CLIO Newsletter of Politics & History
an organized section of the American Political Science Association
Volume 33, Issue 1 (Winter 2023-2024)

From the Chair:

Empire, Ministry, Indigeneity

Daniel Carpenter
Harvard University

My late colleague Samuel Huntington wrote of an impending clash of civilizations, but it might be more apt to consider the specter that confronts us as a clash of empires. Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the threats that Putin has broadcast across the European theater; China's massive military build-up and its projection of designs upon democratic Taiwan and much of the western Pacific; India's rapid emergence onto the global stage as a nuclear power and its authoritarian turn at home, combined with its ever more invasive rule over its Indigenous peoples and even its expatriates; Venezuela's authoritarian consolidation and its threat to invade Guyana; the jeopardy that Donald Trump, possibly re-elected President of the United States later this year, would deploy the American military in ways that regulate, police and attempt to "pacify" Mexico and, possibly after that, much of North America if not the western hemisphere – all of these developments and others remind us, not merely of the conflict of "major powers" but also the aspirations of these major powers to swallow up or ally with the other ones. To become even larger powers. To become empires.

My predecessors in this position – Kimberly Morgan, Peter Trubowitz and Cathie Jo Martin – each reflected on the link between politics and history and the emerging threats or challenges of our time. I'm going to follow their lead here and pass along some thoughts about what I've been reading and, as well, some research questions that I find generative. As I've sketched these thoughts and consider broader trends in scholarship on empire, I come away amazed at what scholarship in politics and history has accomplished in recent years. Studies of democracy, yes. And of freedom. But also of rule, and of unfreedom, and the expansion of the two. **(continued on p. 3)**

IN THIS ISSUE

Call for Nominations:
2024 Section Awards

J. David Greenstone Prize
An award for the best book in politics and history published in the last two calendar years

Award Committee:
Tomila Lankina
Jonathan Obert
Prerna Singh

To nominate a book, please arrange to have a copy sent to each member of the award committee by March 1, 2024.

Mary Parker Follett Prize
An award for the best article on politics and history published in the last year

Award Committee:
Kerry Goettlich
Lachlan McNamee
Sara Chatfield

To nominate an article, please send an electronic copy to each member of the award committee by March 1, 2024.

Walter Dean Burnham Dissertation Award
An award for the best dissertation in politics and history in the last two calendar years

Award Committee:
Adnan Naseemullah
Emily Zackin

To nominate a dissertation, please send a copy to each member of the award committee by March 1, 2024, and arrange for a supportive letter from the advisor or another member of the dissertation committee.

David Brian Robertson Best Paper Award
An award for the best Politics and History paper presented at the previous annual meeting

Award Committee:
Paul Herron
Tine Paulsen

To nominate a paper, please send an electronic copy to each member of the award committee by March 1, 2024.

Contact information for award committee members is available on the Politics and History Section's page on the APSA website

Politics & History

an organized section of the
American Political Science Association
http://www.apsanet.org/section24

CLIO is the biannual newsletter of the Politics & History section. It is edited by Shamira Gelbman, Associate Professor of Political Science, Wabash College, 301 W Wabash Ave., Crawfordsville, IN 47933.

Please direct inquiries and submissions, including member news and announcements, to Shamira Gelbman at gelbmans@wabash.edu.

CLIO is published twice a year and circulated electronically to section members. Section membership is $10.00 annually for APSA members. Membership information is available on the APSA website, http://www.apsanet.org.

(Carpenter, continued from p. 1) Every part of our section and our subdiscipline has been involved, and for many decades – comparative historical analyses of empire, bureaucracy and colonial legacies (Karen Barkey, David Bateman, Deborah Boucoyannis, Anna Gryzmala-Busse, Tomila Lankina, Adria Lawrence, James Mahoney, Lachlan McNamee, Theda Skocpol, Yuhua Wang); historical political economy analyses of empire, state and violence (Volha Charnysh, Evgeny Finkel, Sean Gailmard, Scott Gehlbach); political development narratives of rule, state and empire centered upon national and regional histories, including American political development (Devin Caughey, John Dearborn, Megan Francis, Paul Frymer, Jacob Grumbach, Ira Katznelson, Desmond King, Robert Lieberman, Suzanne Mettler, Robert Mickey, Colin Moore, Jonathan Obert, Karen Orren, Martin Shefter, Stephen Skowronek, Rogers Smith, Chloe Thurston).[1]

At the interstices of these real-world developments and my reading, I'm penning some thoughts about empire, ministry and indigeneity. My reflections are about the link between empires and the institutions still with us, the centrality of bureaucratic governance both in animating empire but also in constraining it (an important brake upon authoritarian tendencies in the coming years will be how much bureaucrats are faithful their office as opposed to the personality of certain leaders), and a reflection upon one set of populations that have often borne the brunt of imperial expansion, Indigenous peoples (and in the cases to which I will refer, Native North Americans).

Empire

Attempted or attained, empire and its models will be with us for centuries to come. It is useful at this moment to consider what the legacies of these constellations have been. The Roman version created the linguistic foundations of Europe and parts of Asia and, though later empires, of North and South America. The Christian Church centered at Rome was its own empire and spawned many an administrative innovation that was later adopted consciously or less so by monarchies. The religious foundations of much of the modern world were also created in the imperial Roman Catholic Church and its allied empires and monarchies. As Karen Barkey, Theda Skocpol and others have demonstrated, patterns of modern state bureaucracy were embedded in Roman, Christian and Ottoman Empires, and revolutions and other developments that toppled those empires often strengthened the state structures and forces embedded within them.[2] Indeed, much of what James Scott described as forms of state-seeing and legibility also (and often first) arose in state structures that we now regard as imperial.

What distinguishes these imperial models from more reduced models of the state – by degrees and not by binary absolutes – are the aspirations and attempts of empires (1) to grow, in part by annexing or forcibly incorporating adjacent spaces and peoples and (2) to homogenize markets, language, culture and other forms of practice within their claimed borders.

As we consider the present moment and the specter of authoritarianism, it is worth noting one simple fact: not all empires are authoritarian and not all authoritarian governments qualify as empires (though many have such aspirations). As a political scientist I prefer the term *authoritarianism* (used by the likes of my colleagues Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt) to the term *tyranny* (used by historians like Timothy Snyder). There is a historical specificity to modern authoritarianism, in part due to the rise of forms of authoritarianism that rely upon elections as both legitimation and surveillance devices (Levitsky and Way's competitive authoritarianism brings lessons to the table that general invocations of tyranny do not). We might later call tyrants those who devour their democracies from within, but that is a dynamic better explained by authoritarianism than by tyranny.

Yet to the extent that authoritarian forms of rule characterize our present and our future, scholars in politics and history will be required to do what we have always done and to shed light upon these dynamics by illuminating their structures in the past. Empires can provide many lessons in this work. What have expansionary imperial states done? Recent research by Jennifer Davis and Sean Gailmard point to enduring problems of hierarchy, control and agency in imperial settings. Davis's research shows how Charlemagne facilitated reports upon his subordinates, assigning overlapping jurisdictions to these officials to permit comparisons between their performance. Similar dynamics played

[1] I could list a hundred more scholars here; polite regrets to those whom I've omitted.

[2] Many of these themes, including the study of state structures under an imperial lens, have been known for some time; see the insightful review of Jennifer Pitts, "Political theory of empire and imperialism," *Annual Review of Political Science* 13 (2010): 211-235.

out in the history of the Western Frankish kingdoms after the Carolingian period, as Jeffrey Koziol has shown. Gailmard's fascinating study of the British empire shows how many of the institutions we today regard as democratic, liberal or republican have their origins in agency problems through which the British Crown attempted to control governors in colonies and colonial assemblies themselves. As recent work on British India and French Canada shows, empires used petitions to adjudicate claims and also to keep an eye on imperial officials.

The imperial origins of many "inclusive institutions" should be examined further. They plausibly include assemblies, courts, petitions, and compendia of laws and regulations that both include and circumscribe rights.

Ministry and Empire – the *Longue Durée*

Analyses of empire will place great role upon bureaucracies, whether they are party bureaucracies, organizations of diplomats, armies or teams of surveillance bots. New analyses of imperial state structures (including Yuhua Wang's excellent *The Rise and Fall of Imperial China*) point to the detailed architectures of rule that different empires adopted, with intricate appointment structures, quasi-Weberian modes of rule and detailed laws and regulations. Examining the church-state in medieval Europe, as scholars extending from Robert Benson to Geoffrey Koziol to Anna Gryzmala-Busse have done, shows how medieval bishops and abbots were every bit as advanced in technologies of rule as were the emperors and kings with and for whom they ruled.

