2023

Redefining the Diplomatic Stage: The Evolution of Feminine Foreign Policy in the Russo-Ukrainian War

Amber Brittain-Hale

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

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From the Chair

Cathie Jo Martin
Boston University

This has been a year of breaking historical records. July 4, 2023 was the earth's hottest day in history, and then July 5th was even hotter. In just 7 months, 2023 had already set the US record for the most school shootings in a year. Former president Donald Trump is the first American president to be indicted, Putin seems breathtakingly oblivious to his arrest warrant for war crimes issues by the International Criminal Court, and Netanyahu – the longest serving prime minister – has inspired the biggest protests in Israeli history. While the hotel workers' strike has not been exactly record-breaking, it raises epic questions about the future trajectory of the labor movement, and APSA's relationship to this process. All this earth-shattering news makes one whether past will continue to be prologue and gives our members much to think about, as we struggle to shed light on the present with our investigations of the past.

Our section has a fantastic line-up of 23 panels and roundtables this year, plus a terrific selection of posters, and our heartfelt thanks go to program co-chairs Didac Queralt and Sarah Staszak for their energy and vision in putting together such a fine program. The panels reflect the impressive, boundary-spanning scope of our section, as they present cutting-edge research on American Political Development, comparative politics, historical political economy, and international relations. I hope that you can attend as many panels as possible. **(continued on p. 3)**

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2023-24 Officer Slate

to be voted on at the

2023 Business Meeting

which will be held at

6:15 PM PST on Friday, September 1

LA Convention Center 301A

Zoom Meeting ID: 963 4141 1539

Passcode: 944719

Chair-Elect:

Megan Ming Francis

University of Washington

Council:

David Bateman

Cornell University

Alexandra Cirone

Cornell University

Adnan Naseemullah

King's College

Emily Zackin

Johns Hopkins Unviersity

A reception will follow at 7:30 PM at the Prank Bar

1100 S Hope Street, Los Angeles

Politics & History

an organized section of the

American Political Science Association

http://www.apsanet.org/section24

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Amy Bridges and David Brady

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Didac Queralt & Sarah Staszak

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.

(From the Chair, continued from p. 1) Didac and Sarah have done an enormous amount of additional work, by keeping track of panelists' wishes in response to the hotel workers' strike.

We are also very excited to announce that Amel Ahmed (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) and Chloe Thurston (Northwestern University) have agreed to serve as program co-chairs for our 2024 APSA meeting in Philadelphia. Thanks in advance to Amel and Chloe!

After much soul searching, the executive council decided to hold both our business meeting and reception in person at locations not involved in the strike, but we will also make the business meeting available to those who wish to attend virtually. The business meeting will meet on Friday September 1, from 6:15 PM to 7:15 PM Pacific Time at the Los Angeles Convention Center in Room 301A. You may join the meeting via zoom at: https://bostonu.zoom.us/j/96341611539, passcode: 944719. The reception will be held at the Prank Bar, located at 1100 S Hope Street, from 7:30 PM until 9:00 PM.

Those who attend the business meeting will have an opportunity to vote on nominees for the executive council. The nominating committee (consisting of the section chair, chair-elect and executive council members) offers the following slate of candidates:

For chair-elect, the committee nominates **Megan Ming Francis**, who is the G. Alan and Barbara Delsman Associate professor of Political Science and Associate Professor of Law, Societies, and Justice at the University of Washington. Francis writes broadly about American politics and has special interests in the criminal justice system, Black political activism, and politics in the South after the Civil War. Her book, *Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State*, won the APSA Ralph Bunche award in 2015.

For incoming members of the executive council (to serve a two-year term), the committee nominates David Bateman, Ali Cirone, Dann Naseemullah, and Emily Zackin.

David Bateman is Associate Professor at Cornell University, and writes about democratic institutions, political rights, and race. To this end, *Southern Nation: Congress and White Supremacy after Reconstruction*, examines how southern legislators influenced national policy. *Disenfranchising Democracy: Constructing the Electorate in the United States, the United Kingdom, and France*, investigates how the paradoxical expansion of political rights and mass disenfranchisement went hand in hand in the United States, United Kingdom, and France.

Alexandra Cirone (Assistant Professor at Cornell University) works on historical political economy, party systems and democratization. She has published broadly in the *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, and *World Politics*, among others, and is honing her book manuscript on "Lotteries in Democracy (with Brenda van Coppenolle). Her 2019 World Politics article, "Bridging the Gap" received an honorable mention from our section for the Mary Follet Parker article prize.

Adnan (Dann) Naseemullah (Reader at King's College London) studies populism, comparative national development, and state formation in the Indian subcontinent. These themes appear in his two books published by Cambridge University Press: *Development after Statism: Industrial Firms and the Political Economy of South Asia* and *Patchwork States: the Historical Roots of Subnational Conflict and Competition in South Asia.*

Finally, the committee nominates **Emily Zackin** (Associate Professor at Johns Hopkins University). Her dissertation, which won our section's Walter Dean Burnham best dissertation award, became "Looking for Rights in All the Wrong Places: Why State Constitutions Contain America's Positive Rights" (Princeton University Press 2013).

Special thanks go to the outgoing executive council members: Stephen Amberg, Robert Lieberman, Robert Mickey, and Chloe Thurston.

We have a great group of section prize recipients this year. Tomila V. Lankina (London School of Economics) is recipient of the J. David Greenstone Book Prize for her book, *The Estate Origins of Democracy in Russia: From Imperial Bourgeoisie to Post-Communist Middle Class* (Cambridge University Press, 2022). Lankina traces the social divisions of modern Russian to the Tzarist estate institutions that nurtured a privileged bourgeoisie and reinforced sharp class inequalities.

The Mary Parker Follet Article Prize goes to Kerry Goettlich (University of Reading) for his 2022 *American Political Science Review* article, "The Colonial Origins of

Modern Territoriality: Property Surveying in the Thirteen Colonies." Unlike many accounts that link the establishment of national borders to state-building, Goettlich traces national borders to subnational surveying activities of colonies.

Roya Talibova (Vanderbilt University) receives the David Brian Robertson Best Paper award for her paper, "Choosing Sides: The Price for Battlefield Loyalty under Autocracy." Talibova finds that Russian veterans of World War I and the Russian Civil War were more likely to be targeted by Stalin's purges than those who eschewed military service. This finding calls into question arguments about conscription and state protections.

Finally, Carissa Leann Tudor (incoming assistant professor at the University of Amsterdam) is awarded the Walter Dean Burnham Dissertation Award for her "Whose Modernity: Revolution and the Rights of Woman." The work traces the impacts of democratization and legal reforms on the decline of the political rights of women.

The prize committee members all reported that they received an abundance of very fine research products, and we are deeply gratefully to them for devoting significant time and energy to selecting the winning works. Thanks to Dan Carpenter, Ali Cirone, Quinn Mulroy, Edgar Franco-Vivanco, Adria Lawrence, Stephen Stohler, Graham Dodd, Agustin Goenaga, Adam Chamberlain and Lynn Tesser for their outstanding service.

In conclusion, I have greatly enjoyed my tenure as section chair this year and wanted to express my gratitude to Peter Trubowitz, who did a magnificent job serving as our section chair last year, and to Dan Carpenter, who takes over this job in September.

Politics & History Panels at APSA

A detailed listing is available at APSA's All-Academic Website. To access the Politics & History Section's session list, click "Browse by Division," then "Divisions." Politics & History is Division 7.

Date	Time	Session title
Thursday, August 31	**8:00 AM**	War Made Legacies and Legacies Made War: Asia's 20th-Century Conflicts
	10:00 AM	Shaping Asian States and Nations: Revolutions and Political Development
	12:00 PM	Historical International Political Economy
		Asia's Institutions of Lasting Rule: Bureaucracy, Education, and Empire
	2:00 PM	China's Many Contentious Frontiers: Ancient Battles, Modern Struggle
	4:00 PM	Asia on a Wider Canvas: Cross-Regional and Global Perspectives
Friday, September 1	**8:00 AM**	Elite Conflict and Confluence in Political Development
	10:00 AM	Author Meets Critics: *Settling for Less: Why States Colonize and Why They Stop* by Lachlan McNamee
	12:00 PM	Revolutions, War, and the Tragic Fate of Democracy
		Political Organizations and the American State
	2:00 PM	Southern Reconstruction and Its Aftermath: APD and HPE Perspectives
		Historical Taxation and Representation: Actors and Institutions
	4:00 PM	Historical Development of Education Systems: Motivations and Consequences
Saturday, September 2	**8:00 AM**	New Agendas in Historical Political Economy
	10:00 AM	The President and the Parties: A Thirty-Year Retrospective
	12:00 PM	Poster Session: Politics and History
	2:00 PM	Conservative Rollback of Civil Rights Era Legal Protections
		Author Meets Critics: *In Her Own Name: The Politics of Women's Rights before Suffrage* by Sara Chatfield
	4:00 PM	State Building and War in Europe since 1200
		Race, State, and Power in Comparative and Historical Perspective
Sunday, September 3	**8:00 AM**	Constitutional Government after Full Inclusion
	10:00 AM	Statebuilding in the 19th Century United States
		Political Preferences in Historical Context

There's Nothing Unusual about Early Voting - It's Been Done since the Founding of the Republic[1]

Terri Bimes
University of California, Berkeley

With voting in key states having begun more than six weeks before Election Day, early voting has emerged as a contentious issue. Observing that the country now has more of an election season than an election day, Attorney General Bill Barr lamented that "we're losing the whole idea of what an election is."

