THE 2012 ELECTION IN COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

OCTOBER 19, 2012
9:30 AM–6:00 PM

OCTOBER 20, 2012
9:00 AM–5:00 PM

FULTON HALL
HONORS LIBRARY

Event co-organized by the Boston College History Department and co-sponsored by the Carroll School of Management.

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CONFERENCE PROGRAM

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 19

9:30 AM  COFFEE

10:00 AM  WELCOME & OPENING REMARKS
Vlad Perju, BOSTON COLLEGE LAW SCHOOL

10:30 AM  SESSION 1
The Republican Challenge
Heather Richardson, BOSTON COLLEGE
Geoffrey Kabaservice, AUTHOR OF RULE AND RUIN
Vanessa Williamson, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Moderator: Mark Gelfand, BOSTON COLLEGE

12:15 PM  LUNCH

1:45 PM  SESSION 2
The Evolving Process: Money, Media, and the Right to Vote
Alex Keyssar, KENNEDY SCHOOL, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Anthony Corrado, COLBY COLLEGE
Ellen Fitzpatrick, UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
Kay Schlozman, BOSTON COLLEGE

Moderator: Martin Summers, BOSTON COLLEGE

3:30 PM  SESSION 3
The Democrats and the Problems of Incumbency
Ruy Teixeira, CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS
Bruce Schulman, BOSTON UNIVERSITY
James Shoch, SACRAMENTO STATE UNIVERSITY

Moderator: Lynn Johnson, BOSTON COLLEGE

5:00 PM  SESSION 4: KEYNOTE ADDRESS
Campaign Finance and Shadow Parties: The Future of American Politics
Heather Gerken, YALE LAW SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION BY Vlad Perju, BOSTON COLLEGE LAW SCHOOL

6:00 PM  RECEPTION
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20

9:00 AM   COFFEE

9:30 AM   SESSION 5
The Influence of Social Issues: Religion, Race and Other Divides
D. Sunshine Hillygus, DUKE UNIVERSITY
Mark Brewer, UNIVERSITY OF MAINE
James O’Toole, BOSTON COLLEGE
Vincent Rougeau, BC LAW SCHOOL

Moderator: Patrick Maney, BOSTON COLLEGE

11:00 AM  SESSION 6
Domestic Consequences: Economy, Society, Government
Jeffry Frieden, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Kenneth Kersch, BOSTON COLLEGE
Robert Kuttner, AMERICAN PROSPECT
George Ross, UNIVERSITY OF MONTREAL

Moderator: Susanto Basu, BOSTON COLLEGE

12:30 PM  LUNCH

2:00 PM   SESSION 7: KEYNOTE ADDRESS
Still the ‘Age of Reagan’?
Sean Wilentz, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

INTRODUCTION BY Kevin Kenny, BOSTON COLLEGE

3:15 PM   COFFEE

3:30 PM   SESSION 8
The US in the World: Comparisons, Contrasts, Models
Mary Elise Sarotte, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
Seth Jacobs, BOSTON COLLEGE
Arthur Goldhammer, CENTER FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES, HARVARD
James Cronin, BOSTON COLLEGE

Moderator: David Hopkins, BOSTON COLLEGE

5:00 PM   END
**BIOGRAPHIES**

**SUSANTO BASU** is a Professor in the Economics Department at Boston College. His area of interest is in Macroeconomics and is currently teaching a course in Macroeconomic Theory. He is also a Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research and a Visiting Scholar of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.

**MARK BREWER** is an Associate Professor in Political Science at the University of Maine. He is the author of *Relevant No More? The Catholic/Protestant Divide in American Electoral Politics* and *Party Images in the American Electorate*. He co-authored the book *Parties and Elections in America*, which is now in its sixth edition. His next project is focused on the place of personal responsibility in American politics.

**ANTHONY CORRADO** is Professor of Government at Colby College. Widely regarded as one of the nation’s leading experts on political finance, Corrado is a Nonresident Senior Fellow of the Brookings Institution and serves as Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Campaign Finance Institute. He has also served as a special advisor to the American Bar Association Committee on Election Law and as a member of the American Bar Association Advisory Commission on Election Law. His books include *The New Campaign Finance Sourcebook* (2005) and *Campaign Finance Reform: Beyond the Basics* (2000).

**JAMES CRONIN** is a Professor in History at Boston College. His specialization is in modern Britain and modern European social and economic history. In 2011 he co-edited the book *What’s Left of the Left Democrats and Social Democrats in Challenging Times* and he is the author of *New Labour’s Pasts* (2004). He is currently working on *Atlantic Rules: Markets, Rights and Power*. He serves on the editorial boards of the *Twentieth-Century British History* and *British Politics* and is a fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

**ELLEN FITZPATRICK** is the Carpenter Professor of History at the University of New Hampshire specializing in modern American political and intellectual history and is the author and editor of six books including *Letters to Jackie: Condolences from a Grieving Nation* (2011). She appears regularly on PBS’s *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* and has been interviewed by the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *USA Today*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Washington Post*, CBS’s *Face the Nation*, and NPR.