In the United States, Paul Frymer's important study of empire in the United States – *Building an American Empire* (2017) – refocused much of the lens of American political development scholars upon the logic of "territorial expansion." More than other APD scholars before him, Frymer showed how the consolidation of military power and state capacity after the Civil War led the United States to rapidly expand and, later, to end the era of treaty-making; this is a major theme in recent works in Native American historical scholarship such as Ned Blackhawk's and Michael Witgen's. What is critical in this argument, and deserves further examination, is the role not only of military officials and militias in this expansion, but also that of other American bureaucrats. Colin Moore's fascinating study of American empire in the Philippines and Puerto Rico shows the development and deployment of highly sophisticated administrative apparatuses to develop colonial economies and govern subaltern populations.

As domestic models of authoritarianism become of greater interest, it is worth keeping in mind that some of the most important lessons of our section's scholars are that bureaucratic institutions are deeply involved in their operation. I'm thinking here of Robert Mickey's classic *Paths Out of Dixie*. Mickey showed that southern authoritarian party government depended not only upon state party organizations during Jim Crow but also the enmeshment of party with the apparatus of Southern order, especially state governments, country governments and sheriff's offices (Mickey, Chapter Six, 206-9). My co-teacher Devin Caughey has aptly demonstrated the electoral stability of these arrangements.

The historical literature on authoritarian modes of governance in the American states is rapidly growing, with an emergent focus on the transformations that have taken place among state legislatures and state parties in recent years. Jacob Grumbach's *Laboratories Against Democracy: How National Parties Transformed State Politics* (Princeton, 2022) is the latest and one of the very best examples of this emerging thread of research. What political scientists know a lot less about is whether state parties can easily impose their will upon state administrative agencies or whether there are some agencies that can retard authoritarian policy, whether intentionally or through the operations of bureaucratic slack. As scholars Aziz Huq and Tom Ginsberg have argued, much of the future of democratic and republican forms of governance depends upon the administrative rule of law.

Indigeneity

It can be fascinating and entertaining to study empires, and that fun and fascination risk blinding us to their very real human and non-human damage. Modern empires impose some of their greatest weight upon Indigenous peoples – the Irish and India under the British Empire, Indigenous peoples of North America and African peoples under various European empires. For some years I have been reading the work of Arundati Roy, less her more famous novels *The God of Small Things* and *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* – those are amazing, no doubt – and more some recent collections of essays, notably *Field Notes on Democracy: Listening to Grasshoppers* (2009) and *Azadi: Freedom, Fascism, Fiction* (2020). Roy has been one of the loudest voices in India calling attention to how nationalist politics in India has co-

evolved with a more extractive model of economic development, leaving India's Indigenous peoples, especially Adivasis, driven off their ancestral lands. Whether modern India qualifies as an empire is another question, but Roy's work and others tie extractive and expansive models of state development with Indigenous dispossession.

It's in the interaction of empires and Indigenous peoples that we see new forms of politics and new forms of rule. More so than with other subject populations, American bureaucrats intervened intentionally and forcefully in the attempted transformation (and often erasure) of Indigenous cultures and societies. As Claudio Saunt's marvelous study on Native American removal documents so clearly, removal was a deeply bureaucratic process: ruthlessly efficient, intricately planned and thoroughly administered, in ways that we might expect of the "policy state" that Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek have described, and long before the examples they use to describe it. The forcible removal of thousands upon thousands of Native American children from their homes – to be sent to government-run or -funded boarding schools where abuse and corruption were rampant – was a deeply bureaucratic enterprise. Its history in Canada as well as in the United States – where it lasted until quite late in the twentieth century – deserve far more analysis by historical political scientists than it has received.

There are important lessons that emerge from the study of empires and Indigenous peoples, and some of them counsel circumspection about the terms that scholars of history too often use without sufficient care. It has become fashionable to throw the term "settler colonialism" around a range of studies, including in a number of writings where the Australian historiography on which it is based has clearly been neither read nor cited. There may be cases where the term fits well, such as to the world of Australia that Patrick Wolfe examined and where the legal regime of *terra nullius* plausibly applies. The British North American colonies in New England, as narrated by Lisa Brooks in *Our Beloved Kin*, also plausibly qualify under this model. Yet other North American imperial enterprises most surely would not, including New France and much of the United States. These places were not those to which the doctrine of *terra nullius* pertained, as Richard White, Allan Greer, Bethel Saler and Salima Belmessous have shown. As Lachlan McNamee has argued, moreover, settler colonialist arguments have a remarkably weak and thin conception of the state. Simplified settler colonialism narratives advance vast claims about Indigenous erasure but offer no solid account of the apparatus that would be required to carry that out.

And it is critical to note that Indigenous peoples have, in many cases, found both allies and institutions with which to protect, even if partially, their spaces and peoples. These activities – what the Ojibwe theorist Gerald Vizenor describes as modes of *survivance* – take up too little space in studies invoking settler colonialism. Political scientists, with their analysis of agenda-setting, coalition-building, "divide and conquer" strategies used by the weak as well as the strong – have much to offer and add to accounts by historians here. Take treaties. Treaties have little place in simplistic settler colonial arguments – if the land is truly *terra nullius* then no international agreement would be required to acquire them – but Native American governments fiercely protect treaties and they have also figured centrally in Indigenous politics in Canada and New Zealand. Treaties acknowledge an originary and enduring sovereignty and often support contemporary economic development. Many contemporary Native American economies depend massively if not entirely upon treaty rights (the Seneca Nation of Indians is the fifth largest employer in western New York). The engagement of Indigenous peoples in claims-making, including petitioning, began long before their violent confrontation between European empires. And some of that model owes to diplomatic traditions among Indigenous peoples themselves. But the Spanish, French and British empires also drew Native peoples into complaint-making and petitioning in many ways, and in those activities lay the foundations of later alliance-making, coalition-building and modern lobbying by Native American nations.

Conclusion

Whatever the future of our democratic republic and of the free world, the study of empire must continue to occupy a central place in the study of politics and history. This will be true across the many subfields that compose our section. That study, as I have suggested, should include empire's institutions and its interactions with governed and subjugated peoples. Neither a "bottom -up" nor a "top down" model of analysis will suffice. Knowing empire, in the end, might be a precondition for resisting empire, and perhaps ultimately for defeating it.

Works Mentioned or to Which I Allude

Barkey, K. 1994. *Bandits and bureaucrats: The Ottoman route to state centralization*. Cornell University Press.

Barkey, K. 2008. *Empire of difference: The Ottomans in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

Bateman, D.A. 2018. *Disenfranchising democracy: Constructing the electorate in the United States, the United Kingdom, and France*. Cambridge University Press.

Belmessous, Saliha. 1999. *D'un préjugé culturel à un préjugé racial: la politique indigène de la France au Canada*. Ph.D. thesis, Lille.

Belmessous, Saliha. 2015. *Empire by Treaty: Negotiating European Expansion, 1600-1900* Oxford University Press.

Benson, Robert Louis. 2015. *Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*. Princeton University Press.

Blackhawk, Ned. 2008. *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Harvard University Press.

Blackhawk, Ned. 2023. *The Rediscovery of America: Native Peoples and the Unmaking of US History*. Yale University Press.

Boucoyannis, Deborah. 2021. *Kings as Judges: Power, Justice, and the Origins of Parliaments*. Cambridge University Press.

Brooks, Lisa Tanya. 2018. *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War*. Yale University Press.

Carpenter, Daniel. 2021. *Democracy by Petition: Popular Politics in Transformation, 1790-1870*. Harvard University Press.

Carpenter, Daniel. 2023. "Agenda Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 26: 193-212.

Carpenter, Daniel, and Doris Brossard. 2019. "*L'éruption patriote*: The revolt against Dalhousie and the petitioning explosion in nineteenth-century French Canada," *Social Science History* 43, no. 3: 453-485.

Caughey, Devin. 2019. *The Unsolid South: Mass Politics and National Representation in a One-Party Enclave*. Princeton University Press.

Charnysh, Volha, and Evgeny Finkel. 2017. "The death camp Eldorado: political and economic effects of mass violence," *American political science review* 111, no. 4: 801-818.

