

From the Chair*James Mahoney, Northwestern University*

In this issue of *Clio*, we continue the conversation about the use of historical and case-study methods in research on American Political Development (APD). Dan Galvin's thought provoking essay in the previous issue suggested various ways in which qualitative methodology and APD scholarship could be conjoined in future analyses. He argued that the tools of qualitative methodology are a natural accompaniment to the goals of much APD research. Additional scholars now respond to Galvin's argument, bringing new perspectives to the conversation.

While the conversation focuses on the contribution to qualitative methodology to APD, I also see several ways in which the greater integration of qualitative methodology and APD would enrich the field of qualitative methodology. In particular the following three strong traditions within APD provide models for qualitative methodology: (1) the innovative use of subnational comparison; (2) the extensive use of original archival research; and (3) the presentation of eventful narratives. As APD analysts increasingly look to qualitative methodology for ideas about research design, I expect that qualitative methodologists will in turn increasingly look to APD for models of good qualitative research. The result could be a symbiosis that enriches both fields. ([continued on p. 2](#))

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From the Chair (continued from p. 1)

I am pleased to announce the slate of section officers who were nominated this year: President-elect: Marie Gottschalk; Treasurer: Paul Frymer; and Council Members: Nancy Bermeo, Catherine Boone, Alan Jacobs, and Daniel Ziblatt. The nominations committee consisted of Orfeo Fioretos, Deborah Yashar, and James Mahoney. Section members will vote on these nominations at our APSA business meeting, which will be held on Friday, September 4, 6:30pm at Hilton Union Square 24. A reception will follow the business meeting on Friday, September 4, 7:30 at Hilton Union Square 25. I encourage all section members to attend both the business meeting and the reception.

Following the mandate from a vote at the last section business meeting in 2014, the Council has changed the Section By-laws such that the roles of Newsletter Editor and Secretary/Treasurer, which were fused in our original by-laws, have now been formally separated. The Council also discussed other possible changes to the by-laws, which we will highlight some new possible changes at our business meeting on September 4.

As always, we will sponsor a great set of a panels at the 2015 APSA meetings. I wish to thank Amel Ahmed of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and Thomas Ogorzalek of Northwestern University for serving as this year's Program Chairs.

Congratulations also to the winners of our book, article, and dissertation awards. The co-winners of the 2015 J. David Greenstone Book Prize are Erik Engstrom and Samuel Kernell, *Party Ballots, Reform, and the Transformation of America's Electoral System* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), and Adria Lawrence, *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2013). The Greenstone committee consisted of Daniel Ziblatt, Chair (Harvard); Julia Lynch (Penn); and David Vogel (UC Berkeley). The winners of the 2015 Mary Parker Follett Article Prize are Daniel Carpenter (Harvard University) and Colin D. Moore (University of Hawaii, Manoa), "When Canvassers Became Activists: Antislavery Petitioning and the Political Mobilization of American Women," *American Political Science Review* August, 2014. Committee: Nancy Bermeo, Chair (Oxford); Lisa Blaydes (Stanford); and Evan Lieberman (MIT).

Our section remains vibrant and well. I wish to thank all section members for the opportunity to serve as section chair this last year.

Politics & History

an organized section of the

American Political Science Association

<http://millercenter.org/politicsandhistory>

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Amy Bridges and David Brady

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2015 APSA Panel Organizers

Amel Ahmed and Thomas Ogorzalek

CLIO is the biannual newsletter of the Politics & History section. It is edited by the faculty of the Political Science Department at 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.

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Section News

Events at the 2015 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association

Business Meeting: Friday, September 4, 6:30 PM, Hilton Union Square 24

Reception: Friday, September 4, 7:30 PM, Hilton Union Square 25



Politics & History Panels, Roundtables, and Poster Sessions

Thursday, September 3

- 8:00-9:45 Regime Change and Governability in Interwar Europe Revisited
- 10:15-12:00 Author Meets Critics: *The Lovers Quarrel: The Two Foundings and American Political Development*
Race and the American State
- 2:00-3:45 Poster Session: Politics & History
State-Building and the Family
Building the State: Historical Antecedents of Stability and Capacity
- 4:15-6:00 The Right Turn against Workers in the American States

Friday, September 4

- 9:30-11:00 Author Meets Critics: Francis Fukuyama's *Political Order and Political Decay*
David Vogel's Contributions to Political Science
- 11:30-1:00 Democracy at the Edge

Saturday, September 5

- 8:00-9:45 Historical Democratization: Parties, Parliaments, and Crisis
- 10:15-12:00 The Development and Evolution of American Bureaucracy
Engaged Scholars Address Leading Issues in U.S. Politics
Ideas, Institutions, and Cities
- 2:00-3:45 Institutional Legacies and the Political Economy of Growth

Sunday, September 6

- 8:00-9:45 Long Shadows of History: How Past Violence Shapes Present-Day Political Outcomes
- 10:15-12:00 Prerogative and Constraint in Presidential Policy-Making



Responses to “Qualitative Methods and American Political Development”

In the following essays, Abhishek Chatterjee, Allan Colbern, and Graham G. Dodds respond to Daniel J. Galvin’s “Qualitative Methods and American Political Development,” which was published in the [Winter 2014 issue](#) of CLIO.

“Theory,” “Cause,” and Generalizability

Abhishek Chatterjee, Assistant Professor, University of Montana

I agree with Daniel Galvin’s call for American Political Development to be more theoretically and methodologically self-conscious; indeed, I believe that this call can in fact be generalized to all historical research (that is, irrespective of the discipline of origin). However, in this brief note, I want to question a few of Galvin’s implicit assumptions that underlie his prescriptions for more methodologically self-conscious research. These—interconnected—assumptions concern (the understandings of) the notions of respectively, “theory,” “cause,” and “generalizability,” and they lead Galvin to base his prescriptions on a series of distinctions that cannot be (logically) sustained, or so this response will argue. ([continued on p. 14](#))

APD’s Approach to Conceptualization, and Why This Matters for Mainstream Political Science

Allan Colbern, Ph.D. Candidate, University of California, Riverside

A primary contribution of the American political development (APD) scholarship, as Daniel Galvin’s (2014, 3) recent article in *CLIO* highlights, is its unique role in concept refinement and innovation. Notably, this distinguishes APD from the study of political history and anchors it in political science. At the same time, Galvin notes that APD scholarship often produces standalone projects, which tend to close off scholarly debates and comparisons, thereby placing limits on conceptual and theoretical contributions.

I explore how APD’s strengths in conceptualization can contribute to ongoing conversations and dialogues in political science. Focusing on the case of immigration law, I argue that APD’s specialized approach to history facilitates generalizable knowledge in the following two ways: 1) its approach supports refining time bound concepts important to understanding specific episodes of political development in immigration law, and 2) its conscious use of periodization opens possibilities for new, larger concepts that can encompass multiple periods in immigration history. Thus, I argue, APD is able to reveal evidence and comparisons underappreciated by other approaches in political science. ([continued on p. 17](#))

Contextualizing the Call for Methodological Attention in APD

Graham G. Dodds, Associate Professor, Concordia University

In “Qualitative Methods and American Political Development,” Daniel Galvin claims that scholarship in the American Political Development (APD) tradition could be significantly improved simply by being more explicit about its methodology. He says that such an effort “can only help to amplify APD’s contributions” and “can only help to facilitate more forward progress” (Galvin 2014, 22). Galvin’s essay has much to recommend it, and many scholars will likely find it largely persuasive.

As a scholar with an appreciation for interpretative work, I think there are several ways to interpret or categorize Galvin’s essay. And as an historically-minded political scientist and an APD enthusiast, my inclination is to try to better understand it the same way I would many other things, which is by trying to place it into a broader developmental trajectory. By way of a metaphor that Paul Pierson and others have employed, the idea is to see a given political phenomenon or argument not as a snapshot photo to be analyzed on its own, but rather as a single frame in a long motion picture, such that an awareness of the first hour of the film will help us to make better sense of part of a particular scene later on (Pierson 2004, 1-2). ([continued on p. 21](#))

Assessing the Obama Presidency: Lessons from APD

Julia Azari, Associate Professor, Marquette University

As the Obama presidency winds down, inquiries about his impact and legacy begin. The Obama presidency began with incredibly high expectations for how much he would be able to change. The symbolic significance of the first African-American president was undeniable. But it would not be very long before divisions and political obstacles would prove equally powerful in shaping Obama's presidency.

