



NORTH HALL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
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CHAIR'S INTRODUCTION

Professor John Coleman, Department Chair

Excellence. That word is central to how I think about our work in the Political Science Department. Our goal is to excel in all respects: teaching, advising, research, service, and outreach.

Signs of excellence show up regularly in our teaching. We had about 5,000 students enrolled in our courses in each of the Fall 2006 and Spring 2007 semesters. Our major is the largest in the College of Letters and Science, with about 1100 students. This number has grown over 80 percent over the past seven years. In 2006-07, we added 369 new undergraduate alumni and 10 new Doctors of Philosophy to our ranks—a hearty welcome to our newest readers of North Hall News! Some of these brave souls may have even graciously endured my Introduction to American Politics class.

Part of the attraction of our courses and major is the quality of our teaching. A number of our faculty have won teaching awards, and in 2006-07 the average course evaluation was 4.5 on a 5-point scale. We also seek to provide our students with first-rate guidance by professional advisors (we have added two new advisors this year) and hands-on individual research mentoring and supervision by faculty.

One of the pleasures of being department chair is learning about all the impressive accomplishments of our students

and alumni. This past year, for example, two of our students won the very prestigious and rigorously competitive Truman Fellowship, given to students interested in a career of public service, defined broadly. It is unusual for a single university to have more than one winner in a single year and even rarer for one depart-

ment to do so. As you will see in this issue, several of our students, undergraduate and graduate, have won prestigious prizes, awards, and honors. We also continued our tradition of providing students with learning opportunities beyond Madison and outside the classroom. You will also read about some of these experiences in this issue. As for our alumni, we can truly say that Wisconsin Political Science is everywhere. Looking through our alumni list—as the new Chair of Political Science, I have now memorized all 13,000 names—I could see that we have alumni in all walks of life achieving great things.

Faculty continued to rack up major honors this summer and fall, another indicator of excellence. Byron Shafer (with co-author Richard Johnston) won a best book award for *The End of Southern Exceptionalism: Class, Race, and Partisan Change in the Postwar South*, while Scott Straus won a best book award for *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. New faculty member Susan Yackee won the Emerging Scholar Award of the American Political Science Association's Political Organizations and Parties Section, making her the third member of the Department to receive this honor. That is a feat no other department in the country can duplicate. Charles Franklin won an award for his highly-regarded public opinion website, Pollster.com. You'll hear from or read about each of these faculty in the pages that follow. Faculty were also highly successful in grant competitions, receiving grants from over two dozen organizations over the past two years.

As always, Political Science faculty have been very active in sharing their expertise outside the university, whether appearing in the media, speaking to groups at the local, state, national, and international level, or serving as consultants, expert witnesses, and members of special commissions. Faculty also make many appearances before alumni groups—be on the lookout for our "On the Road" events. Political scientists wearing leather jackets and streaming into town on Wisconsin-built Harleys is something you don't want to miss. (Truth in advertising: Harleys and leather jackets not guaranteed.) Last year's travels brought faculty experts to discuss transitions to democracy, politics in the Middle East, and U.S. campaigns and elections. The Wisconsin Idea thrives in Political Science.

One way in which the Department reaches out to alumni



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and friends is through our website. Here, too, we seek excellence. We have been working on a thorough revamping of our site and are hopeful that it will be online during the break between fall and spring semesters. We hope the site will be much more dynamic, current, and informative about what is happening here. I encourage you to visit the site now to see some of our recent additions such as interviews and media appearances by faculty (click on the "Alumni" link). Please come back to see the new and improved site while we here are enjoying the warm and sunny Madison winter.

The excellence of the Department in teaching, advising, research, service, and outreach is an occasion for great pride and satisfaction. But it is not an occasion to rest. The Department continues to seek excellence and improve. Wisconsin taxpayers have generously supported this University and the latest budget continues this support in difficult financial times. For that, we are most appreciative. At the same time, the Department relies more than ever on resources from our alumni, friends, and other private sources to maintain excellence and expand opportunities.

Support from alumni has allowed the Department to offer an array of extracurricular opportunities for students, including a debate society, a political science honor society, internships outside Madison, an undergraduate international studies journal, and co-sponsoring a major student-run national conference on energy policy. Alumni contributions have also helped in our goal to add new scholarships for undergraduates and new fellowships for graduate students. They have allowed us to bring in top experts from around the world to give talks in our various speakers series. Award-winning and cutting-edge faculty research are furthered by your generosity.

On behalf of the Department, I thank all of you for your past support. Please see the form at the back of this newsletter for ways you can help the Department and its students, or visit us at www.polisci.wisc.edu and click on the "Alumni" or "To Support Excellence" link. Your support has a major impact. I am delighted to send you this newsletter and hope I will hear from you (coleman@polisci.wisc.edu) with memories of your experiences here and ideas on how the Department can grow even stronger.

WISCONSIN CENTER FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

Departmental member Donald Downs has co-founded a new center under the aegis of the Department of Political Science. The new Wisconsin Center for the Study of Liberal Democracy is dedicated to promoting appreciation and critical understanding of the principles and institutions of liberal democracy. Emphasis will be placed on such matters as constitutionalism and the rule of law; the meaning and scope of freedom and free markets; the place and role of religion in free

societies; education and the state; the balances among liberty, security, and privacy in a dangerous world; and the competition between liberal democracy and competing ideologies.

Downs remarks that "a central mission of the Center relates specifically to the University of Wisconsin: to advance intellectual diversity at the University by taking ideas seriously that we believe have not always enjoyed sufficient respect on campus." Such ideas, he says, include the various strands of conservative political thought and libertarian political thought, in addition to thought addressing religious liberty, foreign policy, and the role of the military in American life and on campus. Downs stresses that students should be exposed to these ideas because they deal with important claims in national life, and that the Center intends to present such idea in the same open yet critical spirit with which all ideas should be studied "We want the Center to embody the principles of freedom and intellectual diversity that we espouse ourselves," Downs said. Professors Howard Schweber and John Witte join Hunt and Downs as members of the Center's board.

The Center has received "seed" money from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. Programs for the Center include a speakers series, an annual conference, and grants to students. See <http://csl.d.wisc.edu> for more information.

GOODBYES

Four of our faculty joined the ranks of emeritus professors. Patrick Riley retired after 36 years on the faculty. You can read about Professor Riley's final lecture in this issue of the newsletter.

Herbert Kritzer joined the faculty at William Mitchell School of Law in St. Paul after many years of commuting between Madison and St. Paul for family reasons. Professor Kritzer joined the UW faculty in 1978.

Virginia Shapiro, after 31 years on the faculty, left Wisconsin to become Dean of Arts and Sciences at Boston University.

Graham Wilson, a faculty member since 1984, took a position as Professor in Boston University's Department of Political Science.