Charnysh, Volha, Eugene Finkel, and Scott Gehlbach. 2023. "Historical Political Economy: Past, Present, and Future," *Annual Review of Political Science* 26.

Dafoe, Allan, and Devin Caughey. 2016. "Honor and war: Southern US presidents and the effects of concern for reputation.," *World Politics* 68, no. 2: 341-381.

Davis, Jennifer R. 2015. *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*. Cambridge University Press.

Ford, Lisa. 2010. *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836*. Harvard University Press.

Francis, Megan Ming. 2014. *Civil rights and the making of the modern American state*. Cambridge University Press.

Frymer, Paul. 2017. *Building an American empire: The era of territorial and political expansion*. Princeton University Press.

Gailmard, Sean. 2024. *Agents of Empire: English Imperial Governance and the Making of American Political Institutions*. Cambridge University Press.

Getachew, Adom. 2019. *Worldmaking after empire: The rise and fall of self-determination*. Princeton University Press.

Greer, Allan. 2019. "Settler Colonialism and Empire in Early America." *William and Mary Quarterly* 76, no. 3: 383-390.

Grumbach, Jacob. 2022. *Laboratories against democracy: How national parties transformed state politics*. Princeton University Press.

Grzymała-Busse, Anna M. 2023. *Sacred foundations: the religious and medieval roots of the European state*. Princeton University Press.

Huq, Aziz, and Tom Ginsburg. 2018. "How to lose a constitutional democracy," *UCLA L. Rev.* 65: 78.

Jennings, Francis. 1984. *The ambiguous Iroquois empire: The covenant chain confederation of Indian tribes with English colonies from its beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744*. WW Norton & company.

Koziol, Geoffrey. 1992. *Begging pardon and favor: ritual and political order in early medieval France*. Cornell University Press.

Lankina, Tomila V. 2021. *The estate origins of democracy in Russia*. Cambridge University Press.

Latowsky, Anne A. 2013. *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800–1229*. Cornell University Press.

Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial rule and the politics of nationalism: Anti-colonial protest in the French empire*. Cambridge University Press.

Lee, Melissa M., and Nan Zhang. 2017. "Legibility and the informational foundations of state capacity." *The Journal of Politics* 79, no. 1: 118-132.

Levitsky, Stephen and Ziblatt, Daniel. 2019. *How democracies die*. Crown.

Mettler, Suzanne, and Robert C. Lieberman. 2020. *Four threats: The recurring crises of American democracy*. St. Martin's Press.

Mahoney, James. 2010. *Colonialism and postcolonial development: Spanish America in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

Masters, Adrian. 2023. *We, the King: Creating Royal Legislation in the Sixteenth-century Spanish New World*. Cambridge University Press.

Masters, Adrian, and Bradley Dixon. 2022. "Indigenous Petitioning in the Early Modern British and Spanish New World." In *Petitioning in the Atlantic World: Empires, Revolutions and Social Movements,* edited by Miguel Dantas da Cruz, 105–136. Palgrave Macmillan.

McDonough, Kelly. 2018. "Indigenous Remembering and Forgetting: Sixteenth- Century Nahua Letters and

Petitions to the Spanish Crown." *Native Ameri- can and Indigenous Studies* 5, no. 1: 69–99.

McNamee, Lachlan. 2023. *Settling for Less: Why States Colonize and Why They Stop*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mickey, Robert. 2015. *Paths Out of Dixie: The Democratization of Authoritarian Enclaves in America's Deep South, 1944-1972*. Princeton University Press.

Moore, Colin D. 2011. "State Building Through Partnership: Delegation, Public-Private Partnerships, and the Political Development of American Imperialism, 1898-1916," *Studies in American Political Development* 25, no. 1: 27-55.

Moore, Colin D. 2017. *American Imperialism and the State, 1893-1921*. Cambridge University Press.

Obert, Jonathan. 2018. *The six-shooter state: public and private violence in American politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Orren, Karen and Skowronek, Stephen. 2017. *The Policy State: An American Predicament*. Harvard University Press.

Katznelson, Ira and Martin Shefter, eds., 2002. *Shaped by War and Trade: International influences on American political development*. Princeton University Press.

Pitts, Jennifer. 2010. "Political theory of empire and imperialism," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13: 211-235.

Saler, Bethel. 2015. *The Settler's Empire: Colonialism and State Formation in America's Old Northwest.* University of Pennsylvania Press.

Saunt, Claudio. *Unworthy republic: The dispossession of Native Americans and the road to Indian Territory*. WW Norton & Company, 2020.

Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and social revolutions: A comparative analysis of France, Russia and China*. Cambridge University Press.

Skowronek, S., Dearborn, J.A. and King, D., 2021. *Phantoms of a beleaguered republic: The deep state and the unitary executive*. Oxford University Press.

Snyder, Timothy. 2021. *On Tyranny Graphic Edition: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*. Ten Speed Graphic.

Stasavage, D., 2011. *States of credit: Size, power, and the development of European polities*. Princeton University Press.

Vizenor, Gerald, ed. 2008. *Survivance: Narratives of native presence*. U of Nebraska Press.

Thurston, Chloe N. 2018. *At the boundaries of homeownership: Credit, discrimination, and the American state*. Cambridge University Press.

Wang, Yuhua. 2022. *The rise and fall of imperial China: The social origins of state development*. Princeton University Press.

White, Richard. 1991. *The middle ground: Indians, empires, and republics in the Great Lakes region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge University Press..

Witgen, Michael John. 2021. *Seeing Red: Indigenous Land, American Expansion, and the Political Economy of Plunder in North America*. UNC Press Books.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of genocide research* 8, no. 4: 387-409.

Call for Papers: 2024 APSA Annual Meeting

September 5-7, 2024 | Philadelphia, PA | Proposal Deadline: January 17, 2024

Program Chairs: Amel Ahmed and Chloe Thurston

The Politics and History Division invites panel and paper submissions on topics related to politics and history from various disciplinary perspectives, including works in and across the fields of comparative politics, American politics, international relations, and political theory. We encourage submissions on topics related to politics and history broadly conceived, including political development, state building, the history of ideas, and international order formation, and also extending to work that is methodological in substance, examining issues of change and continuity, as well as those of conceptualization and measurement. The section particularly encourages submissions that address this year's theme of Democracy: Retrenchment, Renovation, and Reimagination, including papers and panels exploring the historical transformation of democratic systems, institutions, and practices in ways that help to orient us towards present challenges. The Division is committed to constructing a program that utilizes APSA's various formats, including lightning rounds, featured paper panels, and cafes. For full panel submissions, the Division values proposals that maintain and strengthen the Division's commitments to an inclusive and diverse discipline.

For more information or to submit a proposal, visit: https://connect.apsanet.org/apsa2024/.

Section News

Summary of the 2023 Business Meeting

September 1, 2023 | Los Angeles, CA

Cathie Jo Martin called the meeting to order at 6:15 PM. She congratulated program co-chairs Didac Queralt and Sarah Staszak on an outstanding job with this year's APSA sessions, which showcase the section's impressive boundary-spanning scope and cutting-edge research in American political development, international relations, comparative politics, and historical political economy.

The section's 2024 program co-chairs are Amel Ahmed and Chloe Thurston. Thurston stated that the call for proposals is already out and that she and Ahmed maintain previous program chairs' goal of sponsoring panels that bring together multiple perspectives and methodological approaches. They are eager to co-sponsor sessions with other sections and reminded the section of new session formats other than the traditional panel, including lightning rounds and cafes.

Dan Tichenor gave the Treasurer's report. The budget has improved to, but section membership numbers are down. He asked members to encourage their graduate students to join the section.

Shamira Gelbman reported that the summer issue of *Clio* was recently circulated on APSA Connect and a call for winter issue submissions will circulate soon. This is her tenth year as *Clio* editor.

The slate of nominees for chair-elect (Megan Ming Francis) and new council members (David Bateman, Alexandra Cirone, Adnan Naseemullah, and Emily Zackin) was elected by acclamation and this year's section awards were presented.

Martin raised two items for discussion:

(1) ***Should the section give travel awards to graduate students and contingent faculty who lack resources to attend APSA?*** Section members expressed a desire to cast a broad net to include junior faculty and others aside from graduate students and contingent faculty. One member asked if a new committee should be appointed to handle travel awards. It was suggested that the section learn from and emulate the practices of other sections that already do so.

