Clio

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

Volume 9 Number 2 **Spring/Summer 1999**

In This Issue

FROM THE PRESIDENT

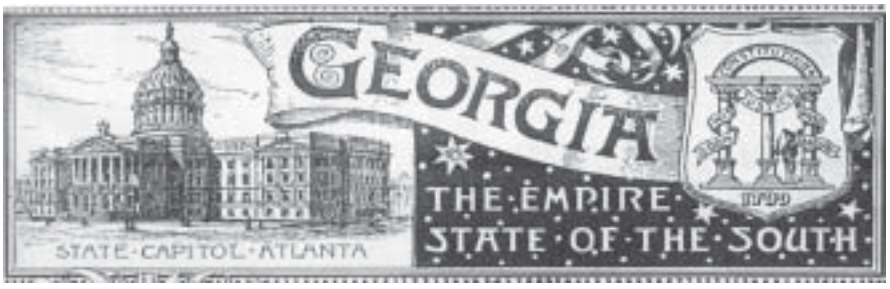
The Politics of Professional Political Science: Getting a Paper Proposal Accepted

Ian S. Lustick, University of Pennsylvania

In my first Message from the President, published in the Fall/Winter 1998/99 issue of Clio, I indulged my own strong interest in applications of complexity and evolutionary theory, and in techniques of agent-based modeling, to suggest their importance for political scientists engaged with historical materials and problems. In this my second, and last, opportunity to speak so prominently to the members of the Politics and History section, I am shifting gears from the scientific side of what we do as scholars to the political. Specifically I want to share some of my thoughts about how to act effectively to advance one's work and attract attention to it in the profession.

I do not offer this advice because I think I have been particularly successful, though one piece of advice I do offer is that no matter how successful you are, almost certainly you are going to feel that your work is neither sufficiently read nor sufficiently appreciated. And these feelings arise in most of us with particular intensity at APSA annual meetings. That is why it is particularly important to feel that, at least within the section or sections with which we affiliate, we are valued, that there are people interested in our work, and that there are opportunities for us to publicly share our work with colleagues.

Yet many of our members, including the very substantial number of graduate students in our ranks, do not feel as included or as fully empowered as members of the section, or as participants in the annual meeting, as they should, or at least could, feel. One big reason for this is that information about how one actually does get to participate on a panel, or appear in a poster session, is very unevenly distributed. As anyone who has ever served as a program chair for a section of the annual meeting knows, as the deadline for submission approaches, the quantity of proposals that floods into one's mailbox, email account, and fax machine is simply overwhelming. The ratio of available opportunities to interesting paper proposals ensures that the sheer intellectual promise of a proposal will not be the most important criterion determining its acceptance or rejection, that many fully acceptable and exciting papers won't be accepted, and that many duds will be. We have been fortunate in our section to have



POLITICS & HISTORY

an organized section of the
AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

Clio is published twice a year. *Politics & History* section fees are $8.00 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

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
8001 Natural Bridge Road
St. Louis, MO 63121-4499

Telephone: (314) 516-5855 Fax: (314) 516-5268
E-mail: CLIO@JINX.UMSL.EDU

From the Editor

In this issue, Keith Whittington invites readers to reflect on the identity of the Politics and History section. American Political Development self-consciously "brought the state back in" and reinvigorated the study of institutions in political analysis. In its early years, Whittington argues, APD seemed united by a common analytical and theoretical interest. More recently, though, APD has fragmented. As he puts it, much of the discipline has now embraced the concern with institutions that once distinguished those interested in American political history. Moreover, If APD began as an effort to occupy one of Gabriel Almond's tables in the discipline of political science, has it since internalized the many perspectives that mark political science more generally? Does APD still have a common project and a distinct perspective, or are there many conversations at separate APD `tables sharing only a common historical data set? Readers are encouraged to address these questions by submitting their reactions to Whittington's argument for publication in the next issue of Clio.

Section members will find an exciting and full Politics and History program offered at the 1999 American Political Science Association meetings. Section co-chairs Gretchen Ritter and Andrew Polsky have put together a provocative set of panels. Members are urged to attend the business meeting on Friday at 5:30, and the reception following at 6:30. In addition, Eileen McDonagh, Gretchen Ritter and Carol Nackenoff have put together a very interesting short course (see the following page) on gender, political representation and civic identity.

The Department of Political Science at the University of Missouri - St. Louis has provided Clio yet another year of substantial in-kind support. We especially thank Lana Vierdag for her efforts in shaping up Journalscan. This year's Managing Editor, Nancy Langley, has done a great job under circumstances that often were trying. Nancy oversaw the expansion of Clio in volume 9 to its largest number of pages. Nancy went above and beyond the call of duty to help transfer the website to the H-Net group at Michigan State University, and to do a thorough updating of the site. The section is indebted to Nancy for this work, as it is indebted to Scott James for the enormous investment he put into the original design of the site.

The ***Politics & History*** web site has been relocated to the H-Net server at:

http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~apsaph/

Short Course: Gender, Political Representation and Civic Identity

This short course is jointly sponsored by the "Women and Politics" and the "Politics and History" Divisions of the APSA. It will use historical and analytical approaches to explore the relationship between gender and the construction of political representation and civic identity. The causes and consequences of gendered political regimes and institutions will be examined from a wide range of feminist perspectives, including social movements, maternalist welfare state policies, and the incorporation of women as full citizens possessing the right to vote and hold office.

The emphasis will be on the United States in the context of theories and models of American political development, but cross-national comparisons will be included where possible.

The course will be given in the afternoon session for short courses sponsored by the APSA on Wednesday, Sept 1.

Registration fees: $35 for faculty; $15 for students; $10 for receipt of xerox materials ONLY.

Those interested should contact the following organizers of the Short Course:

Eileen McDonagh
Dept of Political Science
Meserve Hall 303
Northeastern University
Boston, MA 02115
617-373-4403
fax: 617-496-3993
email: emcd@neu.edu

Gretchen Ritter
Dept of Government
Burdine Hall 536
University of Texas
Austin Austin, TX 78712

Carol Nackenoff
Dept of Political Science
500 College Ae.
Swarthmore College, PA 19081-1387

Applicants should include a short statement about their research and teaching interests along with their name, address, and email address. Checks should be made out to either the Women and Politics Division or the Politics and History Division. Due to space constraints, participation necessarily will be limited, but applications will be considered in the order in which they are received.

Politics & History Section Officers' Nominees

The Nominating Committee for section officers for 1999-2000 was chaired by Margaret Weir (University of California-Berkeley), and included Suzanne Mettler (Syracuse University), Christopher Howard (College of William and Mary), and Sven Steinmo (University of Colorado, Boulder). The committee's nominees are:

President: **James Morone** *(Brown University)*
New Council Members:
Gretchen Ritter *(University of Texas, Austin)*
Robert Lieberman *(Columbia University)*
Eric Schickler *(University of California, Berkeley)*
Sheri Berman *(Princeton University)*

Section by-laws provide for challenges by petition prior to the section meeting. The Nominating Committee should receive any petitions prior to August 1, 1999. The by-laws do not permit challenges from the floor to be entertained during the business meeting, which will be held at the Atlanta APSA meetings on Friday at 5:30. A reception will follow at 6:30, and all members are encouraged to attend.

Katznelson Named Program Co-Chair for the American Political Science Association Year 2000 Meeting in Washington D.C.

Ira Katznelson, Columbia University, has been named program co-chair (with Helen Milner) for the 2000 APSA meetings. Professor Katznelson served as the third president of the Politics and History section. He is the author of City Trenches (1981), Liberalism's Crooked Circle: Letters to Adam Minchnik (1996), and Desolation and Enlightenment: Political Knowledge after the Holocaust, Totalitarianism and Total War (1999).

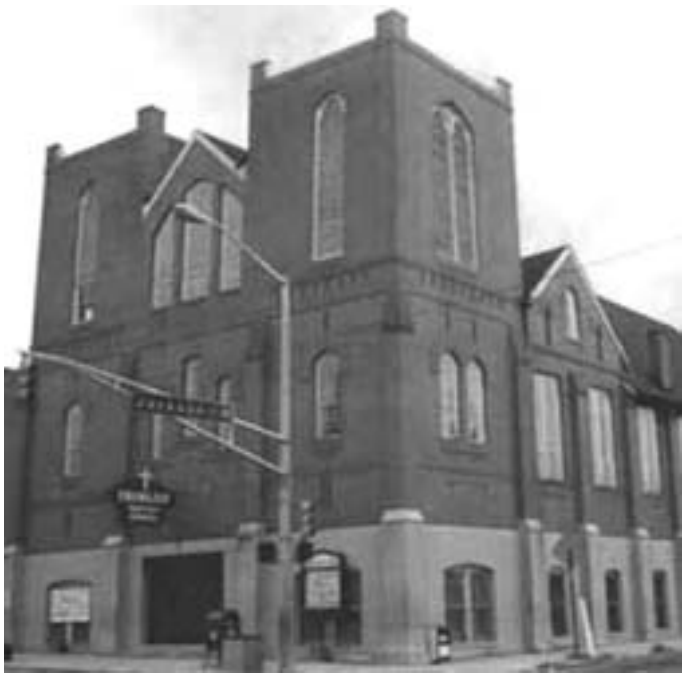
Call for Papers Politics and History Section
American Political Science Association Meetings
Year 2000

The 2000 meetings of the American Political Science Association will be held in Washington, DC, August 31-September 3, 2000. The theme for the 96th Annual Meeting is "Political Science as Discipline? Reconsidering Power, Choice, and the State at Century's End." Power, choice, and the state have been central concepts in political science since its founding as a self-conscious discipline. By reconsidering these orienting themes, the program chairs seek to initiate discussion about both the distinguishing characteristics and internal coherence of political science as well as late-century developments that challenge how the discipline deploys its key organizing concepts. APSA will begin accepting proposals in September 1999 for panels, papers, and posters related to the organizing theme as well as proposals addressing topics covering the 43 divisions, or subfields, of political science. The September issue of PS and the 1999 Annual Meeting Program will contain submission guidelines and proposal forms.

The organizers of the Politics and History panels at the 2000 APSA convention are:

Gerald Gamm
Department of Political Science
University of Rochester
Rochester, NY 14627
e-mail: grgm@troi.cc.rochester.edu

Daniel Carpenter
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48109



Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta.

The Never-Ending Story of Civic Ideals

Rogers Smith

(We invited Professor Smith to discuss his current research. Professor Smith's book, Civic Ideals, was the co-winner of our section's J. David Greenstone Award for the best book in politics and history in the last two calendar years).

Just as I am grateful to the Politics and History Section for making Civic Ideals a co-winner of the 1998 J. David Greenstone Award, I am grateful for this opportunity to discuss where that work has led me. I also cannot resist mentioning another book that recently told me something about what led to that work.

The idea to undertake the study of citizenship laws that became Civic Ideals occurred to me fifteen years before that book's publication, and as readers may be all too aware, it's a rather long book. Yet it still leaves important questions unresolved; and since its publication I've been pursuing three of those. I originally began studying citizenship laws to get some empirical purchase on the debate over how "liberal" or "republican" American political thought had been historically. I soon found lots of stuff that did not look to me either "liberal" or "republican" so much as "racist" and "sexist." Consequently, Civic Ideals became chiefly aimed at showing empirically that Hartzian liberal and Pocockian republican accounts of American political culture were not supported by the historical content of American citizenship laws as much as my alternative "multiple traditions" view. I gradually realized, however, that showing those scholars were wrong or incomplete empirically was not enough. I also had to explain why racial and patriarchal ideologies had recurrent appeal in a society that did have strong liberal and democratic/republican traditions. I developed an answer in terms of the advantages of ascriptive traditions in the politics of nation-building, a politics in which leaders often succeed by advancing stories that valorize core constituencies as inherently superior to those they wish to exploit or include.

But Civic Ideals does not much explore the further question of why, if exclusionary and hierarchical civic stories have such political potency, egalitarian reforms are nonetheless sometimes achieved. I note that egalitarian civic visions do have some comparative advantages of their own, but those enduring advantages are not sufficient to explain the only very occasional victories gained by such visions. While completing Civic Ideals, I began working with Philip Klinkner (now at Hamilton College) on a study of the conditions under which substantial racial progress has been achieved in the United States. The resulting book, entitled The Unsteady March: The Rise and Fall of Racial Equality in America, will be published this fall by the University of Chicago Press, with Phil as the chief author. We felt obliged to offer a rather gloomy answer in which America's egalitarian civic ideologies play only a limited role. Thus far, we contend, significant advances toward

Conference on the History of Congress

Mathew D. McCubbins
University of California-San Diego

Sponsored jointly by Stanford University and the University of California, two conferences on the history of Congress were held in June 1998 at the University of California, San Diego, and in January 1999 at Stanford. The point of the conferences was to apply new theoretical advances in the study of organization and policy making to better understand the evolution and history of congressional organization.

In the United States, the links between elections, legislative organization and policy are not as straightforward as it is in parliamentary democracies. Parties compete for election, and while the House and Senate have a clearly partisan hue, other organizing principles seem to be coloring policy making as well. Partly this is a consequence of the separation of powers, and partly this results from the US system of representation, in which the members of the House and Senate, and the president, each gain office in separate elections.

To further complicate matters, since early in American history, members of Congress have chosen a decentralized form of government, whereby much of the policy making authority of each chamber was vested in committees of their own creation. Moreover, congressional committees, it often seems, are not only ancillary to the party organizations, but are at odds with them. The tension between centralization and decentralization of policy making within Congress has shaped Congress and the policy it has produced. At various times in our nation's history, we have observed strong leaders, with public policy being drafted in the leader's office or by the majority party caucus. At other times, however, the focus of policy making has been in committees, and the parties have played only a coordinating role. What explains these variations? Recent developments in the literature on Congress have provided us with conditions under which policy making leans towards a committee-centered versus a party-centered process. But we have only begun to understand the dynamics of congressional organization.

How Congress organizes to do business has important implications for both political representation and policy outcomes. The contributors to this conference had two goals. First, they sought to extend recent theoretical work in game theory, transactions cost economics, industrial organization, and political science to establish a new and dynamic theory of congressional organization. Second, the contributors sought to test their new insights historically. Toward this end, the authors of the essays presented at the conference examined various eras of congressional organization, from the ante-bellum rise and institutionalization of standing committees, through the centralized party control under 'Boss' Cannon around the turn of the century, into the 'King Caucus' years and the rise of committee government in the 1930s, through the re-emergence of party government in the early 1970s.

What's the Point of APD?

Keith Whittington

(We invited Professor Whittington to contribute a thought piece on the field of American Political Development. He is the author of Constitutional Constructions: Divided Powers and Constitutional Meaning).

Gabriel Almond once wrote that the discipline of political science had been divided into "separate tables" with little relationship to one another. Almond thought those tables were marked off along methodological lines, with each table being dominated by its own conversation with few exchanges with those seated at other tables. Political scientists were happily, or perhaps not so happily, talking past one another.

American Political Development once had its own table. Although perhaps of limited interest to those in other fields, those studying American political development enjoyed a shared conversation. Moreover, there was a hope that a common concern with APD could help bring together scholars who were otherwise divided. The editors' preface to the inaugural issue of Studies in American Political Development defined their mission as "the rediscovery of a subject matter common to scholars working in different corners of political science by offering a forum in which their various skills and viewpoints may fruitfully converge," with an editorial board that "ranges the spectrum of subfields, theoretical perspectives, and analytical methods." Studies helped establish APD as a distinct field of inquiry and has become the leading journal in the field, but one is entitled to wonder whether APD as field has met this particular goal.

A dozen years since the founding of Studies and two decades since the landmark works of APD were published, the field seems to have gained some (perhaps still grudging) legitimacy within the discipline of political science. But it is not clear that those who self-identify with APD still share a common conversation or even share an understanding of the meaning of the field. Rather than overcoming the divisions within the discipline, APD seems to have internalized them.

Although part of the problem is undoubtedly caused by the persistence of the methodological dynamics that Almond observed, part of the problem may be the exhaustion of the original APD project itself. The current field of APD began as a reaction to behaviorism's emphasis on the significance of social factors in shaping political outcomes. APD's central contribution to the discipline was its effort to "bring the state back in" and reintegrate institutions into political analysis. History was a necessary vehicle for understanding the dynamics of American politics and how institutions altered political possibilities. Although there had been important precursors who had emphasized both political history and the importance of institutions, such as Theodore Lowi's study of the modern liberalism or Nelson Polsby's examination of the twentieth century Congress, APD filled a real gap in the literature and

Politics and History Panels at the 1999 American Political Science Association Meeting

*** Co-Chairs ***

Andrew Polsky
Department of Political Science
Hunter College, CUNY

Gretchen Ritter
Government Department
University of Texas at Austin

Business Meeting: Friday, September 3, 5:30 PM
Reception: Friday, September 3, 6:30 PM

Short Course: Wednesday, September 1, 1:00 P.M.
Gender, Political Representation and Civic Identity

What (If Anything) Political History Can Teach Leaders and Citizens Today. Roundtable. (*Theme Panel)
Chair: Andrew Polsky, Hunter College and the Graduate School, CUNY
Participants: Walter Dean Burnham, University of Texas at Austin
Ian Lustick, University of Pennsylvania
John Ikenberry, University of Pennsylvania
Michael Dawson, University of Chicago

Race, Reform, and the State
Chair: Alan Draper, St. Lawrence University
Papers: "Hearts and Minds: The Cold War, Internal Unrest, and Civil Rights,1945-1968"
Philip Klinkner, Hamilton College

"States and Strife: Political Responses to Anti-Civil Rights Mobilization"
Joseph Luders, Seton Hall University

"Segregationist Liberalism: The NAACP and Resistance to Civil Defense Policy Planning in the Early Cold War", Andrew Grossman, Albion College

Discussants: *Ruth O'Brien, John Jay College, CUNY*
Richard Valelly, Swarthmore College

Immigration and American Political Development
Chair: James F. Hollifield, Southern Methodist University
Papers: "From Illiberal to Liberal Policy: Immigration Policy and the Development of U.S. Policy",
Desmond King, Oxford

"The Courts and Public Policy: Conflicting Views of Solidarity and Nationhood",
Anna Law, University of Texas, Austin

"Individual Inclusion and Group Exclusion: The Case of Arab-American Immigrants", Ann Lin and Amaney Jamal, University of Michigan

"The Organization of Policy Bias: The Changing Structure and Outcomes of American Immigration Politics", Daniel Tichenor, Rutgers University

Discussants: *Margaret Weir, University of California, Berkeley*
Keith Fitzgerald, New College of the University of South Florida

The Roots of the Presidency: The 19th Century Presidency and Contemporary Ramifications (Co-sponsored by Division 23 "Presidency Research." Division 7 is primary sponsor.)
Chair: James Ceasar, University of Virginia
Papers: "The Roots of Presidential Populism", Terri Bimes, University of California, Berkeley

"A New Migration of Political Forces: Party Decline and Plebiscitary Presidential Leadership in Late 19th Century America", Michael Korzi, Northwestern University

"Attempts to Mobilize Interest Groups for Purposes of Congressional Lobbying by Late-19th Century Presidents", Ezra Paul, Johns Hopkins University

"Statesmen and Demagogues: Presidential Rhetoric and Congressional Deliberation in the 19th Century", Dean Schloyer, Northwestern University

Discussant: Richard Ellis, Willamette University

Gender and American Political Development
(Co-sponsored by Division 31 "Women and Politics." Division 31 is the primary sponsor.)

Marking Time: Congress in Retrospect
(Co-sponsored by Division 22 "Legislative Studies." Division 22 is the primary sponsor.)

Congressional Structure and Process in Historical Perspective
(Co-sponsored by Division 22 "Legislative Studies." Division 22 is the primary sponsor.)