All four of our new emeritus faculty made outstanding contributions to the Department, University, students, and political science. They cherished this place and they will be greatly missed. We express our deep thanks to them all!

A FOND FAREWELL

Mark Nance

On the morning of Friday, May 18th, 2007, Patrick Riley hurried into the lecture room in Education Hall and, with a brief bow to acknowledge his handful of guests, began his final lecture at the University of Wisconsin. About thirty people were there, including eight or so graduate students, a few staff members, and two former faculty members. On the surface, he was providing an overview of the course, tracing Leibnitz's idea of justice as charity and love throughout Western political thought. The four chalkboards in the room were scribbled full of multi-lingual ideas, tied together with wandering arrows and translated for the linguistically normal. They were our path, the arrows pulling us from Socrates to Rawls. Along the way we considered Cicero, St. Paul, the Stoics, Locke, Hume, and Bentham. We saw how Wagner struggled with the same questions in his operas and how Freud (mis)understood justice. For some of the undergraduates, although certainly not all of them, I suppose it was just a last review before the final exam. As a graduate student, it was a masterclass on what it means to be a university professor.

The lecture made me reflect on my first year in graduate school at UW, when my colleagues and I faced a number of irreconcilable challenges. How was I supposed to simultaneously read the canon of my field, actually understand what I was reading, engage those debates in my own research, and teach less-than-inspired undergraduates to do the same? It was a zero-sum game. Either teaching or research would suffer. Or both. (Various metrics suggested it was the latter in my case.) I looked forward to the day when those irreconcilable demands would dissipate magically into the clouds of tenure. Yet, as I near the end of the tunnel, life in the post-ABD world seems to promise still more of the same. Seeing Patrick teach, however, inspired hope. It does not have to be a zero-sum game. Teaching and research are best when they are part of the same whole, two sides of a coin. It can be a positive-sum game.

When I thanked Patrick afterward, he tucked his head and said that, if I knew everything about him, I'd not be so positive. That is no doubt true. But there is much I do know. Patrick Riley is a world-renowned political theorist with a long and distinguished career. And in a time when many public universities, including UW, are finding it increasingly difficult to compete with better funded schools to retain the best professors, Patrick chose to spend the bulk of his career providing a world-class education to the students of UW. For that, we owe him our gratitude.

In his final statement to his class and to the UW community, Professor Riley quoted the epilogue from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, his emotions building as he came to the end:



Patrick Riley receiving a distinguished teaching award from Chancellor Irving Shain in 1985

*Now my charms are all o'erthrown,/ And what strength
I have's my own,/Which is most faint.../Gentle breath
of yours my sails/Must fill, or else my project fails,/Which
was to please. Now I want/spirits to enforce, art to
enhance,/And my ending is despair,/Unless I be relieved
by prayer,/Which pierces so that it assaults/Mercy itself
and frees all faults./As you from crimes would pardon'd
be,/Let your indulgence set me free.*

As everyone in the room stood to acknowledge a tremendous career, Prof. Riley buried his face in his hands, overwhelmed by the moment. This lecture was not simply an exam review. It was the interweaving of a lifetime of teaching and research into a single, complex tapestry for the benefit of his students. It was a model of how to reconcile the irreconcilable. In some ways, it seemed an inadequate end to a stellar career. But upon reflection, maybe it was just right.

Mark Nance is a Ph.D student in the Political Science Department.

THE DEPARTMENT HONORS LEON EPSTEIN

"Politics Through the Lens of Parties" was a major conference held at UW in April 2007 in honor of Leon Epstein. The event brought together leading scholars of American and foreign political parties for a conference we are sure Leon would have enjoyed. Personal remembrances reminded everyone of Leon's generosity and humor. We are aiming to have the papers from the conference published in book form. We thank Dean Gary Sandefur for covering some of the conference expenses, and generous alumni, including notably Clara Penniman, for providing the remainder of the funding.

WHO'S NEW IN NORTH HALL?

In August 2007, we had the pleasure of welcoming four new faculty members to the Department, adding more depth across all our major fields. Yoshiko Herrera joins our Comparative Politics group; Jimmy Casas Klausen, Political Theory; Andrew Kydd, International Relations; and Susan Webb Yackee, American Politics.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR YOSHIKO M. HERRERA

Yoshiko M. Herrera received her B.A. from Dartmouth College (1992) and M.A. (1994) and Ph.D. (1999) from the University of Chicago. Her research interests include politics in Russia and the former Soviet states, social identities, norms and institutional change, and constructivist political economy. Her first book, *Imagined Economies: The Sources of Russian Regionalism* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), examined the relationship between regional understandings of the economy and sovereignty movements in the Russian Federation. She has recently finished a second book titled, *Transforming Bureaucracy: Conditional Norms and the International Standardization of Statistics in Russia*, which analyzes the role of international and domestic organizational norms in state bureaucratic reform. Other research includes a major collaborative project on the definition and measurement of social identities. Her latest research focuses on the role of identity-related variables in public health and demography outcomes in the states of the former Soviet Union. She teaches courses on comparative politics, social identities, and politics of the states of the former Soviet Union.



ASSISTANT PROFESSOR JIMMY CASAS KLAUSEN



Jimmy Casas Klausen moved to Madison from Grinnell, Iowa, where he had served as a Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellow from 2005-2007. He holds a doctorate from the University of California at Berkeley, and a BA in anthropology from the University of Chicago. His current book project, based in part on his dissertation, examines primitivism in French political and social theory of the eighteenth and twentieth centuries; he is interested in particular in how theorists develop non-state-centric political theories by reference to primitive peoples. Currently he is teaching a lecture course on political theories of imperialism and a graduate seminar called "The Ends of Civilization," centered on Hobbes. Future courses will include more in-depth surveys of and seminars on early modern political theory, a thematic course on hostility and hospitality in political theory, and a survey of radical political theory, focusing on Marxism and anarchism. Klausen's future research will include analyses of violence in anti-imperialist theory in India and sovereignty in early Dutch political thought. He has published in the journals *Polity*, *Journal of Politics*, and *Theory & Event*.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR ANDREW KYDD



Andrew Kydd received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago in 1996 and joined the University of Wisconsin faculty in the fall of 2007. His work focuses on the analysis of international security issues such as proliferation, terrorism, trust, and conflict resolution. He has published articles on these topics in a variety of scholarly journals and his book, *Trust and Mistrust in International Relations*, was published in 2005 by Princeton University Press. It develops a theory of the role of trust in international politics and uses it to investigate the beginning and end of the Cold War. It was awarded the prize for best book in 2004/2005 by the Conflict Processes section of the American Political Science Association. This fall he is teaching Introduction to International Relations for undergraduates and a graduate course on game theory and international relations. When not working he enjoys spending time with his family and exploring the beautiful shores of Lake Mendota.