(2) ***How should the section deal with declining membership?*** Ideas that came up in this discussion included the possibility of developing the section's social media presence and hosting virtual workshops, preconference events, and other initiatives throughout the year that might attract members. Concerns were raised as to the section's identity and how its breadth and openness to both qualitative and quantitative researchers across subfields might be communicated more effectively to those who aren't already section members. It was also pointed that new competing sections have emerged in recent years and that declining membership is not a unique problem for this section.

Robert Lieberman led the section in thankful applause Martin and other section leaders for their work to manage conference changes amidst this summer's challenges and Martin turned the gavel over to Dan Carpenter, 2023-24 section chair.

Carpenter thanked Martin for her leadership and announced that next year's meeting will be in Philadelphia. He encouraged section members to lean into the conference theme's call to think about both "anxieties of democracy" and encouraging pockets of resistance to authoritarianism. He also pointed to large language models as an emerging concern that may be ripe for inquiry by those concerned with political history.

The meeting adjourned at 7:15 PM.

2023 Section Awards

Mary Parker Follett Prize for the Best Paper in Politics & History

The award committee, Edgar Franco-Vivanco, Adria Lawrence, and Stephen Stohler, presented the award to:

Kerry Goettlich

for **"The Colonial Origins of Modern Territoriality: Property Surveying in the Thirteen Colonies,"** *American Political Science Review* 116 (2022): 911-926

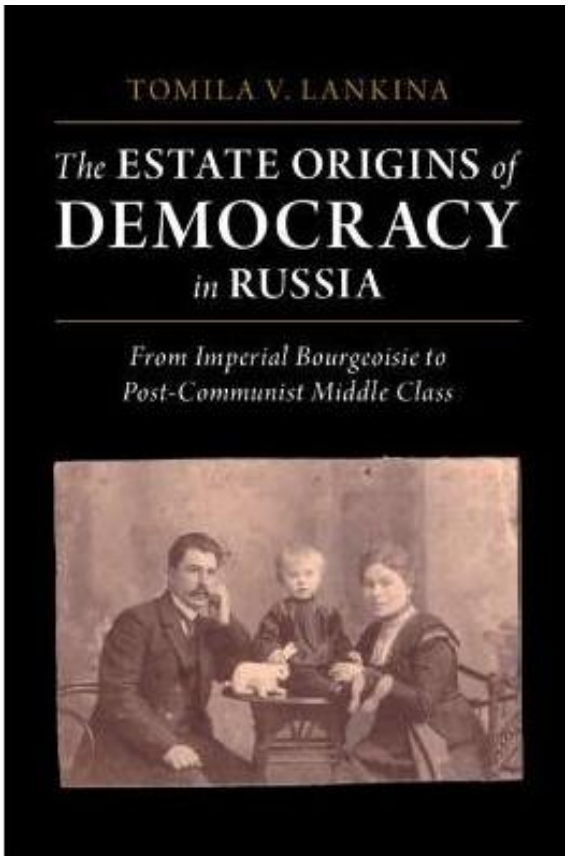
This exceptional work challenges conventional perspectives by delving into the emergence of precise boundaries in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonial North America. Through meticulous research and analysis of primary sources such as governmental records, colonial charters, treaties, and maps, the article argues that the establishment of linear borders in colonial North America was a crucial step towards modern territoriality, and it challenges the Eurocentric perspective that equates it with sovereign statehood. The paper opens up new avenues for research and provides a comprehensive understanding of the origins and distinguishing features of modern territoriality. The selection committee commends the author for his innovative approach, meticulous research, and significant contribution to the field, making it a deserving recipient of the Mary Parker Follett Prize for best article published in 2022 in history and politics.

J. David Greenstone Prize for the Best Book in Politics & History

The award committee, Daniel Carpenter, Alexandra Cirone, and Quinn Mulroy, presented the award to:

Tomila Lankina

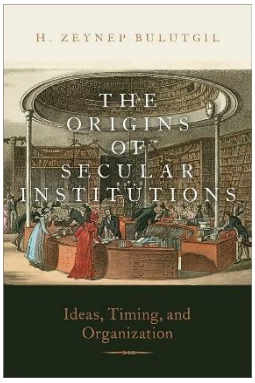
for **The Estate Origins of Democracy in Russia** (Cambridge University Press, 2022)



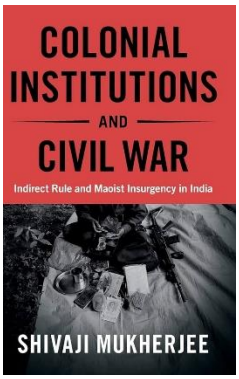
The Estate Origins of Democracy in Russia is a searching analysis of class dynamics, political transitions and state formation that upends common understandings in the study of Russia and in comparative politics alike. Far from leveling status and economic inequalities, the Soviet Union relied heavily upon and even replicated many of the tsarist estate class structures. From the standpoint of Russian history and political economy, Lankina injects theoretic realism and hard-nosed empiricism into our understanding of state and class formation. From the standpoint of political development and comparative politics, Lankina redefines what the middle class *is*, as in part a co-creation of the state that it populates. The empirical effort is truly massive without overwhelming the reader. Leveraging census data, network analysis of individuals, organizations and religious communities, original biographical data, archival accounts of identity and consumption in class formation and political economy approaches to the petrochemical industry, Lankina tracks down dozens of test implications of her theoretical perspective and situates her data in profound historical, social and economic context. At a time when the institutions and structures of the past are commonly portrayed as having durable "legacies" for generations or centuries to come, Lankina provides a model of research that connects the causal and mechanistic dots and does so with theoretical elegance. Students and scholars of the state, social class and their coevolution, as well as those interested in Russian history and the dynamics of revolution, will find enlightenment in Lankina's multi-method masterpiece for decades to come.

and honorable mentions to:

Zeynep Bulutgil for **The Origins of Secular Institutions: Ideas, Timing, and Organization** (Oxford University Press, 2022)



Zeynep Bulutgil's thoughtful study shows us that secularization is far from homogenous or preordained, and it needs to be studied institutionally. The basic question is why do some countries adopt secular institutions while others do not, or before others do? Premised upon two comparisons, one of Catholic countries in Europe (Spain and France) from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, the other a comparison of two Sunni Islam nations (Turkey and Morocco). Recognizing that there are countries that rest more at the interstices of church and state, Bulutgil also examines England and Tunisia. In a combination of large-N statistical analysis of a panel of countries in Europe and in these comparisons, Bulutgil finds that nations that experienced an earlier rise of secularizing movements-become-parties – a development predicted by a range of factors in civil society, including print culture – also institutionalize secularization earlier. In its multi-method examination of one of the most important questions of our time, Bulutgil's book breaks important new ground and convincingly links institutions back to civil society and forward to policy.



Shivajee Mukherjee for **Colonial Origins and Civil War: Indirect Rule and Maoist Insurgency in India** (Cambridge University Press, 2021)

Colonial Institutions and Civil War: Indirect Rule and Maoist Insurgency in India focuses on the relationship between colonial rule in India and subsequent Maoist insurgency. The contribution of the book lies in a careful treatment of how historical legacies influence contemporary political violence, and a comparative discussion of how this informs modern cases of ethnic secessionist insurgency. We were particularly impressed with the bread of the research; the book combines 1) micro-level data on land inequality, socio-demographic data, and insurgency with methods of design-based inference, 2) interviews and fieldwork with government officials, police, and activists, and 3) rich archival data leveraging primary source Maoist documents.

Walter Dean Burnham Dissertation Award

The award committee, Adam Chamberlain, Paul Baumgardner, and Lynn Tesser, presented the award to:

Carissa L. Tudor

for her dissertation

"Whose Modernity? Revolution and the Rights of Woman"

Carissa L. Tudor's dissertation, *Whose Modernity? Revolution and the Rights of Woman*, argues that Western modernity led to a decline in women's rights. Relying mainly on the case of France, Tudor shows that some women were active political participants prior to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era because of suffrage being embedded into social and economic relations of the estates system. During and after the revolution, political rights were separated from these relations, providing an opportunity for those holding restrictive views of women – a particular gender ideology – to curtail women's rights by emphasizing sex differences and women's roles as wives and mothers. Thereafter, the French Civil Code that favored husband's rights and control of property restricted women's rights and women's suffrage efforts; parts of Germany that retained this civil code also saw less women's political activities than their counterparts that did not retain or never used the civil code.

