosive market expansion of industrial capacity and, at the same time, control what become increasingly harmful collateral effects. For that reason, Chinese scholars have become increasingly interested in the American Progressive Era with its “capitalist friendly” regulation of things like capitalist predation (monopoly), pollution, and the marketing of dangerous products.

As we are now entering the twentieth century, I will only briefly outline some of the remaining comparative perspectives on American political development. One of the most timely is, of course, immigration where the United States has been compared to other settler countries, particularly Canada, Argentina, and Australia. The problem in this instance is the reconciliation of multi-cultural origins with the maintenance of a cohesive national identity. By broadening the perspective just a bit, the frame can be extended to encompass strains between minority religious beliefs and the political principles that legitimate national states. A somewhat related set of problems can also be addressed through the comparative study of the dismantling of race segregation and other socio-economic systems based on ascriptive characteristics. Here the United States is most commonly compared with South Africa and Brazil but might also, with respect to “affirmative action” arrangements, be aligned



Canadian Parliamentary buildings under construction, 1865

City of Ottawa (http://www.ottawa.ca/residents/heritage/archives/virtual_exhibit/building_en.html)



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

NON-PROFIT
ORGANIZATION
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
PERMIT NUMBER 3
ST. LOUIS, MO.

Department of Political Science
University of Missouri-St. Louis
One University Boulevard
St. Louis, MO 63121-4499