What does American political development scholarship tell us about the Obama presidency and its impact on American politics? The study of state-building, political order, and legitimacy offer useful frameworks to assess Obama's leadership. A great deal of attention has already been paid to the political and policy impact of the Affordable Care Act; here, I concentrate on other aspects of the Obama presidency.

Equality for lesbian and gay citizens

In 2008, it was not clear that marriage equality was a winning issue for liberals. Just four years earlier, conservatives had won a number of referenda banning same-sex marriage at the state level. On the same day that Obama was elected, California enacted a ban by ballot initiative. During Obama's first term in office, the politics surrounding the issue changed very quickly and, in 2012, Obama announced his support for marriage equality.

Obama's civil rights legacy was likely cemented with the Supreme Court decisions to overturn the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) in 2014, and state-level bans on same-sex marriage in 2015. The Obama Justice Department's decision not to defend DOMA and the White House's celebratory lights display after the marriage decision put the weight of the presidency behind gay rights both substantively and symbolically.

From a state-building perspective, Obama's legacy may be even more complicated and provocative. In a recent article, Stephen Engel notes that, "each policy shift toward equality reveal(s) previously unseen and persistent inequities," arguing that gains in equality have created a "fragmented citizenship" for LGBT Americans. One area that has received a great deal of attention in this regard is the lack of federal employment protections. Megan Ming Francis, writing about civil rights in the first half of the twentieth century, highlights the importance of federalism in the story of the civil rights state. She notes that the NAACP began its anti-lynching campaign as a public opinion



effort, but eventually learned that "lynchings and mob violence were occurring, not because of whites who held ill-informed racial beliefs, but because local and state governments condoned the violent spectacle." One potential lesson of Francis' work for the LGBT civil rights movement is that the pursuit of real change will likely require a certain amount of state-building – expansion of the federal government – at a time when Reagan-era devolution paradigm still lingers.

Communication: form and function

Obama's communication style was one of the most striking features of his early candidacy and presidency. In office, however, his major speeches have often fallen short of this kind of impact. Still, Obama has pushed at the boundaries of what it means to look and sound presidential. He appeared on "Between Two Ferns" and traded insults with comedian Zach Galifianakis to promote healthcare.gov. In 2015, he appeared on comedian Marc Maron's podcast, making comments about race that some found shockingly candid.

Obama's communication and public image have thus challenged standard forms of presidential public image in several ways. Obama is not the first president to do this, but his use of unconventional media outlets and informal interactions with interlocutors have drawn a great deal of attention – and some criticism – for violating norms of what is "presidential" and what is not. These new forms of media use have further underscored Obama's personal celebrity, which had taken hold in popular culture even before his election to the presidency.

Obama's departures from conventional forms likely signify a secular change – a shift in the ways in which presidents use language, position themselves relative to the polity, and present their relationships with the nation and its problems. But by pursuing this strategy, Obama has also shifted the terms of debate about his presidency away from governing philosophy and toward, instead, discussions of his leadership persona and his laid-back, pop culture-savvy approach to the public presidency.

Obama in political time

How does Skowronek's theory of political time apply to Obama? What kind of politics has Obama made? Among left-leaning observers, the hope that Obama would be a reconstructive leader was apparent early in his presidency. The political collapse of the Bush presidency and the financial collapse of 2008 signaled that the country was ready for change. However, the Democrats' 2010 midterm losses and the political confusion surrounding the Affordable Care Act, followed by the stalemates that have defined policy-making since 2011, quickly belied this designation.

The problem of definition, as identified by Skowronek as one of the central issues of the presidency, has persistently plagued the Obama presidency. The political definition of the ACA was elusive at the outset. Republican victories in Congress made "obstruction" the dominant narrative around policy initiatives from 2011 onward – which only served to cement Obama's identity as an opposition leader. The issues discussed earlier, LGBT rights and rhetorical innovation, can also be linked to Obama's place in political time. By embracing gay rights and, especially, marriage equality,

the president's efforts may qualify as "playing upon the political divisions within the establishment," forcing socially moderate Republicans into a difficult position and forcing party leaders to hold fast to an increasingly unpopular position.

As with social issues, turning to rhetorical innovations has also allowed Obama to shift focus away from narratives about the federal government's involvement in the economy. Obama's approach to new media exemplifies preemptive presidents' need to find a "middle way," often resulting in emphasis on personal leadership characteristics.

During Obama's second term, movements for racial and economic justice have emerged that will probably inform the next wave of Democratic politics. But Obama will probably be most accurately viewed as the lead-up rather than the leader of these changes. His administration's most apparently strategic decisions have also been those that dodge, rather than challenge, the dominant narratives of the Reagan era.

References

- Engel, Stephen. 2015. "Developmental Perspectives on Lesbian and Gay Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in a Fragmented State," *Perspectives on Politics* 13(2): 287-311.
- Francis, Megan Ming. 2014. *Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Skowronek, Stephen. 1997. *The Politics Presidents Make: Presidential Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*. Cambridge: Harvard Belknap.



First Books

Hilde Restad, *American Exceptionalism: An Idea that Made a Nation and Remade the World* (Routledge)

Does American exceptionalism shape American foreign policy? In *American Exceptionalism: An Idea that Made a Nation and Remade the World*, I argue that it does, but not in the way most scholars think.

Using the latest historiography in the study of U.S. foreign relations, the book updates political science scholarship and sheds new light on the role American exceptionalism has played – and continues to play – in shaping America’s role in the world.

Conventional wisdom has it that American exceptionalism comes in two variations –exemplary and missionary. The exemplary version, experts in U.S. foreign policy argue, has contributed to U.S. withdrawal from world affairs, setting it up like an isolated “City upon a Hill” that inspires from afar. The missionary version, on the other hand, has inspired the United States to actively lead the rest of the world to a better future, in the manner of Woodrow Wilson’s fight to make the world “safe for democracy.”

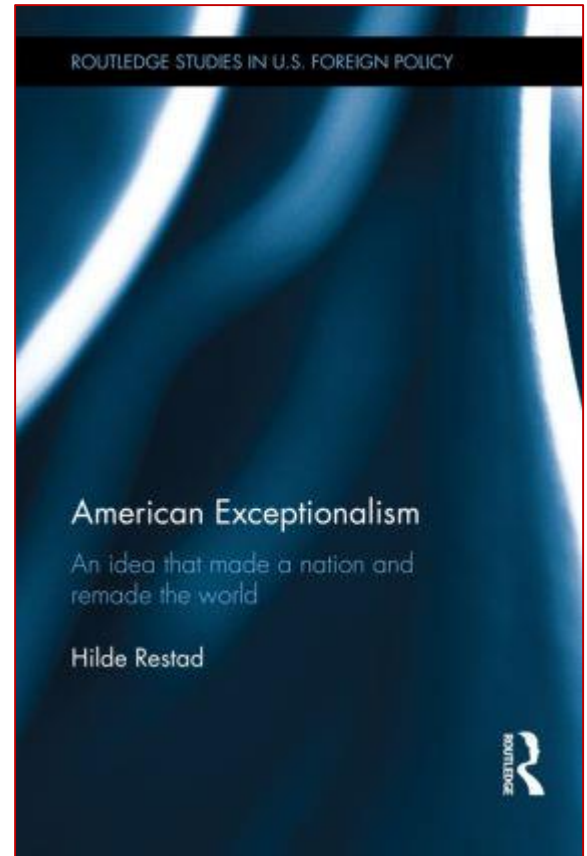
I challenge these two entrenched assumptions about U.S. foreign policy scholarship.

First, I argue that the United States has not vacillated between an “exemplary” and “missionary” exceptionalist identity. Instead, the United States developed an exceptionalist identity that, while idealizing the United States as an exemplary “City upon a Hill,” errs on the side of the missionary crusade in its foreign policy.