Political Culture, Identity, and the State
Chair: Terrence Cook, Washington State University
Papers: "Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria", Lisa Wedeen, University of Chicago

"Path Dependence and Social Welfare: Interest versus Identity Politics", Thomas Banchoff, Georgetown University

"The Rules of Play: Japan and the Politics of Becoming a 'Lifestyle Superpower'", David Leheny, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"The Reform of Institutions and Identities in Bosnia and Herzegovina", Daniel Cordes, Columbia University

Discussant: Deborah Harrold, University of Chicago

The Emergence of the Modern American Political Economy
Chair: David Robertson, University of Missouri - St. Louis
Papers: "The 'Statistical Equivalent of Gold': Interest Groups and the Price Index, 1896-1933", Loren Gatch, University of Central Oklahoma

"Racing Away from the Bottom: Making Sense of State Tax Innovations in the Early Twentieth Century", Dante J. Scala, University of Chicago

"Between Welfare Capitalism and the Welfare State: The Politics of Public and Private Pensions in the United States", Jacob Hacker, The Brookings Institution

Discussant: Marc Allen Eisner, Wesleyan University

Building the Old American State

Chair: Brian Cook, Clark University

Papers: "The Parameters of Patronage Democracy: Partisan Practice and State Development During America's 'Long Nineteenth Century'", Scott C. James, University of California, Los Angeles

"Anglo-America as a Contract State and a Predatory State: 'American Exceptionalism' as a Truly Double-Edged Sword", Richard P. Young, Seattle University

"Internal Improvements and the American Union, 1790-1860", Stephen Minicucci, Smith College

"Police Power, Citizen Action, and the Myth of the "Well-Regulated Society'"
Ann-Marie Szymanski, University of Oklahoma

Discussant: *William J. Novak, The University of Chicago*
Ronald Formisano, University of Florida

Citizenship and the Political Construction of American Identity

Chair: Victoria Hattam, The New School for Social Research

Papers: "American Marriage Law and the Politics of Race and Gender"
Priscilla Yamin, The New School for Social Research

"'Another White Race': Mexicans and the Paradox of
Whiteness in Jury Selection", Clare Sheridan, University of Texas, Austin

"Constructing Citizens: Citizenship Education in Social
and Historical Context", Susan M. Gordon, University of Chicago

Discussant: *Anne Norton, University of Pennsylvania*

Social Scientists in the Public World: Historical Experiences and Lessons (*Theme Panel)

Chair: James Farr, University of Minnesota

Papers: "Making Sense of Property Rights: Social Science and the Origins of
the Colonial Revenue Administration in India", Matthew J. Nelson, Columbia University

"Higher Civil Servants, Political Activists and Policy Analysts: Making Sense of Social Policy in France, 1880-1980", Didier Renard, ENS Cachan

"'There's a Realignment Going On': The Political Science of the Nixon Administration", Robert Mason, University of Edinburgh

"Rethinking Polanyi: The Role of Political Economy Theories in the Enactment of the 1834 Poor Law", Dan Breznitz, MIT

Discussant: *Paul Brass, University of Washington*

Political Implications of Race in Comparative Historical Perspective

Chair: Luis Fraga, Stanford University

Papers: "A Comparative History and Analysis of Racial Categorization on
American and Brazilian Censuses", Melissa Nobles, MIT

"Deviance, Race and Citizenship: U.S. Drug Policy and the
Politics of Law and Order", Jay McCullough, University of Texas and
Earlham College

"Jim Crow and Apartheid: Was There a Link?", Michael K. Fauntroy,
Howard University

(Political Implications of Race in Comparative Historical Perspective, continued.)

"The Cherokee Nation and the U.S. Civil War: Indigenous and American Political Identity in Conflict and Co-Constitution", Kevin Bruyneel, New School for Social Research

Discussant: *Mark Sawyer, The University of Chicago*

Racial Conflict in American Politics

Chair: Tali Mendelberg, Princeton University

Papers: "The Crisis of Racial Integration in the Late-Civil Rights Movement: Education Politics in New York City and Chicago", Catherine O'Leary, New School for Social Research

"Reconstruction, Civil Rights, and the Republican Party in the South", Paul Frymer, University of California, Berkeley

"Ideological Inconsistency and Logical Bridges: Partisan Realignment in the 1960s", Monica Prasad, University of Chicago

"Race, Political Culture, and Voting in the Jacksonian Era", Christopher Malone, CUNY Graduate Center

Discussant: *Richard Keiser, Carleton College*

Ideas Have Consequences: The Political Effects of Discourse in American Political Development

Chair: Eldon Eisenach, University of Tulsa

Papers: "Language, Slavery, and Politics: The Case of the Federal Convention of 1787", David F. Ericson, Wichita State University

"The Discourse of Anti-Statism in the Post-Civil Rights Era", Joseph Lowndes, New School for Social Research

"Decline at Century's End: Contemporary Narratives of Liberal Decay and the Inversion of Whig History", Andrew R. Murphy, Villanova University

Discussant: *Michael Gibbons, University of South Florida*

Reconsidering Institutions in American Political Development

Chair: Sean J. Savage, Saint Mary's College

Papers: "Responsible versus Functional Parties in American Political Development", John J. Coleman, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"Context vs. Content: Different Perspectives on Policy Change in Historical Institutionalism and the New Public Management", Stephen Page, MIT

"Institutional Development in a System of Separated Powers" Keith E. Whittington, Princeton University and Daniel P. Carpenter, University of Michigan

Discussant: *Randall Strahan*

Historical Perspectives on American Federalism and Sub-National Government

Chair: Jay Greene, University of Texas - Austin

Papers: "Federalism, Constitutional Protections, and Coalition-Building: The 1930s Battle on Tax-Exempt Salaries and Bonds", Jameson W. Doig, Princeton University

"Hostility and Deference: Patterns of City-State Relations in the United States", Nancy Burns, University of Michigan and Gerald Gamm, University of Rochester

(Historical Perspectives on American Federalism and Sub-National Government, continued.)

"The Peculiar Partisanship of the West, 1890-1916", Amy Bridges, UC San Diego

"National Policymaking the Hard Way: The Uniform State Laws Process in pre-New Deal America", John D. Nugent, University of Texas - Austin

Discussant: *Colin Gordon, University of Iowa*

The Development of Welfare States

Chair: Robert Lieberman, Columbia University

Papers: "Race, State, and Inequality in the United States, Great Britain, and France", Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University

"Gender, Discourses, and Institutions: The Formation of the Welfare State in Sweden and Germany", Teresa Kulawik, FU Berlin

"Bounded Opportunities: The Limits of 'Ideal' Institutions in New Zealand Health Care 1935-1995", Miriam Laugesen, Univeristy of Melbourne

Discussant: *Eric M. Patashnik, Yale University*

War and the Health of the State

Chair: Daniel Kryder, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Papers: "20th Century American Presidents and the Transition from Reform to War: Woodrow Wilson and Lyndon Johnson Compared", Daniel Kryder, MIT

"Rethinking War and Change", Victoria Tin-bor Hui, Columbia University

"Trade, Security, and the British Army, 1860-1913", David M. Rowe, Patrick McDonald, and David Bearce, Ohio State University

"European Integration and the Legacy of Post-World War II German Expulsions in East-Central Europe", Lynn Tesser, University of Chicago

Discussant: *Richard Bensel,Cornell University*
Jyette Klausen, Brandeis University

The Political Uses and Abuses of History in Historical Perspective

Chairperson: Robert Vitalis, Clark University

PAPERS: "Teaching the Past, Whitewashing the Past: Historical Forgetting, Democratic Development, and the Dangers of Nationalism in Post-Soviet Russia.", David Mendeloff, MIT

"National History as Contested Site: Secular and Islamic Negotiations of Turkish National Identity.", Alev Cinar, New York University

"A Past Worth Forgetting: Politics and the Institutionalization of War Memories in Japan.", Steven Benfell, Western Michigan University

"'Lessons of the Holocaust' in the Territorial Debate in Israel: Using and Misusing History in Policy Making", Arye Naor, Ben Gurion University

Discussant: *Ruth Bevan, Yeshiva University*

Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting 1999: Abstracts of Politics and History Papers Seattle, Washington, May 25-27, 1999

The Median Voter: Fact or Fiction? The History of a Theoretical Concept

Robert G. Boatright, University of Chicago
robb@polisci.spc.uchicago.edu

The median voter model has frequently been revised in order to make the model more applicable to empirical study of American mass elections. Rarely, however, have revisions to this model taken into account the theoretical debates which preceded the development of economic models and the ways in which revisions to the model reintroduce the normative debates which the median voter model addressed. In this paper I consider two such debates, the "responsible parties" debate of the early 1950s and the debate between pluralists and other theorists over measurement of political power. I discuss the means by which formal models effectively closed off these debates. I then outline the basic tenets of the median voter model, illustrate ways in which revisions to this model have drawn upon empirical evidence against propositions of the model, and note ways in which such revisions have significant effects on the overall coherence of the model. I then note how one relatively underexplored assumption of the model the assumption of simultaneous position-taking can and should be altered such that candidates take positions sequentially. This adjustment is not only more empirically suitable for the model it allows better explanation of elections featuring incumbents but it also reintroduces the normative debates which preceded the development of the model into the model itself.

The Constitutional Politics of Westward Expansion: Constitutional Development and Inter-Branch Dialogue over Federal Internal Improvements during the Republican Era

Paul Chen, University of Southern California
paulc@usc.edu

By 1800 Americans recognized that commercial links between the coast and the interior were essential for national growth. Better systems of transportation were needed to integrate the nation's economy, promote commerce and communication, and facilitate the development of millions of acres of western land. These projects known as "internal improvements," mainly the building of roads and canals, inspired in Americans dreams of national greatness. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe all strongly supported Westward expansion during their administrations, and proposals for a national system of internal improvements did not fail for lack of merit. Yet the federal government, despite having three Republican presidents and a Republican-controlled Congress from 1800-1824, was never able to enact legislation establishing a national network of roads and canals. Why?

I propose this hypothesis: Initially, the constitutional authority of federal involvement in this area was questionable up until Madison's second administration, by which time the dominant view among federal lawmakers was that Congress had authority to make appropriations for internal improvements. Madison's personal doubts on the subject, however, forestalled concerted federal effort on the matter. By the time Monroe and Congress had found a constitutional common ground for federal involvement in internal improvements, sectional politics, which had always exerted its influence in Congress, had gained a decisive victory in thwarting the implementation of any systematic federal policy on the matter. Once the Virginia Dynasty in the executive branch came to an end, Jackson let open the floodgates of sectionalism and local interest politics that had been swelling to burst, thus blocking any systematic development of roads and canals for decades to come.

My paper traces the interaction between the executive and the Congress on the issue of federal sponsorship of internal improvements, and discusses how the twenty-five year inter-branch dialogue brought about a change in the Republican executive's view about the constitutionality of such projects. In probing this issue I will also consider what we can learn from this event about the dynamics of constitutional politics at a time when the U.S. Supreme Court had not yet become a regular and active participant in such political-constitutional debates.

Race and the Representation of Blacks' Interests During Reconstruction

Michael D. Cobb, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
mcobb1@uiuc.edu

Jeffery A. Jenkins
Michigan State University
jenki107@pilot.msu.edu

Contemporary congressional studies find that black representatives are more supportive of black constituents' interests than are white representatives, even after controlling for district- level constituency characteristics. The general robustness of these findings has not been examined, however, as scholars have not studied how black representatives behaved during Reconstruction, the first era of blacks' descriptive representation. Although black representatives

from this era typically are portrayed as having been responsive to blacks' interests, some recent studies suggest that they often supported whites' interests on issues important to their black constituents. Using descriptive statistics, OLS regression, and forecasting techniques to analyze black and white congressmen's voting behavior, we investigate the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation immediately after the Civil War. We find that black Republicans during Reconstruction were more ideologically liberal, both generally and racially, than their white Republican colleagues in the South. These results suggest that the linkage between descriptive and substantive representation for blacks is not merely a recent phenomenon, but rather has general applicability across time.

Ideas and State Capacity, or Class Dominance? A Historical Analysis of Grazing on the Public Domain

George A. Gonzalez, University of Miami
gagonzal@kings.edu

State-centered theorists have forwarded the argument that the role of ideas and state capacity in the formulation of public policies is evidence of an autonomous polity. These theorists hold that state capacity and ideas have an autonomous and independent role in determining state behavior and public policy development. Reflective of this, statist Christopher Klyza posits ideas and state capacity as the primary factors in the development of the policy regime that manages grazing on the public grasslands. I contend, however, that the history of the federal grazing policy regime is indicative of economic elite theory. Specifically, economic elites and producer groups are the most powerful explanatory factors in the development of this regime, not ideas or state capacity. Furthermore, utilizing the cases of the grazing agencies (the U.S. Grazing Service and later the Bureau of Land Management [BLM], the U.S. Forest Service, and the National Park Service I assail the theoretical importance that state-centric theorists ascribe to the issue of state capacity.

Communists, Congressional Committees, and the Rise of the Administrative Welfare State

Daniel Levin, Boise State University
DLEVIN@boisestate.edu

The United States has been less than entirely tolerant of dissidents; this was particularly true during the Cold War years, and especially during the early 1950s. While compared to the Stalinist or Maoist purges, McCarthyism was extraordinarily gentle in its treatment of political dissidents, the congressional harassment of both current and former members of the Communist Party that is one of the worst instances of the abuse of political institutions in recent American history. McCarthyism shared with the totalitarian movements it despised an unwillingness to treat individual persons individually, but to punish persons for their associations with others. In the modern administrative state under the rule of law, those punishments take many forms other than physical discipline or incarceration. Among the most common form of sanctions were congressional hearings which exposed individuals accused of subversive activities to the scrutiny of public opinion and various administrative sanctions. Individuals who appeared before congressional committees were often subjected to actions by multiple governmental actors because of their present or previous affiliations, including the termination of their employment in a state or local government, or loss of a state-issued professional license, because of their refusal to testify in front of a congressional committee investigating domestic communism or because they had testified before such a committee.

Most analysis of the Supreme Court cases involving the power of Congress to compel testimony has focused on either the Fifth Amendment guarantee of a right against self-incrimination or the limits on Congress' power under separation of powers doctrine. I argue that understanding the Supreme Court's decisions in this area during the 1950s requires a focus on the change in roles of congressional committees following the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, which provided committees with greater authority for overseeing agencies within their area of substantive concern. With the increased resources provided to the committees following the 1946 Act, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and others, such as the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, began to investigate the presence of Communists and sympathizers in government agencies and in the larger public as well. As these committees began their investigations, they paid little heed to jurisdictional bounds and often neglected to justify their investigations and the filing of contempt citations according to their authority. Some members of Congress and interest groups, including the American Bar Association, attempted to provide discipline to the dueling committees' investigations and curtail their abuse of the subpoena power, but the major responsibility for policing committees' actions lay with the federal courts, and especially the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court's efforts in this area during this period are often misunderstood. Most constitutional law textbooks contain only two cases regarding Congress' power to investigate, and those two, U.S. v. Watkins and Barenblatt v. U.S., are used to demonstrate that after the Supreme Court attempted to restrict Congress' power to investigate in Watkins in 1957, it was forced to retreat only two years later, presumably by political pressure, in Barenblatt. In Watkins, the Court required that Congress follow its own rules, define HUAC's jurisdiction, and justify the relevance of its investigations to governmental oversight, but its major significance is that the Court actually found in favor of Watkins, who had challenged the relevance of his testimony to Congress' purposes. While the Court's decision in Barenblatt seemed to constitute a retreat from Watkins, a number of later cases reinstated many of the rules laid down in Watkins, generally finding in favor of the reluctant witnesses; this part of the story is absent from many accounts of the Court's role in this area and Congress' development of its powers. At its best, the history of the debate over the investigative powers of con-

gressional committees during this period shows that the Court's major concern was Congress's ability to govern its own house, to act in a coherent fashion, and to delegate only those powers truly necessary to committees which, by crossing jurisdictional limits in an entrepreneurial fashion, had taken advantage of the new structures that Congress had erected to oversee the administrative state.

The Chavez-Tingley Feud: 1937-40
Roy Lujan, New Mexico Highlands University
lujanroy@merlin.nmhu.edu

Over the past 200 years, only three Mexican Americans (all from New Mexico) have ever served in the United States Senate. My presentation focused on one of these Senators, Dennis Chavez who served in the House of Representatives from 1930-1934 and in the Senate from 1935 until his death in 1962.

This paper specifically deals with a political feud involving Senator Chavez and Governor Clyde Tingley, who appointed Chavez to the United States Senate upon the death of Senator Bronson Cutting in 1935. Immediately after the appointment Chavez and Tingley worked closely with the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to assure that New Mexico received its share of federal funding from this federal program. Beginning in 1937, however, the Senator and the governor repeatedly locked political horns on a number of issues. The fact that Governor Tingley became too politically overzealous was the basis for the Chavez-Tingley feud that spanned the late 1930's. The political honeymoon these two public officials had once experienced turned into a bitter struggle for political power and control of the Democratic Party and the WPA in the state. As the feud spread from issue to issue, Tingley's political strength gradually diminished. Simultaneously, Chavez was able to consolidate his political power with WPA. Before Tingley capitulate, however, he attempted to destroy Chavez's political career by implicating him in the hottest WPA scandal in the United States. Senator Chavez overcame the scandal and remained in the Senate. By the end of his legislative career, he was outranked by only three Senators.

Madison's Failure: The Virginia Plan and Opportunistic Federalism
Dave Robertson, University of Missouri - St. Louis
DaveRobertson@umsl.edu

On the eve of the Constitutional Convention, state policy makers had nearly unlimited freedom to exploit their distinct comparative advantages, and the result was chaotic, fluid, and often self-defeating policy. As the most influential analyst of this policy turmoil, James Madison diagnosed state policy independence as the root threat to American republicanism and prosperity. His reforms aimed to create a national republican policy making process that would produce liberal policy outcomes. He planned to expand the sphere of national powers to instill in national policy makers an ambition for pursuing a distinctly national interest. He sought very broad national policy authority, a national veto over state laws, and a national legislature in which all representatives were apportioned by state size. As the Virginia plan, these proposals initially established the terms of the convention's deliberations. The convention's treatment of the Virginia plan shows that the new policy making process institutionalized the states' economic opportunism as much as it limited that opportunism. The convention accepted the least controversial elements of Madison's theory — a republican national policy making process — but defeated the three more original and far-reaching proposals because they threatened to result in policies excessively threatening to states' comparative advantages. Medium sized, commercially vulnerable states refused to surrender power over economic policy to a body in which they were outnumbered. These states opposed a national veto because a regional majority could use it to harm the interests of particular states.

Political Repression in the Fragmented State
Corey Robin, Yale University
e.robin@yale.edu

Why do states engage in political repression? What particular attributes of states enable them to do so? This paper attempts to answer these two questions through an analysis of McCarthyism. Most theorists of the state, from Hobbes to

Call for Papers 2000
Western Political Science Association Meetings

The annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association will be held March 24-26, 2000, at the San Jose Hilton Hotel in San Jose, California.

For this year, the meetings will be held on Friday through Sunday morning. The theme of the conference is "Political Science in Interdisciplinary Perspective."

To submit a paper or panel proposal, or submit your name as a panel chair or discussant, contact:

Keith Whittington
Department of Politics
Princeton University
Corwin Hall
Princeton, NJ 08544-1012
Fax (609) 258-3453
E-mail whitt@princeton.edu.

Proposals are due Friday, September 17, 1999.

Weber to Skocpol, have mistakenly argued that political repression is a product of the state's monopoly over the means of coercion, its centralization and unification of political power, and its quest for domestic political order. I challenge this view here in two ways. First, I argue that states conducting repression are often not driven by a desire to impose order or establish control over a given territory. Instead, they are inspired by a variety of different concerns, not least of which are the specific political interests and ideologies of different state actors. During the McCarthy era, state officials were motivated by many agendas, including: 1) a desire to subdue popular movements attempting to restructure relationships of power within the workplace and between blacks and whites; 2) anticommunist ideology, inspired either by a concern about the power of the Soviet Union or by a commitment to Christianity or liberalism; and 3) more mundane partisan calculations and interests. Second, states engaging in repression need not unify political power under a single aegis. This image of the Leviathan-like state has led us to focus on states that have concentrated political power within centralized, hierarchical institutions. That is not the only kind of state that engages or can engage in repression. States that are fragmented — where institutions share power with other institutions, where power is divided between the core and the periphery, where power is constrained by competition between multiple interest groups — can also act repressively. In fact, fragmentation can sometimes be a vehicle for repression.

Technological Exceptionalism: Machines, History, and the Construction of Antebellum American Identity

Howard Schweber
Department of Government, Cornell University

In the decades following the American Revolution, both Federalists and Anti-Federalists embraced the idea that American history would represent a departure from the patterns established in European experience. For republican Anti-Federalists, the idea was the religiously inspired ideal of America as a purified version of European ideals, stripped of the corrupting effects of ancient tyrannies and modern class struggle. Liberal Federalists, on the other hand, saw the promise of America as the possibility of creating a benign version of industrial capitalism, the creation of an economy that would secure the economic benefits of European manufacturing without the creation of squalid industrial cities. For both Federalists and Anti-Federalists, the key element in America's exceptional future was the presence of free land.