Overall, the committee found Tudor's dissertation to be well-researched and well-written, nicely balancing quantitative and qualitative evidence across a temporally-broad focus on French women's political participation. The amount of data collected to study women's participation in local meetings and the Estates General elections is impressive. Its theory was also strong, and the ability of Tudor to explain how women's political roles were weakened in the shift to a modern French Civil Code – and that this code had long-term consequences on women's organizing for suffrage – helped to create a cohesive dissertation from start to finish.

David Brian Robertson Best Paper Award

The award committee, Graham Dodd, Agustin Goenaga, and Shivaji Mukherjee, presented the award to:

Roya Talibova

for her paper

"Choosing Sides: The Price for Battlefield Loyalty under Autocracy"

In this paper, Professor Talibova addresses a key question about the extent to which autocracies reward their own veterans for their military service. Using an impressive wealth of fine-grained original data from archival sources and cutting-edge statistical methods, the paper demonstrates that neither veterans from World War I nor veterans from the White and Red Armies were spared from repression during the Stalin purges. The normative implications of this empirically rich paper are thus significant, as it shows that political loyalty and even military service on behalf of the regime do not guarantee personal and family safety in repressive autocracies.

And an honorable mention to:

Desh Girod for **"Jim Crow Foreign Policy: White Supremacy vs. Republicanism"**

This paper puts forward an innovative argument about the origins of American anti-imperialism that unsettles conventional wisdom. Through a combination of qualitative and quantitative data, Professor Girod shows that the unwillingness by the American government to pursue territorial expansion at the turn of the century was not the result of egalitarian commitments, racial animus towards foreign populations or geopolitical and commercial interests, but of the worries harbored by White Southerners about having a large standing army with an imperial agenda that could be turned inwards, as it had done after the Civil War. The paper is a *tour-de-force* in the political history of American anti-imperialism, raising original insights about the complex relationship between domestic race relations and foreign policy in American political development.

The A New Nation Votes Project

Jay Dow
Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy
University of Missouri

In 2010, a remarkable archive of early United States election returns was released for scholarly research. The A New Nation Votes (NNV) project is the product of a decades long collection effort led by Principal Investigator Phillip J. Lampi, supported by the National Humanities Council, and curated by Tufts University and the American Antiquarian Society.[1] The collection includes returns from federal, state and local elections contested between 1787 and 1825. While many historians are familiar with these data, they appear less known to political scientists. The returns are not complete, but their coverage surpasses that in related ICPSR archived studies.[2] Here I overview the NNV collection and illustrate its use drawing on early Pennsylvania and Delaware House of Representatives elections.

The NNV returns are available through an on-line interface at https://elections.lib.tufts.edu/. A drop-down menu allows one to select state, year, office, jurisdiction, party and election type. These elections include those for the US House of Representatives, governorships, state assemblies and senates, and a variety of local offices. The NNV also archives legislative votes for offices not selected by popular vote. Depending on the office, NNV returns include, inter alia, year, districts, candidates, party affiliations, votes, iterations, finish order and winner(s). County and town returns are often available as well. The NNV identifies the sources of these data, any special notes on the election, and even copies of Phil Lampi's original notes. While the on-line interface is sufficient for many purposes, one can download files for analysis. These files provide additional information including unique identifiers for each election, candidate name codes that account for differences in spellings, party affiliation codes and other information. However, the file organization is sometimes complex, and one must take care to screen for partial and duplicate observations.

So, what can one do with these returns? Just about anything one can do with any election returns. These data enable one to assess party nominations and entry control, voter turnout, party support, voter response to political events, and other questions that interest political scientists and political historians.[3]

To illustrate, consider the Pennsylvania 1810 US House of Representatives general election. The NNV menu returns 11 district elections. Pennsylvania's apportionment was 18, but it elected representatives from both single-member and multimember districts. The returns are complete.[4] Pennsylvania's voting eligible population was approximately 163,400. Just over 89,000 men cast votes producing a turnout rate of 54.5 percent.[5] Drilling down, consider the single-member district comprised of Adams and York counties. Republican William Crawford and Federalist Davis Cassat contested the seat. Crawford won with 2332 votes to Cassat's 1790. That only two candidates stood for election indicates the parties had effective nominations. One can calculate county turnout by estimating their voting eligible populations. York County was more populous than Adams County, and this is reflected in their electorates which numbered approximately 7095 and 3365, respectively. In York County 3179 men voted, while in Adams County there 943 electors. This translates to county turnout rates of 45 percent and 28 percent. The difference in turnout likely owes to the partisan leanings of the counties. They were mirror images of each other; 65 percent of the York County vote was Republican, and 70 percent of the Adams County vote was Federalist. The Adams electors may have been more inclined to stay home in the face of a losing effort.

The Delaware presents among the simplest early general ticket elections. In 1812 it elected two representatives at-large. Each elector received two, non-cumulative, votes. Delaware has only three counties and in 1812 its voting eligible population was approximately 11,400. The NNV returns the following:

Candidates	**Henry M. Ridgely* Federalist**	**Thomas Cooper* Federalist**	**David Hall Republican**	**Richard C. Dale Republican**
Final Result	**4193**	**4183**	**3221**	**3210**
New Castle County	1038	1034	1682	1683
Kent County	1340	1329	649	639
Sussex County	1815	1820	890	889

The return reveals much about early Delaware elections. The election was competitive with the Federalists winning 57 percent of the vote. Top-of-the-ticket votes show that 7414 electors cast ballots. This translates to a turnout rate of 65 percent. The minimal within party vote spreads indicate electors vote the ticket, not the candidate. The difference between each party's leading and trailing candidate is surely ballot roll off. As in Pennsylvania, the counties display partisan patterns. The Republicans were strongest in northern New Castle County while the Federalists did best in the south. The return indicates effective party organization as reflected in entry control, high turnout, and partisanship in the electorate.

The NNV returns are most productively used when augmented with other information. Most important for district or county level analysis is the *Newberry Library Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*.[6] New counties were created, and while historic counties typically retain their names they were routinely subdivided or had their boundaries shifted. Since legislative districts were often formed from counties, these boundaries changed too. If one uses Geographic Information System (GIS), the shape files for historical county boundaries and Congressional districts are readily available. The George Mason University's Mapping Early American Election project provides many maps for download. The census is indispensable if one conducts county-level analysis. Finally, the Readex Historical Newspaper Collection is useful. The NNV provides newspaper citations so one can locate the original sources for the returns. These newspapers, with their partisan affiliations easily identified, also provide commentary for additional context and texture.

The NNV returns are an immensely important resource for political scientists with interest in the early elections. Questions previously thought unapproachable because returns were scarce or thought unreliable are now assessable. The intuitive NNV interface reduces startup costs for obtaining information on specific elections. The substate coverage provides information not available elsewhere. These data are reshaping how historians understand early United States elections. They also open new possibilities for political scientists seeking to better understand early United States electoral development.

A New Nation Votes
American Election Returns 1787 -1825

---

[1] For another review of this project see Caroline F. Sloat "A New Nation Votes and the Study of American Politics, 1789—1824." *Journal of the Early Republic* 33, no. 2 (2013): 183–86.

[2] For example, Candidate and Constituency Statistics of Elections in the United States, 1788-1990 (ICPSR 7757) presents 23 complete returns for Virginia elections to the US House of Representatives from the 8th to 12th Congresses. The NNV presents 35 complete returns.

[3] Examples of recent scholarship that use NNV returns include Daniel Peart *Era of Experimentation,* Jay *Dow Electing the House: The Adoption and Performance of the US Single-Member District Electoral System,* Aric Dale Gooch and Jay Dow "Congressional Nominations and Party Emergence: 1788 – 1808." *Social Science Quarterly*, 2022.