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR SUSAN WEBB YACKEE

Susan Webb Yackee has a joint appointment in Political Science and the La Follette School of Public Affairs. Her research and teaching interests include bureaucratic politics, social policy, and the policy-making process. Professor Yackee's current research projects focus on the role that organized interests play in influencing the U.S. bureaucracy's implementation of policy. Her work has been published in the *Journal of Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *American Politics Research*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *Public Management Review*, and *Policy Studies Journal*. From 2003-05, she was a Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Scholar in Health Policy Research at the University of Michigan. She has also served as a Smith Richardson Foundation Domestic Policy Fellow, H.B. Earhart Foundation Fellow, and a Harry S. Truman Scholar. Before beginning her academic training, Professor Yackee worked as a legislative assistant in the U.S. Senate.



UNDERGRADUATE EXCELLENCE

The Department recently awarded several prizes and scholarships to deserving undergraduate majors in Political Science.

Andrew Gordon, **Phillip Schemel Award**, scholarship awarded to a deserving student with financial need from out of state.

Erika Lopez-Tapia, **Vera Elliot Scholarship**, awarded to a junior or senior woman or member of an underrepresented group who is enrolled full time in the College of Letters and Science, is majoring in Political Science, and has a GPA of 3.0 or better.



Ben Pasquale, **Elaine Davis Prize**, awarded to a senior Political Science major in recognition of outstanding academic achievement. The recipient will also have demonstrated scholarship and leadership in campus and/or community affairs and demonstrated intellectual ability and curiosity, good citizenship, and an appreciation of the world outside of themselves.

Emily Spangenberg, **William Jennings Bryan Award**, best term paper written in a Political Science course (including theses), "The Impact of International Justice on Domestic Policy: Evaluating the Effects of Transnational Human Rights Networks in Argentina and Chile." Senior honors thesis, advisor Scott Straus.

RESEARCH AND TEACHING EXCELLENCE

Faculty Awards

Donald Downs, recipient of the **JoPeter Shaw Award** of the National Association of Scholars for *Cornell '69 and Restoring Free Speech and Liberty on Campus*.

Charles Franklin, recipient (with Mark Blumenthal) of the **American Association for Public Opinion Research's Warren J. Mitofsky Innovators Award** for Pollster.com, May 2007.

Ken Mayer, UW-Madison **Pi Sigma Alpha teaching award**.

Nils Ringe, **Special Honorable Mention for the Best Dissertation in European Union Studies Award** of the European Union Studies Association, 2007.

Byron Shafer, **Best Book Award**, Race and Ethnicity section of the American Political Science Association, for *The End of Southern Exceptionalism: Class, Race and Partisan Change in the Postwar South*, 2007.

Scott Strauss, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War* winner of the **2006 Award for Excellence in Government and Political Science** from the Professional and Scholarly Publishing Division of the Association of American Publishers.

Susan Yackee, **Emerging Scholar Award**, Political Organization and Parties section of the American Political Science Association, 2007.

Graduate Student Awards

Erika Franklin Fowler, named a 2007 **Graduate Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences**.

Michael Franz, winner of the **E.E. Schattschneider Award** from the American Political Science Association, for the best dissertation in the field of American Government.

Alice Kang, awarded the 2007 **Alice Paul Dissertation Prospectus Award** for the best dissertation proposal in the field of women and politics.

Brandon Kendhammer, winner of the second annual departmental **Hovland Journal Article Prize Scholarship** for the best article submitted to a major political science journal between September 1, 2005 - September 1, 2006.

Stéphane Lavertu, named a 2007 **L&S Teaching Assistant Fellow**.

Travis Nelson, awarded a 2006 **UW-Madison Capstone Ph.D. Teaching Award** and named a 2006 **Graduate Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Science**.

Gwynn Thomas, (Ph.D. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2005), **Elsa Chaney Award**, best paper on gender at the Latin American Studies Association International Congress, September 2007, for "What No Tie? Political Campaigns, Gender and Redefining Political Leadership in Chile."

INTEREST GROUPS IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

This September, Michael Franz received the E.E. Schattschneider Award from the American Political Science Association for the best dissertation in the field of American government. Next March, the revised project will be released as a book from Temple University Press.

My dissertation, *Choices and Changes: Interest Groups in the Electoral Process*, focuses on the emergence of aggressive interest group electioneering tactics in the mid-1990s—namely, soft money contributions, issue advocacy television advertisements, and 527s. What explains this dramatic rise in interest group electioneering? The development is particularly puzzling in that Congress passed no new laws to permit such activity, and much of this was arguably legal in the 1970s. The central argument of the dissertation is that to understand how interest groups engage elections in these varying ways, and to understand how this has changed over time, we must comprehend how changing political and legal contexts create both opportunities and impediments for certain forms of electoral participation.

First, I argue that the balanced and polarized party politics of the late 1990s—beginning with the Republican gains in 1994 and continuing with the struggles for majority status in the elections that followed—was a crucial motivating factor compelling many interest groups to mobilize aggressively in alliance with party agendas. Second, I argue that the Federal Election Commission over time weakened their expansive take on the limits of interest group electioneering, thereby reducing the costs to the adoption of new tactics. All told, I show that the political demand for funds coming from this extremely partisan and polarized political context, combined with increased regulatory openness, created a "perfect storm"

necessary to allow this expansion in interest group electioneering.

With this project, I advance important debates about the power of interest groups in American politics and the relationship between interest groups and political parties. More specifically, an oft repeated assumption in the intellectual history of party and group power is that when interest groups are strong, political parties are weak; and vice versa.

My work challenges this inverse

relationship assumption, and I argue that under the current political environment, well-funded interest groups and party entrepreneurs have found strong incentives to work together.

The research has relevance for upcoming federal elections. Both the Democrats and Republicans in 2008 will fight hard for control of Congress and the White House, and the Supreme Court recently ruled that some restrictions on interest group advertising in McCain-Feingold went too far (*Wisconsin Right to Life v. FEC*). In short, the political and legal incentives are present for a continued "perfect storm," and interest groups are sure to participate in the upcoming elections in record amounts.

This research would not have been possible without the guidance and support of my dissertation advisor, Kenneth Goldstein, and the rest of my committee—David Canon, John Coleman, Charles Franklin, and Dhavan Shah. I feel very fortunate to have had a Wisconsin education.



TEACHING BY PODCASTING

John Coleman

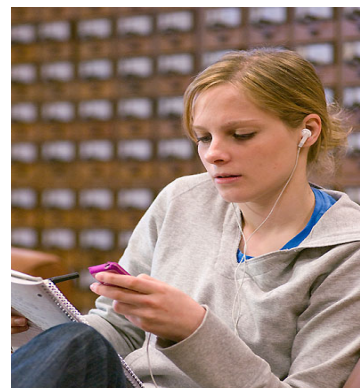
Every few years brings along new ideas about using technology to enhance instruction. Powerpoint presentations, relatively new in the mid-1990s, are now commonplace. Integrating course material with the Web now has a history. Blogs and wikis are showing up in college classes. And podcasting is another recent entrant to the technology toolkit.

