

From the President

A View From Europe

Sven Steinmo

Chair in Political Economy and Public Policy,
European University Institute

For the past three years I have had the privilege to work in one of the finest academic institutions in the world, the *European University Institute*, and to live in remarkable and beautiful Florence, Italy. I would like to take the opportunity of this letter to note some of my reflections as an American living in Europe at this time of enormous political and economic challenge.

A number of scholars and journalists have written recently about how the economic crisis is challenging “the European social model.” Frankly, I don’t see it. Living in Italy now drives home the point to me that there is no “European” model. There are instead, many radically different systems. Living near

the center of Italy, I am continually struck by how different this place is from Northern Europe where I have spent much more time in past years as a student and researcher. Surely it is true that the food is far better here in the south. But, make no mistake, the political and bureaucratic systems governing Italy are a disaster. I am not referring to the bizarre antics of Mr. Berlusconi, but rather the rather simple and important things that we take for granted in both northern Europe and in America: For example, it can sometimes take 6 hours of standing in line to pay your road tax (and this must be done yearly) or it can sometimes take 2 months get your phone/ internet connected in your home (but then, it still might not work reliably). Even catching a bus, or a train, is something you can never be quite sure you can rely on.

The contrast to the Social Democratic welfare states of Northern Europe could scarcely be more stark. Despite the widespread predictions that

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POLITICS & HISTORY

an organized section of the
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We welcome and encourage letters and submissions, especially for Book Notes and Work in Progress.

The deadline for Spring/Summer issue submissions is March 1. The deadline for submissions for the Fall/Winter issue is October 15. Please send all correspondence to:

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Politics and History Nominations for Section Officers, 2010-2011

The Nominating Committee for section officers for 2009-2010 was chaired by Sven Steinmo and included Suzanne Mettler, Andrea Campbell, and Allan Jacobs. Professor Mettler was chosen last year as President-Elect, and under the section bylaws, she automatically assumes the presidency at the 2010 section Business Meeting.

President-Elect:

Richard Valelly, Swarthmore College

Council Members, full 2-year term, 2010-12:

Christopher Parker

(University of Washington)

Tulia Falleti

(University of Pennsylvania)

Kimberley Johnson

(Barnard College)

Patricia Strach

(Harvard University)

The Program Chairs for the Politics and History section at the 2010 American Political Science Association Meetings are:

Sheri Berman

(Barnard College)

Desmond King

(Oxford University)

Editor's Note

Jonathan Parker has done a solid job as Managing Editor this past year. We all thank him. We also thank the University of Missouri - St. Louis Department of Political Science for its continuing support. Thanks particularly to Eduardo Silva, Lana Vierdag, and Raphael Hopkins

**Politics and History Panels
at the 2010 American Political Science Association Meetings**

Co-Chairs:

Sheri Berman, Barnard College
Desmond King, Oxford University

Business Meeting: Friday, September 3
6:15-7:15 pm, Washington Hilton, Georgetown Room
Reception: Friday, September 3
7:30-9:00 pm, Washington Hilton, Jefferson East

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

Thursday, September 2, 8:00 AM

Panel 7-2 **State Building in Comparative and Historical Perspective**

Chair: Kimberly Marten, Barnard College, km2225@columbia.edu

“War: The Tyranny of a Concept”

Deborah A. Boucoyannis, University of Virginia, dab5fw@virginia.edu

“Middlemen Warlords and Challenges to Sovereignty”

Kimberly Marten, Barnard College, km2225@columbia.edu

“Microfoundations of Macrostructural Change in the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1660-1840”

Tolga Demiryol, University of Virginia, td3x@virginia.edu

“Revising the History of the Early American State”

David F. Ericson, George Mason University, dericso2@gmu.edu

Discussant: Hillel David Soifer, Temple University, hsoifer@temple.edu

Thursday, September 2, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-7 **Roundtable on Daniel Carpenter’s Reputation and Power**

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

Participants:

Terry M. Moe, Stanford University, moe@hoover.stanford.edu

Sean Gailmard, University of California, Berkeley, gailmard@berkeley.edu

Joshua M. Sharfstein, Food and Drug Administration, JMSharf1@fda.hhs.gov

Thursday, September 2, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-22 (Co-Sponsored with Race, Ethnicity, and Politics, 32-18)

Author Meets Critics: Roundtable on Christopher Parker's Fighting for Democracy: Black Veterans and the Struggle Against White Supremacy in the Postwar South

Chair: Dara Z. Strolovitch, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, dzs@umn.edu

Participants:

Christopher S. Parker, University of Washington, csparker@u.washington.edu

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

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

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

Thursday, September 2, 2:00 PM

Panel 7-5 (Co-sponsored by 35-1)

Pulling the GOP Right: Conservative Activism In the Republican Party

Chair: Richard M. Valelly, Swarthmore College, rvalell1@swarthmore.edu

Participant(s):

Jane Green, University of Manchester, jane.green@manchester.ac.uk

Nolan McCarty, Princeton University, nmccarty@princeton.edu

Daniel Galvin, Northwestern University, galvin@northwestern.edu

Gwendoline M. Alphonso, Cornell University, gma22@cornell.edu

John H. Aldrich, Duke University, aldrich@duke.edu

David Karol, University of California, Berkeley, karol@american.edu

Thursday, September 2, 2:00 PM

Panel 7-18 (Co-sponsored by 23-4)

Obama's Agenda and the Dynamics of U.S. Politics: Governing during Hard Times

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

“The Battle for Health Reform”

Lawrence R. Jacobs, University of Minnesota, ljacobs@umn.edu

“The Battle Over Financial Regulation”

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

“Obama's Tax Reform”

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

Discussants: Morris Fiorina, Stanford University, mfiorina@stanford.edu

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

Thursday, September 2, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-3 Transitional Justice and Historical Memory

Chair: Omar G. Encarnacion, Bard College, encarna@bard.edu

“Historical Truth and Human Rights: What Truth Commissions Tell Us”

Onur Bakiner, Yale University, onur.bakiner@yale.edu

“Official Apologies and Justice as Recognition

Sheena Kang, University of Chicago, kang@uchicago.edu

“The Mastered Past? The Impact of Collective Memories on Contemporary German Political Culture and Public Opinion”

Eric Langenbacher, Georgetown University, langenbe@georgetown.edu

“Inscribing Justice in the Collective Self during Times of Political Change”

Jaeyeon Yim, University of Chicago, jyim@uchicago.edu

Discussant: Omar G. Encarnacion, Bard College, encarna@bard.edu

Thursday, September 2, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-20 (Co-sponsored by 23-6)

The Presidency and American Political Development

Chair: Bruce Miroff, University of Albany, miroff@albany.edu

“American Presidents and the Dissolution of the Union: 1845-1865”

Fred I. Greenstein, Princeton University

“Returning to Normalcy: The Perils of Restoration Politics”

David A. Crockett, Trinity University, dcrocket@trinity.edu

“The People Behind the Evolution of Presidential Advance in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries”

David R. White, Francis Marion University, dwhite@fmarion.edu

“Barry Goldwater and the Reconstitution of American Political Development”

Nicole E. Mellow, Williams College, nmellow@williams.edu

Jeffrey K. Tulis, University of Texas, Austin, tulis@mail.utexas.edu

“Emerging from the Shadow: The Vice Presidency in the Modern Era”

Richard M. Yon, University of Florida, richardyon1@gmail.com

Discussants: Terri Bimes, University of California, Berkeley, bimes@berkeley.edu

Lilly J. Goren, Carroll University, lgoren@carrollu.edu

Thursday, September 2, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-16 **Dimensions of US State Building**

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

“The Two Armies: Federalism, the United States Army, and State Development”

John Griswold, University of Washington, jgris@u.washington.edu

“Public Opinion, Labor Policy, and the Limits of New Deal Liberalism, 1936-1945”

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

Devin Michael Caughey, University of California, Berkeley, devin.caughey@gmail.com

“The Exception to the Exception: American Nationalization of Telecommunications During WWI”

Michael Janson, University of Pennsylvania, michaeljanson2008@gmail.com

Christopher S. Yoo, University of Pennsylvania Law School

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

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3

September 3, 8:00 AM

Panel 7-6 (Co-sponsored by 20-1)

Author Meets Critics: Julian E. Zelizer’s Arsenal of Democracy

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

Participants:

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

G. John Ikenberry, Princeton University, gji3@princeton.edu

Jeffrey W. Legro, University of Virginia, jwl4x@virginia.edu

Amy Zegart, University of California, Los Angeles, zegart@ucla.edu

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

Friday, September 3, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-1 (Co-sponsored by 2-2)

The 80th Anniversary of the Great Salt March

Chair: Dustin Howes, Louisiana State University, mkitwork@gmail.com

Participants:

Ronald Terchek, University of Maryland, College Park, rterchek@gvpt.umd.edu

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

Lloyd I. Rudolph, University of Chicago, lrudolph@uchicago.edu

Sudarshan Kapur, Napora University, skapur@naropa.edu

David Cortright, Fourth Freedom Forum, dcortrig@nd.edu

Friday, September 3, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-4 Nationalism and Ethnicity: The Creation of Imagined Communities

Chair: Anna Seleny, Tufts University, anna.seleny@tufts.edu

“Reading Ba Ba Ab Dad in Tehran: The Development of Religion, Politics, and Citizenship in Postrevolutionary Iranian Primers, 1979-2008”

Shervin Malekzadeh, Georgetown University, sm424@georgetown.edu

“Building Postcolonial Nationhood: Mahatma Gandhi and Sun Yat-sen”

Theresa Man-Ling Lee, University of Guelph, tmlee@uoguelph.ca

“The Causes of Politicization of Ethnicity - A Comparative Case Study of Kenya and Tanzania”

Anke Weber, University of Zurich, anke.weber@pw.uzh.ch

“Dilemma of Integrity and Diversity: Lessons from History and Political Theory for Turkish and Cypriot Multiculturalisms”

Huseyin Alptekin, University of Texas at Austin, halptekin@gmail.com

Discussant: Anna Seleny, Tufts University, anna.seleny@tufts.edu

Friday, September 3, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-15 Fiscal Politics and Presidential Power

Chair: Terri Bimes, University of California, Berkeley, bimes@berkeley.edu

“The Obama Administration’s Rescue of the American Auto Companies as a Case of Endogenous Institutional Innovation”

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

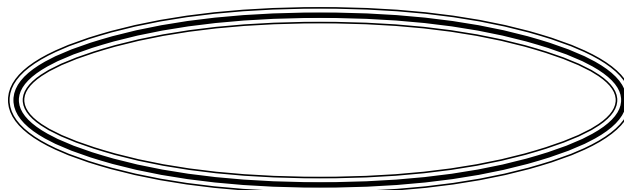
“Commercial Banks and the Politics of Regulatory Reform: From the 1970s to the Financial Services Modernization Act and Beyond”

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

“Pork-Barrel Politics in the Emerging Fiscal State”

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

Thad Kousser, University of California, San Diego, tkousser@ucsd.edu



Friday, September 3, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-25 (Co-sponsored by 46-13)

Politics, Culture and Change

Chair: Dara Z. Strolovitch, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, dzs@umn.edu

“The League of Women Voters, Southern Politics and the Civil Rights Movement”

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

“Sacrifice and Civic Membership: The War on Terror”

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

“Public-Private Partnerships in Institution Building: Municipal Garbage Collection”

Patricia Strach, Harvard University, pstrach@rwj.harvard.edu

Kathleen S. Sullivan, Ohio University, sullivan@ohio.edu

“Sixties Culture Wars, Loving and the Politics of Marriage, Race and Gender”

Priscilla Yamin, University of Oregon

“Municipal and County Courts as Sites of Political Development”

Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College, cnacken1@swarthmore.edu

Kathleen S. Sullivan, Ohio University, sullivan@ohio.edu

Discussant: Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University, andersen@syr.edu

Friday, September 3, 2:00 PM

Panel 7-13 **Institutional Origins, Ideas, and Change in American and Comparative Politics**

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

“On the Non-Institutional Origins of Institutions: Understanding the Civic Sources of Institutional Change”

Eduardo J. Gomez, Rutgers University, Camden, edgomez@gmail.com

“The Microfoundations of Populism: Chavismo’s Enclosure of the Grassroots”

Michael Marx McCarthy, Johns Hopkins University, mmccarthy@jhu.edu

“How Ideas Matter or James Madison Ponders Alexis de Tocqueville: Institutions, Culture and Ideas in Political Analysis”

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

“The Criminal Law Foundations of American Constitutional Development and How it Matters”

Karen Orren, University of California, Los Angeles, orren@ucla.edu

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

David Waldner, University of Virginia, daw4h@virginia.edu

Friday, September 3, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-10 The Uses of History and Historical Comparison for the Study of European Integration

“The EU as Domestic Polity and the Historical Sociology of State-Formation”

Dietmar Schirmer, University of Florida, schirmer@ufl.edu

“‘Irregulare Aliquod Corpus et Monstro Simile:’ Can Historical Comparisons Help Understand the European Union?”

Andreas Osiander, Humboldt University Berlin, a_osiander@gmx.net

“The EU and the Legacies of Imperial Rule”

Hartmut Behr, University of Newcastle, hartmut.behr@ncl.ac.uk

Discussant: James A. Caporaso, University of Washington, caporaso@u.washington.edu

Friday, September 3, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-23 (Co-sponsored by 32-20)

Race and American Histories

Chair: Paul Frymer, Princeton University, pfrymer@princeton.edu

“Delay’s Revenge? Racial Resentment, the Sotomayor Confirmation, and Anti-Court Sentiment”

Tyson D. King-Meadows, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, tkingmea@umbc.edu

“Civil Rights Liberalism and New Deal Liberalism Reconsidered”

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

“Domestic Terrorism: Legal Lynchings and the Breakdown of Criminal Law During Redemption”

Megan Ming Francis, Indiana University

“The Effect of Policy Entrepreneurs in Fostering Racial Triangulation among Whites/Native Americans/Mexicans in California up to 1867”

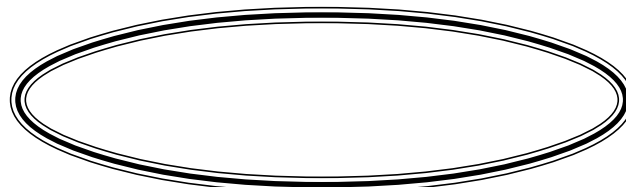
Athena M. King, University of South Carolina, kingam@mailbox.sc.edu

“Richard Nixon’s Black Cabinet: Economic Civil Rights and the Nixon Administration”

Leah M. Wright, Princeton University, lmwright@wesleyan.edu

Discussants: Richard M. Valelly, Swarthmore College, rvalell1@swarthmore.edu

Ming Hsu Chen, University of California, Berkeley, minghsuchen@berkeley.edu



Friday September 3



Politics and History Business Meeting:

6:15-7:15 pm, Washington Hilton, Georgetown Room

Politics and History Reception:

7:30-9:00 pm, Washington Hilton, Jefferson East

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4

Saturday, September 4, 8:00 AM

Panel 7-19 (Co-sponsored with 23-5)

The Obama Presidency in Historical Perspective

Chair: Joseph E. Lowndes, University of Oregon, jlowndes@uoregon.edu

“Barack Obama, the Democratic Party, and the New American Party System”

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

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

“Is Reconstructive Leadership Still Possible: Barack Obama in Political Time”

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

“Freedom, Security, and Wartime Leadership: How Much Restraint Can Obama Exercise?”

Dan Tichenor, University of Oregon, effrey@uoregon.edu

“Barack Obama, the Body Politic, and the Contest over American National Identity”

Joseph E. Lowndes, University of Oregon, jlowndes@uoregon.edu

“The American State at Work: Executive Power and Resource Use”

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

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



September 4, 8:00 AM

Panel 7-9 **Border Crossings: Immigration and Emigration Politics in Comparative Perspective**

Chair: Richard Michael Locke, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, rlocke@mit.edu

“Two Transnationalisms: Irish and Mexican Immigrants in Boston”

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

Carlos Yescas, New School for Social Research, yescc566@newschool.edu

“Translocal Governance and Social Capital in Mexico”

Katrina Burgess, Tufts University, Katrina.Burgess@tufts.edu

“Mexico’s Migration Policies After Fox: A Return to a ‘Policy of No Policy’?”

Alexandra Delano, The New School, effrey.delano@gmail.com

“Creative State: Forty Years of Migration and Development Policy in Morocco and Mexico”

Natasha Iskander, New York University, effrey.iskander@nyu.edu

Discussant: Anna O. Law, DePaul University, alaw1@depaul.edu

September 4, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-11 (Co-sponsored by 42-1)

The New Deal Era Revisited: Are the Politics of the Hard Times of the Great Depression instructive for today?