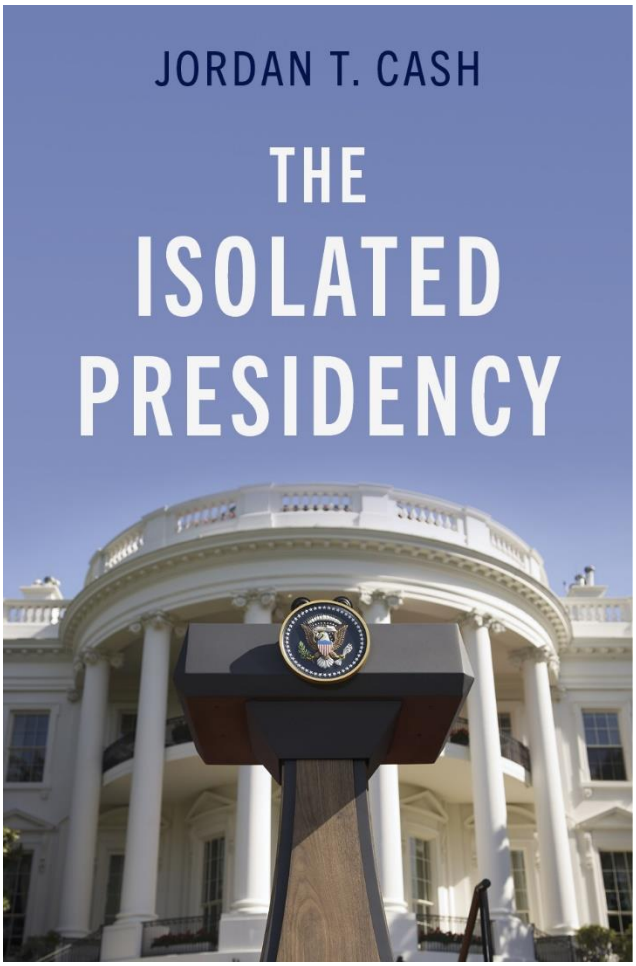
[4] In 1810 Pennsylvania had seven single-member districts, one two-member district and three three-member districts.

[5] The Pennsylvania voting eligible population is obtained from Walter Dean Burnham, Thomas Furguson and Louis Ferleger *Voting in American Elections*.

[6] The sources of information discussed in this paragraph may be found at the following locations: The Congressional district shape files are available at the UCLA CD Shape files site (https://cdmaps.polisci.ucla.edu/), the Newberry Library Atlas of Historical County Boundaries is at https://digital.newberry.org/ahcb/ (See also Kenneth C. Martis *The Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress 1789-1989.*), the George Mason Mapping Early American Elections project may be accessed at https://earlyamericanelections.org.

First Books

Jordan T. Cash, *The Isolated Presidency*. Oxford University Press, 2023.



Since before the ratification of the Constitution, students, scholars, and statesmen in American politics have grappled with an important question: how powerful is the President of the United States? For many scholars, it is a question that can be answered only by considering factors outside the office itself, such as the president's popularity, personal clout, political talents, or institutional relationships.

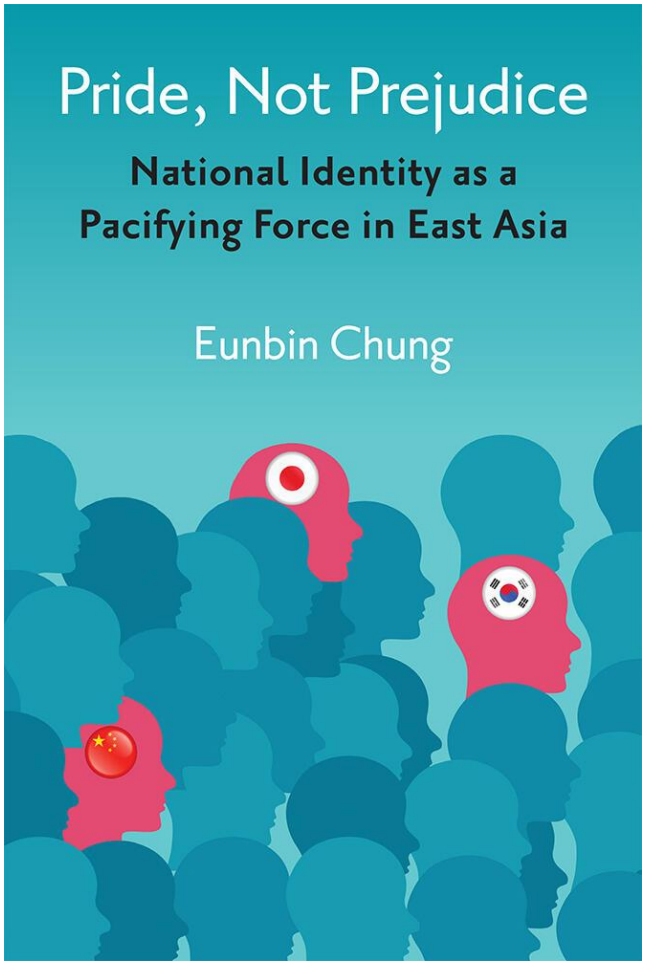
In *The Isolated Presidency*, Jordan T. Cash re-frames this question to instead ask what authority is available to all presidents. Drawing on the Constitution itself, Cash argues that the presidency possesses an internal logic derived from its structure, duties, and powers which not only grants the president a unique institutional perspective, but also provides the president with considerable agency and discretion in pursuing agendas.

To gain a clear view of how the Constitution creates a baseline of authority that is available to all presidents, Cash examines the "isolated presidents"—presidents who were unelected, faced divided government, and were opposed by major factions of their own political parties. Stripped of all external supports, these presidents were left with nothing but their constitutional authority to rely on. Yet despite their disadvantageous circumstances, these presidents were able to achieve major policy successes solely by use of their constitutional powers. Through three case studies of isolated presidents John Tyler, Andrew Johnson, and Gerald Ford, Cash illustrates how the Constitution creates an empowering logic within the presidency which orients presidential behavior and grants every president significant power and agency. As American politics remains polarized and divided, *The Isolated Presidency* provides lessons and examples of what constitutionally derived actions a president can take when confronted with the recurring issues of divided government and political gridlock.

For more information or to purchase this book, see: https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-isolated-presidency-9780197669778

First Books

Eunbin Chung, ***Pride, Not Prejudice: National Identity as a Pacifying Force in East Asia.*** University of Michigan Press, 2022.



A history of distrust and security fears can prevent neighboring countries from cooperating in mutually useful ways. Considering whether legacies of conflict can be overcome, many researchers argue that this can happen only through cultural convergence or a stress on overarching commonalities. For example, an emphasis on "Asian-ness" has been proposed as a solution to the history of tension between China, Japan, and South Korea. From this perspective, the persistence of robust national identities will lead to a continuation of conflict. But is this true? Are salient national identities really an impediment to peace in Asia? Challenging the conventional wisdom, *Pride, Not Prejudice* suggests that affirmation of strong national identities can serve as a feasible way to rapprochement and have positive effects on world politics. The book investigates three main obstacles to reconciliation and ways to overcome them. If each national population reaffirms positive aspects of its own distinctive identity, countries with a history of conflict can move closer to overcoming distrust, reluctance to admit guilt, and negative perceptions of one another.

Are strong national identities harmful for peace? As shown by China's relationship to Japan, and Japan's relationship to South Korea, even growing regional economic interdependencies are not enough to overcome bitter memories grounded in earlier wars, invasions, and periods of colonial domination. Although efforts to ease historical animosity have been made, few have proven to be successful in Northeast Asia. In previous research, scholars anticipated an improvement in relations though thick economic interdependence or increased societal contact. In economic terms, however, Japan and China already trade heavily, and societal contact is already intense, as millions of Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese visit one another's countries annually as students and tourists and on business trips. But these developments have not alleviated international distrust and negative perception between the countries. They have not resolved disagreement on what constitutes "adequate reparation" regarding the countries' painful history, either.

Noticing clashes of strong nationalisms around the world in areas like Northeast Asia, numerous studies have suggested that more peaceful relations are likely only if countries submerge or paper over existing national identities by promoting universalism. *Pride, Not Prejudice* argues, to the contrary, that affirmation of national identities may be a more effective way to build international cooperation. If each national population reflects upon the values of their national identity, trust and positive perception can increase between countries. This idea is consistent with the theoretical foundation that those who have a clear, secure, and content sense of self, in turn, can be more open, evenhanded, and less defensive toward others. In addition, this reduced defensiveness also enhances guilt admission by past "inflictors" of conflict and colonialism. Chung borrows the social psychological theory of self-affirmation and applies it to an international context to argue that affirmation of a national identity, or reflecting on what it means to be part of one's country, can increase trust, guilt recognition, and positive perception between countries.