Podcasting allows for the audio or video downloading of course-related material to a student's computer or onto their handheld MP3 player. Items for podcasting could include course lectures, additional material to expand on lecture concepts, or supplementary material to add a new dimension to a class.

In Fall 2006, I added podcasting to the instruction of my Introduction to American Politics and Government course as a limited trial run. Because some students do not add the class until the second meeting or later, I provided the opening session as a podcast. That way, everyone had access to my scintillating presentation of the course organization and syllabus, as well as the half hour or so of lecture. Another good use of this technology would be to podcast classes where there may be attendance issues, such as a religious holiday. Of course, there's a fine balance between responding to an attendance issue and creating one by making the class lecture available with a podcast. Anyone considering podcasting of lectures has to grapple with how comfortable he or she is that the technology could potentially affect attendance.

My main use of podcasts was to provide a series of interviews with professors in the Political Science Department explaining how they conducted their research. For a while, I have been wanting students in the introductory American politics class to have more of a sense how research is conducted. This has included, for example, having them do some public opinion analysis, using the same datasets used by experts in the field, and some analysis of data on the Web.

To add to this, I wanted them to hear from accomplished scholars. Professors Barry Burden, Donald Downs, Charles Franklin, and Katherine Cramer Walsh each took about 20 minutes explaining how they had studied a particular research topic. You can hear these interviews on our website: click on the "Alumni" link. For extra credit—another difficult decision and something I do not ordinarily do—students listened to the interviews as they were released over the semester and wrote up an analysis based on a set of questions. One final assignment had them draw research lessons from across the interviews. It was at this point that old technology met the new: I found myself having to grade nearly 150 extra credit analyses of each interview plus the final assignment, or about 750 assignments overall. Somewhere in the middle of that 750 I started think-



ing, "there must be a better way..." But it worked.

Overall, I thought podcasting worked well and students seemed to enjoy and benefit from the interviews. When adding new technology to a class, I am determined to make sure that it adds value rather than simply adding new bells and whistles. Like any technology, podcasting can be just that—a time-consuming flash that does not add much truly new. But it can also add new possibilities to course instruction as well. One heartening note was that I saw hundreds upon hundreds of students walking around campus listening to their MP3 players. Surely they were all avidly and repeatedly listening to the podcasts from Political Science 104.

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY

Andrew Rima

For more than thirty-five years, the Center for the Study of the Presidency has hosted eighty-five undergraduate fellows in Washington D.C. for two conferences, one in the fall and one in the spring semester. Then, over the course of the academic year, each fellow researches, writes, and presents a paper on a topic relating to the American presidency.

The UW Political Science Department selected and sponsored my fellowship at the Center over this last year. I cannot thank the department and its alumni enough: from my research to the conferences in D.C., it was an all-round positive experience.

My undergraduate years have been contained exclusively on the UW campus, so this was my first "academic" experience outside the confines of Madison. It was a little daunting at first, but with the help of my professors and peers, I was able to make the most of this endeavor.

During the fall conference, we had to present our proposals to other fellows and get feedback and advice for the next phases of our research and writing. If they would have let us, the fellows could have sat around the hotel conference room indefinitely talking about our respective projects. My research

was primarily done on President Johnson and the early escalation period of the Vietnam War, which provided a nice comparison with the fellows that focused on President Bush and the current war in Iraq. Everyone, it seemed, had an opinion on whether the Vietnam War served as more of a contrast or a comparison to the current situation.

During the spring conference, we presented our final papers to the other fellows. If I thought the debates and discussions were intense in the fall, the spring session was on another level. By the spring, we all knew each other and were comfortable from our time together in the fall; our respective political alliances, ideological persuasions, and strong opinions reared their controversial heads. The intellectual diversity made for fascinating and sometimes heated discussions about history, policy, and politics in the United States.

More than anything else from the two conferences, I took away lasting friendships and contacts. I learned a lot from the discussions and papers from the other fellows, and I hope the fellows were able learn something from my work as well. Many of the fellows were on essentially the same course in life, and we will undoubtedly cross paths again.

On top of all that, for both the spring and fall conferences, the Center put together an exceptional agenda filled with speakers and panels that discussed the presidency, government, and Washington politics. Drawing from the abundance of senior government leaders, journalists, and scholars in the D.C. area, the fellows were allowed to pick the brains of individuals we normally see only on CNN or C-SPAN.

As a final touch to the whole experience, the Center selected twenty-five papers to place in its annual publication, *A Dialogue on Presidential Challenges and Leadership*. I was honored that the Center chose to publish my submission. This experience contributed greatly to my confidence as a student and a scholar. Moreover, I was proud to represent the University of Wisconsin and its Political Science Department.

Andrew Rima majored in Political Science at UW-Madison and is now a student at the UW Law School.



LONDON INTERNSHIP

Elizabeth Williams

As I showed the security guards my pass and walked through the gates and around the barricades that led to Downing Street, my office called. The Member of Parliament I worked for couldn't make it to the event. I would have to represent my office alone. I walked into 11 Downing Street, the Chancellor of Exchequer's residence. There, mingling in the drawing room were some of the most prominent politicians and executives in the United Kingdom. Attempting to network for my office, I approached the first person not rapt in a deeply philosophical discussion on the finer points of British politics. I introduced myself and only after caught a glimpse of his nametag. He was a Lord. I balked and immediately racked my brain for a conversational topic that would not be inane or insulting to a member of the House of Lords. At first my sentences began with "please excuse my ignorance, but..." Eventually, though, the conversation veered towards an area of politics he had spearheaded and I was fairly well versed on—Scottish devolution.

Discussing UK politics with a Lord in the Chancellor of Exchequer's drawing room is unfortunately not a daily occurrence, but was one of the many experiences I enjoyed as an intern in London. The London Parliamentary Internship is offered every summer to students interested in British politics. Some students are placed in large offices, where they delve into policy, constituency or campaign work. Others are placed in smaller offices and get to sample each one of these areas. I was placed in a smaller office, and all four of my coworkers ensured that I was able to experience everything the office had to offer. Of course, it was essential to prove myself first, and fortunately the UW program had included a course on the British political system during spring semester, which gave me a solid background in the history and current affairs of the UK. My coworkers took me much more seriously, and while during the first week and a half I was confined to filing, data entry and mail sorting, my supervisor soon understood the extent of my preparation and was much more willing to add more substantive work to my daily tasks. By the end of my internship I was attending listening sessions and forums in the constituency, writing memos, taking notes at briefings, planning events and completing casework.