Chair: Clyde W. Barrow, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, cbarrow@umassd.edu

“Presidential Prerogative During the Great Depression: the Link Between Workers’ Rights and Democracy”

Kathleen R. Arnold, University of Texas, San Antonio, effrey.arnold@utsa.edu

“Financial Crises and American Liberalism: The Search for the Meaning of the New Deal”

William L. Niemi, Western State College of Colorado, wniemi@western.edu

David Plante, Western State College of Colorado, dplante@western.edu

“John Dewey’s Radical Critique of the New Deal”

Daniel J. O’Connor, California State University-Long Beach, oconnor@csulb.edu

“That Time Again?: Revisiting the Debates Over the Wagner Act”

Brian Waddell, University of Connecticut-Stamford, Brian.Waddell@uconn.edu

Stacy Warner, University of Connecticut

Discussant: John N. Medearis, University of California, Riverside, john.medearis@ucr.edu

September 4, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-21 (Co-sponsored by 27-4)

Conflict and Controversy in the American Constitutional Order

Chair: John Brigham, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, brigham@polsci.umass.edu

“Repugnant Laws: Judicial Nullification of Acts of Congress”

Keith E. Whittington, Princeton University, kewhitt@princeton.edu

“Emancipating Jews and Enslaving Blacks: The Origins of a ‘Liberal’ Society”

Mark A. Graber, University of Maryland, mgraber@law.umaryland.edu

“Debate between the Justices Over the Universality of Rights in the Context of the Right to Privacy”

Stephen A. Simon, University of Richmond, ssimon@richmond.edu

“Natural Law and Constitutional Disharmony in John Quincy Adams’s Amistad Argument”

Justin Buckley Dyer, University of Missouri, Columbia, dyerjb@missouri.edu

Discussants: Wayne D. Moore, Virginia Tech, wmoore@vt.edu

Christopher Shortell, Portland State University, shortell@pdx.edu

September 4, 2:00 PM

Panel 7-8 (Co-sponsored by 11-1)

Legacies of Imperial and Colonial Rule

Chair: Jeffrey Kopstein, University of Toronto, effrey.kopstein@utoronto.ca

“Imperial Footprints: Explaining Regional Voting Patterns in Ukraine, Poland, and Romania”

Keith A. Darden, Yale University, keith.darden@yale.edu

“Indigenous Politics and Infrastructural Power: Colonial Critical Antecedents in Latin America and Southeast Asia”

Dan Slater, University of Chicago, slater@uchicago.edu

Hillel David Soifer, Temple University, hsoifer@temple.edu

“Building State Capacity in the Former Ottoman World: Imperial Legacies and Religion-State Relations”

Kristin E Fabbe, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, kfabbe@mit.edu

“Imperial Legacies and Contemporary Political Culture: Identities and Political Behavior in Ukraine”

Leonid V. Peisakhin, Yale University, leonid.peisakhin@yale.edu

Jeffrey Kopstein, University of Toronto, jeffrey.kopstein@utoronto.ca

September 4, 2:00 PM

Panel 7-24 (Co-sponsored by 46-12)

Theorizing Institutional Change

Chair: Kathleen Thelen, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, kthelen@mit.edu

“Drift as a Mechanism of Institutional Change”

Jacob S. Hacker, Yale University, jacob.hacker@yale.edu

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

“Politics as a Process Structured in Space and Time”

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

“Explaining Gradual Institutional Change”

James Mahoney, Northwestern University, James-Mahoney@northwestern.edu

Kathleen Thelen, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, kthelen@mit.edu

Discussant: Julia Lynch, University of Pennsylvania, jflynch@sas.upenn.edu

September 4, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-14 **Historical Perspectives on the Social Democratic Model: a Discussion of John Kelly’s Ethical Socialism and the Trade Unions: Allan Flanders and the Reform of British Industrial Relations** (Routledge, 2010).

Chair: Mark Wickham-Jones, University of Bristol, m.wickham@bristol.ac.uk

Participants:

Laura Beers, American University, beers@american.edu

Lawrence Black, University of Durham, lawrence.black@durham.ac.uk

R M. Douglas

Mark Wickham-Jones, University of Bristol, m.wickham@bristol.ac.uk

Discussant: John E. Kelly, University of London, Birkbeck College, j.kelly@bbk.ac.uk

Saturday, September 4, 4:15 PM-6:00 pm

Theme Panel 48-8 (Co-sponsored by T-26)

The Aftermath of Health Care Reform

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

Participant(s):

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

Mark A. Peterson, University of California, Los Angeles, markap@ucla.edu

Harold Pollack, University of Chicago, cgrogan@uchicago.edu

Carolyn Hughes Tuohy, University of Toronto, c.tuohy@utoronto.ca

James M. Brasfield, Webster University, brasfjm@webster.edu

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5

September 5, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-12 (Co-sponsored by 27-1)

Do Ideas Make a Difference in American Constitutional Development?

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

Participants:

Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University,
rc115@columbia.edu

Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College,
cnacken1@swarthmore.edu

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

Stephen M. Engel, Marquette University,
stephen.engel@marquette.edu

Discussant(s): Ronald Kahn, Oberlin College,
ronald.kahn@oberlin.edu

September 5, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-17 Evolutionary Properties of the International System

Chair: D. Scott Bennett, Pennsylvania State University,
sbennett@psu.edu

“The Rise of the Modern State: Gradual Reform or Punctuated Transition”

Hilton L. Root, George Mason University,
hroot2@gmu.edu

“Terrorism and Human Rights: An Agent-Based Model”

James Igoe Walsh, University of North Carolina, Charlotte,
jwalsh@unc.edu

“The Ecological Properties of Military Revolutions”

Aaron Benjamin Frank, George Mason University,
aaronfrank02@gmail.com

Discussant: Sven Steinmo, European University Institute,
sven.steinmo@eui.eu

Abstracts of Politics & History Papers from the 2010 Midwest Political Science Association Meetings

“Novi Cives: The Idea of Citizenship in the Political Thought of Barack Obama”

Saladin Malik Ambar, Lehigh University

This paper explores the relationship between President Barack Obama’s vision of citizenship as outlined in his major addresses during his first year in office, and the continuum of presidential expressions of republican citizenship since FDR. The paper evaluates the varied, uneven, and often contentious paths of executive expressions of the “citizen ideal” and suggests the manner in which Barack Obama has forwarded this discourse, even in his revisitation of the oldest of republican themes.

“From Birchers to Birthers: Analyzing “The Radical Right” Then and Now”

Niels Bjerre-Poulsen, Copenhagen Business School

Taking its point of departure in right wing activities opposing President Obama, this paper revisits the work of the “consensus school” on the “radical right” of the 1960s. It also reflects on the state of contemporary American conservatism.

“Left of Wilson, Right of Taft”

Amy B. Bridges, University of California, San Diego

The range of choice is well displayed in the state constitutions written for Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona, respectively the 46th, 47th, and 48th states to join the union. Arizona and Oklahoma adopted the country’s most radical constitutions, well to the left of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. The firm embrace of democratizing reform, extensive provisions for the protection of labor, and new institutions meant to discipline corporations were the key elements of their Progressive extremism. New Mexico adopted a very conservative constitution. In New Mexico, of

the direct democracy trinity – initiative, referendum, and reform — only referendum is in the constitution. For labor, although the constitution limited the workday of some workers to eight hours, delegates failed even to prohibit ironclad contracts. I begin by setting the stage for the action, by describing what constitutional conventions were like, who the delegates were, and what was distinctive about them as institutions. Following from my conviction that chronology matters in understanding state constitutions, I contrast the perspective of the western delegates writing constitutions in the Gilded Age with the concerns of delegates after 1900. The same comparison shows how place mattered, as a common western political economy structured the thinking and the partisanship of delegates to constitutional conventions in the first twentieth century decade. Today I provide an account of writing constitutions for Oklahoma and Arizona; I look forward to doing the same for New Mexico.

“‘The Rock of our Salvation’: John Dickinson on Unity”

Guy Burnett, Claremont Graduate University

John Dickinson was a remarkable statesman who contributed his own unique political theory to American government during the years surrounding the Revolution, yet his life and ideas still remain largely understudied. Instead of dismissing him, as John Adams wrote, as a man of “piddling genius” whose “abilities and virtues... have been found wanting,” Dickinson’s political theory should be taken seriously as an important contribution to early American political thought. In a generation noted for its radicalism and sectional interests, he provided strong arguments for unification as paramount to liberty and government. Perhaps most noted for his refusal to sign the Declaration of Independence in 1776, Dickinson’s defense of his decision represented a thoughtful and consistent political view which he held throughout his life. This paper seeks to examine Dickinson’s major arguments for unification throughout his political life and writings. Especially important to this study are his early writings in pre-Revolutionary America, his defense of his refusal to sign the Declaration of Independence, his early draft of the Articles of

Confederation, his tenure as President of both Delaware and Pennsylvania, and his role as a delegate in the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787. Throughout each of these works and periods, Dickinson’s steadfast devotion to a more unified nation stood in stark contrast to many of his contemporaries. While many of his contemporaries saw their nation through the unforgiving and unrelenting lens of radicalism, Dickinson remained steadfast in his adherence to the principle of unification as a necessity for American liberty and government.