In the Jacksonian Era, a second element was added to free land as the basis for America's claim to an exceptional future. This was the argument that Americans as a people were possessed of a special relationship to things mechanical. Not only the fact of free land, but a special gift for using machinery to make use of that land were the elements that were said to signal the dawn of an entirely new kind of history. In 1829, the word "technology" was coined to capture the special kind of American useful knowledge. This was technological exceptionalism.

Technological exceptionalism made it possible to reconcile both republican and liberal politics with industrial expansion. For republican and liberal politics with industrial expansion. For republican Whigs, technology promised to connect the expanses of the Western territories into a single national community, thus defeating the dire warnings of Montesquieu and Jefferson that size was the enemy of national virtue. For liberals, technology was the means for all men to compete equally in an economic public realm. Both Whigs and Democrats were required to surrender a crucial element of their thinking in order to embrace the promise of technology. Whigs had to abandoned their opposition to growth, their nostalgia, and their conception of virtue as a quality inherent in a leisure class. Democrats had to overcome their suspicions of corporate enterprise, large-scale improvement, centralized control and government funding. In the years of Civil War and after, both liberal and republican strains of American political thought gave way to a constructed national identity built around the promise of technologically driven progress. While this new political conception was developed in response to new forms of political economy and industrialization, the condition of possibility for the embrace of the new model of citizenship and progress was the political vocabulary of technological exceptionalism.

The Push Westward: American Government and National Expansion, 1776-1848

Bartholomew Sparrow
Department of Government, University of Texas - Austin
bhs@mail.la.utexas.edu

Research by political scientists, political historians, and political sociologists on the United States of the nineteenth century focuses overwhelmingly on the weakness of the national government, given the divided government established at the founding, the small size of public administration, and the divisions between political parties and among regions. This focus on the frailties of U.S. national government neglects a crucial part of national politics: the proactive role of the national government in the expansion of the United States from the thirteen original states to spanning the entire North American continent. In this paper I examine the administration and politics of the national government from the Declaration up to the Mexican-American War—i.e., including the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation, as well as the U.S. government after the adoption of the Constitution in 1789—with respect to the American territories up to the Mississippi River, where scholars slight the significance of governmental activity in the territories as a precursor to the eventual incorporation of new lands, new wealth, and new peoples into the United States.

I look at three policy areas in particular: the military; the post office; and public works (i.e., road and canal building). The paper presents quantitative and other historical evidence that document how the officials and resources of the U.S. government provided an extensive and extendible presence in the territories through which settlement, economic growth, and eventual political incorporation could occur. Specifically, I note the presence of forts and troops in the territories, the number of post offices and miles of post roads in the territories, and the building and subsidy of roads and canals in areas before they became states. I suggest that the investment by government officials in these lands (lands whose residents could not vote) is a result of two factors. One was the patriotism and nationalism of individual presidents (e.g., Jefferson, Polk) and other political elites (e.g., the Army Topographical Corps), where national security, economic growth, and political development were inextricably intertwined. Another was the ambition of party leaders who sought to gain more support for their parties in areas that would in the near or not-too-distant future would become members of the several states.

Partisan Regimes, Judicial Review and Constitutional Change

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

This paper examines the political incentives leading elected officials to either support or undermine the judicial authority to determine constitutional meaning, a key bulwark of judicial independence. Assuming a system of partisan regimes, the paper focuses on the relationship between the president and the Supreme Court in three basic strategic situations depending on the presidential relationship to the regime. The paper concludes that in most circumstances presidents have ample incentives to support judicial authority by deferring to judicial rulings and encouraging judicial intervention in political disputes. Moreover, the paper argues, it is not clear that normative values are in conflict with positive incentives in those few instances in which the strategic environment favors undermining the Court. The paper identifies the conditions under which presidents will adopt a departmentalist position, challenging the exclusive authority of the judiciary to determine constitutional meaning in favor of an equal authority of each of the three branches to interpret the Constitution. The paper links normative concerns with judicial review with positive and historical analysis of political institutions and identifies the conditions supporting an active and independent judiciary. The paper questions the standard normative and empirical assumptions of both the "countermajoritarian difficulty" and theories of judicial supremacy.

had outstanding program chairs and our panels have a reputation for quality that we all value, but as a former program chair myself (for Comparative Politics), and as a member of the APSA's "Committee on the Annual Meeting," I speak with confidence when I say that no matter how dedicated a program chair may be, and no matter how much of one's life one is willing to sacrifice to try to implement principles of equity and professionalism within the selection process, it is inevitable that other factors (including chance) will play a crucial role.

Indeed, depending on the fate of proposals now pending before the Committee on the Annual Meeting, there is reason to believe that the gap between the number of those wishing to present their work and those given opportunities to do so may increase. The Committee is now wrestling with trade-offs between increasing the size of meetings that have already become intimidatingly large and implementing significant increases in registration fees; between reducing the number of appearances in the program and encouraging more active and responsible participation by members as chairs and discussants; between restricting multiple submissions to different divisions in order to reduce the workload of program chairs and maintaining opportunities for members to combat the arbitrary aspects of the selection process and the whole "division" system by offering differently spun versions of one's work to different program chairs. There are no easy answers to these problems, but it is important that they are being forthrightly addressed.

The point I am making here is that regardless of what changes may be made in the organization of the annual meeting, there are certain practices and norms which APSA members, and especially new entrants into the profession, need to know about in order to succeed or at least feel somewhat less disappointed with one's contacts with APSA and one's participation in the annual meeting.

For example, it is perfectly fine to contact a program chair with an idea for a paper proposal before it is submitted to discuss, on the telephone or over email, whether the topic one has in mind really does fit within the parameters of the division's guidelines for this year, whether there are other folks who are talking about related or complementary topics, or whether a certain adjustment or emphasis in the presentation might make the proposal more attractive. A key element in this approach is to contact the program chair very soon after the call for papers has been issued. By the time October and November roll around the chair will be so overwhelmed by paper that he/she will have no real time to engage in such substantive questions. (Changes likely to be made soon to standardize and centralize electronic submissions of paper and panel applications may help a bit, but program chairs will not be able to escape their fundamentally chaotic predicament.)

APSA Annual Meetings often have overall "themes". These themes have little actual effect on most decisions regarding acceptance or rejection of paper proposals. Still if a proposal does have an obvious relationship to the annual theme, there is no reason not to highlight it.

If one understands the two impossible missions with which program chairs are charged — to make an enormous number of quick and not-completely-unreasonable judgments about a flood of underspecified proposals; and to use his/her quota of panels to satisfy the legitimate demands for air-timeof many more scholars than can be thereby accommodated, one can appreciate why submitting one lonely paper proposal is a low probability way to get oneself into the program. Every lone paper a chair accepts means much more work for him/her — work to find other lone papers to group together into a coherent panel, to find a discussant for those papers, and to find a chair for the panel as a whole. Chairs therefore respond much more positively, all other things being equal, to a fully formed panel proposal.

Therefore it might well be worth your while to become a "panel organizer" to exercise your entrepreneurial skills by thinking up an idea for a panel that places the paper you want to write at the center of its concerns. You then do some of the work that would otherwise be done by the program or panel chair by identifying other presenters, soliciting paper titles from them, finding an appropriate panel chair and discussant, and taking care to make sure all the paper work is submitted early. By establishing direct preliminary contact and by submitting early, you can increase the chances that the program chair of the division to which the panel is submitted makes other decisions about encouraging or discouraging panels and paper proposals based on the expectation that your panel will be one of those selected. You can also maximize your chances of success by designing your panel to include a range of kinds of presentors. Diversity by rank, gender, and/or racial/ethnic background is always attractive to program chairs.

Given widespread frustration with the current talking-head format of APSA panels, with lots of time devoted to presenting papers available to be read on the PROCEEDINGS website or in hard-copy, and little time for real interchange at the panel itself, you can probably strengthen your panel proposal by promising a useful innovation in the panel format. One idea currently attracting attention is to disallow opening presentations by paper presenters, to begin with discussant comments, allow brief responses by presenters, and then open the floor to audience participation. Program chairs are quite likely, I think, to be attracted to ideas that will broaden the base of participation and boost attendance at their panels. In the end it is attendance at panels that determines how many panels each section will be allocated at subsequent annual meetings.

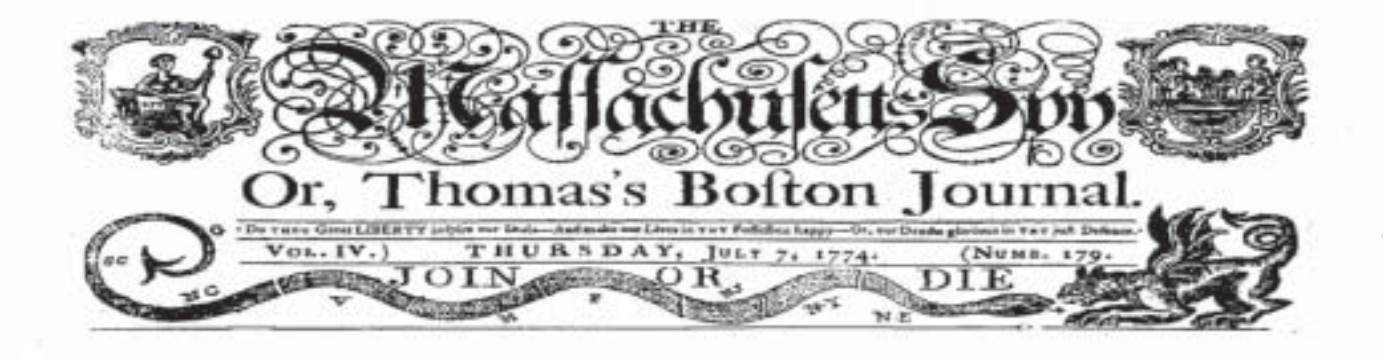
Although the policy is now under review, program chairs in different divisions can share responsibility for a panel, thereby listing a panel as theirs but only using up one half of one of their allotted number of panels. This means that if you propose a panel that crosses the rather arbitrary lines dividing division from division in the official program, you might assist your chances of success by not having to demand from any one program chair a full panel allocation. More often than not, however, this kind of arrangement is brokered directly between the program chairs of different divisions, and not initiated by the panel proposers themselves.

I would also suggest that even if you are not successful as a panel organizer, the activity itself is valuable. By reaching out and discussing your work with colleagues and putting the panel proposal together you are establishing a valuable network of contacts and scholarly comrades. You may also be creating a group which might want to meet informally at the convention to discuss research and plan future initiatives at APSA or at regional meetings. If you do a good job your efforts will also foster positive impressions of you as an active and contributing member of the profession.

With respect to poster sections, whose image as a "consolation prize" for would-be paper presenters APSA is trying hard to change, I suggest that one act assertively if offered the opportunity for a poster. By working with those in charge of the poster sessions, you might well be able to make arrangements for posters related to one's research to be located next to one another. That will encourage intellectual synergies and interesting conversations, if not with passersby, than with fellow poster-presenters.

I would urge you as well, and I'm thinking now especially of graduate students, to see the sections reflecting your special interests — and especially the Politics and History section — as your home at the APSA. You should make an effort to attend the Politics and History section business meeting and its reception. Get to know the officers, and editors of newsletters, and find out what opportunities exist specifically for someone with your interests and specializations to write for the newsletter, take responsibilities within the section, and join with other members of the section in their plans for participation in future meetings.

I look forward to seeing you in Atlanta and hope that you will come to our section's business meeting, frolic at our reception, and participate in the excellent array of panels being prepared this year under the supervision of the Politics and History Section program chairs — Andrew Polsky and Gretchen Ritter.



Journal Scan

The scholarly journals examined include those published since the last issue of the newsletter. Periodicals that were not available for scanning will be included in future issues.

Administration and Society

- Donald L. Gabard and Terry L. Cooper, "Constructs and Dilemmas," 30:4 (September 1998): 339-356.

- L. Douglas Kiel and Euel Elliott, "Long-Wave Economic Cycles, Techno-Economic Paradigms, and the Pattern of Reform in American Public Administration," 30:6 (January 1999): 616-639.

- James H. Svara, "Complementarity of Politics and Administration as a Legitimate Alternative to the Dichotomy Model," 30:6 (January 1999): 676-705.

- Patrick J. Wolf, "Neutral and Responsive Competence: The Bureau of the Budget, 1939-1948, Revisited," 31:1 (March 1999): 142-167.

Administrative Science Quarterly

- Xavier Martin, Anand Swaminathan, and Will Mitchell, "Organizational Evolution in the Interorganizational Environment: Incentives and Constraints on International Expansion Strategy," 43:3 (September 1998): 566-601.

- Ranjay Gulati and Harbir Singh, "The Architecture of Cooperation: Managing Coordination Costs and Appropriation Concerns in Strategic Alliances," 43:4 (December 1998): 781-814.

- Pamela R. Haunschild and Christine M. Beckman, "When Do Interlocks Matter?: Alternate Sources of Information and Interlock Influence," 43:4 (December 1998): 815-844.

- Martin Schulz, "Limits to Bureaucratic Growth: The Density Dependence of Organizational Rule Births," 43:4 (December 1998): 845-876.

- James B. Wade, Anand Swaminathan, and Michael Scott Saxon, "Normative and Resource Flow Consequences of Local Regulations in the American Brewing Industry, 1845-1918," 43:4 (December 1998): 905-935.

American Behavioral Scientist

- Special Issue on "Universities in Troubled Times-Institutional Responses" 42:5 (February 1999).

- David Tyack, "Monuments Between Covers: The Politics of Textbooks," 42:6 (March 1999): 922-932.

- Martha Farnsworth Riche, "Cultural and Political Dimensions of the U.S. Census: Past and Present," 42:6 (March 1999): 933-945.

- Sheldon Hackney, "Higher Education as a Medium for Culture," 42:6 (March 1999): 987-997.

- Michael Schudson, "Social Origins of Press Cynicism in Portraying Politics," 42:6 (March 1999): 998-1008.

- M.R.C. Greenwood, Karen Kovacs North, and Judith Dollenmayer, "Whose Millennium? The University as a Medium of Culture," 42:6 (March 1999): 1041-1051.

American Economic Review

- Sheila E. Murray, William N. Evans, and Robert M. Schwab, "Education-Finance Reform and the Distribution of Education Resources," 88:4 (September 1998): 789-812.

- Douglas A. Irwin, "Changes in U.S. Tariffs: The Role of Import Prices and Commercial Policies," 88:4 (September 1998): 1015-1026.

- Miguel Cantillo Simon, "The Rise and Fall of Bank Control in the United States: 1890-1939," 88:5 (December 1998): 1077-1094.

- Randall S. Kroszner and Thomas Stratmann, "Interest-Group Competition and the Organization of Congress: Theory and Evidence from Financial Services' Political Action Committees," 88:5 (December 1998):1163-1187.

American Historical Review

- Rebecca E. Karl, "Creating Asia: China in the World at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," 103:4 (October 1998): 1096-1118.
- Sonya O. Rose, "Sex, Citizenship, and the Nation in World War II Britain," 103:4 (October 1998): 1147-1176.
- Nancy F. Cott, "Marriage and Women's Citizenship in the United States, 1830-1934," 103:5 (December 1998): 1440-1474.
- Joseph C. Miller, "History and Africa/Africa and History," 104:1 (February 1999): 1-32.
- Philip T. Hoffman, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "Information and Economic History: How the Credit Market in Old Regime Paris Forces Us to Rethink the Transition to Capitalism," 104:1 (February 1999): 69-94.
- Sanjay Seth, "Rewriting Histories of Nationalism: The Politics of 'Moderate Nationalism' in India, 1870-1905," 104:1 (February 1999): 95-116.

American Journal of Sociology

- Jeffrey Haydu, "Making Use of the Past: Time Periods as Cases to Compare and as Sequences of Problem Solving," 104:2 (September 1998): 339-371.
- Frank Dobbin and John R. Sutton, "The Strength of a Weak State: The Rights Revolution and the Rise of Human Resources Management Divisions," 104:2 (September 1998): 441-476.

American Journalism

- Jon Bekken, "A Collective Biography of Editors of U.S. Workers' Papers: 1913 & 1925," 15:2 (Spring 1998): 19-40.

American Political Science Review

- Robert C. Lowry, James E. Alt, and Karen E. Ferre, "Fiscal Policy Outcomes and Electoral Accountability in American States," 92:4 (December 1998): 759-774.
- Marc J. Hetherington, "The Political Relevance of Political Trust," 92-4 (December 1998): 791-808.
- Glen S. Krutz, Richard Fleisher, and Jon R. Bond, "From Abe Fortas to Zoë Baird: Why Some Presidential Nominations Fail in the Senate," 92:4 (December 1998): 871-882.
- Cary J. Nederman and Antony Black, "The Puzzling Case of Christianity and Republicanism: A Comment on Black," (and Reply by Black) 92:4 (December 1998): 913-922.
- M. Kent Jennings, "Political Responses to Pain and Loss," 93:1 (March 1999): 1-13.
- Jonathan N. Katz and Gary King, "A Statistical Model for Multiparty Electoral Data," 93:1 (March 1999): 15-32.
- Tim Groseclose, Steven D. Levitt, and James M. Snyder, Jr., "Comparing Interest Group Scores across Time and Chambers: Adjusted ADA Scores for the U.S. Congress," 93:1 (March 1999): 33-50.
- Matthew A. Baum and Samuel Kernell, "Has Cable Ended the Golden Age of Presidential Television?," 93:1 (March 1999): 99-114.
- Scott C. James and Brian L. Lawson, "The Political Economy of Voting Rights Enforcement in America's Gilded Age: Electoral College Competition, Partisan Commitment, and the Federal Election Law," 93:1 (March 1999): 115-131.

American Politics Quarterly

- John H. Aldrich, "Political Parties in a Critical Era," 27:1 (January 1999): 9-32.
- Jeffrey M. Stonecash and Nicole R. Lindstrom, "Emerging Party Cleavages in the House of Representatives, 1962-1996," 27:1 (January 1999): 58-88.
- Geoffrey C. Layman, "'Culture Wars' in the American Party System: Religious and Cultural Change Among Partisan Activists Since 1972," 27:1 (January 1999): 89-121.

American Review of Public Administration

- Gregory D. Russell and Robert J. Waste, "The Limits of Reinventing Government," 28:4 (December 1998): 325-346.
- Richard C. Box, "Running Government Like a Business: Implications for Public Administration Theory and Practice," 29:1 (March 1999): 19-43.

American Sociological Review

- Laurie A. Morgan, "Glass Ceiling Effect or Cohort Effect? A Longitudinal Study of the Gender Earnings Gap for Engineers, 1982 to 1989," 63:4 (August 1998): 479-493.
- Jill Quadagno, "Creating a Capital Investment Welfare State: The New American Exceptionalism?," 64:1 (February 1999): 1-11.
- Xueguang Zhou and Liren Hou, "Children of the Cultural Revolution: The State and the Life Course in the People's Republic of China," 64:1 (February 1999): 12-36.

- Kevin Chen and Xiaonong Cheng, "Comment on Zhou & Hou: A Negative Life Event with Positive Consequences?," 64:1 (February 1999): 37-40.

- Guillermina Jasso, "How Much Injustice Is There in the World? Two New Justice Indexes," 64:1 (February 1999): 133-162.

American Studies

- Kathleen Kennedy, "Casting an Evil Eye on the Youth of the Nation: Motherhood and Political Subversion in the Wartime Prosecution of Kate Richards O'Hare, 1917-1924," 39:3 (Fall 1998): 105-129.

British Journal of Political Science

- Michael Marsh, "Testing the Second-Order Election Model after Four European Elections," 28:4 (October 1998): 591-608.

- Daniel Diermeier and Peter Van Roozendaal, "The Duration of Government formation Processes in Western Multi-Party Democracies," 28:4 (October 1998): 609-626.

- Richard Sinnott, "Party Attachment in Europe: Methodological Critique and Substantive Implications," 28:4 (October 1998): 627-650.

- Lyle A. Scruggs, "Institutions and Environmental Performance in Seventeen Western Democracies," 29:1 (January 1999): 1-32.

- Desmond King and Randall Hansen, "Experts at Work: State Autonomy, Social Learning and Eugenic Sterilization in 1930s Britain," 29:1 (January 1999): 77-108.

- Andrew P. Cortell and Susan Peterson, "Altered States: Explaining Domestic Institutional Change," 29:1 (January 1999): 177-203.

- Mark N. Franklin, "Electoral Engineering and Cross-National Turnout Differences: What Role for Compulsory Voting?," 29:1 (January 1999): 205-216.

Business History Review

- .Dean J. Kotlowski, "Black Power — Nixon Style: The Nixon Administration and Minority Business Enterprise," 72:3 (Autumn,1998): 409-445.