I'm a scholar of the presidency. And as many in this field know, early voting periods are not new to the 2020 election.

First presidential election took one month

There are many historical examples of an election period as opposed to an election day.

At the founding, there was no set national election day. The first presidential election started on Dec. 15, 1788, and ended almost a month later, on Jan. 10, 1789.

In 1792, Congress passed a law that permitted each state to choose presidential electors any time within a 34-day period before the first Wednesday in December. During this period, states determined what day to hold their presidential elections, resulting in a patchwork of election days. Most states had their election on a single day, but some had elections over the course of two days.

From 1789 to 1840, states gradually converged on early November as the time to hold their presidential elections, laying the groundwork for congressional adoption of a uniform presidential election day.

The 1840 presidential electoral season began on Friday, Oct. 30, in Ohio and Pennsylvania and ended on Thursday, Nov. 12, in North Carolina, except for South Carolina, whose state Legislature still chose its electors.

Limiting voter fraud

It wasn't until 1845 that Congress formally adopted a national election day — the Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

With the invention of the telegraph, the rise of two-party competition across most states and record-breaking voter turnout, both parties had an interest in regulating elections and establishing a national election day.

In addition, parties were becoming more concerned about election fraud, especially the "the importation of voters from one State to another." Most of the discussion in Congress focused on which day election day should be, with the prevailing idea that it should be about 30 days before the meeting of the electors, and on a Tuesday, according to a story in The Boston Daily Globe in February of 1915.

The legislators chose Tuesday because most states already held their elections on Monday or Tuesday, and they thought it was generally a good idea to have one day between Sunday and election day, making Tuesday the preferred day over Monday.

But even during this period there remained elements of an election season. According to Scott James, the 1848 congressional elections spanned 15 months, from August 1848 to November 1849. Leading up to the Civil War, a clear split in scheduling congressional elections emerged.

Northern states tended to adopt the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, the same day as presidential elections, to hold congressional elections. Southern states, in contrast, scheduled congressional elections several months after presidential election day. It wasn't until 1872 that Congress mandated that all states hold their congressional elections on the same day as the presidential election.

Moreover, a state's early statewide electoral contests could act as a political laboratory for national elections. The saying "As Maine goes, so goes the nation" originated in the 19th century as Maine's early statewide election returns, particularly in the governor's race, often predicted the party of the presidential election winner. Political parties converged on Maine in September to rally their voters in hopes of influencing the November presidential election across the nation.

The establishment of an explicit early voting period rests on the precedent set during the Civil War. There were numerous ways soldiers on the battlefield could cast their vote: mailing proxy votes, ballots or voting in person at camps and hospitals close to the battlefield.

[1] This is a reprint of an article that appeared on October 8, 2020 in *The Conversation*.

The proxy votes, ballots, and/or tally sheets from the voting sites were then mailed to the soldier's or sailor's home state for counting. In Ohio, the absentee military ballots that were considered qualified – from white men over 21 years old – accounted for 12% of Ohio's votes in the 1864 presidential election.

Since then, multiple forms of early voting have been established. Early voting can happen in person or through voting by mail. In a 2001 federal appeals case challenging Oregon's no-excuse absentee voting, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld early voting periods, ruling that the election must only be "consummated" on Election Day.

In other words, voters need to cast their ballots by Election Day, but the law does not prevent them from voting earlier.

Early voting accelerates

In 1978, California lifted the requirement that a voter provide an approved reason, such as "occupation requiring travel or federal or state military or naval service," to vote by mail, initiating a trend of early voting by mail in several Western states.

In the 1980s, Texas offered its voters early voting in person. The number of states adopting early voting periods began to surge in the 1990s and included Florida, Nevada, Georgia, Tennessee and Iowa. After the 2000 presidential election and the controversy over "hanging chads," many more states adopted early in-person voting periods to help with election administration.

The U.S. Election Assistance Commission reports that in 2016 more than 41% of all ballots nationwide were cast before Election Day – with in-person early voting making up 17%, and voting by mail 24%, of all turnout.

Early voting is on its way to break all records in 2020, because of the pandemic, expansion of mail-in voting and voter interest. As of Oct. 7, Michael McDonald of the U.S. Elections Project reports that over 5 million voters have already cast their ballots, compared with approximately 75,000 voters in 2016.

Does early voting increase voter turnout rates overall, or does it just split the voters who would normally vote on Election Day?

While some scholars contend that early in-person voting periods potentially can decrease voter turnout, studies that focus on vote-by-mail, a form of early voting, generally show an increase in voter turnout. New research presents evidence that the implementation of all-mail voting in Colorado increased voter turnout by 9.4 percent overall.

Early voting periods may have an effect on who turns out, as well – which may explain Attorney General Barr's lack of enthusiasm for early voting periods. Although past studies have shown that early voting did not help one party over the other, the 2020 election may be different.

As of early October 2020, Democrats have cast 55.3% of the early ballots, whereas Republicans have cast only 24.2%. Independents have cast 19.8% and voters affiliated with a minor party less than 1%.

But there is still plenty of time for more people to vote early, either by mail or in person, before Election Day.

The Curious Case of Food Stamps, *or* The Mystery of the Missing Political Studies on the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program

Christopher Bosso
Xena Itzkowitz
Northeastern University

Inspector Gregory: Is there any other point to which you would wish to draw my attention?
Sherlock Holmes: To the curious incident of the dog in the night-time.
Gregory: The dog did nothing in the night-time.
Holmes: That was the curious incident.[1]

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), formerly known as food stamps, is the nation's largest government food assistance program. Before the COVID-19 pandemic hit in March 2020, SNAP benefits supplemented the diets of around 40 million low-income Americans at a cost of approximately $60 billion a year (FNS 2019), numbers that spiked with the massive economic dislocations wrought by the pandemic (Evich 2021). SNAP is a means-tested entitlement initially authorized under the Food Stamp Act of 1964, although its origins can be traced to a New Deal-era surplus commodity disposal program that ran from 1939 to 1943 (Poppendieck 2014). Those who qualify get their benefits in the form of a specified dollar amount loaded into an electronic benefits transfer (EBT) debit card. The U.S. Department of Agriculture, at the behest of Congress, places some restrictions on what can be bought with SNAP dollars – no alcohol, no tobacco, no soap or paper goods, no hot prepared foods except under special circumstances – but otherwise gives enrollees freedom to buy whatever foods they wish at any participating retailer, from Walmart to the local bodega.

Benefit levels are based on a "Thrifty Food Plan" of two dozen food types (such as eggs, beans, and cheese) prepared at home, and calibrated based on adjusted net household income, after deducting basic living expenses and some assets, such as a car. Benefit levels rise and fall as incomes fluctuate. In this regard, SNAP is as much an *income* supplement as a food supplement: with shrinking federal cash assistance since passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996, SNAP is now the federal government's second-most important anti-poverty program for the non-elderly, after the Earned Income Tax Credit (Klerman and Danielson 2011). SNAP also is counter-cyclical, with program enrollment and costs reflecting broader employment and income trends. As expected, program spending jumped with the disruptions brought by COVID-19, to nearly $145 billion in fiscal 2021, both because of the sharp increase in eligible beneficiaries and because Congress expanded eligibility and benefits in successive pandemic relief packages to get food purchasing power to the needy as quickly as possible (CBO 2021).

While the federal government funds all benefits and sets eligibility formula, SNAP is implemented through the states, which pay half of its administrative costs. In return, states enjoy a fair bit of discretion in how they implement the program, including procedures on applying for or renewing benefits (e.g., whether to require in-person interviews) and the stringency of work rules for able-bodied adults without dependents (or ABAWDs, in SNAP-speak). As a result, states vary in the percent of technically eligible residents who enroll. For example, in fiscal 2019 – the last for which complete data are available – the states of Delaware, Illinois, Oregon, and Washington enrolled nearly all eligible residents, while Wyoming enrolled only 56 percent (FNS 2023). States seeking to maximize SNAP enrollment often view its benefits in economic development terms, with estimates that each $1 in SNAP spending generates $1.70 in overall economic activity (Rosenbaum and Keith-Jennings 2016). So SNAP is critical to millions of low-income Americans, and program spending is a significant, if indirect, taxpayer subsidy to food

[1] Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventure of Silver Blaze," 1892.

producers, processors, and retailers. And yet, there is startling little attention to the program in mainstream political science and public administration. How do we know? We *looked*. Using a range of key words and phrases,[1] we scanned over 50 journals in political science, public policy, and public administration from 2002 through mid-2022 for studies that focused on, included, or referred to the program in some way (see Appendix). Our scan went back to 2002 in the view that two decades was sufficient to observe tendencies.

With the exceptions of the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* and *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, about which we will comment below, we found seven articles.[2] Over twenty years. *Curious*.

By contrast, a scan over the same period for studies on Transitional Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), the federal government's "cash welfare" program since passage of PRWORA, yielded several *hundred* articles, even though federal spending on this block-granted program is locked in by law at approximately $16 billion a year and TANF at best count reaches fewer than 3 million recipients annually – both a fraction of SNAP's scale and reach (CRS 2021).

*The exceptions***.** Our review returned over 70 unique articles in the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* (*JPAM*) that included one or more of our search terms. Reflecting its orientation toward empirical policy analysis and taking advantage of abundant and granular program data made available by USDA, most studies in *JPAM* investigated specific dimensions of SNAP enrollment and impacts, or examined a range of program effects, ranging from lowering household poverty to improving individual and community health. Others tapped state-level SNAP data to examine interstate variations on program impacts, or to draw comparisons to other social welfare programs, such as unemployment insurance. Similar tendencies were apparent in the roughly 60 articles found in *The Annals*, which, like those in *JPAM*, tended toward empirical policy analysis. Absent in either were analyses of how the program has adapted and survived, factors that explain variations in state implementation, or the roles played by frontline administrators in managing potential enrollees.