Second, I argue that American exceptionalism has not led U.S. foreign policy to vacillate between cycles of intervention and isolation, as is commonly argued. Rather, a steady belief in the missionary potential of American exceptionalism has contributed to a more constant foreign policy tradition, which she labels unilateral internationalism. Unilateral internationalism means that the United States has always been internationalist (engaging with the world politically, economically, and militarily) but has preferred to conduct its foreign policy in a unilateral, rather than multilateral, manner.

I advance my arguments by looking at a series of case studies. First, I examine the development of an American national identity since before the Founding, an identity that was inspired by British imperial exceptionalism. Then, I show how, when American exceptionalism becomes ‘manifest destiny’ in the 19th century, continental expansion cannot mean ‘isolationism’ (since taking over territory previously not one’s own cannot be labeled isolationism). Furthermore, I examine the important cases of the First and Second World War, searching for signs of ‘isolationism’ and finding very little. Instead, I find that the real winner of the battle over the League of Nations was Henry Cabot Lodge, as it was his vision of unilateral U.S. engagement that won out, not just in the immediate aftermath of the Treaty of Versailles, but also in the long run. As Restad chronicles, it was Lodge’s vision of limited ties on U.S. sovereignty that won out in the fashioning of the U.N. Charter, not Wilson’s multilateralism.

American Exceptionalism thus refutes the common interpretation of U.S. foreign policy history as made up of an identity dichotomy (exemplary/missionary exceptionalism) that has caused a foreign policy dichotomy (isolationism/internationalism). It advances, in the end, an argument of constancy over change – positing that the American identity as exceptional and its foreign policy as internationalist are more stable features of American history than we think.



Member News and Announcements

The Institute for Political History, the [Journal of Policy History](#), and the Peabody College of Vanderbilt University are hosting the ninth biennial **Policy History Conference** at the Loews Vanderbilt Hotel in Nashville, Tennessee from Wednesday, June 1 to Saturday, June 4, 2016. They are currently accepting panel and paper proposals on all topics regarding American political and policy history, political development, and comparative historical analysis. Complete sessions, including two or three presenters with chair/commentator(s), and individual paper proposals are welcome. Participants may only appear once as a presenter in the program. The deadline for submission is December 4, 2015. Please submit individual paper proposals [here](#) and complete session proposals [here](#).

Michael Albertus' book, [Autocracy and Redistribution: The Politics of Land Reform](#), will be published in early September by Cambridge University Press in the Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics series. When and why do countries redistribute land to the landless? What political purposes does land reform serve, and what place does it have in today's world? A longstanding literature dating back to Aristotle and echoed in important recent works holds that redistribution should be both higher and more targeted at the poor under democracy. Yet comprehensive historical data to test this claim has been lacking. This book shows that land redistribution - the most consequential form of redistribution in the developing world - occurs more often under dictatorship than democracy. It offers a novel theory of land reform and develops a typology of land reform policies. Albertus leverages original data spanning the world and dating back to 1900 to extensively test the theory using statistical analysis and case studies of key countries such as Egypt, Peru, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe. These findings call for rethinking much of the common wisdom about redistribution and regimes.

Jeffrey D. Broxmeyer has published "[The Boss's 'Brains': Political Capital, Democratic Commerce, and the New York Tweed Ring, 1868-1871](#)" in the *Journal of Historical Sociology*. Departing from Pierre Bourdieu's contention that capital takes on many forms beyond the economic, including a political form, this article examines how commodification patterned nineteenth century American politics. A case study of the Tweed Ring, which briefly governed Gilded Age New York, is reevaluated as a speculative political bubble that produced empirically identifiable political profits.

Shelley Hurt and **Ronnie Lipschutz** are the editors of a new book, [Hybrid Rule and State Formation: Public-Private Power in the Twenty-First Century](#). The authors in this volume contest the view that the past three decades have been marked by the diminution of the state in the face of neoliberalism. They argue instead that we are witnessing a new phase of state formation, which revolves around hybrid rule—that is, a more expansive form of state formation that works through privatization and seeks pacification and depoliticization as instrumental to enhancing state power. Contributors argue that that the process of hybridization, and hybrid rule point towards a convergence on a more authoritarian capitalist regime type, possibly, but not necessarily, more closely aligned with the Beijing model—one toward which even the United States, with its penchant for surveillance and discipline, appears to be moving.

David Karol has published "[Forcing their Hands? Campaign Finance Law, Retirement Announcements and the Rise of the Permanent Campaign in U.S. Senate Elections](#)" in *Congress & the Presidency*. In an analysis dating to 1920 based on an original data set, the article shows that U.S. senators now announce their retirements far earlier in their final term than they once did. Beyond documenting this little-noted trend, the article proposes and assesses explanations for these findings, focusing on changes in campaign finance law, and discusses implications for representation and the growth of the "permanent campaign."

A new book, [The Senator from New England: The Rise of JFK](#) by **Sean J. Savage**, explores and analyzes John F. Kennedy's path to the presidency from the perspective of state, local, and regional policy issues in New England, such as the St. Lawrence Seaway and legislative efforts to benefit regional industries like commercial fishing and textiles. The thesis of this book contends that while JFK sought bipartisan cooperation with Republican senators from New England and the Eisenhower administration on New England policy issues he also used his policy efforts and public speaking engagements to develop partisan relationships with fellow Democratic politicians throughout New England and to make the Democratic parties of the three northern New England states more electorally successful. This book claims that the purpose of this partisan strategy was to unite all of New England's Democratic delegates in support of Kennedy's presidential candidacy at the 1960 Democratic national convention. This book's primary sources include those of several presidential libraries, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Margaret Chase Smith Library, the

Library of Congress, Boston College, Bates College, the University of Connecticut, Dartmouth College, and other institutions. It also includes many rare photographs of JFK in New England.

PublicAffairs Press has published **Bartholomew Sparrow's** new book, [*The Strategist: Brent Scowcroft and the Call of National Security*](#). This biography reviews Brent Scowcroft's singularly important career as a military strategist, policymaker, and business consultant. *The Strategist* covers Scowcroft's Mormon background, childhood in Ogden, Utah, Air Force and academic careers, role as Kissinger's deputy in the Nixon White House and then national security advisor under Gerald Ford and George H.W. Bush. The book also constitutes a study of the NSC process: the way by which presidential administrations select personnel, organize decision-making, and interact in their handling of national security issues. Because of Scowcroft's crucial, if behind the scenes role, in setting and implementing national security policy in the Nixon, Ford, Reagan, Bush 41, and George W. Bush administrations, the biography also amounts to a history of U.S. foreign policy in the 1970s, '80s, early '90s and early '00s, with a special focus on the end of the Cold War and the decision to attack Iraq following the events of September 11, 2001. *The Strategist* is based on archival sources, extensive interviews, oral histories, and the secondary literature.

[*Displacing Democracy: Economic Segregation in America*](#), by **Amy Widstrom**, assistant professor of political science at Arcadia University, was released in January 2015 by the University of Pennsylvania Press. The book focuses on residential economic segregation in American cities and explores the political consequence of economic segregation for the civic environments of neighborhoods and for the civic and political engagement of prosperous and impoverished citizens in these segregated communities. One reviewer wrote, "*Displacing Democracy* sets out to challenge and complicate a story that is often understood as an easy equation between individual resources and individual political behavior: most rich people vote, most poor people don't. Amy Widstrom's fine book recasts this as a challenge of political engagement under conditions of stark economic segregation."