- James D. Rose, " The Sdtruggleover Management Rights at US Steel, 1946-1960: A Reassessment of Section 2-B of the Collective Bargaining Contract," 72:3 (Autumn, 1998): 446-478.

Canadian Journal of Political Science

- Tom Pocklington, "The Place of Political Science in Canadian Universities," 31:4 (December 1998): 643-658.

- Joanna Everitt, "Public Opinion and Social Movements: The Women's Movement and the Gender Gap in Canada," 31:4 (December 1998): 743-766.

Comparative Political Studies

- Mark J. Gasiorowski and Timothy J. Power, "The Structural Determinants of Democratic Consolidation: Evidence From the Third World," 31:6 (December 1998): 740-771.

- Kees Aarts, Stuart Elaine MacDonald, and George Rabinowitz, "Issues and Party Competition in the Netherlands," 32:1 (February 1999): 63-99.

Comparative Politics

- Deborah J. Yashar, "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America," 31:1 (October 1998): 23-42.

- David B. H. Denoon, "Cycles in Indian Economic Liberalization, 1966-1996," 31:1 (October 1998): 43-60.

- Markus M. L. Crepaz, "Inclusion versus Exclusion: Political Institutions and Welfare Expenditures," 31:1 (October 1998): 61-80.

- Erik Bleich, "From International Ideas to Domestic Policies: Educational Multiculturalism in England and France," 31:1 (October 1998): 81-100.

- Ben Ross Schneider, "Elusive Synergy: Business-Government Relations and Development," 31:1 (October 1998): 101-122.

- Alexander J. Motyl, "Why Empires Reemerge: Imperial Collapse and Imperial Revival in Comparative Perspective," 31:2 (January 1999): 127-146.

- Robert Fatton, Jr., "The Impairments of Democratization: Haiti in Comparative Perspective," 31:2 (January 1999): 209-229.

Comparative Studies in Society and History

- Daniel Verdier, "Democraticization and Trade Liberalization in Industrial Capitalist Countries, 1830 to 1930s," 40:4 (October 1998): 587-608.

- Manu Goswami, "From *Wadeshi* to *Swaraj*: Nation, Economy, Territory in Colonial South Asia, 1870-1907," 40:4 (October 1998): 609-636.

- Nikki R. Keddie, "The New Religious Politics: Where, When, and Why Do 'Fundamentalisms' Appear?," 40:4 (October 1998): 696-723.

- Lynne A. Haney, "Engendering the Welfare State. *A Review Article*," 40:4 (October 1998): 748-767.

Dissent

- Steve Fraser, "Is Democracy Good for Unions?," (Summer 1998): 33-39.
- David Miller, "The Left, the Nation-State, and European Citizenship," (Summer 1998): 47-51.
- Gerda Lerner, "The Meaning of Seneca Falls: 1848-1998," (Fall 1998): 35-41.
- David Lehman, "Politics, Protest, and the Avant-Garde," (Fall 1998): 80-87.
- Anne Phillips, "Who Needs Civil Society? A Feminist Perspective," (Winter 1999): 56-61.
- Michael Walzer, "Rescuing Civil Society," (Winter 1999): 62-67.

Electoral Studies

- Simon Jackman, "Electoral Enquiry: Correcting Surveys for Non-response and Measurement Error Using Auxiliary Information," 18:1 (March 1999): 7-27.
- Guy D. Whitten and Harvey D. Palmer, "Cross-national Analyses of Economic Voting," 18:1 (March 1999): 49-67.

Environmental History

- Gregory H. Maddox, "Networks and Frontiers in Colonial Tanzania," 3:4 (October 1998): 436-459.
- Robert Gordon, "'Shell No!': OCAW and the Labor-Environmental Alliance," 3:4 (October 1998): 460-487.
- David Stradling and Peter Thorsheim, "The Smoke of Great Cities: British and American Efforts to Control Air Pollution, 1860-1914," 4:1 (January 1999): 6-31.
- Jessica Teisch, "The Drowning of Big Meadows: Nature's Managers in Progressive-Era California," 4:1 (January 1999): 32-53.
- Benjamin Heber Johnson, "Conservation, Subsistence, and Class at the Birth of Superior National Forest," 4:1 (January 1999): 80-99.

European Journal of Political Research

- V. Birchfield & M.M.L. Crepaz, "The Impact of Constitutional Structures and Collective and Competitive Veto Points On Income Inequality in Industrialized Democracies," 34:2 (October 1998): 175-200.
- W.D. Coleman & W.P. Grant, "Policy Convergence and Policy Feedback: Agricultural Finance Policies in a Globalizing Era," 34:2 (October 1998): 225-247.

Explorations in Economic History

- William James Adams, "The Political Economy of Agriculture in France's Fifth Republic," 36:1 (January 1999): 1-29.
- Carolyn M. Moehling, "State Child Labor Laws and the Decline of Child Labor," 36:1 (January 1999): 72-106.

Gender & Society

- Paula Stewart Brush, "The Influence of Social Movements on Articulations of Race and Gender in Black Women's Autobiographies," 13:1 (February 1999): 120-137.

Governance

- David Lowery, "Answering the Public Choice Challenge: A Neoprogressive Research Agenda," 12:1 (January 1999): 29-55.
- Robert Harmsen, "The Europeanization of National Administrations: A Comparative Study of France and the Netherlands," 12:1 (January 1999): 81-113.

Government and Opposition

- John Zvesper, "The Separation of Powers in American Politics: Why We Fail to Accentuate the Positive," 34:1 (Winter 1999): 3-23.
- John Dumbrell, "Varieties of Post-Cold War American Isolationism," 34:1 (Winter 1999): 24-43.

Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy

- Thomas W. Merrill, "Toward a Principled Interpretation of the Commerce Clause," 22:1 (Fall 1998): 31-43.
- Douglas Laycock, "Federalism as a Structural Threat to Liberty," 22:1 (Fall 1998): 67-83.
- David E. Engdahl, "The Necessary and Proper Clause as an Intrinsic Restraint on Federal Lawmaking Power," 22:1 (Fall 1998): 107-122.
- Larry D. Kramer, "But When Exactly Was Judicially-Enforced Federalism 'Born' in the First Place?," 22:1 (Fall 1998): 123-137.
- Richard A. Epstein, "The Cartelization of Commerce," 22:1 (Fall 1998): 209-217.

Harvard Law Review

- Larry D. Kramer, "Madison's Audience," 112:3 (January 1999):611-679.

- Akhil Reed Amar, "Intratextualism," 112:4 (February 1999): 747-827.

Historical Methods

- John F. Reynolds, "Do Historians Count Anymore? The Status of Quantitative Methods in History, 1975-1995," 31:4 (Fall 1998): 141-148.

- J. Morgan Kousser, Larry J. Griffin, E.M. Beck, & Stewart E. Tolnay, "Revisiting A Festival of Violence: A Forum," 31:4 (Fall 1998): 171-180.

- Thomas Weiss, "Estimates of White and Nonwhite Gainful Workers in the United States by Age Group, Race, and Sex: Decennial Census Years, 1800-1900," 32:1 (Winter 1999): 21-35.

International Organization

- John E. Richards, "Toward a Positive Theory of International Institutions: Regulating International Aviation Markets," 53:1 (Winter 1999): 1-37.

- J. Lawrence Broz, "Origins of the Federal Reserve System: International Incentives and the Domestic Free-rider Problem," 53:1 (Winter 1999): 39-70.

- William Bernhard and David Leblang, "Democratic Institutions and Exchange-rate Commitments," 53:1 (Winter 1999): 71-98.

- Timothy J. McKeown, "Case Studies and the Statistical Worldview: Review of King, Keohane, and Verba's *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Quantitative Research*," 53:1 (Winter 1999): 161-190.

International Political Science Review

- Sergio Fabbrini, "The American System of Separated Government: An Historical-Institutional Interpretation," 20:1 (January 1999): 95-116.

Journal of Black Studies

- Sheila E. Henry, "Ethnic Identity, Nationalism, and International Stratification: The Case of the African American," 29:3 (January 1999): 438-454.

- Joseph K. Adjaye, "*Amistad* and the Lessons of History," 29:3 (January 1999): 455-463.

- Nicholas E. Magnis, "Thomas Jefferson and Slavery: An Analysis of His Racist Thinking as Revealed by His Writings and Political Behavior," 29:4 (March 1999): 491-509.

- Akinyele O. Umoja, "The Ballot and the Bullet: A Comparative Analysis of Armed Resistance in the Civil Rights Movement," 29:4 (March 1999): 558-578.

Journal of British Studies

- Tim Harris, "The People, the Law, and the Consitution in Scotland and England: A Comparative Approach to the Glorious Revolution," 38:1 (January 1999): 28-58.

- Mark Bevir, "The Labour Church Movement, 1891-1902," 38:2 (April 1999): 217-245.

Journal of Economic History

- Simone A. Wegge, "Chain Migration and Information Networks: Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Hesse-Cassel," 58:4 (December 1998): 957-986.

- Dora L. Costa, "Unequal at Birth: A Long-Term Comparison of Income and Birth Weight," 58:4 (December 1998): 987-1009.

- Holland Hunter, "Keeping Track of Economic Change with Ambiguous Tools: Soviet Planning, 1928-1991," 58:4 (December 1998): 1027-1031.

- Mark Harrison, "Prices, Planners, and Producers: an Agency Problem in Soviet Industry, 1928-1950," 58:4 (December 1998): 1032-1062.

- Robert C. Allen, "The Standard of Living in the Soviet Union, 1928-1940," 58:4 (December 1998): 1063-1089.

- Elizabeth Field-Hendrey, "The Role of Gender in Biased Technical Change: U.S. Manufacturing, 1850-1919," 58:4 (December 1998): 1090-1109.

- Tony Caporale and Barbara McKiernan, "Interest Rate Uncertainty and the Founding of the Federal Reserve," 58:4 (December 1998): 1110-1117.

Journal of Economic Issues

- C. N. Pitelis, "Transaction Costs and the Historical Evolution of the Capitalist Firm," 32:4 (December 1998): 999-1017.

- Glen Atkinson and Theodore Oleson, Jr., "Commons and Keynes: Their Assault on Laissez Faire," 32:4 (December 1998): 1019-1030.

Journal of European Economic History

- G. Andermann, H. Hockmann, and G. Schmitt, "Historical Changes in Land-Labour Relationships in Western Europe," 28:2 (Fall 1998): 245-284.

- A. J. Arnold, "'In the Service of the State'? Profitability in the British Armaments Industry, 1914-1924," 28:2 (Fall 1998): 285-314.

Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law

- Gwen Gray, "Access to Medical Care under Strain: New

Pressures in Canada and Australia," 23:6 (December 1998): 905-947.

Journal of Politics

- Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Kathleen Knight, and Lee Sigelman, "The Interplay of Macropartisanship and Macroideology: A Time Series Analysis," 60:4 (November 1998): 1031-1049.
- Michael K. Moore and John R. Hibbing, "Situational Dissatisfaction in Congress: Explaining Voluntary Departures," 60:4 (November 1998): 1088-1107.
- Evan J. Ringquist, "A Question of Justice: Equity in Environmental Litigation, 1974-1991," 60:4 (November 1998): 1148-1165.
- Carol Ann Traut and Craig F. Emmert, "Expanding the Integrated Model of Judicial Decision Making: The California Justices and Capital Punishment," 60:4 (November 1998): 1166-1180.
- David O. Sears and Carolyn L. Funk, "Evidence of the Long-Term Persistence of Adults' Political Predispositions," 61:1 (February 1999): 1-28.
- Mark Mattern, "John Dewey, Art and Public Life," 61:1 (February 1999): 54-75.
- Roy B. Flemming, B. Dan Wood, and John Bohte, "Attention to Issues in a System of Separated Powers: The Macrodynamics of American Policy Agendas," 61:1 (February 1999): 76-108.
- Richard Nadeau, Richard G. Niemi, David P. Fan, and Timothy Amato, "Elite Economic Forecasts Economic News, Mass Economic Judgments, and Presidential Approval," 61:1 (February 1999): 109-135.
- Richard Herrera and Michael Yawn, "The Emergence of the Personal Vote," 61:1 (February 1999): 136-150.
- Mark P. Jones, "Electoral Laws and the Effective Number of Candidates in Presidential Elections," 61:1 (February 1999): 171-184.
- Martha Anne Humphries and Donald R. Songer, "Law and Politics in Judicial Oversight of Federal Administrative Agencies," 61:1 (February 1999): 207-220.

Journal of Policy History

- Hugh Davis Graham, "Legacies of the 1960s: The American 'Rights Revolution' in an Era of Divided Governance," 10:3 (1998): 267-288.
- Jason Andrew Kaufman, "Politics as Social Learning: Policy Experts, Political Mobilization, and AIDS Preventive Policy," 10:3 (1998): 289-329.
- Ira Katznelson and James T. Patterson, "Forum on James T. Patterson, *Great Expectations*," 10:3 (1998): 330-350.
- Janet C. Gornick and David S. Meyer, "Changing Political Opportunity: The Anti-Rape Movement and Public Policy," 10:4 (1998): 367-398.
- Michael B. Katz and Lorrin R. Thomas, "The Invention of 'Welfare' in America," 10:4 (1998): 399-418.
- David M. Hart, "Herbert Hoover's Last Laugh: The Enduring Significance of the 'Associative State' in the United States," 10:4 (1998): 419-444.
- W.J. Rorabaugh, "Moral Character, Policy Effectiveness, and the Presidency: The Case of JFK," 10:4 (1998): 445-460.
- Joel H. Silbey, "The State and Practice of American Political History at the Millennium: The Nineteenth Century as a Test Case," 11:1 (1999): 1-30.
- Suzanne Mettler, "The Stratification of Social Citizenship: Gender and Federalism in the Formation of Old Age Insurance and Aid to Dependent Children," 11:1 (1999): 31-58.
- Gail Radford, "William Gibbs McAdoo, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and the Origins of the Public-Authority Model of Government Action," 11:1 (1999): 59-88.

Journal of Social Policy

- David Taylor, "Social Identity and Social Policy: Engagements with Postmodern Theory," 27:3 (July 1998): 329-350.
- Dan Finn, "A Job for the Unemployed: Lessons from Australian Welfare Reform," 28:1 (January 1999): 53-71.

Journal of Theoretical Politics

- Mark Thatcher, "The Development of Policy Network Analyses: From Modest Origins to Overarching Frameworks," 10:4 (October 1998): 389-416.
- Daniel P. Carpenter, Kevin M. Esterling and David M. J. Lazer, "The Strength of Weak Ties in Lobbying Networks: Evidence from Health-Care Politics in the United States," 10:4 (October 1998): 417-444.
- Franz Urban Pappi and Christian H. C. A. Henning, "Policy Networks: More than a Metaphor?" 10:4 (October 1998): 553-575.

Journal of Urban Affairs

- David L. Imbroscio, "Reformulating Urban Regime

Theory: The Division of Labor Between State and Market Reconsidered," 20:3 (1998): 233-248.

- Clarence N. Stone, "Regime Analysis and the Study of Urban Politics, a Rejoinder," 20:3 (1998): 249-260.
- David L. Imbroscio, "The Necessity of Urban Regime Change: A Reply to Clarence N. Stone," 20:3 (1998): 261-268.
- Alex Schwartz, "Bank Lending to Minority and Low-Income Households and Neighborhoods: Do Community Reinvestment Agreements Make a Difference?" 20:3 (1998): 269-301.
- Elvin K. Wyly and Daniel J. Hammel, "Modeling the Context and Contingency of Gentrification," 20:3 (1998): 303-326.
- Bonnie Lindstrom, "Regional Cooperation and Sustainable Growth: Nine Councils of Government in Northeastern Illinois," 20:3 (1998): 327-342.
- Christopher Leo, "Regional Growth Management Regime: The Case of Portland, Oregon," 20:4 (1998): 363-394.
- Nicholas Bauroth, "Regime Approaches to Obscenity Policy: 1960s to 1980s," 20:4 (1998): 395-417.

Journal of Urban History

- Raymond A. Mohl, "City and Region: The Missing Dimension in U.S. Urban History," 25:1 (November 1998): 3-21.
- Stephen V. Bittner, "Green Cities and Orderly Streets: Space and Culture in Moscow, 1928-1933," 25:1 (November 1998): 22-56.
- Roger Biles, "Thinking the Unthinkable About Our Cities," 25:1 (November 1998): 57-74.
- Heather Ann Thompson, "Rethinking the Politics of White Flight in the Postwar City: Detroit, 1945-1980," 25:2 (January 1999): 163-198.
- Peyton McCrary, "The Dynamics of Minority Vote Dilution: The Case of Augusta, Georgia, 1945-1986," 25:2 (January 1999): 199-225.
- Michele H. Bogart, "Public Space and Public Memory in New York's City Hall Park," 25:2 (January 1999): 226-257.
- Maureen Ogle, "Water Supply, Waste Disposal, and the Culture of Privatism in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century American City," 25:3 (March 1999): 321-347.
- Martha J. Bianco, "Technological Innovation and the Rise and Fall of Urban Mass Transit," 25:3 (March 1999): 348-378.
- Clay McShane, "The Origins and Globalization of Traffic Control Signals," 25:3 (March 1999): 379-404.
- Paul Barrett and Mark H. Rose, "Street Smarts: The Politics of Transportation Statistics in the American City, 1900-1990," 25:3 (March 1999): 405-433.
- Joel A. Tarr, "A Note on the Horse as an Urban Power Source," 25:3 (March 1999): 434-448.

Labor History

- .Christopher Tomlins, "Why Wait for Industrialism" Work, Legal Culture, and the Example of Early America - An Historiographical Argument," 40:1 (February, 1999): 5-34.
- Commentary and Response to Tomlins by David Montgomery, Daniel Nelson, Howard B. Rock, and Tomlins, 35-52.

Law & Policy

- Susan Gluck Mezey, "Systemic Reform Litigation and Child Welfare Policy: The Case of Illinois," 20:2 (April 1998): 203-230.

Law & Society

- Howard Schweber, "Ordering Principles: The Adjudication of Criminal Cases in Puritan Massachusetts," 32:2 (1998): 367-408.
- Bryant Garth & Joyce Sterling, "From Legal Realism to Law and Society: Reshaping Law for the Last Stages of the Social Activist State," 32:2 (1998): 409-472.
- Kitty Calavita, "Immigration, Law, and Marginalization in a Global Economy: Notes from Spain," 32:3 (1998): 529-566.
- Paul J. Wahbeck, "The Development of a Legal Rule: The Federal Common Law of Public Nuisance," 32:3 (1998): 613-638.

Legislative Studies Quarterly

- Michael F. Thies, "When Will Pork Leave the Farm? Institutional Bias in Japan and the United States," 23:4 (November 1998): 467-492.
- Jeffrey A. Jenkins, "Property Rights and the Emergence of Standing Committee Dominance in the Nineteenth-Century House," 23:4 (November 1998): 493-519.
- William Koetzle, "The Impact of Constituency Diversity upon the Competitiveness of U.S. House Elections, 1962-96," 23:4 (November 1998): 561-574.

- Noelle H. Norton, "Uncovering the Dimensionality of Gender Voting in Congress," 24:1 (February 1999): 65-86.

- Thomas L. Brunell, William Koetzle, John Dinardo, Bernard Grofman, and Scott L. Feld, "The $R^2 = .93$: Where Then Do They Differ? Comparing Liberal and Conservative Interest Group Ratings," 24:1 (February 1999): 87-101.

- Ronald Keith Gaddie, Charles S. Bullock III, and Scott E. Buchanan, "What Is So Special About Special Elections?," 24:1 (February 1999): 103-112.

New Left Review

- Malcolm Bull, "Slavery and the Multiple Self," 231 (September/October 1998): 94-131.

- Daniel Lazare, "America the Undemocratic," 232 (November/December 1998): 3-40.

- Michel Aglietta, "Capitalism at the Turn of the Century: Regulation Theory and the Challenge of Social Change," 232 (November/December 1998): 41-90.

New Political Science

- Luis Aponte-Parés, " Lessons from *El Barrio*—The East Harlem Real Great Society/Urban Planning Studio: A Puerto Rican Chapter in the Fight for Urban Self-Determination," 20:4 (December 1998): 399-420.

- Victor M. Rodriguez, "Boricuas, African Americans, and Chicanos in the 'Far West:' Notes on the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement in California, 1960s-1980s," 20:4 (December 1998): 421-439.

- Gilbert G. González, "The 1933 Los Angeles County Farm Workers Strike," 20:4 (December 1998): 441-445.