The London program is beneficial and comprehensive, combining academics with first-hand internship experience to create an unforgettable summer abroad.

Elizabeth Williams is a senior majoring in Political Science.

WASHINGTON INTERNSHIP

Joel Rivlin

The twelve students who participated in the second annual Washington internship program had a wide range of goals and expectations when they left Madison. Among these goals were applying their knowledge from political science courses to the realities of the governing process, deciding whether to pursue careers in public service, making connections and receiving advice that could lead to a job in Washington, as well as those just looking towards having a unique and rewarding summer experience. The program provided all these opportunities and more, and the group of UW rising juniors and seniors took full advantage of all the program had to offer.

Not only did the students fly out to Washington with a variety of goals, but they also came from diverse backgrounds, with different work experiences, political views and interests. These factors meant that they selected a wide variety of internships. Students were placed in the Capitol (in both chambers, and on both sides of the aisle), in think-tanks, in interest groups, with lobbyists, and even in a foreign embassy. Going to do an internship in Washington is a great experience for any undergraduate, but adding to that the chance to compare their experiences with others working in different parts of the political system in the classroom (as well as the galleries, cafes and parks of Washington) is key to the success of this program.

The work the students did to meet the program requirements also gave them the chance to delve deeper into substantive policy areas than they might otherwise have a chance to in a summer internship. Faced with the task of producing a research paper based on a project related to their work within their offices, and presenting their findings as part of a marathon session at the end of the summer, the students excelled. Topics ranged from automotive emission standards, to accessing stockpiles of landmines, to rural communications, to higher education funding, to reform of the alternative minimum tax regime, to prescription drug coverage, to the ratification of the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea. The students used these projects as a way to gain more substantive experiences within their offices and hone their writing and research skills. When we finished the last presentations at close to 1am on the last night of class, the students had shown not just a mastery of their topics, but also an understanding of the governmental process – they not only understood and expressed what policies they wanted to promote, but how such outcomes could be achieved within the realities of the political and institutional environments of American, and in some cases world, government.

As with the inaugural year, the backbone of the program was the fantastic UW alumni in the D.C. area. The alumni



who spoke to the class, who came from executive, legislative, academic, media, lobbying, think-tank, legal, and academic backgrounds, gave candid and amazingly illustrative glimpses into Washington life as well as advice on how to succeed in careers in public service. In addition, the enthusiasm of those D.C. alumni we contacted meant we were able to match each student to two alumni mentors (one who recently graduated and one more experienced Washingtonian who worked in areas related to each student's interests). These mentorships, along with the willingness of many of the speakers to meet privately with students, were invaluable. For many of the students, these connections were the highlights of the experience.

Looking back, the summer Washington program was an incredible experience for all involved. We were glad to build on the great work that Erika Franklin Fowler did last year. The hard work of the students was a credit to the Department and the University as they each worked full time at their internships, attended classes, kept up with readings, wrote papers, and took advantage of the social, cultural, and political life of the city.

We couldn't have managed the program without the generosity of a great deal of people, who provided support from Madison, arranged internships for students, spoke to classes, served as mentors, gave office space, hosted events, and contributed to the scholarships that gave great students life-changing opportunities. I thank them all and hope they and others will continue to support this fantastic program in future years.

Joel Rivlin is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Political Science.

BECOMING A PUBLIC ANALYST

Charles Franklin

I didn't set out to become a "public intellectual." I was just looking for something that would let me focus on current politics in the geeky way a statistician thinks is fun. I don't claim to be much of an "intellectual" in any case. Maybe I'm a public geek.

My professional life is as a political methodologist—someone who applies sophisticated statistical techniques to the analysis of data about politics. I teach Introduction to Quantitative Reasoning for freshmen, a mixed undergraduate and graduate course on statistical inference, and advanced graduate courses on likelihood and Bayesian methods. And I teach the undergraduate course on elections and voting behavior. So it is natural that I think of politics and political behavior from a statistical perspective.

Over Labor Day weekend 2005, I started a "blog" called Political Arithmetik. The name (funny spelling and all) is the title of perhaps the first book to apply quantitative analysis to political affairs, published in 1690. My mission statement at the time was to show how "statistical analysis can illuminate political and social questions." Aside from that, I didn't have a very specific plan of battle. I thought I'd write about the kinds of examples I use in my freshman class on quantitative reasoning. But then Katrina happened.

The weekend I started Political Arithmetik the scope of the Katrina disaster was only just becoming clear and the political jabber in the media and the blogosphere was beginning to focus on the federal response to the disaster. Naturally, President Bush's handling of the situation, and how this would affect his standing with the public, became a focus of conversation.

If anything is absolutely predictable in politics and the blogosphere it is that partisans filter the news to support their predispositions. Republicans could see Katrina as an example of a concerned president detouring Air Force One to give him an immediate opportunity to view the devastation at first hand while not impeding efforts on the ground. Democrats saw a callous overflight at 20,000 feet by a remote and unconcerned chief executive. Even as victims awaited rescue the political debate was shaping up in terms of partisan advantage.

That was perfect grist for my first post—a look at President Bush's approval rating and how Katrina might be affecting it. The media, the web and now the blogosphere have a seemingly infinite capacity for strongly worded opinion, and I knew I had nothing to add to that cacophony that was



unique. But it seemed then (and now) that what was rare was a dispassionate and nonpartisan presentation of data. And that was a skill I had spent my entire professional career developing and presenting in classes.

So in the immediate aftermath of Katrina, a review of President Bush's approval rating seemed crucial to any assessment of the political effects (good or bad) that would surely follow. As it happened I had been monitoring presidential approval ratings for some time, making it easy to provide an update on where things stood six days after Katrina made landfall. The president's approval rating had hung in the mid-to-upper 40s during most of the summer, with some modest downward trend from 47% in early June to 45% in mid-August. But the week before Katrina hit, the Gallup Poll taken 8/22-25/05 registered a sharp drop to 40%, then the lowest reading ever in the Bush administration. Katrina hit at 6:10 AM local time on September 29th. The Gallup poll completed 8/28-30 found approval rebounding to 45%. Did Katrina produce a sudden 5 point rise in approval? Or was the 40% reading just a random blip and 45% was actually about where things stood in mid-August, so the effect of Katrina was actually nil? And where would things go from here? I wrote my first blog post at Political Arithmetik showing a graph of approval over the time of the Bush administration and pointing out these recent developments. It wasn't much, but it was a start.

By September 8th enough data had accumulated to offer a systematic picture of how public opinion was shifting. Initially, on August 31, 54% said they approved of how President Bush was handling the situation. By September 7th approval of his handling of Katrina had fallen to 38%. My next post showed how various polling organizations demonstrated a common downward trend, and highlighted the differences among pollsters (which were actually rather modest.)