“Banks and the State in Historical Perspective: United States, 1800-1836”

Abhishek Chatterjee, University of Virginia

The argument, in brief, is that the existence or demise of ‘national’ banks in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century could chiefly be ascribed to the interaction between the executive of the state and financial capital holders. Particularly, it was the function of a struggle between the executive of the state and financial capital holders in which the former successfully created dissension among the ranks of the latter by selectively rewarding a subgroup of investors and financiers at the expense of others to create a zero-sum situation so as to prevent the formation of a united front. That the executive could do this was simultaneously a manifestation, and evidence of its relatively autonomous position vis-à-vis investors. This autonomy however, had important limits. Though it was autonomous from particular subgroups of investors, it was not independent of financial capital holders as a whole. The latter was because of a basic bargain between rulers and capital holders struck at the founding of the United States, where, in exchange for war funding, the future rulers of the United States ‘privatized’ the monetary system by permitting only private financial institutions called banks to control the total stock of payment medium (or money) in the economy. This previous bargain, which formed the basis of the financial system, defined the bounds of executive action. Thus any measure that could disrupt this founding agreement was precluded, not only because it would unite all investors in opposition, but

also because the executive itself had strong incentives to adhere to an agreement that had formed the basis of institutionalized cooperation between governing elites and financial capital holders (mainly merchants and financiers/bankers) as a whole. Thus the executive's absolute dependence explains why certain outcomes, rather than others materialized. It explains, for instance, why the two 'national' banks, despite being eventually de-chartered were never replaced by a truly national bank, one which could potentially be under legislative control, and as a corollary, why the two banks that did exist had the characteristics they did. The first section briefly describes the basic institutional structure that resulted from the bargain between rulers and capital holders in the aftermath of the Revolutionary War. This basic institutional arrangement contains clues as to the nature and direction of subsequent changes in the money market. The second section then further elaborates the argument. The third section explains the downfall of the First Bank and the emergence of the Second Bank of the United States. As this section will demonstrate the downfall of the First bank could be directly ascribed to the division within financial capital holders, even though the executive itself was in favor of the continued existence of the Bank. This section is a necessary preliminary to the demonstration that intra-investor consensus was instrumental to the formation of the Second Bank, and that it was the chief executive's autonomous action—but within certain 'degrees of freedom'—that destroyed this consensus and thus facilitated the de-chartering of the (second) Bank of the United States. This de-chartering in turn was also related to the further lowering of barriers to entry to the banking sector.

“The Fallacy of the Nonpartisan President”

Douglas Cloutre, Mid Plains Community College

In every presidential election campaign there is much rhetoric about non-partisan presidencies with presidents bringing all sides together. In our history there have been five “non-partisan” presidents, each with a mixed record of success.

“Micro-Foundations of Macro-Structural Change in the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1660-1840”

Tolga Demiryol, University of Virginia

This paper investigates micro-foundational dynamics underlying macro-historical processes involved in state formation. Empirically, it address the question of under which conditions and by what paths fiscal states emerged in early modern Europe.

“Slavery, Military Engagements, and American State Development”

David F. Ericson, Public and International Affairs, George Mason University

My essay explores the relationship between slavery, military engagements, and state development in the early republic. David Mayhew's important 2005 Perspectives article established that the American state was not that exceptional relative to western European states. Wars were the main engines of state development in both cases. The story, however, is much more complicated than he presented, not only in terms of how other conflicts than the War of 1812 and Mexican War prompted state development but also in terms of how the protection and expansion of slavery were the root causes of many of those other conflicts. Florida incursions, Seminole and Creek wars, Native-American removals, “Bleeding Kansas,” and slave-rescue “riots” all fell in this category. My essay then placed slavery more at the center of early-American state development than at the periphery. It contests the “truism” that Southern slaveholders blocked state development for fears that a strong state would act to abolish slavery.

“Media, Markets and Men from Mars: Polling and Emergent Technologies of Opinion Research in the 1930s”

Amy Fried, University of Maine

Focusing on a period leading up to the 1930s and to the brink of World War II, this paper discusses the creation and use of public opinion apparatuses linked to profit-seeking enterprises and academia. By this time, businesses had become increasingly nationalized and internally specialized, run by

professional managers instead of owner-managers. Market research was increasingly rigorous in evaluating consumer wants. Out of this milieu arose the major political pollsters of the day. These pollsters gained public credibility in the mid-1930s as they demonstrated that their method of questioning a small, representative group of citizens was better able to discern voting intentions than the straw polls which used extremely large number of respondents. As a result, during this decade, pollsters were able to found and expand companies that gathered information about the public which were funded by businesses and the press. The extent to which the public was influenced by media messages was a concern and research focus of social scientists and the broadcast executives. The paper draws from a variety of archival sources and emphasizes the institutional and organizational development of survey enterprises, the networks of individuals engaged in quantitative opinion measurement, and the cooperation and competition between surveyors in different sectors. Borders between polling organizations in business, government and academia were relatively permeable. Institution-builders in varied fields forged close personal links and developed interconnections between groups. Polling pioneers relied on each other for mutual support and business, government, and foundations provided financial support for polling and survey work of all kind, including academic. Important methodological breakthroughs came as market research firms and media analysts pursued new means of measuring audience and consumer characteristics and interests in order to provide information to programmers and advertisers.

“Post-War Endurance: Anti-Discrimination Policy in the Southwest, 1945-1951”

Matthew Gritter, Monmouth College

This paper explores state level anti-discrimination agency involving people of Mexican origin in the Southwest in the aftermath of the Second World War.

“Can American History Be Prophetic? Dueling Civil Religions and Obama’s America”

Raymond J Haberski, Marian University

This paper frames Barack Obama’s pledge to move beyond partisan politics and perhaps even ideological divisions as yet another moment in a debate over civil religion that has persisted throughout the postwar era.

“Rebel Leviathan: The Confederate Constitution and Central State Authority”

Paul Emerson Herron, Brandeis University

Historians and political scientists have often assumed that the Confederate Constitution provided greater autonomy for the states, and thus it rejected centralization of authority. In *Yankee Leviathan*, Richard Bense shows that the Confederacy developed a powerful federal government to regulate production and manpower during the Civil War, despite its states’ rights mission. But the southern founders in fact created a durable central state authority in their founding document, prior to the forces of war mobilization. This analysis uses Bense’s theoretical framework of the structural dimensions of central state power to investigate the Confederate Constitution. The efforts to fortify slavery, eliminate party politics, strengthen the executive, and weaken the Congress diminished states’ rights. I argue the framers centralized authority to protect economic interests, minimize sectional advantage, secure their own power, and that they followed trends in state constitutional development. In many instances they included provisions to rectify abuse under the prior regime. The findings of this investigation challenge conventional accounts of the Confederate Constitution, provide a systematic analysis of this third moment of American constitutional formation, add to the scholarship on state building in the Confederacy, and demonstrate that principles of constitutional design can be more reactive than anticipatory.

“From Hierarchies to Markets in American Empire: Networks, Public-Private Partnerships and the Political Development of American Imperialism, 1898-1912”

Colin Moore, University of California, Berkeley

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the United States transformed itself from a commercial republic to a major international actor and acquired its first overseas colonies and dependencies. Yet after developing the legal and bureaucratic institutions necessary to govern its new colonies, hierarchical forms of imperial rule were replaced with neocolonial contractual forms of rule that depended on a unique collaboration between American bureaucrats and Wall Street bankers. This paper explains this shift as a strategic move by the president and executive officials to expand American hegemony in the face of institutional roadblocks and limitations on administrative capacity. Confronted with tepid support from Congress for further imperial expansion and development, colonial bureaucrats looked to investment bankers to accomplish goals for which they lacked the financial capacity and political support to achieve independently. These partnerships were soon formalized as “Dollar Diplomacy,” an arrangement that would govern America’s imperial strategy in the Caribbean. The paper highlights the importance of examining the downstream consequences of a congressional delegation decision and suggests public-private partnerships as an important alternative to traditional theories of state building and the unique pitfalls of this strategy. To test this theory, the paper presents historical narratives, based largely on archival research, on the emergence of this Dollar Diplomacy partnership in the Philippine colonial state, the spread of this system of imperialism to the Caribbean, & its collapse in the early Wilson administration

“Whose Welfare State? Generational Risk Sharing in American Social Policy”

Alexander Warren Hertel-Fernandez,
Economic Policy Institute

This paper examines historical trends in generational risk sharing in American social policy and links these patterns to a deterioration of the generational contract of the American welfare state.

Breaching Closed Borders: Re-evaluating the Link Between Globalization and Transnational Organized Crime”

Kendra L. Koivu, Northwestern University

This paper challenges assumptions about the effects of globalization on the structure of transnational organized criminal groups using archival data on heroin trafficking in interwar Turkey.