So, we again ask: Why is there so little apparent interest among political scientists in the nation's largest food assistance program and one of its most important anti-poverty efforts? We look at what has been published and suggest questions that political scientists *could* be asking.

The few, the happy few

The seven papers uncovered in our scan reflected three general themes.

American political development. Likely of interest to readers of this issue, only two papers over two decades examined the political history of the food stamp program, a striking fact given its scale and centrality in ideological debates over "welfare," not to mention its longevity and adaptation over time and through shifting political contexts. Rosenfeld (2010) used the program as a case to examine changes in congressional politics in the 1960s and 1970s. Of particular note were institutional reforms in Congress during the mid-1970s that dislodged the stranglehold of conservative southern Democrats on the House committees on agriculture and appropriations and enabled food stamp program expansion even as ideological and partisan warfare over it intensified. For Rosenfeld (p. 498), "institutional *change* in Congress and within the parties helped to alter the shape of political conflicts." A program historically viewed as a byproduct of agricultural politics – and in fact nested in the Farm Bill to this day – and kept alive by "logrolling" between liberal and conservative Democrats would come to reflect competition between the two ever more ideologically polarized parties (see also Ferejohn 1986). Rosenfeld ends the analysis in the early 1980s, at which time congressional Democrats managed to stave off and even reverse Reagan's cuts in the program.

Sheingate (2021) looks at partisan battles over SNAP during Farm Bill reauthorizations in 2013 and 2018 as part of a broader consideration of the "decay" of the longstanding and durable agricultural policy regime that revolved around the coalition of advocates for nutrition programs and promoters of commodity programs. Using content analyses of congressional hearings, analyses of roll call votes, and policy agenda measures, Sheingate finds evidence of asymmetric polarization and a "diminished capacity of congressional institutions to structure the policy process" (p. 18), the effects of which for nutrition programs were counteracted only with mobilization by a wider range of organized interests, notably food companies and retailers. Sheingate

[1] "Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program," "Food Stamp Program," "Food stamps," "Food assistance," and "Nutrition assistance." Another handful of articles focused on social welfare or social policy broadly. We omitted economics, where the focus tends to be on program efficiency or economic impacts. We also scanned journals in sociology, finding similarly sparse pickings, but that's for another paper.

[2] An eighth, by Lee (2021), examines the impacts of "simplified" reporting rules on SNAP enrollment, but was an empirical policy analysis in the same vein as studies found in *JPAM*.

concludes by pondering the implications of extreme polarization and regime "decay" on the capacity of Congress to do its job.

Public opinion and elections. Three studies use or refer to SNAP in some way to examine broad themes in public opinion, voting, and participation. Brock (2017) examined 16 years of floor statements in Congress to evaluate the policy and political impacts of elite framing of the National School Lunch Program, using district-level SNAP enrollment data as one variable in parsing out constituency effects on framing. Members of both parties offered generally positive support for the program, largely because of its primary target population, children. Even so, Democrats were likelier to deploy frames centering on "nutrition" that supported program expansion while Republicans were likelier to deploy "efficiency" frames that supported program retrenchment. Sugie and Conner (2020) examine whether participating in means-tested welfare programs deters political participation by people who are already politically, socially, and economically marginalized. While they find that receipt of cash assistance has little impact on political participation, enrollment in food stamps is positively associated with being registered to vote. This said, any impacts on actual voting behavior depended on the individual's general level of interest in government and public affairs. Finally, Kogan (2021) asks if and how politicians investing political capital into "welfare" programs, specifically food stamps, see returns during elections. Kogan finds that Democrats, who led efforts to protect and expand the Food Stamp Program in the 1980s and 1990s, got 0.9-1.6% more percentage points in the two-party presidential vote in areas where the program was successfully implemented. The greatest political returns came from impoverished Democratic areas. Kogan posits that such electoral dividends could come out of voters' sense of civic obligation, a desire to protect a program on which they benefitted, or that providing more resources itself bolstered turnout.

Program implementation and federalism. Two studies over twenty years focused explicitly on SNAP implementation and theories of federalism. Kogan (2017) examines participation in the food stamp program to explore how county-level decisions on program administration are influenced by street-level caseworkers. Local administrators looking to build both discretion and responsiveness will adapt their behavior to accommodate the values and norms of local caseworkers, as well as broader public opinion, producing both positive and negative impacts on program adoption rates. Kogan concludes that local political norms have critical impacts on county-level participation regardless of the degree of centralization in formal program administration. Daguerre and Conlan (2020) examine the Trump administration's use of waivers on work requirements under Medicaid and SNAP to address a trend toward more decentralized and variable speed "fend for yourself" federalism when it comes to means-tested social welfare programs. Use of work waivers by successive administrations, for different reasons and purposes, serve to reflect and reinforce the political polarization among states, and further reinforces the patchwork nature of the American social welfare safety net.

Questions Worth Asking

There are many questions political scientists *could* ask about SNAP itself, or by using SNAP as a lens to examine broader political phenomena, but we'll start with five.

1. *How has SNAP endured?*

Evoking the "dog that did not bark" conceit of this paper, scholars of American political development could dig more deeply into how SNAP has been the cornerstone of U.S. food and income assistance policy for nearly sixty years, if we use the 1964 Act as our starting point, and longer if we trace its origins to the original 1939 pilot program.[3] What is it about SNAP that has contributed to its longevity, especially given the strong anti-welfare ethos driving much of American political discourse (Katz 2013)? What were the "critical junctures" in the politics of program creation and renewal that enabled its survival, and what political dynamics mattered at each instance (Pierson 2000)? Was it, as per Sheingate (2021), the increasingly vestigial but still symbolically potent connection to agriculture that gives the program political cover in Congress whenever reauthorization comes up? Is it because SNAP is "in kind" – *cash-like* but not outright cash – and thus reflective of the larger but "submerged" welfare state (Mettler 2011)? Is it because SNAP ultimately is about *food*, and even Americans who despise "welfare" don't want to see their fellow citizens go hungry, a discursive framing with profound political and policy implications (see Rochefort and Cobb 1994)? Is it because SNAP's massive annual federal budget outlay generates its own array of organized interests invested in the program's survival within the larger Farm Bill (Bosso 2017)? Or,

[3] Shameless plug department: see Christopher Bosso, *Why SNAP Works: A Political History – and Defense – of the Food Stamp Program* (University of California Press, forthcoming in October 2023).

maybe, it is because SNAP seems to work. Even many conservatives are content to let it continue (Gritter 2015), albeit in return for stricter eligibility rules and new work requirements, a "layering" accepted (and sometimes instigated) by liberals that makes the program more complex but enables its survival. SNAP isn't Social Security or Medicare, so-called "third rails" in American politics, so its endurance remains fascinating – at least to us.

2. *And why is the United States unique*?

While a few countries experiment with food vouchers, the United States is the *only* nation that uses such coupons (or their electronic equivalent) as the foundation of its food (and income) assistance policy. For example, Argentina in 2020 rolled out an EBT card-based *Tarjeta Alimentar* program in response to rising food costs and hunger among children, but its scope is comparatively modest. The same is true for Mexico City's Food Pension for Older Adults and Indonesia's vouchers for rice and eggs.[4] Such exceptions aside, the U.S. is unique, especially among affluent nations, yet a parallel review of two dozen journals in comparative politics and public policy yielded no studies comparing food assistance or food security policies in the U.S. and other Western democracies. Evoking Vogel (2003), why is the U.S. so different, and why don't comparativists study food assistance politics?

3. *What does SNAP implementation tell us about federalism?*

Beyond the aforementioned Daguerre and Conlan (2020), a scan of the literature on federalism finds remarkably little attention to factors that explain variation in SNAP implementation among the states and the District of Columbia. This is surprising insofar that the discretion afforded to the states offers an abundance of opportunities to explore hypotheses about the impacts of strong versus weak governors, variations in partisan control, centralized versus decentralized state administrative systems, "second order devolution" to county and local governments, and on state government capacity generally. A paper by McBrayer (2021) on the effects of county government composition on TANF implementation offers insights into "second-order" devolution worth applying to SNAP, or to a range of social welfare programs.

The administrative flexibility granted to the states, along with the critical role of "street level" actors in enrolling technically eligible residents also makes SNAP a rich area for studies in implementation. Some states (e.g., Florida) employ full time SNAP outreach coordinators whose mission is to maximize enrollment among all eligible households, while others (e.g., Wyoming) do almost nothing to reach out to and enroll those eligible. Some states do outreach and enrollment through county and local government staff, others through contracted third-party service providers, and still others through state offices of transitional assistance. Does it matter? The reams of household level data available to scholars makes such analyses possible.

4. *What are factors in administrative rulemaking?*

SNAP is administered through the USDA, which has some discretion in formulating program benefits scales and rules. To cite a recent example, the USDA under Donald Trump proposed to tighten "public charge" restrictions on benefits for legal immigrants, a rule stayed by a federal judge and later reversed under Joseph Biden. For its part, the Biden administration in October 2021 made the first substantive changes in the Thrifty Food Plan since 2006, prompting a spat with congressional Republicans over whether it had overstepped its legislative mandate. Similar variations across presidential administrations are seen in the degree to which the USDA approves state requests to waive certain work rules for ABAWDs, or approves new restrictions on SNAP access and use. Are variations simply reflections of partisan and / or ideological differences, or do they reflect broader temporal discourses on welfare, individual responsibility, and work? Does divided partisan control of the executive and legislative branches matter? How do court decisions on SNAP implementation compare to broader judicial deference toward executive power?