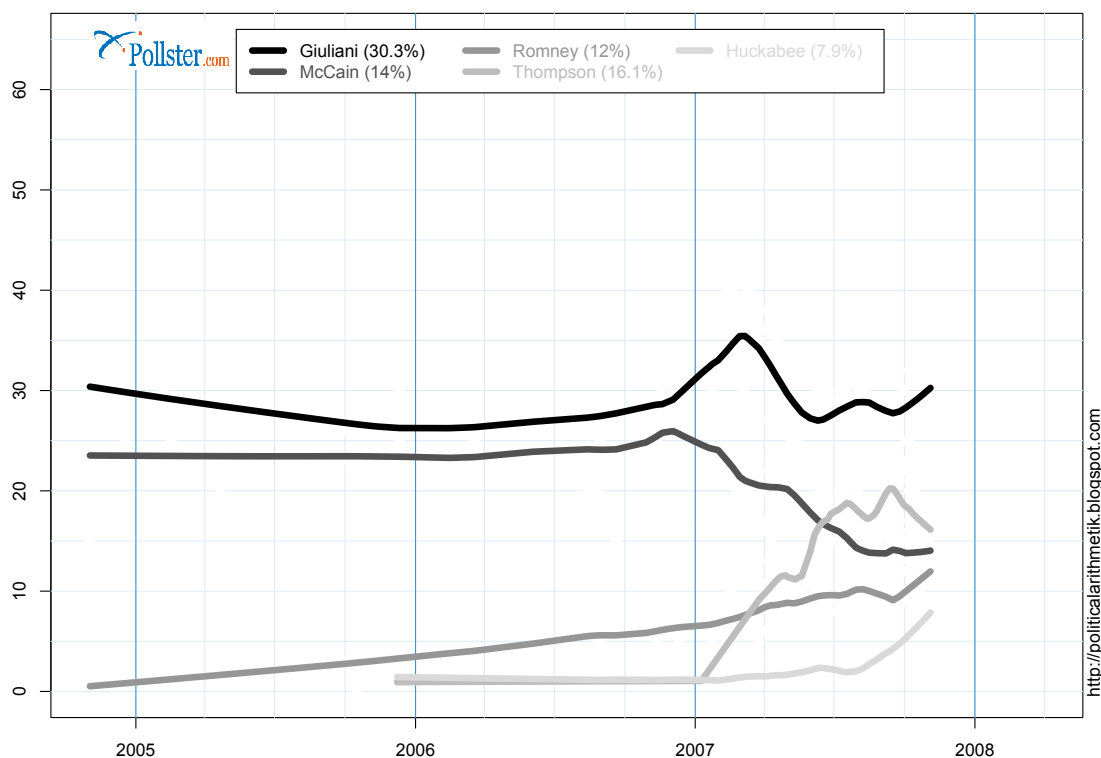
Those two posts set me on a path that has been the core of my work at Political Arithmetik. Polls vary and partisans pick the numbers they like best. My mission became to collect all the polls regardless of results and present graphical displays that clarified both changes in trend and the amount of variability across polls. "No cherry picking allowed" could have become my motto.

Through the rest of the fall I presented systematic evidence for the effects of the Roberts confirmation and appointment to the Supreme Court, the failed nomination of Harriet Miers to the Court, the indictment of the Vice-President's chief of staff "Scooter" Libby, and the effect of the White House effort to rally support for the war in Iraq that brought about an upturn in approval after November 11, 2005. When approval rose, I said so. When it fell, I said so. And when the evidence was too weak to reach any rea-

A SAMPLE GRAPH FROM POLLSTER.COM:

Top Republican Contenders

Latest Poll: 11/04/2007



sonable conclusion, I pointed that out too. As a result, I had a public presence commenting on politics that was a bit different from most sources of political debate.

Well, not much of a public presence. In the last 10 weeks of the year 11,637 unique visitors came to the site, looking at 16,272 pages. That's about a third of a good day at the most popular political sites. But at least it was a start.

A prophetic link in my first post was to MysteryPollster.com, a site that appeared in 2004 and had become well known for non-partisan discussion of issues in political polling. I read and admired the site, but had no knowledge of who the "mystery pollster" might be. Sometime over the fall or early winter I got e-mail from the "mystery pollster", who turned out to be Mark Blumenthal, a DC based Democratic pollster. Since our blog postings so often touched on similar topics, we found we had a lot of complementary material and began to occasionally share posts or charts on our sites. Mark happened to come to Madison in the spring, and we had a very interesting lunch focused on what we were doing and where it could go.

In May, a bolt from the blue gave us the opportunity to merge our efforts. Polimetrix, a California based polling firm was interested in creating a public site called Pollster.com and invited Mark to leave his polling career and become its developer and editor in chief. Mark invited me to co-develop the site. It had become clear that we made a good team. Mark with polling commentary, analysis and critiques that only a long time professional could write, and me with my graphics and methods of analyzing trends. It was a great match. The only problem was that it was June and we had a national election in five months and no site, no software and no data!

To make a long story short, we nearly killed ourselves and three teams of site developers but on Labor Day weekend (a year after the start of Political Arithmetik) we launched not one but two sites. Pollster.com was our home base. But we had also landed a contract to provide Slate.com with daily polling updates and an "election scorecard" for the Senate, House and Governor's races. The Slate site became one of the top 5 targets for Slate readers throughout the fall.

Our efforts at Pollster.com were fo-

cused on continuous updates of all the polls for all the races, and we largely accomplished that. What set us apart was the graphical displays of the trends in the polls for each race. The trend estimator we use is one that comes directly from my academic work and takes a bit of explaining, but has some significant advantages over simpler rolling averages. Mark's commentary on polling methodology and the effects it can have on results was the mainstay of the site's readers. Our trend estimates of where the races stood each day were widely cited.

And readers came. In our first month, we had 100,000 unique visitors. In the second month, 400,000. And in the week before the election we stressed our servers with 450,000 visitors and 1,755,000 page views.

Somehow we all lived through it.

Since the 2006 election, Pollster.com has gone through a lot of back-room redesign and is now gearing up for the 2008 elections. Our traffic is rising as the election approaches and we'll be debuting a number of new features and services (that I can't talk about just now.)

Perhaps most gratifying was that Pollster.com earned the recognition of our colleagues in the polling community. The American Association for Public Opinion Research awarded us the Warren J. Mitofsky Innovators Award in May 2007.

Meanwhile, my work at Political Arithmetik continues. Political Arithmetik may never have the traffic that Pollster receives (only 280,000 visitors so far, and some 500,000 page loads) but it remains my baby, to do with as I wish. And I have new plans for it as well. Come check them out.