“Youth Against War and Fascism: Young Communists and the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact”

Joel Andrew Lewis, Central Michigan University

This paper recasts the historical debates of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact by focusing exclusively on the opinions and propaganda produced by the Young Communist Leagues in Britain and the United States during the turbulent year of 1939.

“The Securitization of Migration and the Discourse of Threat: Comparing Historical and Contemporary Cases in France and the United States”

Meghan Moquin Luhman, Johns Hopkins University

Much of the literature on the securitization of migration in the United States and Europe focuses on increasing restrictions against, and growing public rancor towards, immigrants in a globalizing world as a reaction to perceived security threats to the nation-state. The character of these restrictions and this discourse is presented as new or somehow qualitatively different from the past, since globalization and deterritorialization create a population of migrants that threaten the nation-state. This paper addresses whether or not there are historical commonalities or continuities in how migrants have been depicted and how policy is shaped in response to the perception of migrants as a security threat. In particular, it examines historical and contemporary cases of migration in France and the United States and analyzes the differences and similarities in policy and discourse in these nation-states in terms of when the securitization of migration is employed.

“The Paradox of Retrenchment: Post-WWI Republican Ascendancy and the Triumph of the Modern Fiscal State”

Ajay Mehrotra, Indiana University

This paper explores how progressive tax laws and policies were sustained during the 1920s. It contends that after the Great War many of the initial opponents of tax reform became convinced of the need to maintain a permanent, progressive income tax.

“Increased Vulnerability and Disaster Policy: Territorial Expansion, Population Growth, Urbanization, and the Evolution of Federal Disaster Policy”
Kevin George McQueeney, Rutgers University

The U.S. prior to the mid 20th century had a limited federal policy and response to disasters. Responsibility for disaster response and relief was mostly placed in the hands of private organizations and local government (if needed). The federal government, however, was involved in some cases and would see a gradual expansion from the Founding through the 1950s. There were many factors that led to this. One major factor that this paper will examine is vulnerability. I argue that increased vulnerability, due to territorial expansion (into disaster prone areas), population growth (leading to more injuries and deaths), and urbanization (leading to more damages) was a major cause in the expansion of federal disaster response and relief. This work will use an inter-disciplinary approach to an area of policy that has seen limited study. It will apply a contextual argument advocated by geographers like Mitchell (1989), pushing for research that will put, in the words of Pierson (2004), “politics in time.” By examining various factors and context, policy evolution can be better understood. This will help to understand the factors that led to an evolution in disaster policy and further contribute to contextual policy work.

“State Building Through Partnership: Delegation, Public-Private Partnerships and the Political Development of American Imperialism, 1898-1913”
Colin D. Moore, University of California, Berkeley

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the United States transformed itself from a commercial republic to a major international actor and acquired its first overseas colonies and dependencies. Yet after developing the legal and bureaucratic institutions necessary to govern its new colonies, hierarchical forms of imperial rule were replaced with neocolonial contractual forms of rule that depended on a unique collaboration between American bureaucrats and Wall Street bankers. This article explains this shift as a strategic move by the president and executive officials to expand American hegemony in the face of institutional roadblocks and limitations on administrative capacity. Confronted with tepid support from Congress for further imperial expansion and development, colonial bureaucrats looked to investment bankers to accomplish goals for which they lacked the financial capacity and political support to achieve independently. These partnerships were soon formalized as “Dollar Diplomacy,” an arrangement that would govern America’s imperial strategy in the Caribbean. The article highlights the importance of examining the downstream consequences of a congressional delegation decision and suggests public-private partnerships as an important alternative to traditional theories of state building and the unique pitfalls of this strategy. To test this theory, the article presents historical narratives, based largely on archival research, on the emergence of this Dollar Diplomacy partnership in the Philippine colonial state, the spread of this system of imperialism to the Caribbean, and its collapse during the early Wilson administration.

“Private Litigation, Public Policy Enforcement: The Regulatory Power of Private Litigation and the EEOC”

Quinn Mulroy, Columbia University

Embedded within the notably fragmented and constrained American state, how can regulatory agencies ensure that enforcement goals are met? Some analyses suggest this is not so easily done; rather, constraints on agencies’ formal administrative powers are said to threaten their capacity for effective regulation. But more recent scholarship (Carpenter 2001; Lieberman 2007; Farhang 2008)

suggests that this account underestimates the pivotal and effective regulatory role played by less formal, and more private, mechanisms of enforcement - and that these mechanisms should be incorporated into our considerations of bureaucratic regulatory capacity. Aligning with these recent treatments, and offering an example for how we might characterize the development and explain shifts in the use of such alternate channels of enforcement over time, this paper suggests that constrained agencies may look outside themselves, and their formally granted powers, for enforcement power by motivating private actors to engage in litigation that advances regulatory goals.

Through a historical analysis of the development of the regulatory capacity of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (“EEOC”), this paper demonstrates how and when constrained regulatory agencies may choose to focus their limited resources on mobilizing private enforcement of state policy. By encouraging victims of unlawful employment discrimination to pursue enforcement of their equal employment opportunity claims through private litigation, I argue that the EEOC has cultivated, and managed the utilization of, an alternate source of regulatory power – that of private litigation enforcement – and that the development of this alternate pathway of enforcement has given the EEOC enforcement capacity beyond that which is immediately apparent from a survey of its formal administrative powers. Secondly, I demonstrate that while early decisions of agency administrators institutionalized this pathway as an enforcement alternative that the agency could turn to for years to come, the character, scope, and activation of this pathway was contingent upon political and temporal considerations. Ultimately, by reconsidering how to integrate informal mechanisms of enforcement, like agency-motivated private litigation, into theories of bureaucratic regulation, this research will contribute to our practical understanding of ‘day-to-day’ agency behavior and to our conceptions and assessments of state capacity, more broadly.

“Sacrifice and Civic Membership: Race, Gender, Sexuality and the Acquisition of Rights in Times of Crisis”

Julie Novkov, University at Albany, SUNY

This project explores rights claims advanced by people of color in the US during moments of crisis and argues that the fate of these claims depends upon their cultural capacity to mobilize a masculinized and heterosexual conception of civic service.

“The Congressional Elections Clause and the ‘Political Safeguards of Federalism Revisited’”

Kirsten Nussbaumer, University of Minnesota/Stanford University

Since the U.S. founding, state legislative control over congressional election procedures has most often operated as a ‘political safeguard of federalism’, giving members of Congress powerful incentives to defer to state and local officials.

“A House Divided or A More Perfect Union?: Obama, Race and Reconciliation”

Carl Pedersen, Copenhagen Business School

This paper assesses the extent to which opposition to Obama is predicated on race by looking at how the conservative and progressive movements use race in political discourse to sow division or effect reconciliation.

“Poor People, Rich Medicine: A Political History of the Unanticipated Achievements of Medicaid”

Eldon Grant Porter, Columbia University

A comparative, socio-political history of Medicaid that emphasizes its achievements and characterizes it as a progressively generous policy anomaly that does not fit within the traditional profile of America’s weak welfare state.



“Punctuated Equilibrium and Constitutional Change: A Quantitative Analysis of Precedential Fluidity”
Ron Robinson, University of Alabama, Birmingham

The historical literature addressing changes in constitutional precedent (informally) suggests that the distribution of such change follows a pattern of punctuated equilibrium. In this paper, I create a measure of precedential fluidity to explore the distribution of such precedential change over time. I theorize that during periods of dramatic constitutional change, we would expect the Supreme Court network to become unusually fluid, with new precedents rising more quickly to the fore. Using network rankings of Supreme Court precedent developed by Fowler et al. (2007), I create a fluidity measure which counts the number of ranks each case has risen or fallen since the previous year, after which I track the annual median fluidity from 1851 to 2005. While the distribution of fluidity in the entire network roughly fits a normal distribution, changes in the networks of important (top twenty percent) and landmark (top five percent) cases are leptokurtic, clustering on peaks at the 1890s, the 1930s, and the early 1970s. Employing a series of diagnostic tests, I provide strong evidence for the presence of punctuated equilibrium in precedential change. I conclude by suggesting that the Dahlian paradigm reformulated by Mark Graber may best connect the commonalities in these peaks; in each, a strong partisan regime required constitutional changes in order to implement desired partisan commitments.

“The Tank in the Living Room: An Answer to the Puzzle of Women’s Underrepresentation in American Government”
Elizabeth Sanders and **Deondra Rose**, Cornell University

The United States led in the modern women’s rights struggle and in early suffrage. It ranks very high on the percentage of women in the work force, women with college degrees, and in professional and managerial jobs. But in the percentage of women in the national legislature, it ranks 71st, tied with Turkmenistan. In 2009-10, women constitute less than 17 percent of national legislators in the U.S.