- Stephen Eric Bronner, "Looking Backwards: 1968 Thirty Years Later," 20:4 (December 1998): 485-490.

Parliamentary Affairs

- Justin Greenwood, "Special Issue on The Regulation of Lobbying," 51:4 (October 1998).

- Clive S. Thomas, "Interest Group Regulation Across the United States: Rationale, Development and Consequences," 51:4 (October 1998): 500-515.

- Michael Rush, "The Canadian Experience: The Lobbyists Registration Act," 51:4 (October 1998): 516-523.

- Grant Jordan, "Towards Regulation in the UK: From 'General Good Sense' to 'Formalised Rules'," 51:4 (October 1998): 524-537.

- John Warhurst, "Locating the Target: Regulating Lobbying in Australia," 51:4 (October 1998): 538-550.

- Ronald J. Hrebenar, Akira Nakainura and Akio Nakamura, "Lobby Regulation in the Japanese Diet," 51:4 (October 1998): 551-558.

- Karsten Ronit and Volker Schneider, "The Strange Case of Regulating Lobbying in Germany," 51:4 (October 1998): 559-567.

- Yael Yishai, "Regulation of Interest Groups in Israel," 51:4 (October 1998): 568-578.

- René E. Rechtman with Jesper Panum Larsen-Ledet, "Regulation of Lobbyists in Scandinavia-A Danish Perspective," 51:4 (October 1998): 579-586.

- Justin Greenwood, "Regulating Lobbying in the European Union," 51:4 (October 1998): 587-599.

- Robert Singh, "Gun Politics in America: Continuity and Change," 52:1 (January 1999): 1-18.

- Andrew Denham & Mark Garnett, "Influence Without Responsibility? Think Tanks in Britain," 52:1 (January 1999): 46-57.

Past & Present

- Peter King, "The Rise of Juvenile Delinquency in England 1780-1840: Changing Patterns of Perception and Prosecution," 160 (August 1998): 116-166.

- Rosemary Sweet, "Freemen and Independence in English Borough Politics c. 1770-1830," 161 (November 1998): 84-115.

Policy & Politics

- Vaughan Rogers, "Devolution and Economic Development in France," 26:4 (October 1998): 417-438.

- Desmond King and Mark Wickham-Jones, "Training Without the State? New Labour and Labour Markets," 26:4 (October 1998): 439-456.

Policy Sciences

- Matthew R. Auer, "Agency Reform as Decision Process: The Reengineering of the Agency for International Development," 31:2 (1998): 81-105.

- Detlef Jahn, "Environmental Performance and Policy Regimes: Explaining Variations in 18 OECD-countries," 31:2 (1998): 107-131.

- David Patrick Houghton, "Analogical Reasoning and Policymaking: Where and When is it Used?," 31:3 (1998): 151-176.

Policy Studies Journal

- Amy G. Mazur and Janine Parry, "Choosing Not to Choose in Comparative Policy Research Design: The Case of the Research Network on Gender, Politics, and the State," 26:3 (1998): 384-397.
- Uday Desai, Matthew Holden, and Mack Shelley, "The Politics of Policy: Prospects and Realities," 26:3 (1998): 423-433.
- Michael Howlett and M. Ramesh, "Policy Subsystem Configurations and Policy Change: Operationalizing the Postpositivist Analysis of the Politics of the Policy Process," 26:3 (1998): 466-481.
- James E. Anderson, "The Struggle to Reform Regulatory Procedures, 1978-1998," 26:3 (1998): 482-498.
- Brenda E. Holzinger, "Rethinking American Public Policy: The Environment, Federalism, States, and Supranational Influences," 26:3 (1998): 499-511.

Policy Studies Review

- William Zumeta, "Public University Accountability to the State in the Late Twentieth Century: A Time for Rethinking?," 15:4 (Winter 1998): 5-22.
- Paul Hollander, "Long Term Cultural Trends & the Problems of Higher Education in the US," 15:4 (Winter 1998): 83-98.

Political Behavior

- Thomas M. Carsey and Geoffrey C. Layman, "A Dynamic Model of Political Change Among Party Activists," 21:1 (March 1999): 17-41.
- Ewa A. Golebiowska, "Gender Gap in Political Tolerance," 21:1 (March 1999): 43-66.
- Thomas M. Holbrook, "Political Learning from Presidential Debates," 21:1 (March 1999): 67-89.

Political Research Quarterly

- Cindy Simon Rosenthal, "Determinants of Collaborative Leadership: Civic Engagement, Gender or Organizational Norms?," 51:4 (December 1998): 847-868.
- Evan J. Ringquist & Craig F. Emmert, "Judicial Policymaking in Published and Unpublished Decisions: The Case of Environmental Civil Litigation," 52:1 (March 1999): 7-37.
- Barbara Palmer, "Issue Fluidity and Agenda Setting on the Warren Court," 52:1 (March 1999): 39-66.
- John T. Ishiyama, "The Communist Successor Parties and Party Organizational Development in Post-Communist Politics," 52:1 (March 1999): 87-112.
- Susan B. Hansen, "'Life is Not Fair': Governors' Job Performance Ratings and State Economies," 52:1 (March 1999): 189-208.
- Jeffrey S. Walz & John Comer, "State Response to National Democratic Party Reform," 52:1 (March 1999): 189-208.

PS: Political Science and Politics

- W. Lance Bennett, "The UnCivic Culture: Communication, Identity, and the Rise of Lifestyle Politics," 31:4 (December 1998): 741-761.
- Louis C. Gawthrop, "The Human Side of Public Administration," 31:4 (December 1998): 763-769.
- Jeremy D. Mayer and Lee Sigelman, "Zog for Albania, Edward for Estonia, and Monarchs for All the Rest? The Royal Road to Prosperity, Democracy, and World Peace," 31:4 (December 1998): 771-774.
- Roberta Sigel, Susan J. Carroll, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Erika Falk, Susan Sherr, Kristi Andersen, and Kathleen A. Frankovic, *Symposium* on "Gender And Voting Behavior In The 1996 Presidential Election," 32:1 (March 1999): 5-22.
- Gary L. McDowell, Bruce Ackerman, Samuel H. Beer, Matthew Holden Jr., and Cass R. Sunstein, "Political Scientists Testify during House Impeachment Hearing," 32:1 (March, 1999): 24-38.
- Albert Somit and Steven A. Peterson, "Rational Choice and Biopolitics: A (Darwinian) Tale of Two Theories," 32:1 (March 1999): 39-44.
- Adrian Prentice Hull, "Comparative Political Science: An Inventory and Assessment since the 1980s," 32:1 (March 1999): 117-124

Political Science Quarterly

- John Whiteclay Chambers II, "Jimmy Carter's Public Policy Ex-Presidency," 113:3 (Fall 1998): 405-425.
- Michael Les Benedict, "From Our Archives: A New Look at the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson," 113:3 (Fall 1998): 493-512.
- Robert David Johnson, "The Government Operations Committee and Foreign Policy During the Cold War," 113:4 (Winter 1998-99): 645-672.
- Karen Orren & Stephen Skowronek, "Regimes and Regime Building in American Government: A Review of Literature on the 1940s," 113:4 (Winter 1998-99): 689-702.

Political Studies

- Sasja Tempelman, "Constructions of Cultural Identity: Multiculturalism and Exclusion," 47:1 (March 1999): 17-31.
- Edward Page, "Intergenerational Justice and Climate Change," 47:1 (March 1999): 53-66.
- Neil Stammers, Helga Dittmar and Janet Henney, "Teaching and Learning Politics: A Survey of Practices and Change," 47:1 (March 1999): 114-126.

Politics & Society

- Wolfgang Streeck, "The Internationalization of Industrial Relations in Europe: Prospects and Problems," 26:4 (December 1998): 429-460.
- Boaventura De Sousa Santos, "Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Toward a Redistributive Democracy," 26:4 (December 1998): 461-510.
- Rebecca Abers, "From Clientelism to Cooperation: Local Government, Participatory Policy, and Civic Organizing in Porto Alegre, Brazil," 26:4 (December 1998): 511-538.
- Neil Bradford, "Prospects for Associative Governance: Lessons from Ontario, Canada," 26:4 (December 1998): 539-571.
- Christopher K. Ansell and Antoine Joseph, "The Mass Production of Craft Unionism: Exploring Workers' Solidarity in Late Nineteenth-Century France and America," 26:4 (December 1998): 575-602.
- Aristide R. Zolberg and Long Litt Woon, "Why Islam is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States," 27:1 (March 1999): 5-38.
- Sanford Schram, "The Real Value of Welfare: Why Poor Families Do Not Migrate," 27:1 (March 1999): 39-66.
- Marc Schneiberg, "Political and Institutional Conditions for Governance by Association: Private Order and Price Controls in American Fire Insurance," 27:1 (March 1999): 67-104.
- Claire Jean Kim, "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans," 27:1 (March 1999): 105-138.
- Heather L. Williams, "Mobile Capital and Transborder Labor Rights Mobilization," 27:1 (March 1999): 139-166.

Presidential Studies Quarterly

- John J. Dwyer, "The End of U.S. Intervention in Mexico: Franklin Roosevelt and the Expropriation of American-Owned Agricultural Property," 28:3 (Summer 1998): 495-509.
- Harold I. Gullan, "Expectations of Infamy: Roosevelt and Marshall Prepare for War, 1938-41," 28:3 (Summer 1998): 510-522.
- André Luiz Vieira de Campos, "The Institute of Inter-American Affairs and Its Health Policies in Brazil during World War II," 28:3 (Summer 1998): 523-534.
- John Andrew III, "Cracks in the Consensus: The Rockefeller Brothers Fund Special Studies Project and Eisenhower's America," 28:3 (Summer 1998): 535-552.
- W.D. Kay, "John F. Kennedy and the Two Faces of the U.S. Space Program, 1961-63," 28:3 (Summer 1998): 573-586.
- John Barkdull, "Nixon and the Marine Environment," 28:3 (Summer 1998): 587-605.
- Timothy P. Maga, "Ronald Reagan and Redress for Japanese-American Internment, 1983-88," 28:3 (Summer 1998): 606-619.
- Kimi Lynn King and James Meernik, "The 'Sole Organ' Before the Court: Presidential Power in Foreign Policy Cases, 1790-1996," 28:3 (Summer 1998): 666-686.
- Stephen Hess, "The Once to Future Worlds of Presidents Communicating," 28:4 (Fall 1998): 748-753.

Public Administration Review

- George A. Boyne, "Bureaucratic Theory Meets Reality: Public Choice and Service Contracting in U.S. Local Government," 58:6 (November/December 1998): 474-484.
- Moshe Maor, "The Paradox of Managerialism," 59:1 (January/February 1999): 5-18.
- David K. Hamilton, "The Continuing Judicial Assault on Patronage," 59:1 (January/February 1999): 54-62.

Public Choice

- K. Banaian, R.C.K. Burdekin and T.D. Willett, "Reconsidering the Principal Components of Central Bank Independence: The More the Merrier?," 97:1-2 (1998): 1-12.
- J.M. Buchanan, "Majoritarian Logic," 97:1-2 (1998): 13-21.
- A. Glazer, B. Grofman, and G. Owen, "A Neo-Downsian Model of Group-Oriented Voting and Racial Backlash," 97:1-2 (1998): 23-34.

- B.G. Reid, "Endogenous Elections, Electoral Budget Cycles and Canadian Provincial Governments," 97:1-2 (1998): 35-48.

- R.K. Goel and M.A. Nelson, "Corruption and Government Size: A Disaggregated Analysis," 97:1-2 (1998): 107-120.

- B. Goff, "Persistence in Government Spending Fluctuations: New Evidence on the Displacement Effect," 97:1-2 (1998): 141-157.

- M. Gouveia and N.A. Masia, "Does the Median Voter Model Explain the Size of Government?: Evidence From the States," 97:1-2 (1998): 159-177.

- N. Schofield, A.D. Martin, K.M. Quinn and A.B. Whitford, "Multiparty Electoral Competition in the Netherlands and Germany: A Model Based on Multinomial Probit," 97:3 (1998): 257-293.

- K.T. Poole and H. Rosenthal, The Dynamics of Interest Group Evaluations of Congress," 97:3 (1998): 323-361.

- A.M.A. van Deemen and N.P. Vergunst, "Empirical Evidence of Paradoxes of Voting in Dutch Elections," 97:3 (1998): 475-490.

- P.T. Calcagno and J.D. Jackson, "Political Action Committee Spending and Senate Roll Call Voting," 97:4 (1998): 569-585.

- J.S. Coggins and C. Federico Perali, "64% Majority Rule in Ducal Venice: Voting for the Doge," 97:4 (1998): 709-723.

- M.F. Brinig and F.H. Buckley, "The Price of Virtue," 98:1-2 (1999): 111-129.

- P. Nelson, "Redistribution and the Income of the Median Voter," 98:1-2 (1999): 187-194.

- K.V. Greene and O. Nikolaev, "Voter Participation and the Redistributive State," 98:1-2 (1999): 213-226.

- W.C. Mitchell, "Political Science and Public Choice: 1950-70," 98:3-4 (1999): 237-249.

- J.S. Ferris and E.G. West, "Cost Disease Versus Leviathan Explanations of Rising Government Cost: An Empirical Investigation," 98:3-4 (1999): 307-316.

- R.M. Grier, "Colonial Legacies and Economic Growth," 98:3-4 (1999): 317-335.

- T. Oatley, "Central Bank Independence and Inflation: Corporatism, Partisanship, and Alternative Indices of Central Bank Independence," 98:3-4 (1999): 399-413.

- J.G. Matsusaka and F. Palda, "Voter Turnout: How Much Can We Explain?," 98:3-4 (1999): 431-446.

Radical History Review

- Ada Ferrer, "Cuba, 1898: Rethinking Race, Nation, and Empire," 73 (Winter 1999): 22-46.

- Paul Kramer, "Making Concessions: Race and Empire Revisited at the Philippine Exposition, St. Louis, 1901-1905," 73 (Winter 1999): 74-115.

The Review of Economics and Statistics

- Peter Gottschalk & Mary Joyce, "Cross-National Differences in the Rise in Earnings Inequality: Market and Institutional Factors," 80:4 (November 1998): 489-502.

- Dan Ben-David & David H. Papell, "Slowdowns and Meltdowns: Postwar Growth Evidence from 74 Countries," 80:4 (November 1998): 561-571.

- Antonio Merlo, "Economic Dynamics and Government Stability in Postward Italy," 80:4 (November 1998): 629-.

SIGNS

- Forum on "The 'Remasculinization' of Germany in the 1950s," 24:1 (Autumn 1998): 101-170.

- Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor, "Forging Feminist Identity in an International Movement: A Collective Identity Approach to Twentieth-Century Feminism," 24:2 (Winter 1999): 363-386.

Social Forces

- Paul Burstein, "Bringing the Public Back In: Should Sociologists Consider the Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy?," 77:1 (September 1998): 27-62.

- Barry Schwartz, "Postmodernity and Historical Reputation: Abraham Lincoln in Late Twentieth-Century American Memory," 77:1 (September 1998): 63-104.

Social Politics

- Joya Misra and Frances Akins, "The Welfare State and Women: Structure, Agency, and Diversity," 5:3 (Fall 1998): 259-285.

- Nancy A. Naples, "Toward a Multiracial Feminist Social-Democratic Praxis: Lessons from Grassroots Warriors in the U.S. War on Poverty," 5:3 (Fall 1998): 286-313.

Social Science History

- Frederick C. Corney, "Rethinking a Great Event: The October Revolution as Memory Project," 22:4 (Winter 1998): 389-414.

- Simonetta Falasca Zamponi, "Of Storytellers and Master Narratives: Modernity, Memory, and History in Fascist Italy," 22:4 (Winter 1998): 415-444.

- Lyn Spillman, "When Do Collective Memories Last? Founding Moments in the United States and Australia," 22:4 (Winter 1998): 445-477.

- Francesca Polletta, "Legacies and Liabilities of an Insurgent Past: Remembering Martin Luther King, Jr., on the House and Senate Floor," 22:4 (Winter 1998): 479-512.

The Sociological Quarterly

- Mary Zey and Tami Swenson, "Corporate Tax Laws, Corporate Restructuring and Subsidiarization of Corporate Form, 1981-1995," 39:4 (Fall 1998): 555-582.

Studies in American Political Development

- Mark a. Graber, "Federalist or Friends of Adams: The Marshall Court and Party Politics," 12:2 (Fall 1998): 229-266.

- Scott Allard, Nancy Burns, and Gerald Gamm, "Representing Urban Interests: The Local Politics of State Legislatures," 12:2 (Fall 1998): 267-302.

- Suzanne Mettler, "Dividing Social Citizenship by Gender: The Implementation of Unemployment Insurance and Aid to Dependent Children, 1935-1950," 12:2 (Fall 1998): 303-342.

- Karen Orren, "'A War Between Officers': The Enforcement of Slavery in the Northern United States, and Of the Republic for Which it Stands, Before the Civil War," 12:2 (Fall 1998): 343-382.

- David J. Siemers, "'It is Natural to Care for the Crazy Machine': The Antifederalists' Post Ratification Acquiescence," 12:2 (Fall 1998): 383-410.

Theory and Society

- Kristin Luker, "Sex, Social Hygiene, and the State: The Double-Edged Sword of Social Reform," 27:5 (October 1998): 601-634.

- Mustafa Emirbayer, "Theorizing Men and Men's Theorizing: Varieties of Discursive Practices in Men's Theorizing of Men," 27:6 (December 1998): 727-779.

The University of Chicago Law Review

- Catherine L. Fisk, "Removing the 'Fuel of Interest' from the 'Fire of Genius': Law and the Employee-Inventor, 1830-1930," 65:4 (Fall 1998): 1127-1198.

- James P. Martin, "When Repression Is Democratic and Constitutional: The Federalist Theory of Representation and the Sedition Act of 1798," 66:1 (Winter 1999): 117-182.

University of Pennsylvania Law Review

- Geoffrey C. Hazard, Jr., "An Historical Analysis of the Binding Effect of Class Suits," 146:6 (August 1998): 1849-1948.

- Barry Friedman & Scott B. Smith, "The Sedimentary Constitution," 147:1 (November 1998): 1-90.

- Cass R. Sunstein, "Impeaching the President," 147:2 (December 1998): 279-316.

- David J. Barron, "The Promise of Cooley's City: Traces of Local Constitution," 147:3 (January 1999): 487-612.

Urban Affairs Review

- David L. Gladstone, "Tourism Urbanization in the United States," 34:1 (September 1998): 3-27.

- Samuel Cohn and Mark Fossett, "The Other Reason Job Suburbanization Hurts Blacks: The Relationship Between the Location and Racial Composition of Employment in Detroit and Atlanta, 1980," 34:1 (September 1998): 94-125.

- Annette Steinacker, "Economic Restructuring of Cities, Suburbs, and Nonmetropolitan Areas, 1977-1992," 34:2 (November 1998): 212-240.

- Harold Wolman and Lisa Marckini, "Changes in Central-City Representation and Influence in Congress Since the 1960s," 34:2 (November 1998): 291-312.

- Jon Pierre, "Models of Urban Governance: The Institutional Dimension of Urban Politics," 34:3 (January 1999): 372-296.

- Keith Dowding, Patrick Dunleavy, Desmond King, Helen Margetts, and Yvonne Rydin, "Regime Politics in London Local Government," 34:4 (March 1999): 515-545.

West European Politics

- Special Issue on "Politics and Policy in Democratic Spain: No Longer Different?," 21:4 (October 1998).

The William and Mary Quarterly

- John J. McCusker, "Measuring Colonial Gross Domestic Product: An Introduction," 61:1 (January 1999): 3-8.

- Lance Davis and Stanley Engerman, "The Economy of British North America: Miles Traveled, Miles Still to Go," 61:1 (January 1999): 9-22.

- Robert E. Gallman, "Can We Build National Accounts for the Colonial Period of American History?," 61:1 (January 1999): 23-30.

World Politics

- Karen L. Remmer, "Theoretical Decay and Theoretical Development: The Resurgence of Institutional Analysis," 50:1 (October 1997): 34-61.
- Peter Evans, "The Eclipse of the State? Reflections on Stateness in an Era of Globalization," 50:1 (October 1997): 62-87.
- Ian S. Lustick, "Lijphart, Lakatos, and Consociatialism," 50:1 (October 1997): 88-117.
- Andrew C. Janos, "Paradigms Revisited: Productionism, Globality, and Postmodernity in Comparative Politics," 50:1 (October 1997): 118-149.
- Robert O. Keohane, "Problematic Lucidity: Stephen Krasner's 'State Power and the Structure of International Trade'," 50:1 (October 1997): 150-170.
- Hector E. Schamis, "Distributional Coalitions and the Politics of Economic Reform in Latin America," 51:2 (January 1999): 236-268.