For more information or to purchase this book, see: https://press.umich.edu/Books/P/Pride-Not-Prejudice

Member News & Announcements

The sixth annual **Toronto Political Development Workshop** will be held at the University of Toronto on May 13 and 14, 2024. The workshop will feature a keynote presentation by Daniel Schlozman and Sam Rosenfeld, authors of the forthcoming book, *The Hollow Parties: The Many Pasts and Disordered Present of American Party Politics*. For more information and to submit a proposal (deadline: February 4, 2024), visit http://www.tpdw.ca.

Elizabeth G. Pfeffer, a Postdoctoral Associate at the Rockefeller Center at Dartmouth College, has published "Conceptualizing and Measuring 'Punitiveness' in Contemporary Advanced Democracies" in *Regulation & Governance*.

Stephen M. Sachs announces the publication of *Honoring the Circle, Ongoing Learning on Politics and Society*, a four-volume work that unfolds the huge and continuing impact of American Indian ways and thought on U.S., Western, and, as a result, world political thinking, institutions, and ways of proceeding.

Yale Law School has announced that **Keith E. Whittington** will join the faculty and launch a new academic center there devoted to the study of free speech and academic freedom.

Gregory P. Williams has published a piece in *Jacobin* on the relevance of Immanuel Wallerstein's ideas for our tumultuous times. Williams explores Wallerstein's understanding of capitalism and his belief that the system is in a chaotic period.

Journal Scan

Administration & Society

Baty, Samuel R. and Sharon Mastracci. The Role of Time in Post-Normal Knowledge Creation and Decision-Making in Public Administration

African Studies Review

Berman, Zoë Elizabeth. Ubunyarwanda and the Evolution of Transitional Justice in Post-Genocide Rwanda: 'To Generalize Is Not Fresh"

Gardner, Leigh. The Collapse of the Gold Standard in Africa: Money and Colonialism in the Interwar Period

Krozewski, Gerold and Tinashe Nyamunda. Money *for* Africa and Monday *in* Africa: Colonial Currencies and the Making of Economies and States, 1860s-1960s

Masaki, Toyomu. The Management of the Bank of Senegal and the Formation of a Colonial Economy, 1840s-1901

Mata, Maria Eugénia. Reorganizing the Escudo Zone: Portuguese Monetary Policy and Empire-Union in Africa in the 1960s

Nyamunda, Tinashe and Admire Mseba. Money in South-Central Africa, 1890-1931: Africans, Imperial Sterling, and Colonial Economy-Building

Pallaver, Karin. From German East African Rupees to British East African Shillings in Tanganyika: The King and the Kaiser Side by Side

American Historical Review

Bjerk, Paul. Political Biography and the Agency of Audience

DeLay, Brian. The Arms Trade and American Revolutions

Fajardo, Margarita. CEPAL, the 'Institutional Monetary Fund of the Left'? The Tale of Two Global Institutions

Jenkins, Destin. Breaking the Bonds of Segregation: Civil Rights Politics and the History of Modern Finance

Mishler, Max. 'Improper and Almost Rebellious Conduct': Enslaved People's Legal Politics and Abolition in the British Empire

American Journal of Political Science

Hong, Ji Yeon, Sunkyoung Park, and Hyunjoo Yang. In Strongman We Trust: The Political Legacy of the New Village Movement in South Korea

American Journalism

DeFraia, Daniel. Into the State: How American Reporters Came to Work for the US Government

Greene-Blye, Melissa and John Bickers. War Chief, Friend of the President, Prohibitionist: Would the 'Real' Little Turtle Please Stand Up?

Pribanic-Smith, Erika J. Debate over Civil War Soldier Voting in California's Partisan Press, 1863-1864

American Political Science Review

Goodman, Rob. Slavery and Oratory: Frederick Douglass in the History of Rhetoric

American Sociological Review

Parolin, Zachary, Matthew Desmond, and Christopher Wimer. Inequality below the Poverty Line since 1967: The Role of the U.S. Welfare State

British Journal of Political Science

Artabe, Eugenia, Samantha Chapa, Leah Sparkman, and Patrick E. Shea. External Threats, Capacity, and Repression: How the Threat of War Affects Political Development and Physical Integrity Rights

Canadian Journal of Political Science

Bashevkin, Sylvia. Explaining Feminist Movement Impact: Provincial Abortion Policies in the Wake of Decriminalization, 1988-2018

Béland, Daniel, Shannon Dinan, Olivier Jacques, and Patrik Marier. The Right and the (Provincial) Welfare State: The Case of the Coalition Avenir Québec Government

McKinnell, Ryan Alexander. The Parliamentary Regime: The Political Philosophy of Confederation

Mussell, Linda. Decolonizing Research on the Carceral in Canadian Political Science

Comparative Political Studies

Hellmeier, Sebastian and Michael Bernhard. Regime Transformation from Below: Mobilization for Democracy and Autocracy from 1900 to 2021

Lee, Alexander. Historical Inequality at the Grassroots: Local Public Goods in an Indian District, 1905-2011

Sakstrup, Casper. When Strength Becomes Weakness: Precolonial State Development, Monopoly on Violence, and Civil War

Treisman, Daniel. How Great Is the Current Danger to Democracy? Assessing the Risk with Historical Data

Comparative Politics

Vortherms, Samantha A. Dividing the People: The Authoritarian Bargain, Development, and Authoritarian Citizenship

Comparative Studies in Society and History

Cherian, Divya. The Owl and the Occult: Popular Politics and Social Liminality in Early Modern South Asia

Kalinovsky, Artemy M. Exceptions to Socialism: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Transformation of Soviet Development in Comparative Perspective

Pillai, Sarath. German Lessons: Comparative Constitutionalism, States' Rights, and Federalist Imaginaries in Interwar India

Rijke-Epstein, Tasha. Making Malagasy *Zebu*: The Biopolitics of Cattle Commodification in Socialist Madagascar, 1960-1978

Zahnd, Maximilien. Praise the Gardeners, Dun the Hunters: Alaska Natives, Taxation, and Settler Colonialism

Economic History Review

Tena-Junguito, Antonio and Maria Isabel Restrepo-Estrada. Power Politics and the Expansion of US Exports, 1879-1938

Environmental History

Wright, Rebecca. 68 Degrees: New York City's Residential Heat and Hot Water Code as an Invisible Energy Policy

European Journal of Political Research

Hurka, Steffen. The Institutional and Political Roots of Complex Policies: Evidence from the European Union

Wlezien, Christopher and Will Jennings. Institutions, Parties and the Evolution of Electoral Preferences

History

Dividus, Alessandro. L.T. Hobhouse's Idea of a European Federation

Willimott, Andy. Time at Home: The October Revolution and Soviet Temporalities

International Organization

Bruneau, Quentin. Rethinking International Order in Early Modern Europe: Evidence from Courtly Ceremonial

Journal of American History

Hernández, Sonia. Gendering Transnational State Violence: Intertwined Histories of Intrigue and Injustice along the U.S.-Mexican Borderlands, 1900-1913

Zubovich, Gene. The U.S. Culture Wars Abroad: Liberal-Evangelical Rivalry and Decolonization in Southern Africa, 1968-1994

Journal of Economic History

Bai, Liang and Lingwei Wu. Political Conflict and Development Dynamics: Economic Legacies of the Cultural Revolution

Dimitruk, Kara. The Glorious Revolution and Access to Parliament

Palsson, Craig. State Capacity, Property Rights, and External Revenues: Haiti, 1932-1949

Journal of Historical Political Economy

Barton, Richard and David A. Bateman. Gilded Age Doughfaces: Northern Democrats and Black Civil Rights

Fagan, E.J., Bryan D. Jones, and Brooke Shannon. Linking Party and Congressional Agendas: New Datasets on Policymaking during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era

Fergusson, Leopoldo, Juan Felipe Riaño, and B.K. Song. Media, Secret Ballot, and Democratization in the US

Greenberger, Michael. Damming the West: Sectionalism, Logrolling, and the Passage of the Reclamation Act of 1902

Sahn, Alexander. Reform Reconsidered: The Effects of Form of Government

Journal of Historical Sociology

Chen, Zetao. A Structure/Process Approach to Legitimacy: A Local Official's Selection and Legitimation of a Tax Policy in Mid-Late Ming Dynasty China