**JEFFRY FRIEDEN** is Stanfield Professor of International Peace in the Department of Government at Harvard University. He specializes in the politics of international monetary and financial relations. He is the author (with Menzie Chinn) of *Lost Decades: The Making of America’s Debt Crisis and the Long
Recovery (2011). Frieden has also authored Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century (2006), and is the editor or co-editor of over a dozen other books on related topics. His articles on the politics of international economic issues have appeared in a wide variety of scholarly and general-interest publications.

**Mark Gelfand** is Associate Professor and Director of Undergraduate Studies in the History Department at Boston College. His historical interests center on the development of public policy in response to the challenges posed by the rise of the urban/industrial order in the 20th century. He is the author of A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933-1965 (Oxford University Press, 1975) and Trustee for a City: Ralph Lowell of Boston (Northeastern University Press, 1998). He is currently writing a biography of Judge Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr. (1906-1986).

**Heather Gerken** is the J. Skelly Wright Professor of Law at Yale Law School. She’s written about diversity, dissent, federalism, and the relationship between rights and structure. Her most recent piece, “Federalism All the Way Down,” appeared as the Foreword in the Harvard Law Review. She has also written on campaign finance, lobbying, districting, and election administration. Her proposal that Congress establish a “Democracy Index”—a national ranking system of state election performance—has been incorporated into bills by Senators Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama and Representative Steve Israel. It has been the subject of several conferences and is the subject of her new book, The Democracy Index: Why Our Election System is Failing and How to Fix it.

**Arthur Goldhammer** is Senior Affiliate at the center for European Studies at Harvard University. A writer and translator, Goldhammer has translated more than one hundred books from the French. His translation of Tocqueville’s Democracy in America was published in 2004; his translation of Tocqueville’s Ancien Regime and the Revolution was published in 2011. He is the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship and is currently working on a reinterpretation of Democracy in America. His blog on French politics can be viewed at http://artgoldhammer.blogspot.com/.

**D. Sunshine Hillygus** is an Associate Professor in Political Science at Duke University. She’s the co-author of The Persuadable Voter: Wedge Issues in Presidential Campaigns (2008), which was the winner of the 2009 Robert E. Lane Award. Her areas of interest are in American political behavior, campaigns and elections, survey methods, public opinion, and information technology and politics.
DAVID A. HOPKINS joined the Boston College political science department in 2010. His research and teaching interests include American political parties and elections, the U.S. Congress, voting behavior, public opinion, and research methods. He is also the co-author of Presidential Elections: Strategies and Structures of American Politics.

SETH JACOBS is Associate Professor of History at Boston College. He is a political and cultural historian of the United States in the twentieth century, especially the period since World War II, and his research interests focus on the connection between U.S. domestic culture and foreign policy. His most recent book is The Universe Unraveling: American Foreign Policy in Cold War Laos and he is currently working on Rogue Diplomats: The Proud Tradition of Disobedience in U.S. Foreign Policy from Washington to Obama.

MARILYNN JOHNSON is Professor of History at Boston College and the author of several books, including The Second Gold Rush: Oakland and the East Bay in World War (University of California Press) and Street Justice: A History of Political Violence in New York City (Beacon Press). She is currently completing a book on the history of the new immigration in Greater Boston since the 1960s.


KENNETH I. KERSCH is Associate Professor of Political Science at Boston College. His work focuses on American political and constitutional development and American political thought. He is the author of several books, including The Supreme Court and American Political Development (2006) (with Ronald Kahn) and Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law (2004), and many articles. He is on the editorial board of Polity and is a featured blogger for Balkinization. He is completing work on a book entitled Conservatives and the Constitution: From Brown to Reagan (Cambridge University Press).

KEVIN KENNY is a Professor in History at Boston College. His previous books include The American Irish: A History (2000) and Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment (2009) and he was a contributing editor of New Directions in Irish-American History (2003). He is currently researching the general history of American immigration and writing a book on the concept of diaspora.
ALEX KEYSSAR is the Matthew W. Stirling, Jr., Professor of History and Social Policy in the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. His research interests include election reform, the history of democracies, and the history of poverty. His 2000 book *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* was named the best book in U.S. history by both the American Historical Association and the Historical Society; it was also a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize and the Los Angeles Times Book Award.

ROBERT KUTTNER is the co-founder and current co-editor of *The American Prospect* and regularly writes columns in *The Boston Globe*. He is one of the co-founders of the Economic Policy Institute, and serves on its board of directors. In 2007, Kuttner joined the non-partisan public policy center Demos as a Distinguished Senior Fellow. He is the author of *The Squandering of America: How the Failure of Our Politics Undermines Our Prosperity* (2007).