5. *What insights do SNAP provide about legislative-executive relations?*

While legislative oversight has fallen off sharply in recent years, the respective House and Senate committees on agriculture maintain a keen interest on SNAP in no small part because program spending comprises nearly 80 percent of the USDA budget. House Agriculture Committee Republicans tend to be sensitive to any whiff of potential program "fraud, waste, and abuse." Committee Democrats, who tend to be more urban and liberal, are just as keen to expand program eligibility and benefits, and to ensure that neither Congress nor the USDA imposes undue "administrative burdens" on

[4] Jamaica ran a food stamp program in the 1980s in response to the devaluation of its currency, but later replaced it with cash assistance (Levy and Ohls).

those eligible (Herd and Moynihan 2018). To what extent do congressional committees on agriculture and appropriations still send signals to the Department, and does the USDA respond to legislative cues? There is strikingly little work in this area since Berry (1984) explored USDA rulemaking on food stamps in the 1960s and 1970s. Given the thicket of rules surrounding SNAP, most of them imposed by Congress, updated understanding of the relationship between Congress and the Department – and the executive branch generally – seems warranted.

So, to restate the point: one of the nation's largest and most essential social welfare programs just stands there, familiar *and* overlooked by most political scientists. We pose five possible avenues for study. *What are you all waiting for?*

Appendix: Journals Reviewed

Political Science

American Politics Research
American Journal of Political Science
American Political Science Review
Annals of the American Society of Political and Social Science
Annual Review of Political Science
Daedalus
Journal of Politics
Legislative Studies Quarterly
New Political Economy
Perspectives on Politics
Political Analysis
Political Research Quarterly
Political Studies
Politics
Politics and Gender
Politics and Society
Politics, Philosophy, and Economics
Polity
Publius
Quarterly Journal of Political Science
Social Problems
Social Science Quarterly
Spectrum: The Journal of State Government
State and Local Government Review
State Politics and Policy Quarterly
Studies in American Political Development
Women & Politics

Public Administration & Public Policy

Administration and Society
Administrative Science Quarterly
American Journal of Public Administration
American Review of Public Administration
Critical Policy Studies
Governance
International Review of Public Administration
Journal of Policy Analysis and Management
Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory
Journal of Policy History
Journal of Poverty and Social Justice
Journal of Public Policy
Journal of Social Policy
Journal of Women, Politics and Policy
Local Government Studies
Policy and Society
Policy Sciences
Policy Studies Journal
Public Choice
Public Administration
Public Administration Review
Public Policy and Administration
Regulation and Governance
Review of Policy Research
Social Policy and Administration

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Redefining the Diplomatic Stage: The Evolution of Feminine Foreign Policy in the Russo-Ukrainian War

Amber Brittain-Hale
Pepperdine University

In this analysis, we explore the diplomatic strategies of four distinguished female European leaders: Kaja Kallas (Estonia), Sanna Marin (Finland), Roberta Metsola (Malta; President of the EU Parliament), and Ursula von der Leyen (Germany; President of the European Commission). These remarkable women are reshaping the concept of feminine leadership in public diplomacy, distinctly breaking from historical precedents.[1]

Kallas' dedication to rallying regional cooperation and accountability, Marin's firm backing of Finland's NATO bid to bridge divides, Metsola's efforts to foster collaboration within the Parliament and support of Ukraine, and von der Leyen's resolute defense of democracy and the rule of law - all these actions signal a marked departure from traditional notions of feminine foreign policy.[2]

Historically, feminine foreign policy focused on cooperation and mediation with minimal explicit connection to feminism.[3] However, in today's context, feminist interventions are exerting a growing influence on foreign policy and diplomacy.[4] This transformative shift redefines security through a gendered lens, prioritizing human security - the well-being of people - as a central concern in international relations.[5]

To comprehensively analyze this transformative evolution, we adopt a blend of feminist foreign policy and discourse analysis. This approach enables a cross-disciplinary theory that encompasses modern, digital, and female-led diplomacy.[6] By incorporating foreign policy analysis, discourse analysis, and a multivariate understanding of their actions, we gain valuable insights into the complexities and impact of these female leaders' diplomatic strategies in the Euro-Atlantic zone.

Discourse analysis plays a pivotal role in addressing this theoretical gap and studying the foreign policy decisions of these female leaders. It sheds light on how their messages are constructed and how they influence international relations through discourse.[7] Moreover, the multivariate approach considers the historical and cultural context and power dynamics that influence their leadership. Embracing feminist principles and adopting discourse analysis, these female leaders pave the way for

[1] Krtsan, 2022
[2] See Kallas, Marin, Metsola, and von der Leyen in references
[3] Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. (n.d.)
[4] Hudson, 2005; Hudson & Day, 2019; Tickner, 1992
[5] Tickner, J. A. (2019)
[6] UN Women. (n.d.)
[7] Larsen (2018)

a more legitimate, strong, and certain approach to diplomacy.[8] This inclusive and nuanced perspective acknowledges and celebrates the critical role of women in shaping international relations, going beyond traditional notions of feminine foreign policy.

Discourse analysis provides a comprehensive lens through which the transformative evolution of feminine foreign policy can be explored. Understanding the assertive and multifaceted actions of these female leaders offers valuable insights into the changing landscape of diplomacy in the Euro-Atlantic zone. The incorporation of foreign policy analysis,[9] discourse analysis, and a multivariate understanding enriches our comprehension of their diplomatic strategies and impact on international relations.[10]

Background: Feminine Foreign Policy Theory

Traditionally, feminine foreign policy theory emphasizes cooperation, mediation, and consensus-building, drawing on perceptions of femininity that prioritize dialogue and peace-building. Prominent female leaders and diplomats used these principles to mediate international disputes, aiming to build bridges rather than barriers. However, these historical models have often been criticized for their limitations, as power politics sometimes necessitate a more assertive stance.

Feminist foreign policy revolutionizes the framework of international relations, advocating for not only a surge in female representation in diplomatic roles but also a comprehensive realignment of the guiding principles and priorities within the sphere. This policy orientation, which has deep historical roots, emphasizes non-violence and vigorously defends human rights, with a distinctive focus on advocating for women and marginalized communities across the globe.[11]

A fresh surge of actor-centered foreign policy is emerging, championed by leaders like Kallas, Marin, Metsola, and von der Leyen. They are reshaping the paradigm, weaving sovereignty, decisive action, and institutional engagement into their approaches.[12] This evolved approach emphasizes assertiveness in defending democratic values and upholding accountability, recognizing that foreign policy's realm mirrors the diversity and complexity of women progressively taking the helm.[13] However, the application of feminist principles in foreign policy does not imply a blanket disregard for the national and institutional interests. Quite the contrary, it's about striking the right balance. Feminine foreign policy acknowledges the cultural, political, and historical contexts, ensuring that the feminist principles align with and enhance the national interests, rather than undermine them. The dawn of this brand of feminine foreign policy incorporates peace efforts and intricate international politics, marking a clear departure from conventional perceptions.

Female Leaders in the Russo-Ukrainian War

The nuanced application of Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) across different jurisdictions, as manifested in the diplomatic approaches of leaders like Kallas, Marin, Metsola, and von der Leyen, showcases a rich diversity within international politics. Their strategies weave a thread of multidimensional policies that consider aspects of sovereignty, economic strength, and critical social contexts. This focus highlights a significant role of structure in foreign policy analysis (FPA), allowing for a nuanced understanding of agency and structure's interplay in international outcomes. The expansion of FFP is not confined within national borders but is an international phenomenon manifested contextually across jurisdictions.[14]

Historically, female leadership was often restricted to a binary approach: either downplaying gender to mimic traditionally masculine leadership styles or placing an undue emphasis on gender, often overshadowing the leader's policy decisions and competence.[15] This approach significantly limited the understanding and potential of diverse female leadership. However, the rise

[8] Tickner, J. A., & Sjoberg, L. (2011)
[9] Paquin, J. (2020)
[10] Wendt, A. (1999)
[11] Sylvester, C. (1994).
[12] Enloe, 1993; Krulišová & O'Sullivan, 2022
[13] Rabini, C., Brummer, K., Dimmroth, K., & Hansel, M. (2020)
[14] Krulišová, K., & O'Sullivan, M. (2022)
[15] Tickner, J. A., & Sjoberg, L. (2011), Zalewski, M. (1995)

of digital diplomacy in the Euro-Atlantic zone has redefined this narrative.

