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The Fall of Wisconsin: The Conservative Conquest of a Progressive Bastion and the Future of American Politics

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Great Plains Politics can be read as another midwestern “resistance” narrative. Longo defends plains people and their ways against the sneers of those claiming to be their cultural betters. This traditional stance will be appreciated by many readers, especially those who believe their “cohesive communities” should defend special, but threatened, midwestern virtues.

The Fall of Wisconsin: The Conservative Conquest of a Progressive Bastion and the Future of American Politics, by Dan Kaufman. New York: W. W. Norton, 2018. 319 pp. Notes, index. \$26.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Colin Gordon is the F. Wendell Miller Professor of History at the University of Iowa. He is the author, most recently, of *Citizen Brown: Race, Democracy and Inequality in the St. Louis Suburbs* (forthcoming).

In 2010 the Republican Party captured the “trifecta” of state power in Wisconsin, winning the state senate, the state house, and the governor’s mansion by wide margins. In short order, Scott Walker’s Republicans pressed through “Act 10,” a sweeping attack on the collective bargaining rights of public sector workers. Versions of that playbook had been employed in conservative bastions such as Kansas and North Carolina for years, but Wisconsin marked a turning point. There, the right—both the Wisconsin Republicans and the network of national groups behind them—had successfully flipped a state with a long progressive tradition. Fighting Bob La Follette’s “laboratory of democracy” was now home to a political experiment of a very different kind.

This juxtaposition—between Wisconsin’s progressive past and the eight-year tenure of Scott Walker—is the central theme of Dan Kaufman’s *Fall of Wisconsin*. Kaufman is a Madison-raised, New York-based journalist who covered these events for *The New Yorker* and other outlets. His account relies heavily on anecdotes, observations, and character sketches that stand in for larger patterns or problems. Randy Bryce (the ironworker who ran unsuccessfully for Paul Ryan’s open seat in 2018) embodies the confrontation between Walker and organized labor. Aldo Leopold and Gaylord Nelson are the foils for Walker’s environmental policies. And State Representative Chris Taylor is our guide to the role of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) in “teeing up” Walker’s legislative agenda.

But these journalistic devices are also the book’s undoing. The blow-by-blow account (from Walker’s election, to the passage of Bill 10, to the recall elections of 2011 and 2012) seems—by 2018—pretty familiar ground. The stark contrast between the state’s progressive past and its conservative present is, I think, a misleadingly nostalgic reading of

that history: this, after all, is the state that gave us Joe McCarthy as well as Bob La Follete, that featured some of the nastiest labor disputes of the twentieth century as well as some of the earliest innovations in labor and social welfare law.

And what we have learned since 2010—about the role of ALEC and its offshoots in state politics and about the political and cultural and economic foundations of Walker’s support—is not well integrated into Kaufman’s account. He does a capable job of tracing the influence of ALEC, but does so as if he is unraveling a conspiracy (he claims that ALEC “was almost unheard of before Walker’s election” [121]) and not recounting a pattern of political influence that—even in 2010—was pretty well documented. Kaufman largely ignores the work of Alex Hertel-Fernandez, Nancy MacLean, the Center for Media and Democracy, and Wisconsin’s progressive state think tank, the Center on Wisconsin Strategy in tracing—and resisting—ALEC’s pernicious presence.

Kaufman’s largest blind spot, however, is race. Wisconsin (and much of the upper Midwest) has nurtured the nation’s largest racial disparities on everything from incarceration to school suspension. Milwaukee, the font of Walker’s political career, is one of the nation’s most segregated metropolitan settings. The works of Arlie Rothchild, Kathy Cramer, and others have underscored how the “politics of resentment” that swept Walker—and a few years later Donald Trump—to power are deeply imbued with racial animus. And yet, for Kaufman, this barely registers. The characters (and caricatures) in this story—aside from a brief discussion of Native treaty rights—are all white.

I admired Kaufman’s reporting on these events as they unfolded, but the book version adds little—and seems, in 2018, even a little stale and dated. Earlier works by Andrew Kersten (*The Battle for Wisconsin*) and John Nichols (*Uprising*) provide a richer account of the events of 2011–2014 in and around Madison; more recent work—by Kathy Cramer, Amy Goldstein, and others—does a better job of not just explaining why Walker won but why so many of the citizens of Wisconsin voted for him—in 2010, in the recall election of 2011, in 2014, and again in 2018.