JournalScan

Administration & Society

Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba. [Protectors or Predators? The Embedded Problem of Police Corruption and Deviance in Nigeria](#)

Anderson, Lori. [Constitutionalist Public Administration Paradigm: The Predominant Paradigm in OMB Circular A-76](#)

Brunet, James R. [Goodbye Mayberry: The Curious Demise of Rural Police Departments in North Carolina](#)

Cook, Scott A. and William Earle Klay. [George Washington's Precedents: The Institutional Legacy of the American Republic's Founding Public Administrator](#)

Gabriele, Kathryn R. [Lessons From a Buried Past: Settlement Women and Democratically Anchored Governance Networks](#)

African Studies Review

Schauer, Jeff. [The Elephant Problem: Science, Bureaucracy, and Kenya's National Parks, 1955 to 1975](#)

American Journal of Political Science

Earle, John S. and Scott Gehlbach. [The Productivity Consequences of Political Turnover: Firm-Level Evidence from Ukraine's Orange Revolution](#)

Lipsy, Phillip Y. [Explaining Institutional Change: Policy Areas, Outside Options, and the Bretton Woods Institutions](#)

American Journal of Sociology

Wang, Liping. [From Masterly Brokers to Compliant Protégées: The Frontier Governance System and the Rise of Ethnic](#)

[Confrontation in China—Inner Mongolia, 1900—1930](#)

American Journalism

Fetner, Gerald L. [Political Editor and Public Man in the Time of Roosevelt and Wilson: The New York World's Frank I. Cobb](#)

Seyb, Ronald. [Trouble with the Statistical Curve: Walter Lippmann's Blending of History and Social Science during Franklin Roosevelt's First Term](#)

American Political Science Review

Eisenstadt, Todd A., A. Carl LeVan, and Tofiq Maboudi. [When Talk Trumps Text: The Democratizing Effects of Deliberation during Constitution-Making, 1974—2011](#)

Finkel, Evgeny. [The Phoenix Effect of State Repression: Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust](#)

American Politics Research

Clark, April K. [Rethinking the Decline in Social Capital](#)

American Sociological Review

Biggs, Michael and Kenneth T. Andrews. [Protest Campaigns and Movement Success: Desegregating the U.S. South in the Early 1960s](#)

Bloom, Joshua. [The Dynamics of Opportunity and Insurgent Practice: How Black Anti-colonialists Compelled Truman to Advocate Civil Rights](#)

Walder, Andrew G., Andrew Isaacson and Qinglian Lu. [After State Socialism: The Political Origins of Transitional Recessions](#)

British Journal of Political Science

Kenny, Paul D. [The Origins of Patronage Politics: State Building, Centrifugalism, and Decolonization](#)

Miller, Michael K. [Democratic Pieces: Autocratic Elections and Democratic Development since 1815](#)

Comparative Politics

Genieys, William and Patrick Hassentuefel. [The Shaping of New State Elites: Healthcare Policymaking in France Since 1981](#)

Emmenegger, Patrick. [Maximizing Institutional Control: Union Power and Dismissal Protection in Western Europe in the First Half of the Twentieth Century](#)

Comparative Studies in Society and History

Arndt, Garnt. [Voices and Votes in the Fields of Settler Society: American Indian Media and Electoral Politics in 1930s Wisconsin](#)

Grant, Daragh. [“Civilizing” the Colonial Subject: The Co-Evolution of State and Slavery in South Carolina, 1670–1739](#)

Kelly, Tobias. [Citizenship, Cowardice, and Freedom of Conscience: British Pacifists in the Second World War](#)

Pula, Besnik. [Institutionalizing a Weak State: Law and Jurisdictional Conflict between Bureaucratic and Communal Institutions in the Albanian Highlands](#)

Roque, Ricardo. [Mimetic Governmentality and the Administration of Colonial Justice in East Timor, ca. 1860–1910](#)

Dissent

Bald, Vivek. [American Orientalism](#)

Harris, Fredrick C. [The Next Civil Rights Movement?](#)

Kazin, Michael. [Why Is There No Antiwar Movement?](#)

Lichtenstein, Nelson. [Why Labor Moved Left](#)

Ngai, Mae and Daniel Kanstroom. [Executive Justice?](#)

Du Bois Review

Stanely, Sharon. [The Enduring Challenge of Racial Integration in the United States](#)

European Journal of Political Research

Boräng, Frida. [Large-scale solidarity? Effects of welfare state institutions on the admission of forced migrants](#)

Hicks, Timothy. [Inequality, marketisation and the left: Schools policy in England and Sweden](#)

The Forum

Béland, Daniel. [The Segmented Third Rail: The Politics of Social Security from Carter to Obama](#)

Berkowitz, Edward. [Martha Derthick and the Art of Policy History: A Scholarly Appreciation](#)

Oberlander, Jonathan and R. Kent Weaver. [Unraveling from Within?](#)

[The Affordable Care Act and Self-Undermining Policy Feedbacks](#)

Governance

Ban, Cornel. [Austerity versus Stimulus? Understanding Fiscal Policy Change at the International Monetary Fund Since the Great Recession](#)

Broome, André. [Back to Basics: The Great Recession and the Narrowing of IMF Policy Advice](#)

Government and Opposition

David, Roman. [Transitional Justice and Changing Memories of the Past in Central Europe](#)

Gandhi, Jennifer. [Elections and Political Regimes](#)

Mufti, Malik. [Democratizing Potential of the ‘Arab Spring’: Some Early Observations](#)

Ortmann, Stephan. [Political Change and Civil Society Coalitions in Singapore](#)

van Ham, Carolien and Staffan I. Lindberg. [From Sticks to Carrots: Electoral Manipulation in Africa, 1986–2012](#)

Wilkinson, Steven I. [Where’s the Party? The Decline of Party Institutionalization and What \(if Anything\) that Means for Democracy](#)

History

McGarr, Paul. [‘Do We Still Need the CIA?’ Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the Central Intelligence Agency and US Foreign Policy](#)

History of Political Thought

Bashir, H. and P.W. Gray. [Arms of the Republic: Republicanism and Militia Reforms during the U.S. Constitutional Convention and the first Federal Congress, 1787-91](#)

International Organization

McDonald, Patrick J. [Great Powers, Hierarchy, and Endogenous](#)

[Regimes: Rethinking the Domestic Causes of Peace](#)

Journal of American History

Adler, Jeffrey S. [Less Crime, More Punishment: Violence, Race, and Criminal Justice in Early Twentieth-Century America](#)

Amsterdam, Daniel. [Before the Roar: U.S. Unemployment Relief after World War I and the Long History of a Paternalist Welfare Policy](#)

Chase, Robert T. [We Are Not Slaves: Rethinking the Rise of Carceral States through the Lens of the Prisoners' Rights Movement](#)

Hinton, Elizabeth. [“A War within Our Own Boundaries”: Lyndon Johnson's Great Society and the Rise of the Carceral State](#)

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(Chatterjee, continued from p. 4) Galvin distinguishes three principal ways in which historical research in general (and APD in particular) makes methodological contributions: by offering historical (though non-causal, but theoretical) narratives “to challenge prevailing assumptions,” (2014, 4-6) using causal (though not very generalizable, and “of limited theoretical scope”) narratives “to formulate hypotheses and develop concepts,” (2014, 7-9) and “using process-tracing to identify mechanisms and evaluate hypotheses” (2014, 12). Thus historical, non-causal narratives can overturn long-held assumptions about what exactly is the case (that is, whether X is, or should be understood as A, or Y as B); causal narratives trace temporal sequences to rule out alternatives, discover previously undetected patterns and explain them, and construct useful explanatory concepts; process tracing carefully focuses on particular causal mechanisms to follow (preferably) every step in the link between a putative causal factor and its effects.

Galvin’s entire discussion is premised on the observation that “Hypotheses formulated through small-N comparisons are naturally of limited theoretical scope, and this lack of generalizability may be viewed as a major downside by non-practitioners” (2014, 9) of historical research (*italics added*). It therefore follows that being (maximally/properly) “theoretical” is related to “generalizability.” In a previous section, however, he observes that though “letting historical data speak for itself” can be perceived as bereft of “causal processes” and “generalizable claims,” “*research can be theoretical without being causal*” (*italics in original*) (2014, 6). The two observations are difficult to reconcile; in what sense can *non-causal* historical narrative be “theoretical” but not “generalizable,” yet historical “causal” narratives can lack “generalizability,” and “naturally” be of “limited theoretical scope?”