While the theory of universalism of feminist principles may not be applicable universally, it is pivotal to understand that this theory does not wholly represent the dynamics of current public diplomacy.[16] The realm of diplomacy is not solely governed by ideological principles; it is a multifaceted interplay of practicality, geopolitical interests, security concerns, economic agendas, and cultural exchanges.[17] It extends beyond feminist principles, despite their significant role in shaping the rhetoric and policies of the Euro-Atlantic zone.[18]

The advent and rise of digital platforms in global diplomacy have revolutionized engagement rules. Digital platforms democratize diplomacy, making it more accessible and inclusive, and amplify its reach and impact. By disseminating messages broadly, quickly, and effectively, they connect with global audiences in real-time. This power to engage with diverse voices leads to more inclusive and dynamic dialogues. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of public diplomacy calls for appreciating this intricate interplay of ideologies, factors, and interests, enriched further by the power of digital platforms, contributing to a more nuanced and multifaceted diplomacy.[19]

Implications for International Relations

Throughout history, female leadership has often been narrowly constrained to either an exclusion of gender or an emphasis on gender. In the history of leadership roles, many women have felt the necessity to diminish their feminine traits, adopting more traditionally masculine leadership styles to earn respect and acceptance. This approach required them to blend into the dominant gender norms rather than challenge them. Conversely, there have been women leaders who were celebrated - or criticized - mainly for their gender, with their policies, decisions, and skills often sidelined due to their female identity. This reaction underscores societal biases that tend to view women leaders through a gendered lens, often at the expense of a holistic assessment of their competencies. This binary approach has often resulted in a limited understanding of the potential for diverse and effective female leadership.[20]

In the contemporary era, the advent of digital diplomacy has notably altered the dialogue in the Euro-Atlantic region. Indeed, it's essential to note that the universal applicability of feminist principles may not be relevant to every society. Equally important is the realization that this principle does not completely embody the strength, influence, and breadth of current public diplomacy.

The theory asserting the universality of feminist principles may not entirely encapsulate the diverse dimensions of public diplomacy. Diplomatic relations in the Euro-Atlantic region, akin to other parts of the world, aren't solely propelled by ideological principles. Instead, they are influenced by practical considerations, geopolitical interests, national security imperatives, economic objectives, and cultural interchanges. Diplomacy thus emerges from a rich tapestry of several elements, where feminist principles are influential but not the exclusive determinants.

Furthermore, the emergence and proliferation of digital platforms in international diplomacy have revolutionized the norms of interaction. These platforms have not only made diplomacy more egalitarian and broadened its reach, enhancing its accessibility and inclusivity, but they have also heightened its scope and influence. Messages can be disseminated more broadly, quickly, and effectively, reaching global audiences in real time. The power of digital diplomacy lies in its ability to leverage technology to engage with diverse voices, fostering more inclusive and dynamic dialogues.[21]

While feminist principles may play a significant role in shaping the rhetoric and policies of the Euro-Atlantic zone, they are not the sole drivers. A comprehensive understanding of current public diplomacy requires an appreciation of the complex and intricate interplay of various factors, ideologies, and interests. The power of

[16] Hermann, M. G. (2019); PRIO. (n.d.); Sjoberg, L. (2006)
[17] Towns, A., & Niklasson, B. (2021)
[18] Neack, L., & Knudson, R. (1996)
[19] Larsen (2018)
[20] Basu, S., & Eichler, M. (2017); Grant, R., & Newland, K. (1991); Jones, A. (1996)
[21] Bashevkin, S. (2022); Wendt, A. (1999)

digital platforms in amplifying and sharing these various elements further enriches this complexity, leading to more nuanced and multifaceted diplomacy.

Conclusion: The Future of Feminine Foreign Policy

The global diplomatic sphere is experiencing a transformation, characterized by the emergence of a novel approach to foreign policy, which is decidedly feminine. This shift is exemplified by leaders such as Kallas, Marin, Metsola, and von der Leyen. These women, standing at the forefront of nations and multinational bodies, are pioneering a new form of public diplomacy that intertwines feminist ideologies, national priorities, and pragmatic diplomatic strategies. Their approach underscores the importance of dialogue, cooperation, sovereignty, accountability, and a sophisticated comprehension of geopolitical contexts.

Crucially, this evolution of diplomacy led by women is happening concurrently with the global shift toward digital diplomacy. Digital platforms have opened up the traditionally exclusive realm of diplomacy, amplifying its reach and fostering more dynamic and inclusive dialogues. With this digital transformation, the binary limitations historically imposed on women in leadership roles are gradually being dismantled, allowing for a broad spectrum of leadership styles amongst women.

Examining the Russo-Ukrainian conflict offers a distinctive viewpoint to understand this evolving landscape of diplomacy led by women. The conflict, deeply embedded in the post-Soviet political milieu and intense geopolitical power games, illuminates the emergence and relevance of a form of diplomacy that is distinctly feminine. Against the backdrop of this conflict, women leaders demonstrated the game-changing potential of their unique approach to foreign policy. They successfully merged resilience, empathy, and strategic acumen, proving a formidable challenge to traditional, long-standing paradigms of international relations.

Yet, it is important to note that the universal applicability of feminist principles may not hold true in all societal contexts. While such principles form a crucial component, they are not the only influences driving diplomatic decisions. A comprehensive understanding of diplomatic strategies requires the recognition of the complex interplay of different ideologies and interests. Thus, it is strongly advised that policymakers, governments, and international organizations embrace this diversified, woman-led approach to diplomatic affairs. This refined, assertive, and inclusive tactic is ideally suited to mirror the intricacies of the 21st-century world. By leveraging this approach, we can better navigate the labyrinth of international relations and design diplomatic strategies that align seamlessly with our continually evolving global context.

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(Un)Civil-Military Relations: When Militaries Are Threatened by Civilians

Manaswini Ramkumar
American University

Eight former Secretaries of Defense and five former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff published an unprecedented letter on 6 September 2022 reiterating best practices of civil-military relations for the United States. Notwithstanding the enduring effects of turbulent civil-military relations that characterized the former administration, the letter underscored two quintessential principles for healthy relations between civilian principals and their military subordinates – that civilian control "is part of the bedrock foundation of American democracy" and that it is bound by a "constitutional framework under the rule of law." While these values enable the conduct of stable civil-military relations in a democratic state, their impact in the context of a state undergoing democratic erosion needs to be examined more thoroughly.

Civilian control over the military is considered a necessary condition for democratic governance, particularly for states transitioning out of authoritarianism. Most non-democracies are characterized both by their low levels of civilian oversight on the military and by the extent of the military's influence on politics and policymaking. Therefore, when states transition from authoritarianism to democracy, the institutionalization of civilian control takes precedence. This can take multiple forms. One way involves formulating and implementing measures that reduce the military's political prerogatives. Spain's transition from Francoist dictatorship to parliamentary democracy between 1975 and 1978 is one such example where the military's political clout was reduced to make space for democracy. However, the unsuccessful coup attempt by Spanish military officers in 1981 demonstrates the vacillations inherent to the transition process. Another way to institutionalize civilian control is by emboldening civilian institutions to deny the military opportunities and/or avenues to be assertive. For example, Venezuela had a thriving democracy in the late 1950s and 1960s. Scholars believe this is due to the establishment of a professional defense bureaucracy made up of civilian experts in military affairs. The presence of civilian decision-makers knowledgeable about defense affairs enabled the exercise of civilian authority in defense policymaking. The twin tasks of removing the military from political decision-making and building mechanisms for civilian oversight help establish and preserve democracy.

If civilian control and military subordination are what characterize democratic transitions, it is their perversion that marks democratic erosion. When leaders come to power through democratic means, using democratic institutions, but then begin to systematically dismantle the very institutions that helped them get power, the state undergoes what comparative politics scholars have labelled as democratic erosion. In a slow, piecemeal manner, the undemocratic leader chips away the state's democratic edifice. Examples of such deliberate undoing include bureaucracies getting staffed by the leader's loyalists, or free media getting demonized as "enemy of the people." Leaders may amend constitutions to ensure their victory; they may re-shuffle dissenting voices in key institutions like the judiciary, or muzzle critics through intimidation. Leaders may also revoke civil liberties and make it harder for civil society organizations to function.

Undemocratic leaders also use and/or threaten to use the military to advance their partisan goals, either by using security forces to fire at protestors, or by deploying them to help enforce controversial immigration policies. An essential component of the 'democratic erosion toolkit' also involves the undermining of military professionalism and the military's professed political neutrality by purging dissident officers and promoting loyalists in their place. What happens to the norm of civilian control under these circumstances? When exercised by an undemocratic leader, civilian control does not strengthen democracy, but rather subverts it. Like other democratic institutions that succumb to the undemocratic leader's machinations, a democratic military becomes the target of partisan and politicized control.

Militaries that are steeped in professionalism and the norm of obedience to the rule of law face a unique challenge from undemocratic leaders – wherein both obeying and disobeying the leader challenges democracy. For example, if they were to obey the leader's call to fire at protestors exercising their constitutional right to protest, they become embroiled in domestic law enforcement, potentially using unproportional violence. By obeying the leader here, they also step outside their

operational raison d'etre of maintaining external security and territorial integrity. However, if they were to resist the leader's order to fire at protestors, they risk becoming splintered internally between those who support and oppose the elected leader. A military, so fractured, can become operationally ineffective, thereby threatening national security. The American military currently finds itself precisely between this rock and a hard place.

The bedrock foundation of American democracy, i.e., the norm of civilian control, butted against a military that was bound by the rule of law, many times during the Trump administration, with the most conspicuous instances occurring in June 2020 when the military was ordered to fire at Black Lives Matter protestors in Washington DC, and when General Milley acted outside his authority to avert a potential launch of nuclear weapons. Milley's actions rightfully caused a furore among policymakers and security scholars about the rightfulness of his resistance. As Milley was not voted into his role, experts argued, he did not have the authority to make decisions that were not mandated by his position. The prevailing argument was that while the unprecedented nature of his circumstances may provide a temporary cover, "the damage to norms of civilian control is real and serious."