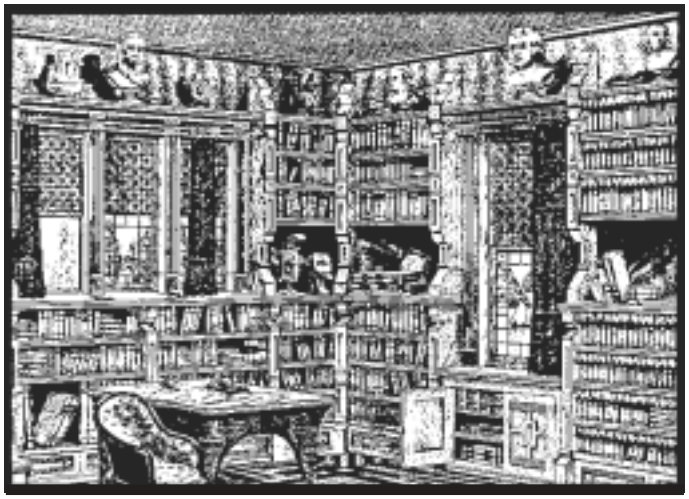
The Yale Law Journal

- Ariela J. Gross, "Litigating Whiteness: Trials of Racial Determination in the Nineteenth-Century South," 108:1 (October 1998): 109-188.

greater racial equality have come only when certain extraordinary conditions have been present. They have come only in the wake of a large-scale war requiring the economic and military mobilization of African-Americans; only when American elites have felt compelled to justify those wars by appeal to the nation's more egalitarian and inclusive, as opposed to its racist, traditions; and only when domestic political movements have pushed U.S. elites to live up to that egalitarian justificatory rhetoric. The three periods of reform when these conditions were present are the First Emancipation, when slavery was ended in the north in the wake of the Revolutionary War; Reconstruction following the Civil War; and the triumphs of the modern civil rights movement, which we argue were incubated first by WW II and then by the Cold War, an extended period in which the three conditions we described remained present. But in between these reform periods, racial progress has always stagnated and in some ways the nation has regressed toward renewed inequalities. There has been enough cumulative progress that, we hope, a war may not be required to achieve further substantial steps toward racial equality in the future. Still, it is probably unrealistic to expect such equality to come without major governmental efforts of the sort that have brought progress in the past.

Many have already criticized our account as too gloomy. We are accused of overstating the similarity of the present era to the late 19th century's retreat from Reconstruction and of failing to recognize that the nation turned a corner in regard to race in the 1960s. Old racist notions have been decisively discredited; and at any rate the rise of the black middle class and the nation's greater racial and ethnic diversity in the wake of the 1965 Immigration Act mean that forces of opposition to white supremacy are too powerful to render such views serious threats today. To decide whether our critics are correct, I must ultimately write the follow-up volume to Civic Ideals, continuing the story of American citizenship laws from where that book ends, in 1912, up to the present. I fully intend to do so; but having spent the last decade and a half working always on one book, sometimes two, I am not writing "Daughter of Civic Ideals" just yet. Instead I have been exploring the way race and ethnicity are discussed in American immigration debates from 1965 to the present to consider whether older racial conceptions of American identity have indeed been decisively eclipsed. Important and valuable changes are certainly evident; but the changes are ongoing, and unlike many scholars I find it difficult to dismiss the fact that the best-selling book on immigration in the 1990s has been Peter Brimelow's Alien Nation. That book explicitly laments how modern immigration policies have eroded America's traditional white racial hegemony. Brimelow's book was followed by significant anti-immigration legislation both in California (Prop. 187) and at the national level (the 1996 Welfare Reform Act, among other measures). It is true that things are not nearly so bad as in the late 19th century, but neither does it seem to me that attachments to America's traditional racial ordering are no longer important factors in American civic life.

That point leads to the third line of ongoing work I am pursuing in the wake of Civic Ideals. Its argument about the power of exclusionary, hierarchical civic narratives in the politics of nation-building poses a normative challenge: can we offer accounts defending membership in a particular political community that avoid sanctioning unjust inequalities and chauvinistic nationalism, if not indeed racism and sexism as in America's past? Should we try to do so? The last chapter of Civic Ideals begins developing such an account. It criticizes leading normative discussions of citizenship and political membership for failing to take seriously the character and dangers of the political imperatives involved in nation-building. It responds to those imperatives by arguing that political communities should be seen as complex historical entities, created for certain inevitably partisan purposes but capable of being continued in better rather than worse ways if their members choose to do so. But these arguments are only



Book Notes

Paul Frymer. 1999. ***Uneasy Alliances: Race and Party Competition in America.*** Princeton: Princeton University Press.

If the two party system encourages competition for votes, why have American political parties failed to contest each other more energetically for African-American votes? Frymer argues that the American two party system actually encourages the electoral capture of black votes — that is, the system permits one party to permit the other to enjoy the overwhelming affiliation of African-American voters. Black voters are left with no alternative but to stay predominantly loyal to a party whose leaders take their support for granted. Of the many reasons for electoral capture, the most important in Frymer's view is that party leaders calculate that an appeal to black voters will cause electoral defeats by alienating large numbers of the white majority. The emerging party system in early nineteenth century created a party system that minimized racial and sectional conflict. After 1865, a similar logic shaped party competition as Reconstruction's electoral potency quickly evaporated. Party rules that ensure African-American influence in party decisions has offset the tendedncy of the two party system to capture black voters. Frymer challenges "the common belief that a competitive two-party system produces a more democratic and inclusive society," (6) suggesting that even in a system of two "responsible" parties, minority interests may be marginalized.

Robert. W. Speel. 1998. ***Changing Patterns of Voting in the Northern United States: Electoral Realignment 1952-1996.*** University Park: Penn State University Press.

Speel argues that changes in northern voting patterns since 1952 constitute a realignment, with realignment understood as a gradual process of change in voting patterns that vary for different offices. He concludes that, since 1952, Republican gains in the south have accompanied losses to the Democrats in Northern states. Vermont, once one of the most reliably Republican states, now routinely votes for Democrats for federal offices and for governor because of the shifting allegiance of native Yankee voters. In neighboring New Hampshire, conservative leadership has "tilted political dialogue rightward" (93), and the ascendance of Goldwater-Reagan Republicanism has caused moderate and liberal Republicans to abandon the party. Rhode Island provides evidence of "federalized realignment": voting patterns between federal and state offices diverge because the differences between the image presented to state voters by the national versus the state parties; party attachments differ by office level (122). The Northern realignment in presidential elections is most evident in the 1992 and 1996 presidential elections. .

Bartholomew H. Sparrow. 1999. ***Uncertain Guardians: The News Media as a Political Institution.*** Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Why can we consider the new media to be a single actor in the U.S. political system—as is implied by the use of "media" as a singular noun—and why does it matter that the media are an aggregate actor? In Uncertain Guardians_ I argue that the notion that the news media can serve as a fourth estate, a check or countervailing power to the three formal branches of government, is mistaken. Rather, the news media are greatly constrained by the fact that they face serious and similar uncertainties with respect to their political credibility, their access to news sources, and their commercial success. The result of these shared uncertainties is that the major media of the television networks, newsmagazines, and national newspapers have developed the use of similar journalistic practices for the production of political news. At the same time, however, the use of these practices—necessary as they may be in the environment of news organizations—allows both politicians and journalists to manipulate political information, enables government officials to mislead the public, and results in the significant influence of commercial considerations on what gets reported. The consequence is that the news media cannot report the news in the accurate, objective, public-interested way that prominent journalists and their professional codes of ethics promise.

The major media may be considered as single institution by virtue of the hierarchical administration of news organizations and media corporations, the small size of the political universe in which political journalists, politicians, and public officials work and live, the cue-taking prevalent among journalists and news organizations, and the operation of "multivocal" news conventions—news practices that address simultaneously the three uncertainties of journalists' political environment. I then explore five cases from recent history that illustrate the prestige media's inability to serve as a watchdog and their near-identical treatment of important political issues: news coverage with respect to the 1990-1991 Gulf War, the crash of KAL 007 in 1983, the Savings and Loan debacle of the mid-1980s, the spread and treatment of AIDS in the early 1980s,

and research on a cure for cancer in the 1980s and 1990s by by a Canadian scientist, Gaston Naessens. I conclude by proposing reforms in public policy, journalism, and the education and behavior of individual Americans so as to alter the current condition of political communication.

David F. Ericson and Louisa Bertch Green, eds. 1999. ***The Liberal Tradition in American Politics: Reassessing the Legacy of American Liberalism.*** New York: Routledge.

The volume is comprised of essays presented at conference at the University of Chicago in November, 1996. The essays include research on African-American thought (by Gayle McKeen), proslavery thought (by David F. Ericson), contestations over citizenship during reconstruction (by Carol Horton) and the Progressive era (by Carol Nackenoff), and the cultural dimensions of Supreme Court decision-making (by Ronald Kahn). Several essays explore the microfoundations of American political development, including the conceptions of rationality (Ira Katznelson) and the nature of the "public" (Louisa Bertch Green). Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek address the development of political institutions. Rogers Smith addresses the question of the meaning of American political development viewed through the prism of one or more traditions of ideas and the way that approach advances or impedes research.

Keith E. Whittington. 1999. ***Constitutional Construction: Divided Powers and Constitutional Meaning.*** Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

The elaboration of constitutional meaning is most often understood as a process of "interpretation," modeled on the judicial enforcement of ordinary law. This book argues that our system has left additional space for other actors to behave constitutionally. It shows that presidents, legislators and even private citizens have been key players in defining constitutional meaning, reinterpreting cherished national traditions, and altering our fundamental political practices. The maintenance of our Constitution depends as much on the actions of elected government officials as it does on unelected judges. In debating constitutional meaning and reshaping inherited ideas and institutions, political actors determine the possibilities and limits of future government action. This book puts the Constitution back into a political context. Constitutional structures shape political outcomes, and the political arena is often the primary forum for settling contested constitutional meaning. The project of constructing a workable constitution is an integral part of the American political experience and is not constrained to a handful of founding moments. The book reintegrates political institutions and norms into our constitutional framework and emphasizes the extent to which the political actors work to create, institutionalize and enforce their own understandings of constitutional meaning. The book develops its argument through detailed case studies of the Jeffersonian impeachment of Justice Samuel Chase, the Jacksonian nullification crisis and tariff controversy, Reconstruction and the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, and the struggles over presidential power during the Nixon era. - contributed by Keith Whittington

Richard J. Ellis, ed. 1998. ***Speaking to the People: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective.*** Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Contents: * David K. Nichols, "A Marriage Made in Philadelphia: The Constitution and the Rhetorical Presidency." * Richard J. Ellis and Stephen Kirk, "Jefferson, Jackson, and the Origins of the Presidential Mandate." * Mel Laracey, "The Presidential Newspaper: The Forgotten Way of Going Public." * Gerald Gamm and Renee M. Smith, "Presidents, Parties, and the Public: Evolving Patterns of Interaction, 1877-1929." * Richard J. Ellis, "Accepting the Nomination: From Martin Van Buren to Franklin Delano Roosevelt." * Terri Bimes and Stephen Skowronek, "Woodrow Wilson's Critique of Popular Leadership: Reassessing the Modern-Traditional Divide in Presidential History." * Daniel Stid, "Rhetorical Leadership and "Common Counsel" in the Presidency of Woodrow Wilson." * Sidney M. Milkis, "Franklin D. Roosevelt, Progressivism, and the Limits of Popular Leadership." * Jeffrey K. Tulis, "Reflections on the Rhetorical Presidency in American Political Development."

Daniel Rogers. 1998. ***Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age.*** Cambridge: Belknap.

Rogers examines the "Atlantic era in social politics," the years between the 1870s and World War II. During these years, north Atlantic nations coped with common problems of industrialization and energetically drew lessons from one another about solutions to these problems. Rogers examines lesson drawing among policy intellectuals in the areas of (among others) urban planning, worker insecurity, housing, health, agricculture, and the economic depression.

sketched in that chapter, and as I was completing Civic Ideals, both the normative and empirical scholarship on citizenship and nation-building expanded exponentially, spurred by the redrawing of national boundaries after the fall of the Soviet Union, the rise of the European Union, and the increased recognition for rights of aboriginal peoples in various countries. Hence I am currently trying to master these literatures and elaborate the normative arguments in Civic Ideals in light of them.

Clearly, there remains a lot to do in pursuing the inquiries already heftily embodied in Civic Ideals. People sometimes ask me where my passion for this work comes from, and sometimes I ask myself that. As I indicate at the outset of Civic Ideals, much of it comes from the family tensions I experienced as a boy raised in Abraham Lincoln's Springfield who regularly visited his South Carolina relatives during the civil rights era. Recently I read an excellent book that made those tensions again vivid for me: Susan Millar Williams' A Devil and A Good Woman, Too. It is a biography of Julia Mood Peterkin, who was the wife of a South Carolina plantation owner during the 1920s when she took up writing at the age 40. Resentful at her treatment by both her husband and father, she wrote candidly about the black women who worked for her, admiring their sexual independence while detailing the brutal oppressions they experienced. These works won her the praise of H. L. Mencken, Carl Sandburg, and W. E. B. Du Bois, and she received the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1929. Yet at the same time, she remained a loyal member of the southern white ruling class; whites were never directly portrayed unfavorably in comparison to blacks in her stories. In this she was replicating a dualism long present in her family. Her grandfather, Henry Mood, had been an antislavery Methodist minister who nonetheless owned slaves, hiring others to discipline them because he would not himself raise a hand to them. Her father, Julius Mood, was a widely admired doctor, but he also had participated in armed efforts to prevent blacks from voting, and he wrote the New York Times in 1882 that the central issue of national life was "Africanism versus Americanism." Julia tried for a time to be both a heroine to liberal intellectuals and a refined southern white woman, but her Mood relatives severely criticized her for glorifying blacks. Eventually she abandoned both writing and all support for racial equality.

As a result, most of her northern admirers repudiated her, and she fell into obscurity. And, sadly, many of her southern relatives never forgave her either. This latter fact I now know well, because some of her relatives were also mine, the same families I was visiting in the 1960s. She was a cousin of the grandfather for whom I am named. Her plantation was outside Columbia, where he lived, and the families regularly met. But to the best of my recollection, none of my Mood relatives ever discussed this once-famous family member when I was growing up. I only learned of her three years ago.

For me, that silence tells volumes about how I came to believe so strongly that America was shaped by multiple traditions, including both highly valued racist and anti-racist ones, in ways that we have often refused fully to acknowledge. Those beliefs in turn led me to write a book that, ironically, was itself a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize (and even better, a co-winner of the Greenstone!). If there is a lesson in that for other scholars, it is, I think, that you should not be afraid to trust what you believe you know best, even when, especially when, much of the field seems to disagree.

—Rogers Mood Smith

Bookscan

James R. Acker, Robert M. Bohm, and Charles S. Lanier, eds. 1998. *America's Experiment with Capital Punishment: Reflections on the Past, Present, and Future of the Ultimate Penal Sanction*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

Lee J. Alston and Joseph P. Ferrie. 1999. *Southern Paternalism and the American Welfare State.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Carlotta R. Anderson. 1998. *All-American Anarchist: Joseph A. Labadie and the Labor Movement.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Christopher J. Anderson and Carsten Zelle, eds. 1998. *Stability and Change in German Elections: How Electorates Merge, Converge, or Collide.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

John A. Andrew III. 1998. *Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society.* Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.

Stuart Andrews. 1998. *The Rediscovery of America: Transatlantic Crosscurrents in an Age of Revolution.* New York: St. Martin's.

Stanley Aronowitz. 1998. *From the Ashes of the Old: American Labor and America's Future.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

A.B. Atkinson. 1999. *The Economic Consequences of Rolling Back the Welfare State.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

David N. Atkinson. 1999. *Leaving the Bench: Supreme Court Justices at the End.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Jeanie Attie. 1998. *Patriotic Toil: Northern Women and the American Civil War.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Brian Bailey. 1998. *The Luddite Rebellion.* New York: New York University Press.

Gerald J. Baldasty. 1999. *E.W. Scripps and the Business of Newspapers.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Larry D. Ball. 1999. *The United States Marshals of New Mexico and Arizona Territories, 1846-1912.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

David Barnett. 1998. *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution: A Revisionary History, 1775-1825.* London: St. Martin's.

Donald J. Barr. 1998. *The Progressive Army: US Army Command and Administration, 1870-1914.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Randall Bartlett. 1998. *The Crisis of America's Cities.* Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Norma Basch. 1999. *Framing American Divorce: From the Revolutionary Generation to the Victorians.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Simone de Beauvoir. 1999. *America Day by Day.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Peter Beilharz and Chris Nyland. 1998. *The Webbs, Fabianism and Feminism: Fabianism and the Political Economy of Everyday Life.* London: Ashgate.

Herman Belz. 1998. *A Living Constitution or Fundmental Law? American Constitutionalism in Historical Perspective..* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Karl Benn. 1998. *The Iroquois in the War of 1812.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Marie-Claire Bergère. 1998. *Sun Yat-Sen.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Ira Berlin. 1998. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge: Belknap Press.

Ira Berlin, Marc Favreau, and Steven F. Miller, eds. 1998. *Remembering Slavery: African-Americans Talk About Their Personal Experiences of Slavery and Emancipation.* New York: New Press.

David R. Berman. 1998. *Arizona Politics and Government: The Quest for Autonomy, Democracy, and Development.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Peter Bernholz, Manfred E. Streit, and Roland Vaubel, eds. 1998. *Political Competition, Inovation, and Growth: A Historical Analysis.* Berlin: Springer Vlg.

Tom Bethell. 1998. *The Noblest Triumph: Property and Prosperity Through the Ages.* New York: St. Martin's

Robert Biersack, Paul S. Herrnson, and Clyde Wilcox, eds. 1999. *After the Revolution: PACs, Lobbies, and the Republican Congress.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Allida M. Black, ed. 1999. *Courage in a Dangerous World: The Political Writings of Eleanor Roosevelt.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Scott A. Bollens. 1999. *Urban Peace-Building in Divided Societies: Belfast and Johannesburg.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Pamela Brandwein. 1999. *Reconstructing Reconstruction: The Supreme Court and the Production of Historical Truth.* Durham: Duke University Press.

James F. Brennan. 1998. *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair in the European Press, 1897-1899.* New York: Peter Lang.

John D. Brewer. 1998. *Anti-Catholicism in Northern Ireland, 1600-1998: The Mote and the Beam.* Houndsmills, UK: St. Martin's Press.

Jay L. Brigham. 1998. *Empowering the West: Electrical Politics Before FDR.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

David Bright. 1998. *The Limits of Labour: Class Formation and the Labour Movement in Calgary, 1883-1929.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Richard Brookhiser. 1999. *Alexander Hamilton, American.* New York: Free Press.

Trevor Buck, ed. 1998. *Judicial Review and Social Welfare.* London: Pinter.

Marion A. Brown. 1998. *The Second Bank of the United States and Ohio (1803-1860): A Collision of Interests.* Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

Michael K. Brown. 1999. *Race, Money, and the American Welfare State.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Richard Buell, Jr. 1998. *The Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Douglas Bukowski. 1998. *Big Bill Thompson, Chicago, and the Politics of Image.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Mark A. Burkholder, ed. 1998. *Administrators of Empire.* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

David H. Burton. 1998. *Taft, Holmes, and the 1920s Court.* Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.

Tracy Campbell. 1998. *Short of the Glory: The Fall and Redemption of Edward F. Prichard, Jr.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

David Cannadine. 1999. *The Rise and Fall of Class In Britain.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Marvin Caplan. 1999. *Farther Along: A Civil Rights Memoir.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Francis Castles. 1998. *Comparative Public Policy: Patterns of Post-War Transformation.* Northhampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

David Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson, eds. 1998. *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and its Legacy.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Gene Clanton. 1999. *Congressional Populism and the Crisis of the 1890s.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Cornell W. Clayton and Howard Gillman, eds. 1999. *Supreme Court Decision-Making: New Institutionalist Approaches.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Arthur M. Cohen. 1998. *The Shaping of American Higher Education: Emergence and Growth of the Contemporary System.* San Francisco: Josey-Bass.

Michael J. Cohen and Martin Kolinsky. 1998. *Demise of the British Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Response to Nationalist Movements, 1943-1955.* London: Frank Cass.