Does it help a department of Political Science to have people like me doing this kind of stuff? I hope so. Certainly my contact with the polling and political worlds is far more intense than it was before. A number of former students have jobs in campaigns (for both parties), and I hope my contacts will help others move into the national political scene. But what I most hope for is that Pollster and Political Arithmetik will help spread the word that political science has something worth saying about practical politics and that it can speak with a non-partisan voice that illuminates what is, rather than just reinforces what partisans wish were true.

Charles Franklin is a Professor of Political Science. In addition to his work on Political Arithmetik and Pollster.com, he is an analyst for the ABC News Election Night Decision Desk. He is also a past President of the Society for Political Methodology.

OBSERVING ELECTIONS AND THE ELECTION-MONITORING INDUSTRY IN EAST TIMOR

Kevin McGahan

Within a few hours after submitting grades for Paul Hutchcroft's intensive summer course on the politics of Southeast Asia, I rushed to the airport to endure an unusually long route to East Timor. A former Portuguese colony, East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in December 1975 and later received its independence in May 2002. This newly sovereign state—the eastern half of the small island of Timor—also has the more dubious distinction of being one of the world's poorest countries and recently ranked in the top tier of failed states in the international system. Through a series of e-mail exchanges and interviews several months earlier that largely centered on my Indonesian language skills and past experience in witnessing elections in post-Suharto Indonesia in 1999, I was invited to serve as an international observer for East Timor's June 30th parliamentary elections, which came on the heels of two rounds of presidential elections held just months earlier. Although I remained unclear on the exact role and legitimacy of an international observer, even after passing my election-monitoring training in New York, I eagerly embraced the challenge and prepared for adventure.

After arriving for my first time at East Timor's conflict-worn capital of Dili, I was immediately struck by the tremendous—if not overwhelming—international humanitarian presence in the predominately Catholic country. Several large SUVs and the occasional helicopter with pronounced black and white UN lettering were readily found about the small airport. The UN has been active in the country since 1999 and its latest incarnation is called the UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT). Along with dozens of other enthusiastic foreign nationals temporarily doubling as election monitors, I paid my thirty-dollar entry visa (East Timor is completely dollarized and does not issue its own currency, save for a few local centavo coins) and exited the terminal building. In the parking lot, I was quickly greeted by numerous overly zealous Timorese children trying to carry my bulging, blue backpack: for a small fee, of course. The youths came from the other side of a fence demarcating the airport, which is adjacent to one of the country's largest camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs) established after tens of thousands of people fled their homes during last year's political crisis. UN police (UNPol) would occasionally wield long sticks to keep the youths temporarily at a distance. I recognize the emblems on the officers' shoulders as belonging to police in Malaysia, where I conducted field research last year. My traveling companion, a former Peace Corps volunteer who was evacuated from East Timor during the 2006 crisis that



involved about 600 soldiers resigning from the military, arranged a ride for us into town. We piled into an awaiting truck and drove off quickly.

With only a week to go before the parliamentary elections, I knew my stay in Dili would be temporary but busy. I lived in a large rented house with several other international observers in a section of the capital patrolled by a military contingent from New Zealand, which was part of the 700-member International Stabilization Force (ISF) dominated by Australian troops. Each morning, I would wave to the Kiwi soldiers who were snugly fit inside their concrete outpost, as I made my way to observer-mission headquarters. Our office was located among various NGO and diplomatic buildings as well as aid-agency tents used to house several IDPs. Inside the office, our delegation—which consisted of about 45 foreign and national observers—would regularly meet and then disperse to various parts of the city to attend election-related briefings or monitor campaign rallies. About three days before the election was held, I learned that I would be part of a four-member observer team dispatched to the scenic mountain district of Ainaro. My teammates included a woman from the Philippines and two local Timorese men from the district. I was excited about my assignment. Ainaro had generally not experienced the widespread political violence seen elsewhere in the country. And the town of Ainaro, which serves as the capital of the district of the same name, holds a sister-city relationship with Madison. But sadly, I found no influence of beer brats and cheese curds

Before the election, my teammates and I had to accomplish several tasks. The main goal was to locate the polling station where we would observe its opening and closing on election day. At this particular polling station, in Aitutu, we confirmed that polling staff received all the proper voting materials, including the rather large ballot sheets that were printed in Indonesia. With the help of our two Timorese partners

serving as translators, we next tackled interviewing local politicians, such as the district administrator (similar to a governor) and party officials about voter education and election process, more broadly. We especially wanted to know about any incidents of violence or voter intimidation. Thankfully, we had very little to report in this respect. We also met with the dozens of other election observers, namely from Australia and the European Union, to coordinate our monitoring coverage on election day. I soon realized that election monitoring had become quite a lucrative business. Unlike me, many observers were paid handsomely for their efforts and were already planning their next monitoring mission.

Election day itself was exhilarating and fun. Our day began in the dark and cold at 4am. My teammates and I arrived at the polling station in the village of Aitutu before it was scheduled to open at 7am. Operating by headlamps and hand torches, we found the election staff already busily opening sealed boxes of voter-related materials, including ballots, stamps, seals, and lots of ink – used to dip the index fingers of individuals after they had cast their ballots to prevent repeat voting. To readily identify ourselves as observers, we wore ugly, off-white vests and hung a card containing our election-monitoring credentials around our necks. Both items were supplied to us by the UN. With our credentials, we were able to go inside the polling station, witnessing the entire voting process, except we were not allowed to watch voters actually mark their ballots. Both inside and outside the stations,

voters looked happy and greeted us warmly.

After spending about an hour at the station in Aitutu, our team split up to observe various polling stations around the district. I went to a town called Nunumogue, where I witnessed my most troubling station. At Nunumogue, rather than forming an orderly line and allowing only a handful of individuals in the polling station at one time, voters formed a large crowd at the polling station entrance, often pushing their way past the queue controller. In addition to a crowd control problem, inside the center, I witnessed a massive, wall-length, blue, UNHCR tarp, which was purposely hung in front of the voting booths. Consequently, I was not able to observe the number of voters behind the blue cover. I suspected that, contrary to election regulations, occasionally more than one voter was sharing the same voting booth at a time. As an observer, I was not allowed to intervene in the voting process, but I did document the incident by taking pictures and a copious amount of notes.

Our team eventually united and we made it back in time to observe the closing of the polling station at Aitutu. We then waited for the UN convoy of trucks, which stopped at each station to obtain the ballot boxes. We became part of the spectacle, following the UN vehicles to the district tabulation center, where the most tedious part of election observing occurs. At the counting





Kevin McGahan is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Political Science, where he studies international relations, comparative politics, and South-east Asia. He thanks Pat Cottrell, Jen Ziemke, and especially Paul Hutchcroft for their comments.

center, each ballot box is sequentially opened. Stacks containing 500 ballots are placed on a table, where a staff member reads aloud the marked vote. The counting process highlighted the country's linguistic plurality, where Indonesian, Tetum (the local language), Portuguese and even English were used. After each round of 500 ballots was counted, the final tallies were projected on a computer screen. Later, these district tallies were sent to the national level to calculate the final results.