What is the damage to the norm of civilian control here? Does it involve strict obedience to an elected but undemocratic head of state who could imperil national security by potentially provoking a calamitous nuclear conflict? Or does the extreme obedience demanded by the norm get circumscribed by the high-ranking military officer's exercise of caution and training to protect the rule of law and national security? Under conditions of stable democratic governance, the norms of civilian control and military adherence to the rule of law act in concert with one another and proffer reinforcing effects on the conduct of civil-military relations. However, for states undergoing democratic erosion, the two norms get juxtaposed. Undemocratic leaders like Trump create opportunities wherein civilian control clashes with the military's prerogative to act within the purview of the rule of law. This conflict between the two norms will become more prominent if the undemocratic leader amends the constitution in line with partisan goals, providing their undemocratic actions with a veneer of legality and forcing the military's obedience.

Unlike autocracies where militaries are viewed with suspicion and are regarded as predatory institutions, militaries of democratic states are generally considered more trustworthy and credible than other national institutions. Owing to their professionalism and subject matter expertise, military leaders function as critical sources of credible information. But the cost of undermining the military's professionalism and transforming it into a politicized institution risks damaging the military's credibility among both policymakers and the electorate. Now, with the proliferation of misinformation, often aided by policymakers themselves, citizens in democracies are entitled to a professional military that remains unsullied by partisanship and unswayed by the boorish bullying of undemocratic leaders. While appreciating the noble actions of individual military leaders, democratic leaders must ensure that there are adequate guardrails to protect the guardians from having to become incidental heroes.

Thoughts on the Politics of Pandemics

M. Elizabeth Sanders
Cornell University

Before Covid19, the most deadly virus in the modern era was the 1918 pandemic. It took us almost a century to understand where it started: in China, not Spain or Kansas. (See historian Mark Osborne Humphries's 2013 book, *The Last Plague*, and his article, "Paths of Infection: The First World War and the Origins of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic, *War in History* 21(1), 2013, 55-81). It is strange that it took us almost a century to discover where a virus that killed fifty million people came from. We need to understand how deadly viruses can go global. Hopefully it will not take as long to identify the origins of Covid19 as it did for the 1918 Pandemic. In both cases, agencies of the richest and most powerful democracies played key roles in the actions that led to the global pandemics.

There are thus two important issues about the covid pandemic: 1. The role of executive agencies in funding dangerous activities, and 2. the effect of political polarization in dealing with serious health issues. It is unfortunate that opinions about the origins of Covid19 have been so politically polarized. Political rivalries can make it difficult to understand causation and avoid future deadly viruses.

President Trump downplayed the significance of the virus in the 2020 election year (before he himself was hospitalized with covid). The National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) within the National Institutes of Health (NIH) had begun in 2014 to support a private New York organization, EcoHealth Alliance (which focused on "the risk of the future emergence of coronaviruses from bats"). As the virus progressed in 2020, Trump and his administration became more critical of the funding (which he had tried to cut in 2017 but Congress increased it).

As Trump and Republican criticism grew, congressional Democrats and the mainstream media began to cite the defensive arguments of the EcoHealth president Peter Daszak, and to refer to criticism of the organization's work in China as a "conspiracy theory." That conspiracy charge grew in the liberal media. NPR (National Public Radio, which often interviewed Peter Daszak, a strong defender of NIH funding) seemed to endorse the notion that suspicion about Wuhan lab release of the Covid virus was generated by a right-wing conspiracy.

NPR has apparently never been critical of the Fauci/Daszak support for what conservatives and some prominent scientists saw as dangerous "gain of function" (GOF) research. Since 2020, most Democratic officials and liberal media have continued to condemn what they see as a conspiracy position. As NPR senior correspondent Geoff Brumfiel argues, "Scientists dismiss the idea that the coronavirus pandemic was caused by the accident in a lab. They believe the close interactions of people with wildlife worldwide are a far more likely culprit."

However, by March of 2023 the directors of the Department of Energy and the FBI appeared to be reconsidering the possibility that Covid originated in the Wuhan Virology lab.

Unfortunately, we still have not decided where the virus originated and who was responsible for it. It appears that political polarization in the U.S., and Chinese refusal to provide more information about the operations in the Wuhan Virology Lab have stymied the investigation of the virus source and made it difficult to critically question the NIAID agency that provided critical funding for EcoHealth research at the Wuhan Lab.

It could also be charged that the U.S. has done too little to promote international activities aimed at changing dangerous animal-human relationships that encourage the spread of viruses. Organizations like the IFAW (International fund for Animal Welfare), Humane Society for Animal Welfare, Humane Society International, the World Wildlife Fund, the World Organization for Animal Health (WOAH) and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) deserve more support.

The world may continue to suffer from disastrous pandemics if we do not more cautiously address research

funded by the U.S. government and try to more effectively regulate human-animal relationships--including lab virus experiments, and the illegal but poorly-enforced wildlife trade, along with wet markets that keep wild animals in close and cruel confinement.

In China, many people believe that eating wild animals kept in close confinement is beneficial for humans, and makes men more virile. Scholars, journalists and conservation groups have published a number of insightful articles about these practices. Changing such beliefs in undemocratic countries will not be easy, but international law enforcement could have more protective effects.

In addition, more care in creating and staffing international regulatory agencies might lead to more benign results, as in the case of the 2003-4 SARS virus. That virus was much less deadly than Covid, in part thanks to a more principled and effective World Health Organization that existed then. As the Guardian author wrote: "The WHO's response to SARS was considered a huge success. Fewer than 1,000 people worldwide died of the disease, despite it reaching a total of 26 countries."

To avoid another pandemic, many scientists argue that we need a more effective WHO, and we must press countries, including the U.S., to stop the practices that sicken and kill millions of people, wreck economies, weaken childhood education, torture and kill endangered animals, and destroy their habitats.

That includes the careless practices of laboratories that experiment with wild animals whose viruses can infect humans. The immediate excuse for such lab experiments is to develop vaccines for zoonotic viruses. But that may allow dangerous animal practices to continue, especially in less careful situations like the Wuhan Virology Lab.

Vaccines are expensive to safely develop and distribute. It is more efficient and humane to stop the cruel and dangerous treatment of wild animals sold for food and "traditional medicine," and to require much stronger regulation of laboratories experimenting on wild animals and conducting risky experiments that can themselves cause virus leaks. Such leaks have happened previously in China, as well as the U.S. and other countries, though with less serious consequences than the Covid pandemic. An end to risky lab experiments, laws to ban or at least seriously and carefully regulate dangerous gain-of-function research, closing or drastically changing wet market treatment of animals are essential to prevention of future pandemics, and refusal to allow serious investigation of the virus's origins is a great obstacle to global well-being. "If we don't know the source then we're equally vulnerable in the future to a similar outbreak," Michael Ryan, the World Health Organization's emergency director, has emphasized. "Understanding that source is a very important next step.

Banning GOF (Gain Of Function) research funding in overseas laboratories is arguably essential. Dr. Anthony Fauci was for decades (1984-2022) the Director of NIAID, the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases in NIH, and a prominent Presidential advisor. He insisted on giving generous research funds to the controversial EcoHealth Alliance to use in the young and careless Wuhan Institute of Virology located in a large and crowded Chinese city—a laboratory criticized by U.S. officials under both Presidents Obama and Trump. NIAID funds for GOF research have once more been approved this year.

The important questions that remain about the Covid 2019 pandemic are 1. where the virus originated (the two main answers being the Wuhan wet market and the Wuhan Institute of Virology), and 2. why the National Institutes of Health have once again in May, 2023 been authorized to fund GOF virus research. "EcoHealth's embattled director, Peter Daszak, says his organization is pleased: "Now we have the ability to finally get back to work," he says in the above *Science* article.

Anthony Fauci was arguably dishonest in claiming for years that EcoHealth's research was not GOF. (He later admitted that it did fall in that category by normal definitions). But in the early months of the pandemic, he insisted that Covid 19 was not a major threat. He announced that wearing masks was not necessary, and he opposed any restrictions on large numbers of winter holiday visitors from Asia and elsewhere as "counter-productive." He continued to insist on funding EcoHealth Alliance research even as the virus spread.

Fauci's support by American scientists has been very strong. "More than 200 leading American doctors and

scientists — including four Nobel Prize winners and a former Republican leader — have signed an open letter in support of Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, calling Republican attacks on him "inaccurate, unscientific, ill-founded in the facts and, increasingly, motivated by partisan politics."

A rare information source on the pandemic is the U.S. Right to Know law passed in what one might describe as a useful democratic addition to U.S. government, in a major American political reform period. The U.S. Right to Know Organization's motto is "Pursuing truth and transparency for public health." It researches "accidents, leaks and other mishaps at laboratories where pathogens of pandemic potential are stored and modified, and the risks of gain-of-function research."

In November of 2020, USRTK learned that EcoHealth Alliance, the major NIAID recipient of U.S. research money in the China Virology Lab, persuaded prominent scientists to write a statement about the "natural origin" of SARS-CoV-2." USRTK offered evidence that "a statement in The Lancet authored by 27 prominent public health scientists condemning "conspiracy theories suggesting that COVID-19 does not have a natural origin" was [itself] organized by employees of EcoHealth Alliance," which "received millions of dollars of U.S. taxpayer funding to genetically manipulate coronaviruses with scientists at the Wuhan Institute of Virology."

USRTK obtained, from public records, requests showing "that EcoHealth Alliance President Peter Daszak drafted the Lancet statement the 27 scientists signed." It aimed "not be identifiable as coming from any one organization or person" but rather to be seen as "simply a letter from leading scientists." Daszak wrote that he wanted "to avoid the appearance of a political statement."