Paul K. Conkin. 1998. *When All the Gods Trembled: Darwinism, Scopes, and American Intellectuals*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Timothy J. Conlan. 1998. *From New Federalism to Devolution: Twenty-Five Years of Intergovernmental Reform.* Washington: Brookings.

Evan Cornog. 1998. *The Birth of Empire: DeWitt Clinton and the American Experience, 1769-1828.* New York: Oxford University Press.

David Colin Crass. 1998. *The Southern Colonial Backcountry: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Frontier Communities.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Matthew A. Crenson. 1998. *Building the Invisible Orphanage: A Prehistory of the American Welfare System.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Donald T. Critchlow. 1999. *Intended Consequences: Birth Control, Abortion, and the Federal Government in Modern America.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Richard O. Davies. 1998. *Main Street Blues: The Decline of Small Town America.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Angela Davis. 1998. *The Angela Davis Reader.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

James Edward David. 1998. *Frontier Illinois.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

William C. Davis. 1999. *Lincoln's Men: How President Lincoln became Father to an Army and a Nation.* New York: Free Press.

Leslie Derfler. 1998. *Paul Lafargue and the Flowering of French Socialism, 1882-1911.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

John J. Dinan. 1998. *Keeping the People's Liberties: Legislators, Citizens, and Judges as the Guardians of Rights.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Gary A. Donaldson. 1999. *Truman Defeats Dewey.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Kirkpatrick Dorsey. 1998. *The Dawn of Conservation Diplomacy: U.S.-Canadian Wildlife Protection Treaties in the Progressive Era.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Donald Alexander Downs. 1999. *Cornell '69: Liberalism and the Crisis of the American University.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

W.J. Eccles. 1998. *The French in North America, 1500-1783.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Sarah S. Elkind. 1998. *Bay Cities and Water Politics: The Battle for Resources in Boston and Cleveland.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Karl J. Ekberg. 1998. *French Roots in the Illinois Country: The Mississippi Frontier in Colonial Times.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Walter B. Edgar. 1998. *South Carolina: A History.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Wendy Nelson Espeland. 1998. *The Struggle for Water: Politics, Rationality, and Identityin the American Southwest.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Amy Erdman Farrell. 1998. *Yours in Sisterhood: Ms. Magazine and the Promise of Popular Feminism.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Niall Ferguson. 1998. *The House of Rothschild: Money's Prophets, 1798-1848.* New York: Viking.

Bruce E. Field. 1998. *Harvest of Dissent: The National Farmers' Union and the Early Cold War.* Lawrence: University of Kansas Press.

Margaret Finnegan. 1999. *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Eric Foner. 1998. *The Story of American Freedom.* New York: W.W. Norton.

John B. Franz and William Penack, eds. 1998. *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland.* University Park: Penn State University Press.

Craig Freedman, ed. 1998. *Japanese Economic Policy Reconsidered.* Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

François Furet. 1999. *The Passing of an Illusion: The Idea of Communism in the Twentieth Century.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Walter Galenson. 1998. *The World's Strongest Trade Unions: the Scandinavian Labor Movement.* Westport, CT: Quorum Books.

Susan E. Gallagher. 1998. *Rule of the Rich? Adam Smith's Argument Against Political Power.* University Park: Penn State University Press.

Gerald Gamm. 1999. *Urban Exodus: Why the Jews Left Boston and the Catholics Stayed.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gilbert Geis. 1998. *Crimes of the Century: from Leopold and Loeb to O.J. Simpson.* Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Eugene D. Genovese. 1998. *A Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South.* Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Martin Gilens. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chester Gillis. 1999. *Roman Catholicism in America.* New York: Columbia University Press.

John Girling. 1998. *France: Political and Social Change.* London: Routledge.

Dru C. Gladney, ed. 1998. *Making Majorities: Constituting the Nation in Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia, Fiji, Turkey, and the United States.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

David Goldberg, Tony Prosser, and Stefaan Verhulst, eds. .1998. *Regulating the Changing Media: A Comparative Study.* Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar, eds. 1999. *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Paul Edward Gottfried. 1999. *After Liberalism: Mass Democracy in the Managerial State.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Andrew Gordon. 1998. *The Wages of Affluence: Labor and Management in Postwar Japan.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gerald Grant and Christine E. Murray. 1999. *Teaching in America: The Slow Revolution.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ralph Grillo. 1998. *Pluralism and the Politics of Difference: State, Culture, and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Alberto Guenzi, Paola Massa, and Fausto Piola Caselli, eds. 1998. *Guilds, Markets, and Work Regulation in Italy, 16th-19th century.* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Harold I. Gullan. 1998. *The Upset That Wasn't: Harry S.*

Truman and the Crucial Election of 1948. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.

Pamela Susan Haag. 1999. *The Emergence of Consent: Sexual Rights in American Liberal Culture.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Michael P.Hanagan, Leslie Page Moch, and Wayne te Brake, eds. 1998. *Challenging Authority: The Historical Study of Contentious Politics.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Julie Hardwick. 1998. *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France.* University Park: Penn State University Press.

Erwin C. Hargrove. 1998. *The President as Leader: Appealing to the Better Angels of Our Nature.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Sidney L. Harring. 1998. *White Man's Law: Native People in Nineteenth Century Canadian Jurisprudence.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Susan Hartmann. 1998. *The Other Feminists: Activists in the Liberal Establishment.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

M.J. Heale. 1998. *McCarthy's Americans: Red Scare Politics in State and Nation, 1935-1965.* Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Oded Heilbronner. 1998. *Catholicism, Political Culture, and the Countryside: A Social History of the Nazi Party in South Germany.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kenneth J. Heineman. 1999. *A Catholic New Deal: Religion and Reform in Depression Pittsburgh.* University Park: Penn State University Press.

Elena Hellberg-Hirn. 1998. *Soil and Soul: the Symbolic World of Russianness.* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

John Hellmann. 1999. *The Kennedy Obsession: The American Myth of JFK.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Wanda A. Hendricks. 1998. *Gender, Race, and Politics in the Midwest: Black Club Women in Illinois.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

C. David Heymann. 1998. *RFK: A Candid Biography of Robert F. Kennedy.* New York: Dutton.

Patrice Higonnet. 1998. *Goodness beyond Virtue: Jacobins During the French Revolution.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Linda R. Hirshman and Jane E. Larson. 1998. *Hard Bargains: The Politics of Sex.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Michael E. Hobart and Zachary S. Schiffman. 1998. *Information Ages: Literacy, Numeracy, and the Computer Revolution.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Mary S. Hoffschwelle. 1998. *Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community: Reformers, Schools, and Homes in Tennessee, 1900-1930.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Michael J. Hogan. 1998. *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security State, 1945-1954.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kristin L. Hoganson. 1998. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Melvin G. Holli. 1999. *The American Mayor: The Best and Worst Big-City Leaders.* University Park: Penn State University Press.

Stephen Holmes and Cass R. Sunstein. 1999. *The Cost of Rights: Why Liberty Depends on Taxes.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Ernst Homburg, Anthony S. Travis, and Harm G. Schroter, eds. 1998. *The Chemical Industry in Europe, 1850-1914: Industrial Growth, Pollution, and Professionalization.* Dorrecht: Kluwer Academic.

John R. Howard. 1999. *The Shifting Wind: The Supreme Court and Civil Rights from Reconstruction to Brown.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Richard J. Hunter. 1998. *From Autarchy to Market: Polish Economics and Politics, 1945-1995.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

R. Douglas Hurt, ed. 1998. *The Rural South since World War II.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Robert Max Jackson. 1998. *Destined for Equality: The Inevitable Rise of Women's Status.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Matthew Frye Jacobson. 1998. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Arvind K. Jain, ed. 1998. *Economics of Corruption.* Boston: Kluwer.

Sidney V. James. 1999. *John Clarke and His Legacies: Religion and Law in Colonial Rhode Island, 1638-1750.* University Park: Penn State University Press.

Peter A. Johnson. 1998. *The Government of Money: Monetarism in Germany and the United States.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Peter Jupp. 1998. *British Politics on the eve of Reform: the Duke of Wellington's Administration, 1828-30.* New York: St. Martin's.

Jeffrey Kaplan and Leonard Weinberg. 1998. *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Richard Katz. 1998. *Japan: The System that Soured.* Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Robert A. Katzmann, ed. 1998. *Daniel Patrick Moynihan: The Intellectual in Public Life.* Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Paul Kens. 1998. *Lochner v. New York: Economic Regulation on Trial.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Linda Kerber. 1998. *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship.* New York: Hill & Wang.

John Kingdon. 1999. *America the Unusual.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Mary Kinnear. 1998. *A Female Economy: Women's Work in a Prairie Province, 1870-1970.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Matthias Kipping and Ove Bjarnar, eds. 1998. *The Americanisation of European Business: The Marshall Plan and the Transfer of U.S. Management Models.* London: Routledge.

John O. Koehler. 1999. *Stasi: The Untold Story of the East German Secret Police.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Carol A. Kolmerten. 1999. *The American Life of Ernestine L. Rose.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Robin Kolodny. 1998. *Pursuing Majorities: Congressional Campaign Committees in American Politics.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

John Gilman Kolp. 1998. *Gentlemen and Freeholders: Electoral Politics in Colonial Virginia.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

J. Morgan Kousser. 1999. *Colorblind Justice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Angel Kwolek-Folland. 1998. *Incorporating Women: A History of Women and Business in the United States.* New York: Twayne.

George J. Lankevich. 1999. American metropolis: *A History of New York City.* New York: New York University.

Aldo A. Lauria-Santiago. 1999. *An Agrarian Republic: Commercial Agriculture and the Politics of Peasant Communities in El Salvador, 1824-1914.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Ralph B. Levering and Miriam L. Levering. 1999. *Citizen Action for Global Change: The Neptune Group and the Law of the Sea.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Jonah D. Levy. 1999. *Tocqueville's Revenge: State, Society, and Economy in Contemporary France.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Frederick P. Lewis. 1999. *The Context of Judicial Activism: The Endurance of the Warren Court Legacy in a Collective Age.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Ian Loveland, ed. 1998. *Importing the First Amendment: Freedom of Expression in American, English and European Law.* Oxford: Hart Publishers.

Nancy D. LoPatin. 1999. *Political Unions, Popular Politics, and the Great Reform Act of 1832.* New York: St. Martin's.

Geir Lundestad. 1998. *"Empire" by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Kristie Macrakis and Dieter Hoffmann, eds. 1999. *Science under Socialism: East Germany in Comparative Perspective.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Roland Marchand. 1998. *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

David Marsh, ed.. 1998. *Comparing Policy Networks.* Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Arthur Marwick. 1998. *The Sixties.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Henry Mayer. 1998. *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Bruce Mazlish. 1998. *The Uncertain Sciences.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mark Mazower. 1999. *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century.* New York: Alfred Knopf

James L. McClain and Wakita Osamu, eds. 1999. *Osaka: The Merchants' Capital of Early Modern Japan.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Brendan J. McConville. 1999. *Those Daring Disturbers of the Peace: The Struggle for Property and Power in Early New Jersey.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Floyd J. McKay. 1998. *An Editor for Oregon: Charles A. Sprague and the Politics of Change.* Corvallis, Ore: Oregon State University Press.

Ross McKibben. 1998. *Classes and Cultures: England, 1918-1951.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Michael J. McManus. 1998. *Political Abolitionism in Wisconsin, 1840-1861.* Kent, OH: Kent State University Press.

Michael Meeropol. 1998. *Surrender: How the Clinton Administration Completed the Reagan Revolution.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Perry G. Mehrling. 1998. *The Money Interest and the Public Interest: American Monetary Thought, 1920-1970.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

D.W. Meinig.1998. *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Vol. 3: Transcontinental America,1850-1915.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kidane Mengisteab and Cyril Daddieh, eds. 1999. *State Building and Democratization in Africa: Faith, Hope, and Realities.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Kathryn Meyer and Terry Parssinen. 1998. *Webs of Smoke: Smugglers, Warlords, Spies, and the History of International Drug Trade.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Manus I. Midlarsky. 1999. *The Evolution of Inequality: War, State Survival, and Democracy in Comparative Perspective.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur. 1999. *Progressivism and the New Democracy.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Daniel Miller. 1999. *Forging Political Compromise: Antonin Svehla and the Czechoslovak Republican Party, 1918-1933.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Thomas J. Misa. 1999. *A Nation of Steel: The Making of Modern America, 1865-1925.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Paul C. Mishler. 1999. *Raising Reds: The Young Pioneers, Radical Summer Camps, and Communist Political Culture in the United States.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Nan Enstad. 1999. *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Donald Grier Stephenson Jr. 1999. *Campaigns and the Court: The U.S. Supreme Court in Presidential Elections.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Karen S. Mittelman, ed. 1998. *Creating American Jews: Historical Conversations about Identity.* Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press.

Wilson Jeremiah Moses, ed. 1998. *Liberian Dreams: Back-to-Africa Narratives from the 1850s.* University Park: Penn State University Press.

William Andrew Munro. 1998. *The Moral Economy of the State: Conservation, Community, and Development in Zimbabwe.* Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Tim Murphy and Patrick Twomey, eds. 1998. *Ireland's Evolving Constitution, 1937-1997: Collected Essays.* Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Abdul-Rasheed Na'Allah. 1998. *Ogoni's Agonies: Ken Saro-Wiwa and the Crisis in Nigeria.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Louise Michele Newman. 1999. *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Josiah Ober. 1998. *Political Dissent in Democratic Athens: Intellectual Critics of Popular Rule.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

David Obst. 1998. *Too Good to be Forgotten: Changing America in the '60s and '70s.* New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Alan O'Day. 1998. *Irish Home Rule, 1867-1921.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Marvin Olasky. 1999. *The American Leadership Tradition: Moral Vision from Washington to Clinton.* New York: Free Press.

Roger Owen and Sevket Pamuk. 1999. *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

David Palmer. 1998. *Organizing the Shipyards: Union Strategy in Three Northeast Ports, 1933-1945.* Ithaca: ILR Press / Cornell University Press.

David Ray Papke. 1999. *The Pullman Case: The Clash of Labor and Capital in Industrial America.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Robert A. Pastor and Rafael Fernandez de Castro, eds. 1998. *The Controversial Pivot: The U.S. Congress and North America.* Washington: Brookings.

Ellen Frankel Paul, Fred D. Miller, Jr, and Jeffrey Paul, eds. 1998. *The Welfare State.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Robert D. Pearce. 1997. *Atlee.* London: Longman.

Anton Perlinka. 1999. *Politics of the Lesser Evil: Leadership, Democracy, and Jaruzelski's Poland.* New Brunswick: Transaction.

Miranda Pollard. 1998. *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stephen Ponder. 1998. *Managing the Press: Origins of the Media Presidency, 1897-1933.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Norman Porter, ed. 1998. *The Republican Ideal: Current Perspectives.* Belfast: Blackstaff Press.

Robert B. Potter & Sally Lloyd-Evans.1998. T*he City in the Developing World.* Harlow, UK: Addison Wesley Longman.

David Powell. 1998. *What's Left: Labour Britain and the Socialist Tradition.*London: Peter Owen.

H. Jefferson Powell. 1998. *The Constitution and the Attorneys General.* Durham: Carolina Academic Press.

John P. Powelson. 1998. *The Moral Economy.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

George R. Price and James Brewer Stewart, eds. 1999. *To Heal the Scourge of Prejudice: The Life and Writings of Hosea Easton.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Jennie Purnell. 1999. *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán.* Durham: Duke University Press.

William H. Rehnquist. 1998. *All the Laws But One: Civil Liberties in Wartime.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Henry S. Reuss. 1999. *When Government was Good: Memories of a Life in Politics.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Alexandra Richie. 1998. *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers.

Donald A. Ritchie. 1999. *Minutes of the U.S. Senate Democratic Conference, 1903-1964.* Washington: GPO.

Mary Beth Rogers. 1998. *Barbara Jordan: American Hero.* New York: Bantam Books.

Lisle A. Rose. 1998. *The Cold War Comes to Main Street: America in 1950.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Gary Rosen. 1999. *American Compact: James Madison and the Problem of Founding.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Hy Rosen and Peter Slocum. 1998. *From Rocky to Pataki: Character and Caricatures in New York Politics.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Doug Rossinow. 1999. *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Edward Royle. 1998. *Robert Own and the Commencement of the Millenium: A Study of the Harmony Community.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Gregory A. Ruf. 1998. *Cadres and Kin: Making a Socialist Village in West China, 1921-1991.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Paul Ryscavage. 1998. *Income Inequality in America: An Analysis of Trends.* Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Kathleen Waters Sander. 1998. *The Business of Charity: The Woman's Exchange Movement, 1832-1900.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Elizabeth Sanders. 1999. *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877-1917.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jerry Purvis Sanson. 1999. *Louisiana During World War II: Politics and Society, 1939-1945.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Robert M. Saunders. 1998. *In Search of Woodrow Wilson: Beliefs and Behavior.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Christopher Schmidt-Nowara. 1999. Empire and Antislavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833-1874. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Gregory L. Schneider. 1999. *Cadres for Conservatism: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of the Contemporary Right.* New York: New York University Press.

Richard Schneirov, Shelton Stromquist, and Nick Salvatore, eds. 1999. *The Pullman Strike and the Crisis of the 1890s.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Ralph Schoeder, ed. 1998. *Max Weber, Democracy and Modernization.* New York: St. Martin's.

Michael Schudson. 1998. *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life.* New York: Free Press.

Paul Schullery. 1997. *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Kurt Schuparra. 1998. *Triumph of the Right: the Rise of the California Conservative Movement,1945-1966.*Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Ronald E. Seavoy. 1998. *The American Peasantry: Southern Agricultural Labor and Its Legacy, 1850-1995.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Harlow W. Sheidley. 1998. *Sectional Nationalism: Massachusetts Conservative Leaders and the Transformation of America, 1815-1836.* Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Richard Shenkman. 1999. *Presidential Ambition: How Presidents Gained Power,Kept Power,and Got Things Done.* New York: HarperCollins.

Joel H. Silbey, ed. 1999. *The American Party Battle: Election Campaign Pamphlets, 1828-1876.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bryant Simon. 1998. *A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910-1948.*Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Frederick J. Simonelli. 1999. *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

John W. Sloan. 1999. *The Reagan Effect: Economics and Presidential Leadership.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Jane I. Smith. 1999. I*slam in America.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Kimberly K. Smith. 1999. *The Dominion of Voice: Riot, Reason, and Romance in Antebellum Politics.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Merril D. Smith, ed. 1998. *Sex and Sexuality in Early America.* New York: New York University Press.

Anthony D. Smith. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism.* London: Routledge.

Dorothy J. Solinger. 1999. *Contesting Citizenship in Urban China: Peasant Migrants, the State, and the Logic of the Market.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Aidan Southall. 1998.*The City in Time and Space.* New York: Cambrige University Press.

David J. Starkey and Alan G. Jamieson, eds. *Exploiting the Sea: Aspects of Britain's Maritime Economy since 1870.* Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press.

Douglas Starr. 1998. *Blood: An Epic History of Medicine and Commerce.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Rebecca Starr. 1998. *A School for Politics: Commercial Lobbying and Political Culture in Early South Carolina.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Douglas Steeples and David O. Whitten. 1998. *Democracy in Desperation: The Depression of 1893.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Ioannis D. Stefanidis. 1999. *Nationalism, Imperialism and the Making of the Cyprus Problem.* New York: New York University Press.

Marc W. Steinberg. 1999. *Fighting Words: Working-Class Formation, Collective Action, and Discourse in Early Nineteenth-Century England.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Rodger Steitmatter, ed. 1998. *Empty Without You: the Intimate Letters of Eleanor Roosevelt.* New York: Free Press.

Mary M. Stolberg. 1998. *Bridging the River of Hatred: The Pioneering Efforts of Detroit Police Commissioner George Edwards.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Diane Stone, Andrew Denham, and Mark Garnett, eds. 1998. *Think Tanks Across Nations: A Comparative Approach.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

David G. Stowell. 1999. *Streets, Railroads, and the Great Strike of 1877.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Julia C. Strauss. 1998. *Strong Institutions in Weak Polities: State Building in Republican China, 1927-1940.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Cass R. Sunstein. 1999. *One Case at a Time: Judicial Minimalism on the Supreme Court.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

John Sweetman. 1998. *The Enlightenment and the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850.* New York: Addison Wesley Longman.