Harmon, Josephine. Strategic Behavior and Risk Aversion in Local Governance

Journal of Peace Research

McAlexander, Richard J. How Do International Borders Affect Conflict Processes? Evidence from the End of Mandate Palestine

Journal of Policy History

Baker, Paula. The Abuse of Civil Liberties in World War I

Barth, Jonathan. 'Liberty of Conscience Is Every Man's Natural Right': Historical Background of the First Amendment

Brettle, Adrian. Free Speech in the Civil War

Halperin, Terri Diane. A Republic Goes to War: Federalists, Republicans, and Foreign Influence

Montgomery, William G. Free Speech Viet Nam through the War on Terror

Stone, Geoffrey R. Free Speech and World War II

Journal of Politics

Thaler, Kai M., Lisa Mueller, and Eric Mosinger. Framing Police Violence: Repression, Reform, and the Power of History in Chile

Journal of Public Policy

Kopec, Anna. Critical Junctures as Complex Processes: Examining Mechanisms of Policy Change and Path Dependence in the Canadian Pandemic Response to Homelessness

Lowder, Morgan A., Anthony Hobert Jr., and Kelsey Shoub. Institutional Legacies and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families Spending Decisions: The Case of the Freedman's Bureau

Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics

Jacobson, Robin Dale. Counting the State: State Resistance and Federal Enumeration of Latinos 1930-1970

Journal of Social Policy

Chanfreau, Jenny. The Persistence of Gendering: Work-Family Policy in Britain since Beveridge

Journal of the Early Republic

Estes, Todd. 'From the Works of Nature … to the Institutions of Man': How Political Moderation Made Possible the Constitution's Ratification

Sturgeon, Joel. Edward Livingston, Nullification, and Louisiana's Political Transformation

Thomas, Connie. 'If They Send Him Off, I Think I Shall Not Long Be Safe Myself': Contesting Early American Citizenship in the Longchamps Affair, 1784-1786

Young, Mark L. Equality and Corporal Punishment: Wage Labor's Crisis of Legitimation, 1795-1835

Journal of Urban History

Kafka, Judith. Growing Up Together: Brooklyn's Truant School and the Carceral and Educational State, 1857-1924

Mims, La Shonda. Gay Pride in the Urban New South: Politics, Neighborhood, and Community in Atlanta and Charlotte

Stern, Walter C. Where Protection Meets Punishment: Public Education and the Carceral State in Urban America

Journal of Women, Politics & Policy

Nylund, Mia-Lie, Sandra Håkansson, and Elin Bjarnegård. The Transformative Potential of Feminist Foreign Policy: The Case of Sweden

Journal of Women's History

Jacob, Elizabeth. 'The Ministry of Women's Affairs Will Not Be Feminist': Jeanne Gervais and Gender Complementarity in Côte d'Ivoire

Ndengue, Rose and S.C. Kaplan. Deprovincializing the Feminine/ Feminist Cameroonian Nationalism of the 1950s: The UDEFEC and Pluriversal Black Feminism

Zimmerman, Sarah J. The Gendered Consequences of Abolition and Citizenship on Nineteenth-Century Gorée Island

Labor History

Manse, Maarten. Coerced Labour and Colonial Governance in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Indonesia

Law & Policy

Schoenfeld, Heather and Michael C. Campbell. Early 21st Century Penal Reform: A Comparative Analysis of Four States' Responses to the Problem of Mass Incarceration

New Political Science

Siegel, David. The Temporality of Violence in Primitive Accumulation: A Soviet Subsidy to the Capitalist Transition

Past & Present

Foretek, Nick. The Cave Mission of 1876 and Britain's Imperial Information Strategies

Nasser, Yasser Ali. Making Friends and Making 'Asia': Sino-Indian Friendship, 1947-1957

Perspectives on Global Development and Technology

Molk, Florence. The Politicization and Militarization of Migration: The Eco-Socio-Historical Origins of Capitalist Terminal Crisis

Perspectives on Political Science

Gibbs, Nathan. Post-Liberalism: The Problem of Political Form and Regime

Patterson, James M. Catholic Republicanism in America

Perspectives on Politics

Ahmed, Amel. Is the American Public Really Turning Away from Democracy? Backsliding and the Conceptual Challenges of Understanding Public Attitudes

Emanuele, Vincenzo. Lost in Translation? Class Cleavage Roots and Left Electoral Mobilization in Western Europe

Garcia-Rios, Sergio, Nazita Lajevardi, Kassra A.R. Oskooii, and Hannah L. Walker. The Participatory Implications of Racialized Policy Feedback

Han, HAhrie, Andrea Louise Campbell, and Elizabeth McKenna. Civic Feedbacks: Linking Collective Action, Organizational Strategy, and Influence over Public Policy

Marwah, Inder S. Darwin in India: Anticolonial Evolutionism at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century

Policy Studies Journal

Meckling, Jonas and Nicholas Goedeking. Coalition Cascades: The Politics of Tipping Points in Clean Energy Transitions

Montfort, Simon, Manuel Fischer, James Hollway, and Nicolas W. Jager. Design Paths of Federal Intergovernmental Cooperation

Political Research Quarterly,

Karol, David. How Does Party Position Change Happen? The Case of LGBT Rights in the U.S.

Liu, Mingxing, Victor Shih, and Dong Zhang. Revolution, State Building, and the Great Famine in China

Political Studies

Blanchard, Alexander. Understanding Context and Contradiction in the Concept of Violence: Frantz Fanon, Stokely Carmichael and the Long 1960s

Politics & Society

McCourt, David M. and Stephanie L. Mudge. Anything but Inevitable: How the Marshall Plan Became Possible

Presidential Studies Quarterly

Donnelly, Robert C. Jimmy Carter's Cold War Legacy

McPherson, Alan. Protecting a President and Graymailing Courts: Iran-Contra and the Obstruction of Justice

Snyder, Neil. National Security in Presidential Time: The Politics of the National Security Council

Public Choice

Zhang, Yaguang, Sitian Yu, and Shengyi Zhang. The Political Economy of Imperial Power Successions in Ancient China

Social Movement Studies

Cassegård, Carl. The Recovery of Protest in Japan: From the 'Ice Age' to the Post-2011 Movements

Social Science History

McNamara, Keith. 'The Magic of Numbers Is Strong': *Hobson v Hansen* and Contested Social Science in Judicial Decision Making

Perry, Keston K. and Zophia Edwards. 'Power to the People!': The Catalytic Role of the Black Power Movement in Trinidad and Tobago's Industrialization

Petersen, Klaus, Carina Schmitt, and Herbert Obinger. World Wars and the Establishment of Welfare Ministries

Schmitt, Carina and Amanda Shriwise. The Great War and the Warfare-Welfare Nexus in British and French West African Colonies

Smith, Daniel Scott. Visions of Deliverance: Social Scientization, Functionalism, and the Expansive Purposiveness of State Schooling in Nineteenth-Century British Parliamentary Politics

Social Science Quarterly

Gritter, Matthew. Gerald Ford: A Minority Legislator Promoting New Right Lite

Sociological Quarterly

Taing, Valerie. From Rights Claims to Quality Frames in US Child Care Advocacy

Studies in American Political Development

Bertram, Eva. Whose Work Counts? Congressional Republicans and the Battle over Employment Status, 1947-48

Compton, John W. Manufacturing a Protestant Consensus: Religion and Regime Entrenchment in the Eisenhower Era

Evans, Laura E. The Strange Career of Federal Indian Policy: Rural Politics, Native Nations and the Path Away from Assimilation

Parisot, James. Capitalism and the Creation of the U.S. Constitution

Rader, Katherine. Delineating Agriculture and Industry: Reexamining the Exclusion of Agricultural Workers from the New Deal

Schroedel, Jean, Melissa Rogers, and Joseph Dietrich. Structural Racism, the USPS, and Voting by Mail On- and Off-Reservation in Arizona

Schwarz, Susanne. 'The Spawn of Slavery'? Race, State Capacity, and the Development of Carceral Institutions in the Postbellum South

Theory and Society

Mills, Tom and G. William Domhoff. The Policy-Planning Capacity of the American Corporate Community: Corporations, Policy-Oriented Nonprofits, and the Inner Circle in 1935-1936 and 2010-2011

World Politics

Edwards, Pearce. Political Competition and Authoritarian Repression: Evidence from Pinochet's Chile

Zucker, Noah. Group Ties amid Industrial Change: Historical Evidence from the Fossil Fuel Industry