This paper tests a number of plausible hypotheses for this remarkably poor performance and argues that one in particular may provide the key explanation: the near-continuous involvement of the United States in war and high levels of military preparedness have handicapped female congressional candidates in the post-World War II era. An electoral context shaped by an emphasis on war has disadvantaged female candidates for national office because many Americans find plausible campaign arguments that women cannot be trusted to govern during times of consummate danger. The consequence of militarization has been not only a severe underrepresentation of women in national politics, but also weak support for the social welfare policies women disproportionately support, in preference to military spending and war.

“Woodrow Wilson and the Politics of Self Interest”
Jon D. Schaff, Northern State University
Kenneth Caldwell Blanchard, Northern State University

One of the fundamental issues facing democracy is the problem of self-interest. Democracy, almost by definition, consists of citizens organizing to influence the government to their own self-interest. Obviously, conflict often arises between the private interest of individuals or groups and the public interest. This conflict is illustrated in contemporary American politics in the derision of “special interests” and “partisanship.” The assumption seems to be that disagreement and division is a vice to be overcome, if not eliminated. Much of the logic behind campaign finance regulations of the past two generations, for example, suggests that the law should work to keep narrow interests from having undue influence on our politics. We must restrict the freedom of groups to participate in electoral behavior based on the belief that they corrupt (or appear to corrupt) that which should be the purified public voice. The founding generation in America took this issue quite seriously in deciding how to organize their government. Particularly in the famous Federalist #’s 10 and 51, Publius presents a theory of interest and how our constitutional order aims to bring about public good from private interest.

Namely through the extended republic and the separation of powers, Publius believes that multiplying interests, rather than overcoming or eliminating them, is the solution to a problem that Publius identifies as the republican “disease.” Publius also suggests that dedication to limited government will help mitigate the harm done by “special” interests. Roughly one century after Publius wrote, Woodrow Wilson, political scientist later turned President of the United States, offered a much different assessment of the problems of democracy and, naturally, offered a different constitutional solution. For Wilson, interest also was the problem of democracy, but he believed centralization of authority, not its division, was the solution to this condition. Wilson believed that it was precisely a division of power in the central government via a separation of powers doctrine that weakened the central government. The paper aims to illustrate these differences in the political science of Publius in the Federalist Papers and Woodrow Wilson as expressed in Wilson’s *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics*, *Constitutional Government in the United States*, and “A Study of Administration.”

“A Methodological Framework for the Study of the Conservative Idea of Democracy in America after World War II”

Marcos F. Soler, New School for Social Research

This paper argues that a study of the post-war changes in the conservative stance towards democracy merits a place in the intellectual and historical reconstruction of conservatism as a central tradition in the development of American democracy.

“Wilson’s Self-Determination and Korean Students’ February 8th Movement in Japan”

Jeeye Song, Seoul National University

This study examines how self-determination supported by Woodrow Wilson was interpreted in East Asia and provoked the independence movement in 1919 among the Korean students who were studying in Japan.

“Candidate-Centered Gubernatorial Campaigns in the 1890s: Pingree, Roosevelt and LaFollette”

Lawrence Sych, University of Central Michigan

Party machines dominated the “golden age” of political parties. How did a party insurgent like Hazen S. Pingree, Michigan’s reform mayor from Detroit, win his party’s gubernatorial nomination? The response argued here is that Pingree created an effective candidate-centered statewide campaign that outmaneuvered the Republican machine in party-centered local caucuses and county and state conventions. This paper first outlines the model of statewide party nominations and develops two alternative explanations for Pingree’s victory: the candidate made accommodations with the party machine, or that the party machine made accommodations with Pingree. These alternative explanations are illustrated by Robert M. La Follette’s 1900 nomination and Theodore Roosevelt’s 1898 nomination. After demonstrating how neither explanation adequately fits Pingree’s circumstances, a candidate-centered campaign model drawn from Farrell and Webb’s developmental model of political campaigns is applied to Pingree’s campaign and used to more clearly explain several important features of it, albeit within the constraint of then-available technology. Based on insights gained from the application of Farrell and Webb’s model, the paper concludes by noting the emergence of a candidate-centered campaign style within a caucus and convention structure and well in advance of the adoption of direct primary elections.

“From Protest to Representation: Political Parties and Gay Americans”

Richard Valelly, Swarthmore College

As a constituency, gay voters lack electoral clout. Yet increasingly the party systems of the United States represent and process the debates and struggles over gay rights and the policy demands of gay voters. Why?

“The Initial Formation of African American Political Partisanship: The Rise of African American Republicanism”

Hanes Walton, University of Michigan,
Josephine A. V. Allen, Cornell University
Sherman C. Puckett, Wayne Co. Comm.College,
Donald R. Deskins Jr, University of Michigan

When The American Voter appeared in 1960 with its psychological definition of partisanship, academics, scholars, journalists and laypersons had a survey and poll-based research tool and methodology to capture the dimensions and characteristics of this individual-level concept. This approach revolutionized the discipline and subfield but it provides little assistance for research in the earlier years of the nation’s political party behavior due to the lack of such a methodology. However, prior to the appearance of The American Voter, Professors Harold Gosnell, V.O. Key, Jr., and Samuel Eldersveld, and especially, Key, through five editions of his political parties textbook revealed how empirical insights about party partisanship could be analyzed at the group rather than the individual level by looking at two factors: (1) major historical events, like the civil war and the economic depression of 1929, and (2) analyzing aggregate election return data and cartography. But over the years this group level data approach was dropped and/or displaced with the newer survey and polling techniques. Such an approach has limited the investigation of African American Republicanism in its formative years, 1856-1920. This paper, relying on the techniques of Gosnell, Key and Eldersveld begins its analysis of African American Republicanism when the Four Military Reconstruction Acts made African American Republican Party behavior possible in 1867, one year before the 1868 presidential election and three years before the passage of the 15th Amendment (1870) that allowed African American males from the North and South for the very first time to vote in the 1872 presidential election. Using both public policy and aggregate election return data this paper will seek to uncover those variables that were instrumental in the initial formation and the evolution of African American political partisanship in the South from 1867 through the Era of Disenfranchisement in 1908.

“The Watchdog Wakes: Congressional Oversight and the “Year of Intelligence”

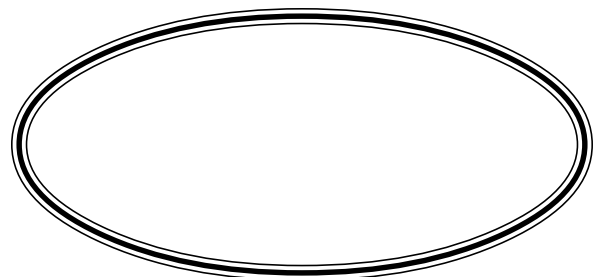
Meredith Wooten, University of Pennsylvania

This paper examines the post-Watergate congressional intelligence investigations by the Church and Pike Committees in connection with the development of executive-legislative oversight relations during the Cold War. A comparative examination of the investigative process of each committee is combined with an institutional analysis of oversight in the surrounding period to understand the extended causes and significance of the heightened institutional response that characterized these investigations and the so-called “Year of Intelligence.” The experiences of these committees provide a unique lens into the shock-centered pattern of development that appears to characterize intelligence oversight relations in the separation of powers system. While the investigations are widely thought to mark an abrupt shift in congressional practices and attitudes towards intelligence oversight, a closer analysis of the preceding decades reveals that were both a catalyst and the culmination of multiple long- and short-term factors driving Congress to increase its scrutiny of the intelligence agencies.

“Disbanded Sisters: The Failure of the Equal Rights Amendment as an Interest Group”

Heather Elaine Yates, University of Kansas

This paper examines the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) as a failed interest group and takes into account the success of 1970s conservative counter movement in opposition to the ERA that singly derailed the effort.



**Abstracts of Politics & History Papers
from the 2010 Western Political Science
Association Meetings**

“A Federal Army, Not a Federalist One: Regime Building in the Jeffersonian Era.”

William Adler, City College of New York

This paper explores the early years of the American republic, the early American presidency, and state-building in the young nation through the lens of partisan regime theory. Specifically, the presidencies of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison will be examined in terms of their relationships to the military. Jefferson’s ideological opposition to a strong Federalist military transmuted into qualified support, as part of the building of a Republican state. Madison subsequently attempted to continue the Jeffersonian revolution, but soon faced new obstacles that impeded his efforts to complete Jefferson’s project. This episode in state-building demonstrates how the new Republican regime did not simply shatter parts of the old order, as Skowronek and others have suggested occurs when a new regime takes office, but rather attempted to mutate them into becoming loyal parts of the new order. Institutional change in this respect came about gradually, as the military, thought to be a Federalist bastion, was slowly transformed into an organization more amenable to Republicans.