G. Alan Tarr. 1998. *Understanding State Constitutions.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Steven J.L. Taylor. 1998. *Desegregation in Boston and Buffalo: The Influence of Local Leaders.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Ronald J. Tercheck. 1998. *Gandhi: Struggling for Autonomy.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

C. Bradley Thomson. 1998. *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

John M. Thompson. 1998. *Russian and the Soviet Union: An Historical Introduction from the Kievan State to the Present.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Ian Tyrrell. 1999. *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860-1930.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Paul Vanderwood. 1998. *The Power of God Against the Guns of the Government: Religious Upheaval in Mexico at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Elizabeth R. Varon. 1998. *We Mean to Be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Ernesto B. Vigil. 1999. *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Vamik D. Volkan, Norman Itzkowitz, and Andrew W. Dod. 1999. *Richard Nixon: A Psychobiography.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Jenny Bourne Wahl. 1999. *The Bondsman's Burden: An Economic Analysis of the Common Law of Southern Slavery.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Joanna Waley-Cohen. 1999. *The Sextants of Beijing: Global Currents in Chinese History.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Charles F. Walker. 1999. *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Samuel Walker. 1998. *The Rights Revolution: Rights and Community in Modern America.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Mike Wallace. 1998. *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Bruce A. Wallin. 1998. *From Revenue Sharing to Deficit Sharing: General Revenue Sharing and the Cities.* Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Andrew Stephen Walmsley. 1999. *Thomas Hutchinson and the Origins of the American Revolution.* New York: New York University Press.

Gary M. Walton and Hugh Rockoff. 1998. *History of the American Economy. 8th ed.* Fort Worth: Dryden Press.

David Ward. 1998. *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities, 1850-2000.* London: Routledge.

Lizabeth Siegal Watkins. 1998. *On the Pill: A Social History of Oral Contraceptives, 1950-1970.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Sheyann Webb. 1998. *Selma, Lord, Selma: Girlhood Memories of the Civil Rights Days.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Eugen Weber. 1999. *Apocalypses: Prophesies, Cults, and Millennial Beliefs Through the Ages.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Keith Whittington. 1999. *Constitutional Constructions: Divided Powers and Constitutional Meaning.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Edward L. Widmer. 1999. *Young America: The Flowering of Democracy in New York City.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Juan Williams. 1998. *Thurgood Marshall: American Revolutionary.* New York: Times Books.

Diana Winston. 1999. *Red Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Marianne S. Wokeck. 1999. *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America.* University Park: Penn State University Press.

Meredith Woo-Cumings, ed. 1999. *The Developmental State.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

W.D. Wright. 1998. *Racism Matters.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Jean M. Yarborough. 1998. *American Virtues: Thomas Jefferson and the Character of a Free People.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Jonathan Zimmerman. 1999. *Distilling Democracy: Alcohol Education in America's Public Schools, 1880-1925.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Scope, Methods, & Discipline

Dan Clawson, ed. 1998. *Required Reading: Sociology's Most Influential Books.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Alain Desrosières. 1998. *The Politics of Large Numbers: A History of Statistical Reasoning.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Jan W. van Deth, ed. *Comparative Politics: the Problem of Equivalence.* New York: Routledge.

Marjorie L. DeVault. 1999. *Liberating Method: Feminism and Social Research.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Andrew Gamble, David Marsh, and Tony Tant, eds. 1999. *Marxism and Social Science.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press

Gary King. 1998. *Unifying Political Methodology: The Likelihood Theory of Statistical Inference.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Adam Kuper. 1999. *Culture: The Anthropological Account.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lucy Maddox. 1999. *Locating American Studies: The Evolution of a Discipline.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Paul S. Maxim. 1999. *Quantitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Gerald J. Miller and Marcia L. Whicker, eds. 1998. *Handbook of Research Methods in Public Administration.* Marcel Dekker.

Mary Poovey. 1998. *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Melvin W. Reder. 1999. *Economics: The Culture of a Controversial Science.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Michael Ruse. 1999. *Mystery of Mysteries: Is Evolution a Social Construction?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

David Silverman. 1998. Harvey Sacks: *Social Science and Conversation Analysis.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Londa Schlesinger. 1999. *Has Feminism Changed Science?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Dorothy E. Smith. 1999. *Writing the Social: Critique, Theory, and Investigations.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Kathleen J. Turner. 1998. *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Reference & Documents

Robin Leonard Bidwell. 1998. *Dictionary of Modern Arab History.* London: Kegan Paul.

Larry Allen, ed. 1998. *The ABC-Clio World History Companion to Capitalism.* Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio.

James P. Danky, ed. 1999. *African-American Newspapers and Periodicals: A National Bibliography.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Robert Eccleshall and Graham Walker, eds. 1998. *Biographical Dictionary of British Prime Ministers.* London: Routledge.

Kenneth T. Henson. 1999. *Writing for Professional Publication: Keys to Academic and Business Success.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Michael Kort. 1998. *The Columbia Guide to the Cold War.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Howard R. Lamar, ed.. 1998. *The New Encyclopedia of the American West.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Charles Lemert, ed.. 1999. *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings. 2nd ed.* Boulder: Westview Press.

M. Marcus, ed. 1998. *Documentary History of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1789-1800, vol 6: Cases, 1790-1795.* New York: Columbia University Press.

David F. Marley. 1998. *Wars of the Americas: A Chronology of Armed Conflict in the New World, 1492-Present.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio.

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll and Mary A. Gallagher, eds. 1999. *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784. Vol 9.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Laura R. Olson and Ted G. Jelen. 1998. *The Religious Dimension of Political Behavior: A Critical Analysis.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

John Y. Simon, ed. 1998. *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant. Vol 21 (Nov 1, 1870-May 31, 1871) and Vol 22 (June 1, 171-Jan. 31, 1872).* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

William Kelleher Story. 1998. *Writing History: A Guide for Students.* New York: Oxford University Press.

The conferences were organized by David Brady of Stanford University and Mathew McCubbins of the University of California, San Diego. The papers presented at these two conferences should advance our understanding of how the most important legislature in the world operates. The papers should also improve the state of knowledge about the political development of Congress, national political parties, elections, and public policy making.

Papers were presented by John Aldrich, Mark Berger, Joe Cooper, Gary Cox, Kenneth Finegold, Gerald Gamm, Brian Humes, Jeffrey Jenkins, Cal Jillson, Keith Krehbiel, Skip Lupia, Nolan McCarty, Mathew McCubbins, Keith Poole, David Rohde, Howard Rosenthal, Brian Sala, Barbara Sinclair, Steve Smith, Charles Stewart III, Randall Strahan, Elaine Swift, Sean Theriault, Richard Valelly, Barry Weingast, Rick Wilson, Alan Wiseman, and Garry Young.

Comments and discussion of the papers were provided by Joel Aberbach, John Aldrich, Doug Arnold, Kathy Bawn, Sarah Binder, David Brady, Andrea Campbell, Melissa Collie, Gary Cox, Dick Fenno, John Ferejohn, Brian Gaines, Gerald Gamm, Brian Humes, Pat Hurley, Gary Jacobson, Scott James, Mickey Keller, Rod Kiewiet, Skip Lupia, Mathew McCubbins, Mike Munger, Samuel Patterson, Keith Poole, Barbara Sinclair, Steve Smith, Charles Stewart III, Elaine Swift, Craig Volden, Barry Weingast, and Garry Young. A conference volume is forthcoming with Stanford University Press.

brought a fresh perspective to the discipline. In its early years, APD seemed united by a common analytical and theoretical interest. But the (counter?) revolution is over, and APD seems to have fragmented. Much of the discipline has now embraced the concern with institutions that once distinguished those interested in American political history. By the time that Kent Weaver and Bert Rockman edited a volume entitled Do Institutions Matter? in 1992, the question hardly seemed worth asking for there were few left who would answer in the negative.

But if everyone now believes that institutions matter, then what is the continuing distinctive contribution of APD? To many both inside and outside the field there does not appear to be any answer to that question. The Politics and History section is firmly established with a substantial membership. The field has its own journals and its own panels at conferences. Perhaps most significantly, departments are beginning to recognize the category of "politics and history" as a factor in hiring decisions. Job listings are starting to appear that list a specialization in history or even APD as a qualification, and many departments are starting to feel the need to have someone who "does history" on the faculty. But judging by publications, conference presentations, and conversations, such institutional success masks an increasingly hollow intellectual core.

For many of those entering the field, American Political Development seems to mean little more than "politics and history." "Doing history," in turn, merely requires discussing events that occurred prior to 1960 that can, in some fashion, be linked to politics. Without the motivation of overturning the hegemony of behaviorism, the study of American political history becomes an end in itself. Many seem to think that APD is defined by its subject matter, not its questions. "History" becomes an area of study, like the presidency or interest groups, but one that would seem to fit uncomfortably in the discipline of political science. The result is often work that employs historical material, but does not make any particular political point. Beyond an obligatory reference to leading works in the APD literature in the introduction, such works quickly lose sight of the theoretical interests of political science. Such "interdisciplinary" research becomes inappropriate for either political science or history, often failing to meet either the analytical concerns of the former or the evidentiary concerns of the latter. Alternatively, research lays claim to the APD label simply through the use of historical data. Historical data sets are employed, but only to provide further material with which to examine very present-minded political models and theories. Historical material is discussed or referenced with no real historical sensibility and without reference to traditional APD debates or literatures.

Perhaps this is a sign of professional success and maturity. As the field expands, it is natural that the different interests within the field become more diverse. Certainly for most fields in political science - whether focusing on institutions, political behavior or political subjects - do not have a distinct "agenda" that motivates and unites those working within them. Although APD has for many years been nearly synonymous with the study of American history within political science, it may be natural that over time the category of "politics and history" will expand to include far more than APD. To some degree, this has clearly happened. Those approaching historical sources from other theoretical perspectives find their own research questions and have little concern with the traditional questions that guided APD research. Unfortunately, APD may not be maintaining a distinct identity of its own amidst this diversity of historically oriented political science. With no monopoly over either historical subject matter or "institutionalist" rhetoric, APD seems to find itself with a less distinctive presence within the discipline and a less certain audience for its work. If a pioneering interest in institutions no longer unites the field, then those who once saw themselves as part of a coherent field concerned with political history may drift back into the diverse subfields from whence they came, whether urban politics, the presidency or public policy. Will we still have anything to say to each other if we only share an interest in American history? APD may have been itself a historically specific field of inquiry that will soon go the way of community studies. It played an important role in countering some of the extreme tendencies of research methods and assumptions of the 1960s and 1970s and helped sustain a community of scholars who were marginalized by the discipline as a whole. As those battles recede in time, and as the lessons taught by APD are integrated into the larger discipline, APD may become less important as a separate enterprise.

Shifts within the larger discipline have raised methodological challenges for the field as well. APD advertised itself as methodologically open at a time when fierce methodological battles were being waged elsewhere in the discipline. Nonetheless, the leading works in APD were interpretive, emphasizing the interdisciplinary links with history and the many connections within the subfield to political theory and comparative politics. In its inaugural issue, Studies emphasized its methodological openness, and it has in fact published a handful of articles employing quantitative data. Nonetheless, Studies is notable for its prevalence of interpretive essays in a discipline in which such an approach is increasingly not represented in the major journals. It is no accident that APD friendly journals such as Studies, Journal of Policy History, and Social Science History feature interpretive essays and have come to occupy a methodological as well as substantive niche within political science and that a majority of the officers of the Politics and History section have been primarily qualitative in their orientation not quantitative or formal. Within much of the discipline, interpretive methods are themselves under attack, and APD has come to represent a refuge for those who continue to employ them. But one might wonder how long APD can serve as a protective shield for interpretive work from those who say that it is "not really

American politics" or "not really political science," if the interpretive and historical research is not driven by an identifiable and shared research agenda.

As other methods are brought to bear on historical material, such research is increasingly being driven by questions that are foreign to the traditional APD literature. The increasing diversity of methods employed in the study of political history raises questions as to whether APD can successfully synthesize the insights of multiple methodological perspectives or whether it is wedded to an interpretive methodology. Interpretive and non-interpretive political scientists working with historical materials often tend to self-select into different groups. Not only do they publish in different journals, but they also tend to present their research at different panels even within the Politics and History division at conferences. Researchers employing quantitative or formal methodologies are often segregated into distinct panels with names like "new approaches to" or "new perspectives on" political history. The methodological gap between panels often reflects an underlying substantive and analytical gap between "traditional" APD scholars and many of those now seeking to "do history." Rather than becoming a common ground upon which those with different methodological inclinations can meet, it has become contested territory carved up and occupied by those with little interest in one another.

The split would seem to be both attitudinal and analytical. Training in quantitative and formal methods tends to come with an implicit set of research questions attached. Congressional studies raises this tendency in particularly striking terms. With some prominent exceptions, scholars in the American Political Development tradition have never fully integrated Congress, as they have other important political institutions such as the bureaucracy, the presidency, political parties, and the courts. The absence is striking because Congress has historically been an important institution in American politics - indeed, the call for the return of the state was in part a reaction to the importance of legislatures in American government. The lack of attention to Congress by APD is also interesting because congressional studies has traditionally supported "historical" work. Quantitative studies of legislative roll call votes, for example, often sweep across decades and even centuries. Most recently, Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal have aggregated every vote of every member of ever Congress into a single data set. But this historical data has been amassed and used to answer questions posed by economic theories of politics rather than those posed by American political development. Congressional studies has been revolutionized by the "positive theory of institutions," but hardly touched by the "historical new institutionalism."

Does APD still have a common project and a distinct perspective, or are there many conversations at separate tables sharing only a common historical data set? APD has often been sold to the rest of the discipline as "politics and history," but it may be time to emphasize that "history" is of secondary concern.

As debates over the periodization of electoral realignments and the political importance of state institutions have receded in importance, the analytical subtext to the study of political history can no longer be taken for granted. APD still aspires to be something other than American history as written by political scientists. Presumably, we bring our own sets of concerns and interests to the historical material, but those interests may be less evident as the debates that motivated early APD work lose salience. At the same time, many of those who are interested in American Political Development do not primarily use historical materials or methods. Just as many scholars are approaching historical materials from the perspective on contemporary politics, it may be worth developing the ways in which scholars can and do approach contemporary material from the perspective of APD.

It does seem to me that APD continues to represent something distinctive even as historical data and institutionalist perspectives become commonplace. Significantly, APD is developmental. It examines how we got to where we are and how events feed into each other in distinctive ways. The common formulation that APD is interested in political change may not be adequately descriptive. After all, increasingly other analytical approaches are emphasizing comparative statics, the maintenance of equilibria, and the processes by which political systems move from equilibrium to disequilibrium and back again. APD seems uniquely concerned with how political events build on one another and not simply with how they change. The increasingly common notion of "path dependence" offers some points of connection between APD and more economic approaches to politics, as well as a potentially useful focus on the mechanisms that constrain and direct political activity. More generally, APD can continue to make a useful contribution in demonstrating the ways in which the present is affected by the past, and how current decisions might affect the future.

Similarly, APD, and interpretive methodologies, seems particularly sensitive to how political structures are layered on to one another. The existence and interaction of multiple orders may be one of the surprising developments of APD. The analysis of multiple orders emerged out of an institutionalist perspective, but has since taken on an independent significance distinct from traditional concerns with state capacity or periodization schemes and has allowed for the integration of institutionalist and regime analytical perspectives. APD is at least as concerned with how the various features of a given political context are interlocking as with how they can be disaggregated. Interpretive APD preserves the complexity of political life in counterpoint to the reductive aspirations of quantitative and formal approaches to studying politics. It remains a challenge, however, to convince the profession that such an anti-reductionist perspective is a necessary component of the discipline and why it cannot be usefully replaced with "analytical narratives."

Less analytical than substantive, it may be worth noting that American Political Development has also been the preserve of those interested in issues of class and political economy, broadly defined. Although class could easily be raised in other contexts, APD appears to be one of the few places in the discipline that elevates it to a primary concern. A central motivation of research in American political development has been explaining the absence of socialism in the United States. Although the question can be framed quite narrowly, it opens a multitude of lines of inquiry. The issues raised by that basic question underlie such founding works in the field as Theda Skocpol's and Stephen Skowronek's research into the growth of the state, and somewhat differently and earlier Walter Dean Burnham's examination of electoral realignments and the evolution of the party system. Such issues are recurrently and differently raised by many of the Greenstone and Follett prize-winning books and articles, from Karen Orren's Belated Feudalism to Rogers Smith's Civic Ideals to Hugh Heclo's "The Sixties' False Dawn." These common concerns help link the theoretical and cultural wings of APD interested in the liberal consensus and American studies with the "empirical" and institutionalists wings interested in state-building and policy-making.

"Political economy" has become ubiquitous in political science, but it has also become exceedingly narrow. It now refers to a methodology more than it does to a subject matter. Even as an approach to the intersection between politics and the economy, it excludes important questions that were once of great concern to the discipline and remain of concern to those who study American political development. APD has sustained a place for the examination of the role of ideas and social mobilization in economics, of the possibility of alternative social and economic arrangements, of the political, legal and ideological structures that maintain a particular economic system. Although such efforts have been criticized as too "macro" and indeterminate, they also keep important "big picture" questions on the professional agenda. A sufficiently "micro" perspective can often pick out the pluralistic competition of interests in any political context, but the longer perspective of APD helps emphasize the contingency of the status quo.

Undoubtedly, these facets of APD do not exhaust the field's characteristics, but I think they do suggest the analytical core of American political development. Notably, these lines of inquiry imply a deeply historical sensibility, but not necessarily a historical subject matter. Current events can be historicized and examined in developmental terms as readily as distant ones. Likewise, it points to the broader agenda that motivated the call for the return of the state and survives the general acceptance of both the importance of institutions to politics and the value of historical data. It helps explain why the interdisciplinary enterprise of APD should not be collapsed into mere history and why it has a continuing role to play in the discipline of political science and in the study of American politics. And it at least suggests the basis for recognizing and sustaining a common conversation among those of us interested in "politics and history."

Thanks to Dave Robertson, Howard Gillman and Tracey Storey for their helpful comments.

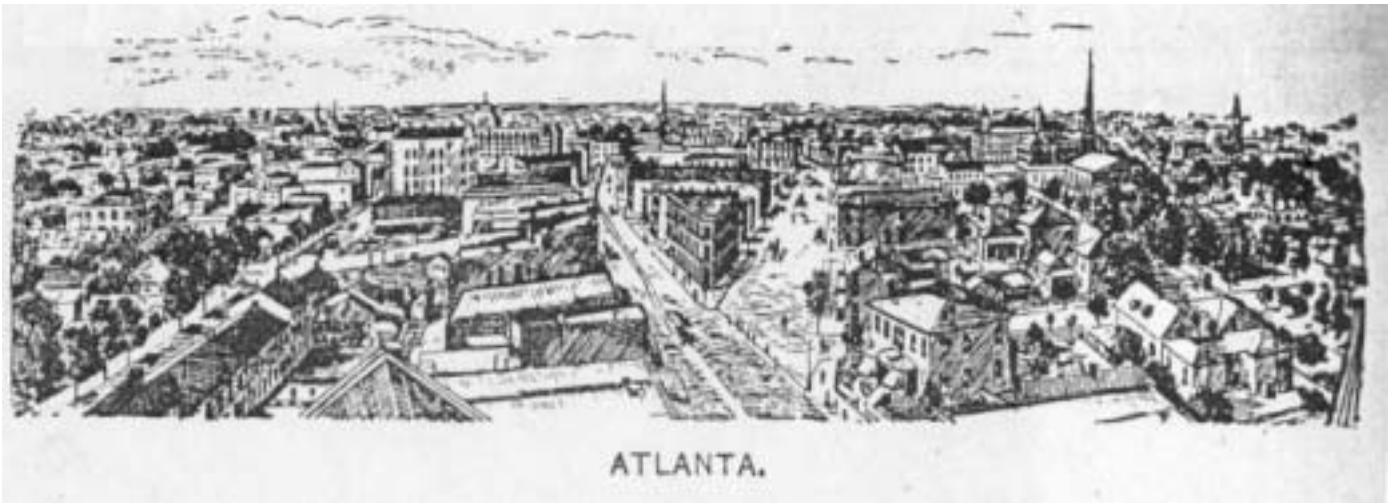
Fulbright Awards Available in Political Science

The Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) would like to announce the availability of 2000-2001 Fulbright scholar grants.

For further information and an application please call 202-686-7867 or visit CIES' website at:

http://www.cies.org/

Length of grants range from 3-12 months depending upon the country and the specific award. Depending upon the country, awards are available for teaching, research, or a combination of the two. Awards in your field are available in the following countries.



Franklin D. Roosevelt, Governor, R.B. Russell, and Senator John S. Cohen (D, GA) in Atlanta, Georgia, October 24, 1932. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum. http://www.academic.marist.edu/fdr/

Clio

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.