These confusions arise because of an insufficient attention to the concepts under quotes. In particular, they arise out of an implicit, but insufficiently articulated understanding of the notions of “cause” and “generalization” (and “causal generalization”); this default understanding reduces all generalizations to those of a statistical kind; in other words, rather than seeing statistical generalization as one epistemological rendition of the concept, it defines the latter in terms of the former. Similarly, it also operates from a notion of cause that has as its necessary component the notion of “generalizability,” where the latter is in turn *defined* statistically. Finally it operates some notion of “theory”

that contains both of the latter two as its components. The problem with all this is that it is very difficult to justify historical narratives of any kind (including “process tracing”) in *causal* (theoretical) explanations under the definitions enumerated.¹

On the other hand, apprehending these concepts somewhat differently allows one to see that (a) all historical and qualitative work is necessarily theoretical, since historical data never completely “speaks for itself;” (b) all such work is “theoretical” inasmuch as scholars necessarily rely on “general” notions about things that are probable and make inferences from them, and (c) these “general” notions, sometimes called “causes” cannot be completely reduced to or defined by statistical generalizations, though the latter can be seen as a specific manifestation of the former in certain observational contexts.² Seen in this way small-N work (even when one is talking about just one case) is not of limited theoretical scope, and indeed, can be just as “generalizable” and “causal” as large-N statistical work. There is however a great deal of variation in how completely articulated (implicit) theoretical statements are in historical research. There is also a lot of variation in the extent to which scholars seek to, or wish to, derive causal conclusions, or how careful they are in doing so (of course the latter is a common concern with all scholarly work, whether large-N observational, or small-N). Thus Galvin’s call for more theoretical and methodological self-consciousness remains important, and sound.

That statistical generalization is one epistemological interpretation of the concept of “generalization” that is particularly well-suited to certain observational contexts (and not a definition of the latter) becomes clear when we consider an ideal typical experiment that is performed under very specific conditions, indeed conditions that one is unlikely, if ever, to find in nature. Not only is the result of that experiment (assuming that it is done soundly), considered general, practitioners often draw far-reaching theoretical conclusions that in turn are based on evaluations of causal relationships that the experiment is supposed to have substantiated. Granted that often, theoretical import is difficult to immediately determine—the famous Hershey-Chase experiment did not explicitly seek to demonstrate that DNA is the genetic material, for instance—such that it sometimes has to await unrelated scientific developments and understandings. But that cannot be a criticism of experiments; the causal relationships that they vindicate remain “general.”

¹ For a longer argument in a slightly different context, see Chatterjee 2013.

² For why one cannot define causes as statistical relations, see, among others, Cartwright 1979, Hesslow 1981.

It is difficult to draw causal conclusions for case studies for the same reason that it is often difficult to draw such conclusions from large-N statistical work: one is never sure how many confounds exist (this is even true of experiments), and one does not have direct (experimental) control over the factors one thinks could be relevant. Statistical theory somewhat mitigates this problem in certain observational contexts, but does not even remotely solve it. Also, note that as the philosopher Nancy Cartwright pointed out, statistical relations cannot help us define what is a causal relationship; rather prior, irreducible causal knowledge (possible relevant factors, among others) helps us determine which statistical relations make sense or are theoretically significant. This is also precisely the reason that even single case studies can in certain conditions yield causal, generalizable knowledge. Specifically, when conditions are arranged so that one is able to identify and isolate a few causal factors one can, with some confidence draw generalizable, causal conclusions, even if those conditions are unlikely to be ever repeated.

A thought experiment might help crystallize these ideas. I walk into my office one morning to find a pot containing my plant—which had been on top of my bookshelf for the past year—smashed to pieces on the floor. What could have caused it? There are many possible factors, and a non-exhaustive list might include, an earthquake, strong wind, a vindictive cleaner, a cat or any other non-human animal, a vindictive office manager, vindictive colleague who somehow managed to procure keys from the office manager, and a particularly strong sound wave from a blast nearby. Now given that my office window was locked, there wasn't a particularly strong wind or an earthquake last night, neither was there an explosion nearby (which would also have damaged my glass window, by the way), all my colleagues were on vacation, the office manager had called in sick (alternatively, I had other reasons to believe that he was not involved), there were no non-human animals in the vicinity of the office that could have successfully opened the locked door or come through the window, or no such animal was locked in the office the evening before, one could, with some confidence eliminate these factors. Additionally, I subsequently determined that the person who cleaned the office was also not involved (such determination takes some work, of course). On closer inspection it turned out that the pot was rather small for the plant, which had overgrown it; as a result it had progressively become rather top-heavy to a point where sometime in the past twelve hours its weight toppled the pot.

Is it not a general causal observation that if a pot is too small relative to the plant, it can no longer sustain its weight, and hence become unstable? Is this not true even if this happens extremely rarely because most people don't make the mistake of planting potentially fast growing plants in small pots? Would it be a valid criticism to say that the above incident is of limited theoretical and causal importance because statistically speaking—that is if one collected a random sample of all broken pots in a variety of circumstances—this particular cause of pots breaking probably would not really show up that frequently? Indeed, it would, in certain contexts, be patently absurd to try to determine the causes of pots breaking in this latter, statistical way. Yet this is exactly Galvin's view of case studies, even "causal narratives." One could further complicate the thought experiment above by positing an earthquake that registered, say 3.2 on the richter scale; in this case one would have to consider the two additional possibilities that it was the earthquake, rather than the weight of the plant relative to the pot, or the two things in combination that caused the pot to topple. Now the analyst could successfully eliminate the earthquake as a probable cause if she could point to yet another earthquake that registered at 3.5 last year that did not however topple the same pot. This is precisely what historians often do, even when they are not explicitly or consciously indulging in causal narratives. Galvin briefly recognizes this, but given his implicit metaphysics cannot quite articulate it in these terms. Thus he points out that "Historical narratives may not specify causal relationships or offer airtight explanations for outcomes, but they can pose 'hard' tests of extant theories on substantively critical episodes. Demonstrating that a theory cannot survive a—or *the*—critical test, historical narratives enable us to reject old frameworks and formulate new puzzles" (2014, 6). How can any narrative pose a test for any theory if such a narrative does not specify general, causal relationships? As Mckeown (1999) pointed out, a single additional case can never be relevant, let alone any kind of test, for causal generalizations if the latter are defined statistically.

Seen in this way, Galvin's classification of the various uses of historical narratives reduces to a continuum of the extent to which scholars clearly and completely articulate their theoretical presumptions, the latter, sometimes with good reason. With suitable modification, one of Clifford Geertz's observations about cultural analysis applies here: "There is no reason why the conceptual structure of a cultural interpretation should be any less formulable, and thus less susceptible to explicit cannons of appraisal, than that of, say, a biological observation or a physical experiment—no reason except that the terms in which

such formulations can be cast are, if not wholly nonexistent, very nearly so. We are reduced to insinuating theories because we lack the power to state them” (1973, 24). But to the extent that general terms exist (and one could certainly contest this, especially from a hermeneutic perspective) those using these terms are perforce implicating theories in their narratives. Concepts such as “bureaucratic autonomy,” “state capacity,” “welfare state,” and “party organization,” to borrow from some of Galvin’s examples, do not exist apart from implied (general) understandings of causes; in other words general concepts make no sense outside theoretical frameworks, however partial their articulation.

A second related point is that one should not expect causes to operate in the same way irrespective of context, but the fact that they don’t does not make them any less general (hence causal); again Cartwright’s insight is particularly valuable here. She points out that causes should be thought of as irreducible capacities that produce outcomes (even statistical regularities) when arranged in particular ways under stable enough conditions; further she calls the arrangement of capacities, “socio-economic machines” (1999, 50). One can think of historical narratives of various kinds as (implicitly or explicitly) describing such “socio-economic” machines. To be sure, there is much to be gained by being explicit about the kinds of capacities and their arrangements one is concerned with, if at all possible. It makes the task of appraisal much easier. So Galvin’s work on presidential behavior vis-à-vis political parties, or Carpenter’s work on bureaucratic autonomy, among others, should be seen in this light.

Capacities do not find their manifestation outside the context of socio-economic machines; it follows, therefore that one cannot talk of outcomes of capacities abstracted from their contexts or arrangements. On the other hand, the more knowledge one has of various capacities and their arrangements, the more likely is one to be able to create what Cartwright calls blueprints for socio-economic machines. These blueprints are theoretical models that specify possible arrangements of capacities in nature that give rise to certain systematic outcomes. Thus to get back to Galvin’s example, his argument about presidential behavior, though in the context of a particular arrangement of capacities, could help one in further explaining presidential behavior “in different presidential systems, or in different periods of American history,” because the knowledge of these capacities allows one to construct other blueprints for socio-economic machines. Thus that the same explanation does not really apply in other countries or contexts is not really a criticism and does not prevent the

explanation from being general, any more than my explanation (if sound) for why the pot fell off the bookshelf prevents my conclusions from being general. This is also the reason why studies like John Gaventa’s (1980)—to take just one example—of how power works in one particular locality of one state of one country are so theoretically rich and generalizable.