The supportive scientists' letter was published on Feb. 18, 2020: "The 27 authors "strongly condemn[ed] conspiracy theories suggesting that COVID-19 does not have a natural origin," and reported that scientists from multiple countries "overwhelmingly conclude that this coronavirus originated in wildlife." The letter included no scientific references to refute a lab-origin theory of the virus. One scientist, Linda Saif, asked via email whether it would be useful "to add just one or 2 statements in support of why COV is not a lab generated virus and is naturally occurring? Seems critical to scientifically refute such claims!" Daszak responded, "I think we should probably stick to a broad statement."

Why have American scientists been so defensive of controversial government financial support for GOF research? Perhaps that is the result of the very large budget of the NIH. NIH's funds will grow in 2023 by $2.5 billion, reaching $47.5 billion. To criticize support for funding backed by Fauci for Daszak's EcoHealth Alliance could be seen as a great risk for American scientists dependent on government research money.

Support for Fauci has continued to be very strong among Democrats. The thousands of comments in praise of him by readers of New York Times articles about his retirement revealed his enormous popularity with liberal Democrats.

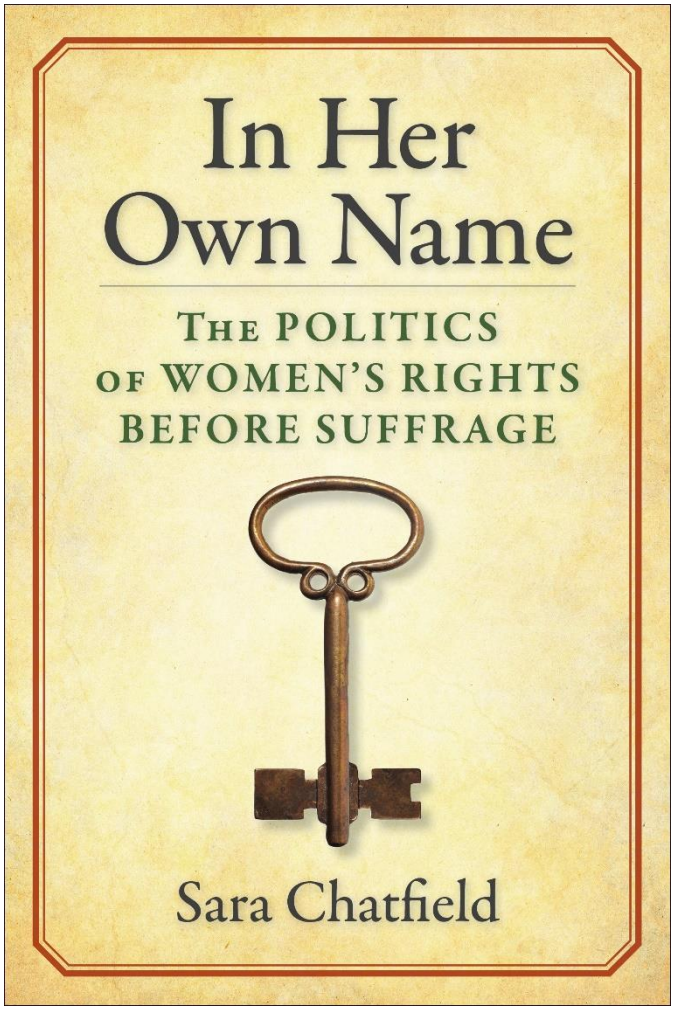
Many hundreds of comments praising him in the New York Times and Washington Post followed articles about Fauci. Criticism of the former NIAID head and his policies has been mostly confined to congressional Republicans. However, the major opponent of Donald Trump within the Republican Party has begun to accuse Trump as being too supportive of Fauci.

If governments do not work to institute effective regulation, monitor enforcement, and allow careful international inspections, we will endure these pandemics periodically. In the Covid era, China passed regulations replete with loopholes for "pharmacies," purveyors of "traditional Chinese medicine" and other businesses. Limited enforcement soon lapsed. China wet markets re-opened not long after the pandemic went global and the Chinese government has refused to allow essential investigation about its origin.

Despite evidence of animal cruelty, destruction of endangered species and their habitats, and the controversial actions of Xi Jinping and his government in suppressing vital information about the virus for over four weeks and allowing it to spread all over the world, there has been little criticism of China's actions in the pandemic. Xi has charged that the US, Italy, or Norway are the likely sources of covid, as well as the 2009 H1N1 virus. He still refuses to allow a careful investigation of the research done at the WIV.

First Books

Sara Chatfield, *In Her Own Name: The Politics of Women's Rights before Suffrage*. Princeton University Press, 2022.



Long before American women had the right to vote, states dramatically transformed their status as economic citizens. In the early nineteenth century, a married woman had hardly any legal existence apart from her husband. Between 1835 and the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, state-level institutions around the nation expanded married women's economic rights through statutes, constitutional provisions, and court rulings. This significant transformation of women's rights took place even though women's political power was severely constrained in multiple ways, including lacking the right to vote in most states.

Male elites had compelling reasons to expand women's rights, including their own personal interests as well as interests in the broader economy and in strengthening state power. The reform of married women's economic rights in the states was a major period of democratization but rested on meaningful exclusionary foundations as well. These exclusionary elements included protecting the institution of slavery in the antebellum South and encouraging the settlement of the frontier and the dispossession of Native lands.

In Her Own Name takes a multi-method approach to explaining the development of married women's economic rights and tells three inter-related stories. First, married women's property rights proved to be highly malleable to the varied goals of state legislators and constitutional convention delegates across regions and time periods. Then, these motivations were channeled into state political institutions. As policies cycled through state legislatures, constitutional conventions, and courts, they were expanded through an iterative, incremental process. Finally, states and territories did not act independently. They learned and borrowed from one another such that married women's economic rights spread across the country without national-level coordination.

These stories help us understand how states employ identity and marriage policy to build state power and to define the "ideal" state citizen. It is clear from the design of the laws and the context in which they were embedded that some women were meant to benefit from married women's property acts while saw their rights stripped away by the same processes. This series of reforms represents a major instance of democratization in American political development, and thus understanding both the extent of and constraints on that democratization is crucial for understanding women's place in U.S. democracy.

For more information or to purchase this book, see: https://cup.columbia.edu/book/in-her-own-name/9780231199674 (code CUP20)

Member News & Announcements

Verlan Lewis received tenure at Utah Valley University. He is the co-author of a new book, *The Myth of Left and Right* (Oxford University Press, 2023).

Joan Ricart-Huguet recently published two articles: "Why do Colonial Investments Persist Less in Anglophone than in Francophone Africa?" *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 1(2021): 477-498, and, with Rick McAlexander, "State Disengagement: Evidence from French West Africa," *International Studies Quarterly* 66 (2022).

F. Peter Wagner was a Fulbright Specialist, May 8 to June 17, at the University of Lomé, Togo, for a curriculum/academic development project at the intersections of security and democratization.

Juan Wang recently published a new open-access article with Kim Jungeun: "Categorizing People in the New States: A Comparative Study of Communist China and North Korea," *Journal of East Asian Studies*.

The 94th Annual Conference of the **Southern Political Science Association** will take place January 11-14, 2023, in St. Pete Beach, Florida. To submit a proposal by September 1, 2022, visit the SPSA All Academic submission website.

The **Center for American Studies at Arizona State University** and the ***Journal of Policy History*** invite proposals for research to be presented at a 2-day conference, **"Policy History Studies: The State and Future of the Field."** The conference will take place February 2-3, 2024 and will include roughly 40 presentations by early-career scholars who will receive critical feedback from senior scholars and other participants. For more information, to submit a proposal, or to volunteer to serve as a discussant, see https://jph.asu.edu/conferences.

Journal Scan

Administration & Society

Agulhon, Sophie, Mueller, Thomas Michael. How the Drafting of the Clayton Antitrust Act Helped Spread the Managerial Approach to Efficiency

Schachter, Hindy Lauer. Working-Class Women and the Progressive Era Development of Public Administration: The Case of Margaret Bondfield

Shpaizman, Ilana. Ending the Transformation before the Goal is Fulfilled: The Case of Head Start

African Studies Review

Meyerson, Samuel. 'A Reason Not to Belong': Political Decentralization, Intercommunal Relations, and Changing Identities in Northeastern Uganda

Pinto, Teresa Nogueira. From Pioneer Historiography to Patriotic History: Constructing Usable Pasts in Zimbabwe (1890-2018)

Raunet, Nathalie. Transnational Strategies of Legitimation in the 1990s: The Togolese Regime and Its Exiled Opposition in Ghana

American Historical Review

Clay, Lauren R. Liberty, Equality, Slavery: Debating the Slave Trade in Revolutionary France

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

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

Ron, Ariel. When Hay Was King: Energy History and Economic Nationalism in the Nineteenth-Century United States

Weideman, Julian. 'Tunisian Islam,' Women's Rights, and the Limits of French Empire in Twentieth-Century North Africa

American Journal of Political Science

Chang, Arturo. Restoring Anáhuac: Indigenous Genealogies and Hemispheric Republicanism in Postcolonial Mexico

Ghitza, Yair, Andrew Gelman, and Jonathan Auerbach. The Great Society, Reagan's Revolution, and Generations of Presidential Voting

Sparling, Robert. Debt, Corruption, and State Identity: Lessons from Eighteenth-Century Political Thought

American Journal of Sociology

Levine, Jeremy R. and Kelly R. Russell. Crime Pays the Victim: Criminal Fines, the State, and