PATRICK MANEY is a Professor in History at Boston College, and teaches modern American history with an emphasis on politics and the presidency. He has written biographies of Franklin D. Roosevelt and New Deal Senator Robert La Follette, Jr. He is currently researching a book on the presidency of Bill Clinton. A native of Wisconsin, he has served as Dean of BC’s College and Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and as chair of the history departments at the University of South Carolina in Columbia and Tulane University in New Orleans.

JIM O’TOOLE is the Charles I. Clough Millennium Chair in History at Boston College and is an expert in the field of American Catholic history. His books include *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* and *Habits of Devotion: Catholic Religious Practice in Twentieth Century America*.

VLAD PERJU is director of the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy and an Associate Professor at Boston College Law, where he has been teaching since 2007. His primary research and teaching interests include the law of the European Union, comparative constitutional law and theory, international and comparative law and jurisprudence.

HEATHER RICHARDSON is Professor of History at Boston College. The author of four books, including *The Greatest Nation of the Earth: Republican Economic Policies during the Civil War* and *Wounded Knee: Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre*, which was named the Must Read Nonfiction book of 2011 by the Massachusetts Center for the Book and was also a main selection of the History Book Club. She is currently completing a history of the Republican Party.
GEORGE ROSS, Jean Monnet Professor at the University of Montreal, was formerly Professor of Political Science and Sociology at Brandeis University. He has written on Jacques Delors, on the Euro and its consequences, on the politics of the EU, and on social policy in Europe and the United States.

VINCENT D. ROUGEAU is Dean of the Boston College Law School. He previously served as a professor at Notre Dame Law School and was Associate Dean for Academic Affairs from 1999–2002. An expert on Catholic social thought, Dean Rougeau’s most recent book, Christians in the American Empire: Faith and Citizenship in the New World Order, was released in 2008 by Oxford University Press. He is Senior Fellow at the Contextual Theology Centre in London, where he researches the role of faith-based community organizing in law reform and the formation of democratic citizenship.

MARY ELISE SARROTTÉ is Professor of International Relations at the University of Southern California. Her newest book, 1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe, won three prizes: the Robert H. Ferrell Prize of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR), for distinguished scholarship on US foreign policy; the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) Prize for distinguished scholarship in German and European Studies; and the Marshall Shulman Prize of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.

KAY LEHMAN SCHLOZMAN, J. Joseph Moakley Endowed Professor of Political Science at Boston College, conducts research on citizen political participation and organized interest activity in the United States. Her latest book, The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy (with Sidney Verba and Henry Brady) was published in 2012. She is the winner of the APSA’s 2004 Rowman and Littlefield Award for Innovative Teaching in Political Science and the 2006 Frank J. Goodnow Distinguished Service Award. She is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

BRUCE SCHULMAN is the William E. Huntington Professor and Chair of the History Department at Boston University. His books include From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980 and Lyndon B. Johnson and American Liberalism. He has appeared as an expert commentator on many television and radio programs and is a contributor to the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, and numerous other publications.
James Shoch is Associate Professor of Political Science at Sacramento State University and the author of Trading Blows: Party Competition and U.S. Trade Policy (2002) and the co-editor of What’s Left of the Left (2011). Current research is on policy ideas and the Democratic Party.

Martin Summers is an Associate Professor of History at Boston College. A cultural historian of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century U.S., his research and teaching interests include race, gender, sexuality, and medicine. Summers’ current research project is a social and cultural history of medicine that focuses on African-American patients at St. Elizabeths Hospital, a federal mental institution in Washington, DC. The project explores the intersections of the historical process of racial formation, medical and cultural understandings of insanity, and the exercise of institutional power.

Ruy Teixeira is a Senior Fellow at The Century Foundation and at the Center for American Progress. His books include America’s New Swing Region: Changing Politics and Demographics in the Mountain West and Red, Blue and Purple America: The Future of Election Demographics and, with John Judis, The Emerging Democratic Majority (Scribner, 2002).


Vanessa Williamson is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Government at Harvard University. Her research interest is the politics of taxation in the United States and in 2012 she co-authored with Theda Skocpol, The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism.
The Gloria L. and Charles I. Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy at Boston College is dedicated to interdisciplinary reflection on the promise and problems of constitutional government in the United States and throughout the world.

The center sponsors scholarly lectures, conferences, and colloquia; provides financial support for faculty, graduate and undergraduate research; offers internship and junior fellowship programs for Boston College undergraduates; and hosts the Boston Area Public Law Workshop, which brings together a community of scholars from colleges and universities around the Boston area to discuss important works-in-progress dealing with questions of constitutional government. Through these and other initiatives, the Clough Center will serve as a hub for reflection upon some of the most significant questions concerning self-government under the rule of law.

VLAD PERJU, CENTER DIRECTOR

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