To reiterate, I agree with Galvin’s call for APD to be more theoretically self-conscious—in a different sense of the word “theory” however—whenever possible (when, among other things, general terms exist); partially articulated frameworks, incomplete theoretical statements or theory fragments, insufficient attention to possible factors or counterfactuals—explicit or implicit—make the task of appraisal difficult when it comes to causal explanations, so that it often becomes difficult to determine if an explanation is even wrong. On the other hand, to the extent that the literature succeeds in accounting for the breaking of particular pots in particular offices (and Galvin’s examples of putative “non-theoretical” works indeed do so), it carries valuable *general* lessons for those dealing with other plants, in other pots, and in other offices.

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(Colbern, continued from p. 4)

The “Lost Century” in Immigration Law

In the subfield of immigration, scholars have begun exploring how the past is linked to the present, leading to new notions of early immigration law and highlighting new junctures in the development of immigration law, over time.

Neuman (1993, 2010), who calls the 19th Century the “Lost Century,” reveals a robust range of immigration laws passed by states and localities that restricted unwanted migration from abroad and across states during the antebellum period. This discovery convincingly challenges the open doors myth, one that highlights the 1870s and 1880s as the formative period of America’s immigration law. Fitting in with APD’s project of refining concepts, Neuman’s discovery opens an entire century of immigration legislation and has revised our notion of early immigration law from the vantage point of American federalism. A new focus is now given to the role of states and localities, and immigration control is revised to include a broader set of laws regulating movement, including regulations found in slavery law.

Building on Neuman’s discovery, Law (2014) connects early immigration laws to state building, arguing that a robust early system of laws highlight a strong and developed, rather than weak and undeveloped, early American state. Moreover, Law explores why, during the antebellum period, limited national development and robust subnational immigration controls emerged. She argues that the federalist system allocated immigration powers to subnational governments in order to avoid sensitive regional differences, particularly national debates on black migration and slavery.

In both cases, APD’s capacity to refine or revise concepts is brought to the forefront. Both Neuman and Law define immigration law in flexible terms, focusing on the substance of the laws, rather than the formal categorical distinction of immigration law used today. Since a formal category of immigration law did not exist in the antebellum period, this approach allows them to highlight a range of laws that restrict blacks (slaves and free blacks), criminals, paupers and the diseased from entering national, state and local borders. All of these laws operated as early immigration controls.

Slavery’s Relation to Contemporary Immigration

APD’s approach to history also advances new ways for scholars to think about the relationship between slavery and immigration. Here, I document new empirical evidence of how antebellum laws on black migration were not only restrictive in nature, but also operated to open state borders. I show that northern free states

passed laws that welcomed, integrated, and protected runaway slaves, in conflict with the federal fugitive slave law. This history of state inclusion and federal restriction, I argue, is functionally similar to contemporary immigration laws on undocumented immigrants, who are integrated and protected under state laws regardless of their legal status under federal law. I end by highlighting how APD’s openness to exploring empirical similarities and differences across periods makes it a powerful approach for connecting runaway slaves and undocumented immigrants.

Federal Parallel

While scholars (Law 2014; Neuman 1993, 2010) are correct in arguing that the federal government was largely absent from early immigration law, on matters of regulating the movement of runaway slaves, the federal government took on a central role, passing highly restrictive federal fugitive slave laws and developing a strong regime to enforce these laws. Recaption – the legal process of removing runaway slaves – was routinely practiced throughout colonial America. As states began to abolish slavery within their borders and the federal government took on a more active role in territorial expansion, each took on a more expansive role in regulating freedom of movement.

The Northwest Ordinance (1787) and Article IV of the U.S. Constitution (1787) clearly established slave owners’ right to recaption of any runaway slave in northern states or federal territories. Notably, for immigration scholars, these laws effectively made entry into these states and territories illegal for runaway slaves, setting up a parallel to undocumented immigrants today. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 clarified the rights of slave owners and established an anti-harboring provision, fining anyone that unlawfully harbored a runaway slave of up to five hundred dollars. *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842) established clearer guidelines on the role of federal and state governments, ruling that Congress has plenary powers over fugitive slave laws and that state laws preventing recaption were unconstitutional. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 further set up federal control over physical presence, creating new mechanisms for regulating recaption, including the appointment of a federal body to administer the system and procedures of issuing search and arrest warrants, certificates of removal, and fines for interference. This law also established the federal government’s ability to deputize citizens and appoint commissioners in each federal circuit to delegate authority to district and circuit court judges for fugitive slave claims.

Contemporary immigration laws’ restrictions on unlawful presence parallel federal fugitive slave law. In 1952, the

Immigration and Naturalization Act fundamentally expanded the scope of federal immigration enforcement, making “unlawful presence” a federal crime. In particular, this law made a person’s first illegal entry offense a misdemeanor crime with up to a six-month prison sentence, and added a provision stating that any person who has been previously deported, caught illegally re-entering or found inside the US, would be given a second offense of a felony crime with up to two-years in prison. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 established new federal interior enforcement mechanisms, criminalizing the practice of knowingly hiring unauthorized immigrants and making unauthorized immigrants ineligible for work. Further, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 expanded federal control by requiring proof of lawful status for access to public welfare. This law also set up the idea of an “accrual of unlawful presence,” categorizing persons into protected and non-protected unlawful status classifications. In addition to these glaring legal similarities over runaway slaves and unauthorized immigrants, federal governments in both periods established cooperative programs with state and local governments to enforce federal law.

State-Level Parallel

This federal parallel establishes a new way of thinking about how slavery relates to immigration. Currently, scholars link slavery and immigration by exploring how antebellum laws operated as America’s early immigration system. The parallel to the contemporary period, however, is unexplored and goes much deeper than similarities at the federal level. Northern states passed laws that welcomed, integrated and protected runaway slaves within their borders, in conflict with federal law. Since these inclusionary laws spotlight openness, they have been unexplored by immigration scholars. Nevertheless, these laws reveal a deep parallel to contemporary state laws integrating and protecting undocumented immigrants, who are also considered unlawfully present under federal law.

Massachusetts’ end of slavery also marked a new beginning for its open doors policy. In 1785, 1787 and 1788 the state passed two anti-kidnapping laws and two due process laws, granting all blacks within the state the right to habeas corpus and right to replevin. After a long lull in its legislation, in 1836, Massachusetts passed a law automatically emancipating all slaves brought into the state by slave owners, referred to as “slaves in transit” (Finkelman 1981, 101–125, 1985, 444). Thereafter, the only group in the state not explicitly emancipated was runaway slaves.

In 1843, Massachusetts made a significant leap in its openness to and protection of blacks, passing a law modeled after an 1820 Pennsylvania law that banned all state officials and state resources from being used to enforce the 1793 fugitive slave law. Notably, this state law followed the *Prigg* (1842) ruling that established federal plenary powers over fugitive slave law; however, notably, *Prigg* also ruled that the federal government could not mandate states to enforce federal law. In 1855, Massachusetts passed an even more comprehensive omnibus law, which included a law forbidding state officials from enforcing the 1793 and 1850 fugitive slave laws, and laws creating more expansive anti-kidnapping and due process protections, i.e., appointing special state commissioners to defend runaway slaves in court, placing the burden of proof on slave owners and providing all blacks with the right of habeas corpus, trial by jury, and testimony against whites (Morris 1974, 167–170).

Today, states are passing a range of laws that are similarly inclusive and protective of undocumented immigrants. In 2013, California passed a law granting state driver licenses to immigrants regardless of legal status, and notably, included an anti-discrimination provision making it illegal for police to target and investigate drivers with new licenses for possible immigration violations. California also recently passed two laws on professional licenses, including a law expressly authorizing unauthorized immigrants to practice law in the state and a law requiring forty licensing boards under the California Department of Consumer Affairs to consider applicants regardless of legal status. California and other states have passed a range of other inclusive laws that extend immigrant access to employment, higher education and health care. Counties and cities are also taking important steps in the same direction. Between 2007 and 2012, San Francisco, Oakland, Richmond, and Los Angeles passed municipal ID ordinances that created identification cards accessible to all residents including unauthorized immigrants (Ramakrishnan and Colbern 2015). These city ID cards facilitate access to vital resources, including banking, health care services and libraries, and they make it easier for unauthorized immigrants to interact with public officials and law enforcement without fear of removal (Graauw 2014).