Victim Compensation Law 1964-1984

Morgan, Kimberly J. Hostile Environments: State Infrastructural Power and the Exclusion of Unauthorized Migrants in Western Europe

American Political Science Review

Kinsella, Helen M. Settler Empire and the United States: Francis Lieber on the Laws of War

Lindgren, Karl-Oskar and Sven Oskarsson. The Perpetuity of the Past: Transmission of Political Inequality across Multiple Generations

Mettler, Suzanne, Lawrence R. Jacobs, and Ling Zhu. Policy Threat, Partisanship, and the Case of the Affordable Care Act

Paulsen, Tine, Kenneth Scheve, and David Stasavage. Foundations of a New Democracy: Schooling, Inequality, and Voting in the Early Republic

Scharpf, Adam, Christian Gläßel, and Pearce Edwards. International Sports Events and Repression in Autocracies: Evidence from the 1978 FIFA World Cup

Scheve, Kenneth and Theo Serlin. The German Trade Shock and the Rise of the Neo-Welfare State in Early Twentieth-Century Britain

Snead, Warren. The Supreme Court as an Agent of Policy Drift: The Case of the NLRA

SoRelle, Mallory E. Privatizing Financial Protection: Regulatory Feedback and the Politics of Financial Reform

American Review of Public Administration

Fleischer, Julia and Aron Buzogány. Unboxing International Public Administrations: The Politics of Structural Change in the UN System (1998-2019)

Peters, B. Guy and Carmine Bianchi. Moving Away from Patronage: A Feedback Approach

Business History Review

Gwande, Victor M. The Political Economy of American Businesses in British Central Africa, 1953-1963

Yee, Robert. A State of Supervision: The Political Economy of Banking Regulation in Germany, 1900s-1930s

Comparative Political Studies

Albertus, Michael. The Persistence of Rural Underdevelopment: Evidence from Land Reform in Italy

Busemeyer, Marius R. and Tobias Tober. Dealing with Technological Change: Social Policy Preferences and Institutional Context

Horne, Will, James Adams, and Noam Gidron. The Way We Were: How Histories of Co-Governance Alleviate Partisan Hostility

Lei, Zhenhuan. The Political Resource Blessing or Curse? Patronage Networks, Infrastructure Investment, and Economic Development in China

Menon, Anil. The Political Legacy of Forced Migration: Evidence from Post-WWII Germany

Comparative Politics

Giudici, Anja, Jane Gingrich, Tom Chevalier, and Matthias Haslberger. Center-Right Parties and Post-War Secondary Education

Jaffrey, Sana. Mechanics of Impunity: Vigilantism and State-Building in Indonesia

Mukoyama, Naosuke. Colonial Oil and State-Making: The Separate Independence of Qatar and Bahrain

Nobles, Melissa. Building a New Digital Archive: Documenting Anti-Black violence in the 'Jim Crow' U.S. South, 1930-1954

Nussio, Enzo and Govinda Clayton. A Wave of Lynching: Morality and Authority in Post-Tsunami Aceh

Comparative Studies in History and Society

Abbas, Megan Brankley. Balancing Hope and Fear: Muslim Modernists, Democracy, and the Tyranny of the Majority

Jakes, Aaron G. Peaceful Wars and Unlikely Unions: The Azhar Strike of 1909 and the Politics of Comparison in Egypt

Maoz, Eliat. Black Police Power: The Political Moment of the Jamaica Constabulary

Norman, Jethro. Tensions of Modernity: Privilege, Precarity, and Colonial Nostalgia among European Security Contractors in East Africa

Prasse-Freeman, Elliott. Reassessing Reification: Ethnicity amidst 'Failed' Governability in Burma and India

Economic History Review

O'Brien, Patrick K. and Nuno Palma. Not an Ordinary Bank but a Great Engine of State: The Bank of England and the British Economy, 1694-1844

Environmental History

Negrin, Hayley. Return to the Yeokanta/River: Powhatan Women and Environmental Treaty Making in Early America

Urus, Arianne Sedef. 'A Spirit of Encroachment': Trees, Cod, and the Political Ecology of Empire in

the Newfoundland Fisheries, 1763-1783

Governance

Cornell, Agnes and Ted Svensson. Colonial Origins of Modern Bureaucracy? India and the Professionalization of the British Civil Service

Danielsen, Ole Andreas. The Effects of Political Design and Organizational Dynamics on Structural Disaggregation and Integration in Norway, 1947-2019

Lindvall, Johannes and Katren Rogers. The Changing Faces of the Modern State

Government & Opposition

Diamond, Patrick. Core Executive Politics in the Cameron Era, 2010-16: The Dynamics of Whitehall Reform

Koskimaa, Vesa. The Weight of the Past: Political Parties' 'Genetic' Heritage and the Ease of Their Organizational Professionalization

Popic, Tamara. Veto Points Revisited: The Role of Party System Institutionalization in Welfare State Change

Interest Groups & Advocacy

Alba, Carlos. Long-Term Relationships between Business Interests and the State in Mexico

International Organization

Albers, Thilo N.H., Morten Jerven, and Marvin Suesse. The Fiscal State in Africa: Evidence from a Century of Growth

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Paola Galano Toro, Luc Girardin, and Guy Schvitz. War Did Make States: Revisiting the Bellicist Paradigm in Early Modern Europe

Grynaviski, Eric and Sverrir Steinsson. Wisdom Is Welcome Wherever It Comes From: War, Diffusion, and State Formation in Scandinavia

Koehler-Derrick, Gabriel and Melissa M. Lee. War and Welfare in Colonial Algeria

Lee, Alexander and Jack Paine. The Great Revenue Divergence

Long, Tom and Carsten-Andreas Schulz. Compensatory Layering and the Birth of the Multipurpose Multilateral IGO in the Americas

International Political Science Review

Baker, Kerryn and Sonia Palmieri. Can Woman Dynasty Politicians Disrupt Social Norms of Political Leadership? A Proposed Typology of Normative Change

van Mierlo, Trix. Attrition as a Bottom-Up Pathway to Subnational Democratization

Journal of African American History

Adlerstein, Paul. The 'Africa Recolonization Act'? The Politics of Pan-Africanism and Globalization in the 1990s

Journal of American History

Perez Tisserant, Emmanuelle. Revolts in Mexican California: Between Resistance to the State and Integration of Federal Republicanism (1821-1832)

Journal of Black Studies

Lynerd, Benjamin T. and Jack Wartell. 'A Natural Right to the Soil': Black Abolitionists and the Meaning of Freedom

Journal of British Studies

Bell, Richard Thomas. Print Networks, Manuscript Pamphleteering, and the Development of Prison Politics in Seventeenth-Century London

Davies, Aled, James Freeman, and Hugh Pemberton. Thatcher's Policy Unit and the 'Neoliberal Vision'

Middleton, Alex. British Liberalism and the French Invasion of Mexico

Millstone, Noah. Sir Robert Cotton, Manuscript Pamphleteering, and the Making of Jacobean Kingship during the Short Peace, ca. 1609-1613

Ward, Matthew and Jacqueline Rose. Hobbes, Empire, and the Politics of the Cabal: Political Thought and Policy Making in the Restoration

Williamson, Philip. The Church of England and Constitutional Reform: The Enabling Act in British Politics and English Religion, 1913-1928

Journal of Economic History

Bottomley, Sean. Institutional Change and Property Rights before the Industrial Revolution: The Case of the English Court of Wards and Liveries, 1540-1660

Koenig, Christoph. Loose Cannons: War Veterans and the Erosion of Democracy in Weimar Germany

Lacroix, Jean, Pierre-Guillaume Méon, and Kim Oosterlinck. Political Dynasties in Defense of Democracy: The Case of France's 1940 Enabling Act

Logan, Trevon D. Whitelashing: Black Politicians, Taxes, and Violence

Montalbo, Adrien. Landholding Inequality and the Consolidation of Democracy: Evidence from Nineteenth-Century France

Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law

Baker, Carrie N. History and Politics of Medication Abortion in the United States and the Rise of Telemedicine and Self-Managed Abortion

Journal of Historical Political Economy

Bateman, David A. and Eric Schickler. Deeper Roots: Historical Causal Inference and the Political Legacy of Slavery

Bleakley, Hoyt and Paul W. Rhode. De Toqueville, Population Movements, and Revealed Institutional Preferences

Chlouba, Vladimir, Jan H. Pierskalla, and Erik Wibbels. Historical Exposure to Statehood, Ethnic Exclusion, and Compliance with the State

Cox, Gary, Adriane Fresh, and Sebastian Saiegh. The Political Economy of Suffrage Reform: The Great Reform Act of 1832

Degrave, Anne. Local Rule, Elites, and Popular Grievances: Evidence from Ancien Régime France

Jenkins, Jeffery A. and Thomas R. Gray. Congress and the Political Economy of the Indian Removal Act

Jensen, Alexander, Madeline Mader, Srinivas C. Parinandi, Anand Sokhey, and Michael Byrd. Federal Slavery Legislation and Voting in U.S. Gubernatorial Elections, 1840-1860

Lawrimore, Terllace Marie. Repression of Enslaved Americans' Protest: A Model of Escape in the Antebellum South

Parinandi, Srinivas C. What Happens When the States Regulate First? Analyzing Governance of the Telegraph Industry in the Antebellum United States

Popescu, Bogdan G. The Developmental Legacies of Border Buffer Zones: The Case of Military Colonialism

Journal of Historical Sociology

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