“Composing a Nation: A Multidisciplinary Approach to French Nationalism”

Andria Black, California State University, Long Beach

For many scholars, France exists as a paradigmatic case of how a nation is forged. A basic tenet is that nationalism was born with the French Revolution and has been primarily determined by historical and institutional (mostly linguistic, religious, and state-building bureaucratic) forces. Some scholars (eg.

Keitner, Weber, Rosen, and Hagan) have noted that French appreciation of the arts has heavily influenced their conception of the national identity, and that the construction of the French nation heavily influenced what was seen as art worthy of appreciation. Yet even scholarship that mentions culture as an important factor does not intensively investigate precisely how culture influences and is influenced by nationalism. More importantly, existing scholarship does not look at culture through the art – especially music – which unites the masses through the construction of the identity of the nation. I investigate how a multidisciplinary approach to nationalism can fill these gaps. To do this I examine how the composers and premier educational institutions influenced, and were influenced by, the nation-building process and the formation and maintenance of a French national identity. The paper demonstrates that the construction of culture plays a more significant role in the development of a nationalist identity than has been previously understood. At the same time, culture is influenced by state building, and also influences how the state constructs important institutions and symbols of nationalism, such as education, celebrations, and holidays.

“Linking Center and Periphery: Territorial Governors in Antebellum America”

Stephan Heumann, University of Northern Colorado

The organization, government, and political incorporation of new western states into the federal polity and its effects on governing institutions and policies are central components of American political development in the 19th century. The fact that the antebellum federal government lacked a large, centralized state apparatus raises the question of how federal officials managed territorial expansion. This study examines this question through a comprehensive analysis of the political and professional careers of antebellum territorial governors. Based on biographical data of territorial governors which was collected for this study, I flesh

out basic characteristics of this important office and its development over time. Territorial governors were engaged in territorial state-building understood as the establishment of federal governing authority over the territorial periphery. They also played a prominent role in the political integration of western territories, linking territorial residents to national politics. Two periods of antebellum territorial state-building are distinguished. During the early period (1787-1828) the governors' preoccupation with Indian affairs and military protection stood out. The importance of experiences in military service and Indian affairs declined after the War of 1812. With the emergence of the second party system during the later period (1829-1857) the territorial governorship became integrated into the spoils system. Using federal patronage, territorial officials took a leading role in the establishment of territorial branches of the national parties. Party-building integrated territorial with national politics until the breakdown of the second party system during the sectional crisis of the 1850s. The political dynamics between center and periphery that the territorial system promoted help explain how the federal government could organize the integration of vast western settlements without the coercive powers and administrative oversight of an overbearing national state apparatus.

“Image of Enemy - Who/What was the Enemy?: A Study of Oral History with Turkish Veterans Who Fought in Korean War”

Ay_egql Komsuol, University of California-Berkeley and

H. Birsen Prs, University of Istanbul

In an ongoing study of oral history with Turkish ‘Korean veterans’, the authors found a complex relationship between the imagining enemy with whom/what the soldiers fight and the prevailing national ideology. This study was started by Dr. Prs and Komsuolu in May 2005 in order to find answers to a series of questions, by collecting some data and narratives based on in-depth interviews with Turkish Korean veterans. The questions constructing the main body of the study were focused on two topics

in general. One was on their imagination of enemy including questions such as “What/Who was the enemy for the soldiers who were sent to Korea”, “Was there any difference between how they imagined the enemy and how they met there?”, “Did they know what they would face there?”. The second set of questions was organized to understand if their party affiliation or ideological view was changed after the war.

This paper deals with analyzing the answers and the narratives of interviewees related to the first topic of the survey, namely how they imagined the enemy with whom they were sent to fight in the lands they had never been before. Although the survey is not completed yet, the results of the survey based on in-depth interviews with 17 Turkish veterans reveals that the imagination of enemy by the Turkish soldiers was strongly affected by the prevailing national ideology and foreign policy tendency in Turkey at that time, and also by the international climate of bipolar system in the world.

“Shovel Ready: The Politics of Public Works, 1800-Present”

Levine Meredith, Yale University

While the pork barrel is a constant feature of American politics, the tendency to conflate public works projects with legislative pork barreling has obscured a broader understanding of this policy domain. Inasmuch as not all pork barrel is comprised of public works projects agricultural subsidies and defense contracts come to mind not all public works projects fall under the rubric of distributive politics. However, because infrastructural development has become synonymous with pork-barrel politics, public works projects are understood not as a policy outputs in their own right, but as tools in service of the legislative process or congressional incentives more broadly. I compile a new dataset that yields two distinct, ?non-pork-barrel? categories of public works policies: (1) significant (albeit episodic) investment in national, large-scale public works projects, such as the

Transcontinental Railroad, the Panama Canal, the Interstate Highway System, etc.; and (2) macroeconomic instruments designed to spur job creation and stimulate growth, such as those typically associated with the New Deal or the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. I argue that the salience of these public works projects lies in their revelation of an American state that has been far more planned than is typically recognized. Moreover, they suggest that the pork-barrel narrative only partially accounts for infrastructural development in the United States.

“George McGovern and the Fracture in Postwar Liberalism: Studying the “Big Questions” Through Individual Agents”

Bruce Miroff, State University of New York at Albany

This paper is an experiment in studying the “big questions” that the subfield of American Political Development emphasizes through individual agents rather than institutional or cultural structures. It focuses on George McGovern and his relationship with his friend and neighbor, Hubert Humphrey. The paper considers why these close liberal allies became rival presidential candidates and leaders of warring wings of liberalism as the Democratic Party fractured in the 1965-1972 period. It traces their underlying differences to alternative liberal cultures, positions in the earlier liberal split of the late 1940s, and roles in Congress. The roots, dynamics, and repercussions of the fracture in liberalism that McGovern and Humphrey represented are still evident in the contemporary politics of the Democratic Party.

“Persons and Political Science: A Case for Biography”

Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas

The paper investigates how biographical research fits into political science. Biography is idiosyncratic, rather than about generalization; narrative, rather than about theory and theory building; “descriptive”

(or “merely descriptive,” no better than “journalism”), rather than proposing theories, venturing causal arguments, and testing hypotheses; and promiscuous, rather than disciplined, with defined criteria about what is, and is not, evidence). Not surprisingly, King, Keohane, and Verba, the contributors to Collier and Brady’s book responding to *Designing Social Inquiry*, and John Gerring, among others, have no place for biography in their accounts of qualitative political science. A biography of Brent Scowcroft, twice national security advisor, nonetheless constitutes standard political science research on several grounds. (1) It examines the U.S. presidency and presidential administrations. (2) It studies crisis management. (3) It constitutes a longitudinal study of U.S. national security policymaking from the mid-1970s to the present. (4) It studies executive branch and bureaucratic politics. (5) And it is good pedagogy—consistent with norms that political science be relevant and accessible—by its examination of national security through the lens of a key policymaker and political insider. If political science is all about trade-offs, biography allows for “deep knowledge” about an “extreme case.” Given that observers uniformly view Scowcroft as the best national security advisor in U.S. history, the biography necessarily compares national security policymaking across different security advisors and presidential administrations.

“Defining “The South” Is Not a Straightforward Matter”

Melanie Springer, Washington University in St. Louis

Despite the robust literature on Southern politics, defining the South is not a straightforward matter. This paper offers a critical analysis of the definitions that are prevalent in the existing literature, urging for the consideration of a more rigorous method. Although the South is frequently defined as the eleven secession states, this definition is too narrow especially for studies on voting and elections. There were, in fact, several other states that engaged in racial discrimination and disenfranchisement practices and, as a result, fostered a political

environment similar to that of the former Confederate states. Because the value of the South as an analytical tool connotes more than geography, it seems that a more appropriate definition of the South is required. To test this premise, four of the most prominent definitions of the South are compared in an empirical analysis on voting in the region. Specifically, the effect of a variety of state electoral laws on state voter turnout rates are compared within an 11-state South, a 13-state South, a 16-state South, and a 17-state South from 1920-1968. Overall, it is clear that one's definition of the South affects her findings in important ways. This should compel scholars of elections, especially, to scrutinize the underpinnings of the definition of the South they employ in their research, and to be conscious and explicit about the theoretical motivations of the definition being used.

“Dirty Politics: Modes of Governance in Municipal Garbage Collection”

Patricia Strach, Harvard University

Kathleen Sullivan, Ohio University

Politics and history scholars are increasingly thinking about the relationship between the state and provision of public services, especially welfare. This paper seeks to put these findings in broader context by looking at municipal garbage collection in the Progressive Era.