The most striking parallel to the antebellum period, however, is states and localities passing non-enforcement laws that limit their participation in enforcing federal immigration law. In 2013, California and Connecticut were the first to pass non-enforcement laws called Transparency and Responsibility Using State Tools (TRUST) Acts, which stipulate that officers can only enforce immigration detainers issued by the US

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) for persons convicted of serious crimes. Like removal certificates issued to detain runaway slaves, a detainer request is a formal notice by ICE to federal, state or local law enforcement agencies of their intention to take custody of potential unauthorized immigrants. Counties and cities have also begun to move in this direction. In 2014, the city of San Francisco and counties of Contra Costa, Alameda and San Mateo in the state of California announced they would no longer cooperate with ICE detention requests (Ramakrishnan and Colbern 2015).

APD's Utility in Concept Revision and Formation

APD's approach to history offers important insights for this emerging scholarship that explores immigration's early existence, and the relationship between slavery and immigration. First, APD's utility in concept revision is at the forefront of current scholarly efforts to understand early immigration law, including the work of Neuman (1993, 2010) and Law (2014). In particular, these works establish a more expansive notion of early immigration law by looking at entry/exit and removal restrictions, placed on blacks (slaves and free blacks), criminals, paupers, and diseased, during a time when formal immigration laws did not exist.

Second, APD's utility in concept innovation offers a way to discover new relations between slavery and immigration. Above, I show that federal and state level parallels exist between antebellum laws on runaway slaves and contemporary immigration laws on undocumented immigrants. Currently, immigration scholars explore slavery law using time-bound concepts, and spotlight categorical distinctions between the antebellum and contemporary periods. Slavery's relation to contemporary immigration law is thus unexplored. Similarly, slavery scholars (Campbell 1970; Finkelman 1981; Morris 1974; Rosenberg 1999) apply concepts bound to the antebellum period (e.g., comity, sectionalism, and nullification) to make sense of why northern states passed laws protecting runaway slaves. APD's utility in conscious periodization (Kersh 2005) of American history provides scholars a way to make sense of states' protection of runaway slaves and of undocumented immigrants conducive of concepts that can encompass multiple periods and groups. Notably, avoiding the potential for APD scholarship to fall outside of political science's subfields, concepts that bridge the antebellum and contemporary periods on matters of slavery and immigration speak directly to wide ranging scholarships in political science.

A salient concern of immigration scholars, for example, is the allocation of power between federal, state and local governments (Chacón 2012; Gulasekaram and

Ramakrishnan 2013, 2015; Motomura 2014; Rodríguez 2008; Tichenor and Filindra 2012; M. Varsanyi 2010; M. W. Varsanyi et al. 2012). Through similarities and differences in the federalism dynamics related to runaway slaves and undocumented immigrants, scholars can map the contours of regulatory power by looking at laws over two unauthorized groups residing in the US over time. Further, looking at both periods together broadens the concept of unlawful presence beyond undocumented immigrants to include runaway slaves.

Relatedly, scholars have begun to ask what inclusionary state and local laws on undocumented immigrants mean for our notions of citizenship (Bosniak 2000, 2008; Graauw 2014; Markowitz 2015; Ramakrishnan and Colbern 2015). For example, in a recent report, Ramakrishnan and Colbern (2015, 1) argue that a "growing number of state laws that push towards greater immigrant integration, on matters ranging from in-state tuition and financial aid to undocumented students, to expanded health benefits and access to driver's licenses" create a "de facto state citizenship" that is inclusive of unauthorized immigrants. They show that pro-immigrant integration laws in states like California are blurring the distinction between authorized and unauthorized immigrants. The parallel to runaway slaves casts new light on these questions about how laws that increase freedom of movement, expand rights, and increase access to state resources, set up a type of citizenship at the state or local level for groups who are nevertheless considered unlawfully present under federal law.

Conclusion

Galvin (2014) highlights many tools within mainstream political science that can be applied to advance APD's conceptual analysis, including: Sartori's (1970) "checklist," Collier and Levitsky's (1997) "diminished subtypes," and scholarship on indicators of conceptual stretching, min-max strategies and fuzzy-set coding (Collier and Mahon 1993, 1993; Gerring 1999; Mahoney 2007). As this paper highlights, APD has two unique ways of advancing conceptual analysis of its own, which can contribute to mainstream political science, including: concept refinement and concept innovation. These are grounded in APD's use of history and periodization. As Orren and Skowronek (2004, 121) point out, there is nothing that "has more effectively transformed the historical study of American politics than impatience with conventional demarcations of time." It is critical for APD scholars to consciously employ these two tools (concept refinement and innovation) and to think critically about how period based distinctions affect its concepts.

Reemphasizing Galvin's point, in moving forward, it is important to consider how mainstream political science's

tools can be effectively brought in to APD scholarship, and vice versa, to advance conceptual analysis. For example, in comparing runaway slaves and undocumented immigrations, I focus on drawing similarities at two levels: federal and state laws. Sartori's (1970) ladder of abstraction, however, can bring to further focus conceptualization and operationalization of concepts that link these two groups. Sartori's (1970, 1034) statement concerning mainstream political science applies to APD, "We are now engaged in world-wide, cross area comparisons [and there] is apparently no end to the proliferation of political units. Now, the wider the world under investigation, the more we need conceptual tools that are able to travel." APD's engagement with multiple historical periods illustrates this widening world, and herein, I argue that APD scholarship provides a unique way to advance concepts that can travel far within political science.

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(Dodds, continued from p. 4) One way to understand Galvin's essay is to see it as comports with other work by APD scholars that has called on the field to do a better job of connecting with the rest of the discipline and academia. Sometimes, those appeals have involved substantive connections. Indeed, in the first volume of *Studies in American Political Development*, editors Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek voiced the ecumenical hope that the journal's historical perspective would facilitate both intradisciplinary and interdisciplinary collaboration by highlighting "subject matter common to scholars working in different corners" of academia (Orren and Skowronek, 1986, vii). Subsequent APD scholarship has often echoed the call for substantive connections beyond APD itself. For example, in 2006 Ira Katznelson and John Lapinski encouraged APD "to engage more fully with 'mainstream' scholarship on Congress" (Katznelson and Lapinski 2006, 243). One could adduce various other examples, and of course the impetus to connect what have hitherto been separate areas of scholarship is a basic impulse for a variety of scholars, but the point here is that APD has a significant tradition of trying to engage other camps of scholarly literature.

Beyond calls for substantive connections between APD and other parts of political science, there have also been calls for methodological connections. Writing in these pages in 1999, Keith Whittington noted "the increasingly common notion of 'path dependency' offers some points of connection between APD and more economic approaches to politics" (Whittington 1999, 44). In 2002 Orren and Skowronek called for greater collaboration between APD and rational choice (Orren and Skowronek, 2002, 725). In 2005, Rogan Kersh criticized APD's "relative inattention to methodology" (Kersh 2005, 338), he claimed that "more forthright and elaborate discussion of methodologies would be a vital addition to graduate curricula" (Kersh 2005, 339), and he noted points of methodological commonality and difference between APD and other historically-sensitive areas of scholarship. And in 2013 Adam Sheingate said "the points of connection between APD and kindred scholarship are not always apparent," and he encouraged APD to highlight its place within the "broader historical institutional tradition in political science" (Sheingate 2013, 462).

In a particularly striking parallel to Galvin's essay, John Gerring claimed in 2003 that "APD has not ... been a focus of methodological reflection" (Gerring 2003, 82). Gerring noted that while "the willful avoidance of methodological concerns might be looked upon as a virtue," we should also "consider the costs of APD's

freewheeling approach to questions of method" (Gerring 2003, 82). Indeed, Gerring argued that by treating methodology "with greater care and self-consciousness, the field of APD should be able to strengthen its arguments and broaden its relevance to the fields of political science and history" (Gerring 2003, 85). Galvin's essay is arguably of a piece with this strand of APD scholarship, such that his call for greater methodological attention is perhaps just the latest iteration of a recurring theme in APD. (But it is a theme with which some APD practitioners disagree; see Skowronek 2003.)

If one steps back from APD per se to consider historical institutionalism more generally, one can find similar calls for greater methodological attention. And by some accounts, these calls have yielded good results. As Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol noted in 2002: "Methodological challenges have, in our view, been good for historical institutionalism. Not only have these critiques been testimony to the visibility and intellectual impact of the studies they have dissected. Challenges have had a bracing impact, prompting historical institutionalists to spell out their metatheoretical presumptions and sharpen rationales and tools for doing valid macroscopic and historical studies" (Pierson and Skocpol 2002, 714).

That seems to be what Galvin wants for APD. And he wants it not necessarily because methodology is intrinsically good but for instrumental reasons: Galvin says that by making methodological moves more explicit, "it can become easier for the community of APD scholars to identify areas in which to build on each other's work and make more incremental, cumulative gains" (Galvin 2014, 3) of the sort generally associated with mainstream social scientific work. Thus, for Galvin, methods offer a means of enhancing scholarly community and forging stronger connections among what would otherwise be isolated or "stand alone" works (Galvin 2014, 3).

But there is a difference: while Galvin sees APD at present as underperforming (because it is under-connected, because it is insufficiently methodological), Pierson and Skocpol perceive a high degree of interconnectivity in historical institutionalism: "historical institutionalists do quite well, in our view, because substantively compelling, problem-driven research facilitates exactly the sort of intellectual cumulation that allows a community of researchers to make clear progress over time" (Pierson and Skocpol 2002, 715). In other words, whereas Galvin says that more methodology in APD would enhance its weak scholarly connections, Pierson and Skocpol say that historical institutionalism's compelling subjects connected its practitioners long ago.

Alternatively, a second way to perceive Galvin's essay is to see it not as aligned with but as opposed to a significant strand of APD scholarship, which has at times been fairly inward looking and not interested in connecting with other areas of the discipline. Indeed, for the interpretation(s) above to make sense, it would have to be the case that at least some APD scholarship was not particularly concerned with work in the rest of the discipline. And by many accounts that has indeed been the case. For example, Katznelson and Lapinski lamented that APD is "vulnerable to excessive enclosure and disciplinary marginality" (Katznelson and Lapinski 2006, 243).

But the frequently inward gaze of much APD scholarship is not just a matter of parochialism or neglect; APD has often been purposely and proudly inward looking. This tendency might be the result of APD's distinctiveness within the wider discipline (about which more later) and/or its focus on a national case that many see as *sui generis* or "exceptional" and hence not amenable to broader comparative work. Whatever the reasons, APD has at times resisted the urge to invoke scholarship from other traditions. For example, in the preface to their 2004 book assaying the status of APD as a maturing enterprise, Orren and Skowronek chose not to utilize the norms and practices of the broader discipline: "Rather than try to fit issues posed by the study of American political development to the recent trends and received canons of research in other precincts of political science and history, we decided to work the other way around" and to analyze only APD itself (Orren and Skowronek 2004, x). Galvin's essay arguably stands in contrast to this tradition, as he favors a less insular approach.

A third interpretation is to see Galvin's admonishment as reversing the usual rationale for APD being more like mainstream political science, though he does not put it in those terms. It is no secret that APD has had a "problematic place within the discipline of political science" (Gerring 2003, 101) and that critics have charged that some of what APD scholars do "is not currently a part of 'normal science,' in which researchers pursue well-defined incremental questions in an established field" (Ceaser 2006, 4-5). Whereas some have called for APD to be more explicitly methodological in order to defend the social scientific bona fides of APD and to legitimate its place within political science, Galvin argues that greater methodological explicitness by APD scholars would (also) have the benefit of aiding other APD scholarship. In other words, by embracing the lingo and preoccupations of the majority of American politics scholars (among others), APD scholars not only can enhance their acceptance within the broader subfield of

American politics and elsewhere, they can also enhance the accomplishments of their own sub-subfield. Or to put it more cynically, a pragmatically motivated concession could also confer significant substantive benefits.

A fourth, more critical view of Galvin's essay is that it might neglect the other direction: perhaps greater improvements would come if APD were to act as an exporter rather than an importer vis-à-vis other parts of political science. Indeed, regardless of what the rest of the discipline might have to teach APD (methodologically or otherwise), APD has much to teach the rest of the discipline. It can be hard to generalize about a field of scholarship as large and diverse as APD, yet APD is in many respects distinctive, and it arguably has more than a few achievements from which other political science scholarship could benefit.

As Kersh notes, "APD arose in part as a *reaction* to the methods-driven formalism that came to characterize much political science" (Kersh 2005, 339). While mainstream political science has been criticized as being method-driven (e.g., Green and Shapiro), most APD is proudly problem-driven. APD can therefore be credited with focusing on substantive political questions. As Gerring put it, "Heedless of current academic fashion, APD has retained a stubborn focus on the mean-and-gristle of politics" (Gerring 2003, 82). Accordingly, APD "has emphasized a very broad and realistic view of politics" (Robertson 2012, 7). And APD scholars have been instrumental in ensuring that the discipline does not lose sight of "big," important questions (Kahn and Kersh 2005, 8; Whittington 1999, 45). These include things like class, race, ideology, power, electoral alignment, and the state. Moreover, "APD helps emphasize the contingency of the status quo" (Whittington 1999, 45), which is to say that APD can reveal the scope of alternative political possibilities. According to Whittington, "Interpretative APD preserves the complexity of political life in counterpoint to the reductive aspirations of quantitative and formal approaches to studying politics" (Whittington 1999, 44). And according to Sheingate, "an APD-inflected approach can provide key insights into core questions of power and political economy that rightfully belong at the center of political science scholarship" (Sheingate 2014, 463).

In addition to considerable substantive strengths like these, APD also has something to offer the rest of the discipline in terms of methodology. One can pursue the scientific study of politics in many ways: a la economics, law, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and – as APD reminds us – history. Not surprisingly, APD is good at dealing with questions of periodization

(Orren and Skowronek, 2002, 736). But APD does not merely valorize historical approaches to the study of politics, it has understandings of the relationship between history and politics that arguably “are unique to the subfield” (Kersh 2005, 339). As Sheingate puts it, APD is uniquely well situated “to rethink temporality in political science” (Sheingate 2014, 473).

Orren and Skowronek contend that “APD scholarship has insisted on history as the *site* of governance” (Orren and Skowronek 2002, 751) and that APD assumes that “time is constitutive of politics” (Orren and Skowronek 2002, 725). They maintain that “the most novel feature” of APD’s analysis of the institutional construction of politics is “the simultaneous operation of different, often contradictory, orderings of authority,” which they term “intercurrence” (Orren and Skowronek 2002, 747). Orren and Skowronek also argue for APD seeing “history as a matrix” (Orren and Skowronek 2002, 752), and they claim that “Reckoning with politics through patterns in a matrix is APD’s signal accomplishment to date. In this, it has presented a fundamental challenge to the rest of political science: to elaborate and adopt an idea of time that is appropriate to the organization of the political universe and the study of governance” (Orren and Skowronek 2002, 754).

These methodological and substantive benefits indicate that APD has much to offer. But Orren and Skowronek’s most compelling account of what APD has to offer is arguably the appreciation that teasing out the patterns and implications of historically determined politics can be “sheer fun” (Orren and Skowronek 2002, 752). Sheer fun is not something often associated with contemporary social science. Even if APD had nothing else to offer, that alone would be a welcome tonic for the discipline.

In the above points, I have tried to indicate several ways in which one might contextualize Galvin’s argument for greater methodological attention in APD by placing his account within various broader scholarly trajectories and traditions. But like American politics itself, APD has multiple traditions and hence a great multiplicity of interpretations, so the few sketched here are neither exhaustive nor unassailable, and other scholars will certainly find other ways of construing and evaluating Galvin’s contentions about methodology in APD.

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