Municipalities used various methods of garbage collection-city collection, contracting out to private companies, or providing no services at all-allowing us to compare license and administrative capacity across municipalities. We ask: Why do municipalities with similar features choose different modes of collection? To answer this question, we have collected data on more than 120 cities as well as more contextual archival materials from two municipalities, Pittsburgh and New Orleans. Our goal in looking at garbage collection (one of the most basic functions of government) at the local level (a level of government understudied in politics and history) and during the Progressive Era (extending studies beyond the New Deal) is to

illuminate the decision-making processes that establish authority and capacity, key to explaining American political development.

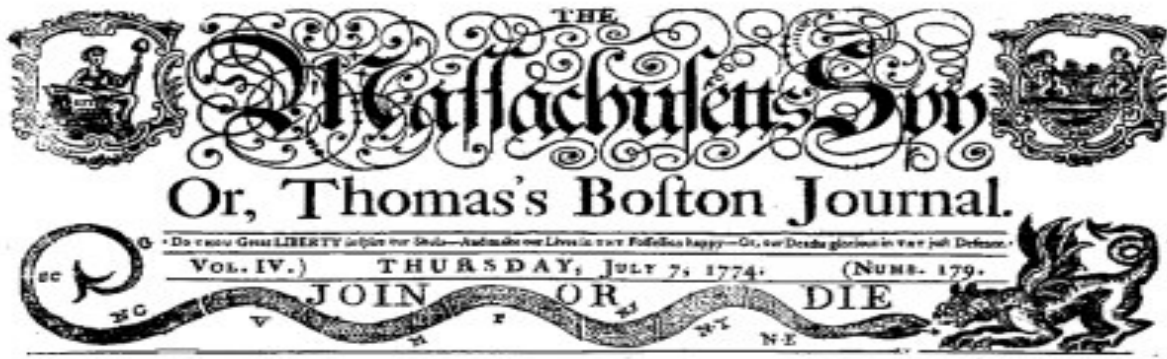
“Policymaking in Times of Uncertainty”

McGee Young, Marquette University

This paper examines the relationship between crisis and political entrepreneurship, with an empirical focus on the transformation of U.S. foreign trade policy during the Great Depression. In examining the relationship between political uncertainty and policy entrepreneurship, I argue that the notion of a crisis is deeply contested by political actors both in terms of whether or not a specific set of events constitutes a crisis and if so what the meaning and implications of the crisis might be. These points of agreement and disagreement form the basis for policy contestation and, ultimately, the development of policy regimes that emerge out of such pivotal eras. I follow scholars who argue that an event that becomes defined as a crisis creates an opportunity for political entrepreneurs to mobilize support for new policy solutions. But I suggest that the linkage between a focusing event and the policy contestation that might follow is more unsettled than is often presented.



Washington Union Station, 1908 (from Amtrak)



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Gray H. Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee: U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World, 1792-1859* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010)

Clair Wills, *Dublin 1916: The Siege of the GPO* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)

Andrew L. Yarrow, *Measuring America: How Economic Growth Came to Define American Greatness in the Late Twentieth Century* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010)



Visiting Scholars Program, Carl Albert Center

The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center at the University of Oklahoma seeks applicants for its Visiting Scholars Program, which provides financial assistance to researchers working at the Center's archives. Awards of \$500-\$1000 are normally granted as reimbursement for travel and lodging. Besides the history of Congress, congressional leadership, national and Oklahoma politics, and election campaigns, the collections also document government policy affecting agriculture, Native Americans, energy, foreign affairs, the environment, the economy, and other areas. The Center's collections are described on the World Wide Web at <http://www.ou.edu/special/albertctr/archives/> and in the publication titled *A Guide to the Carl Albert Center Congressional Archives* (Norman, Okla.: The Carl Albert Center, 1995) by Judy Day, et al., available at many U. S. academic libraries. Additional information can be obtained from the Center. The Visiting Scholars Program is open to any applicant. Emphasis is given to those pursuing postdoctoral research in history, political science, and other fields. Graduate students involved in research for publication, thesis, or dissertation are encouraged to apply. Professional researchers and writers are also invited to apply. The Center evaluates each research proposal based upon its merits, and funding for a variety of topics is expected.

No standardized form is needed for application. Instead, a series of documents should be sent to the Center, including: (1) a description of the research proposal in fewer than 1000 words; (2) a personal vita; (3) an explanation of how the Center's resources will assist the researcher; (4) a budget proposal; and (5) a letter of reference from an established scholar in the discipline attesting to the significance of the research. Applications are accepted at any time. For more information, please contact Archivist, Carl Albert Center, 630 Parrington Oval, Room 101, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019. Ph: (405) 325-5835. FAX: (405) 325-6419. E-mail: channeman@ou.edu.

heavy taxes and large redistributive welfare states should ruin these countries, the Scandinavian countries of northern Europe have done phenomenally well in the past several years. They are efficient, very well run, and remarkably happy societies. A key reason for this is that these countries have invested heavily in their citizens, improving educational systems, social infrastructure, and gender equality. The result has been that these northern countries have managed to build high trust societies in which citizens feel engaged, confident about the future, and fairly treated. The “welfare state,” contrary to many people’s expectations, has strongly contributed to the economic and social success in this part of the world. Today these countries have very high levels of investment and productivity, admirable levels of gender and economic equality and even relatively positive demographic outlooks. All this while they have managed to hold their budgets in line.

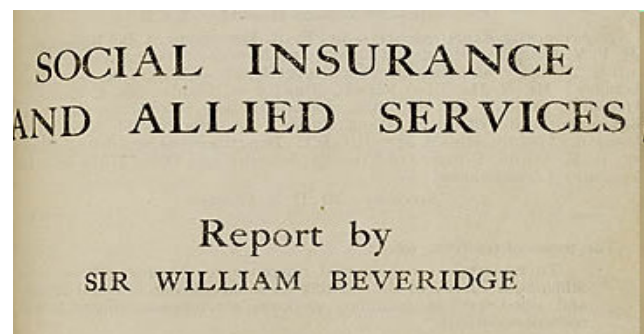
In the Mediterranean countries, the so called ‘welfare state’ should more accurately be called a ‘pension state.’ The reality in these countries is that young people (and immigrants) are increasingly shut out of the labor market and/or are forced to pay high taxes and social fees, while their parents and grandparents enjoy remarkably generous social benefits and early pensions. A conspicuous coalition has emerged in these countries between the aging citizens, the entrenched unions and the political elite. These countries have not only racked up the highest levels of public debt, but also have the lowest levels of trust and confidence in their public authorities. The obvious consequence is that no one trusts the state, few people are willing to take the fiscal burden of having children and these societies becomes more older and more dependent on a underclass of immigrants (both legal and illegal) who have virtually no chance of ever being able to take advantage of the benefits their hard labor is providing those they serve. The economic and social future for these countries appears grim indeed.

The pictures in the middle of Europe are more complex. For example, the export machine known as Germany, continues to be the

“Powerhouse of Europe.” But it must be said, that despite their economic power the Germans have not built the kind of productive social welfare state found to the north and instead relies far too heavily on a social and economic model designed for a 20th century world. France, similarly, seems caught in the tired battles between the “insiders” who are already advantaged by the largess of a generous state and “outsiders” who do an increasingly large share of the nation’s work. As in Germany, there are advocates of a newer economic model favoring social investment in France, but there is little evidence that they can force those who currently advantaged with long vacations and early retirement in favor of those who have not been able to buy into the system.

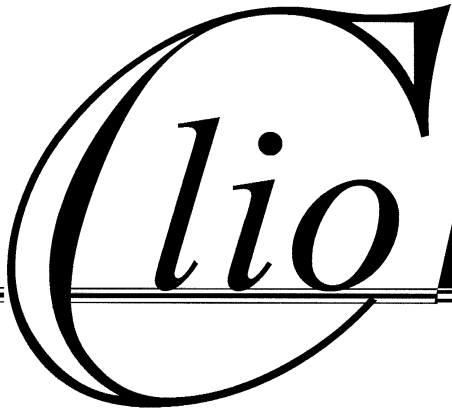
Finally, the English speaking countries on Europe’s western frontier have moved far closer to something like an “American” liberal model. While certainly not as indebted or as unequal as the US, after a decade of deregulation, tax cutting and impressive economic growth, Ireland and Britain are now mired in economic disarray and caught in what is known as a fiscal trap. Having just elected a new government that promises to cut spending, Brits in particular, are bracing for some tough times ahead.

The next time you read an article in the *New York Times*, or have a discussion with your conservative uncle that predicts the “End of Europe,” ask “Which Europe?” There can be no doubt that this crisis presents difficult times for each European country. But the simple truth is that there is no single pattern. Whether the Euro survives or not, (it certainly seems likely that it will) it is the enormous economic, political and cultural diversity of this small peninsula that continues to stand out. Perhaps that is why it continues to be so delightful.





Bonus Marchers at the U.S. Capitol, July 4, 1932 (<http://explorepahistory.com/displayimage.php?imgId=4587>)



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