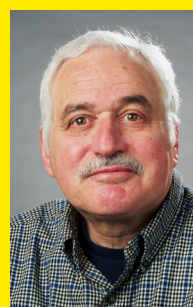
In the end, like most other election-monitoring delegations, our mission declared East Timor's parliamentary elections "free and fair" and congratulated the Timorese people. Nevertheless, each team submitted its report on the elections that also outlined various infractions, problems, and policy recommendations for the future. We then patted each other on the backs for a job well done; many left before the results were even finalized.

But simply because foreigners declare the process generally "free and fair" does not mean all factions within Timorese society accept the results as legitimate. Indeed, given 14 political parties contesting the election, it is not surprising that no individual party won a majority. The incumbent party and former rebel

group, Fretilin, won a plurality, capturing 29 percent of the total vote. Yet, Fretilin failed to form a majority coalition in parliament. Instead, Fretilin's chief opponent, CNRT, formed a ruling coalition, with the former president, Xanana Gusmão, becoming the country's new prime minister. Consequently, in the wake of the coalition government taking power, some angry Fretilin supporters engaged in violence, including incidents of murder, rape and arson.

Despite layers of dysfunctional institutions and endemic problems that will likely continue for many years to come, East Timor is a diverse, soulful, and beautiful country. I especially miss the family who hosted me so graciously in Ainaro as well as my new friends among the vast international community throughout East Timor and elsewhere. My experience as an election monitor was both frustrating and enriching at the same time. I believe that election monitors can help facilitate the electoral process. But I clearly realize that my role was miniscule in comparison to the daunting problems confronting East Timor—where recent elections were only an initial step in the long and desperately needed process of political and economic development.

THANK YOU!



Ed Friedman completed his 40th year on the UW faculty at the end of the last academic year. With his continuing service this year, Professor Friedman has now been on the faculty longer than anyone in the Department's history.



John Witte completed his 30th year on the UW faculty at the end of the last academic year.

Many thanks to Professors Friedman and Witte for their outstanding contributions to the Department and its students during their careers.

RESEARCH PROFILES

BARRY BURDEN

Personal Roots of Representation

The academic highlight of my summer was the publication of my latest book, *Personal Roots of Representation*. The book tries to understand why legislators do what they do. More specifically, I argue that the actions of members of Congress in Washington are influenced by the very same values, experiences, and interests that shape them as individuals. Although this might seem like common sense, it is surprising to most scholars who study the U.S. Congress. Research finds that legislators' actions are mostly determined by their partisan affiliations and the preferences of their constituents.



But these theories seemed inconsistent with what I observed happening in Congress. For example, conservative Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) became a surprising proponent of stem cell research despite opposition from his party and constituents. Other members devoted remarkable amounts of time to particular issues linked to their backgrounds. Although his constituents never asked him to take on the issue, Representative Tony Coelho (D-CA) became the primary author of the Americans with Disabilities Act. Both cases make sense once you know that Hatch is a devout Mormon and Coelho suffered from epilepsy.

Some political scientists would regard these as mere anecdotes, but I suspected that something more systematic was happening. I conducted interviews with former members of Congress and collected data to show that legislators' actions are shaped as much by factors in their personal backgrounds as by party and constituency. Personal factors influence roll call voting to some degree but become even more important when it comes to being proactive on an issue.

Consider the comparison between Rick Santorum and Arlen Specter, a running example in my book. Both were Republican senators representing Pennsylvania but their actions in Washington could hardly have been more different. Santorum was a well-known social conservative on issues like abortion and rose to the third highest post in the

Republican leadership. Specter is a genuine moderate who supports abortion rights and often votes with the Democrats. Obviously the standard factors of constituency and party cannot explain their differences since both are in the same party and represent the same state. I would like to think that knowing something about their personal histories tells the story.

SCOTT STRAUS

The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War

Last December, I published a book on the 1994 genocide in Rwanda entitled *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War*, published by Cornell. The book's central question is: what drove the dynamics of genocide in Rwanda, including the speed of violence and the participation of thousands of ordinary civilians?



Since 1994, the Rwandan genocide has received a great deal of attention in scholarly and policymaking communities. And for good reason: in roughly three months, military and political officials in Rwanda unleashed one of the worst mass crimes of the twentieth century—violence that claimed half a million civilian lives—and powerful international actors largely stood by as the violence unfolded. However, despite the attention that Rwanda has received, most existing scholarship has focused on macro-level, historical factors with little micro empirical research and hypothesis testing.

One of the principal aims of my research was to probe local dynamics and to generate evidence to evaluate different theories. That led me to conduct a nationwide survey of imprisoned perpetrators. Interviewing former genocide participants has its problems, and I discuss them in the book, but in short the method allowed me to collect direct information about the dynamics of mobilization. I also conducted a micro-comparative study of five rural locations, including the only area under government control where genocide did not occur in 1994.

All told, I conclude from my research that three main factors drove the genocide: war, state power, and ethnic categorizations. Mass violence against civilians in Rwanda, as elsewhere, grew out of armed conflict, and the perception of fear, threat, and uncertainty were key motivators. Large-scale, sustained, and intentional mass killing also requires state capacity. In Rwanda, despite the country's weak economy, the state is unusually effective, with a dense local administration, entrenched notions

of political authority, and a history of forced labor. Finally, ethnic classifications: I found a lot of evidence of interethnic cooperation before the genocide, but ethnic categories are quite salient in Rwanda with a long and specific racial history. During the genocide, I found that ethnic categories served as an organizing principle of sorts for the violence.

There is much more to say, but I'd like to offer two concluding remarks. First, I see my book as part of a rapidly emerging literature on civil wars, violence, and genocide. But the book is also deeply rooted in studies of African politics, and I am honored now to be part of the rich tradition of African studies within the department and the university. Second, I am often asked about the personal side of doing this kind of research. The subject is hard to grapple with day in and day out, and taking an academic approach to horrible violence is at times disconcerting. Nonetheless, my research grows out of first-hand experiences that I had as a journalist in the mid-1990s, in particular covering the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide. Since then, I have been compelled to understand what I witnessed and at the time did not understand. Having the freedom and opportunity to study genocide has thus also been surprisingly valuable for me personally.

BYRON SHAFER

The End of Southern Exceptionalism: Class, Race, and Partisan Change in the Postwar South

The partisan transformation of the American South is arguably the single largest change in the overall structure of American politics during the entire postwar period. The usual argument about this transformation, from massively Democratic to reliably Republican, emphasizes legal desegregation and the politics of race as the engines of change. Yet the usual argument ignores the obvious data, sixty years of survey research from the American National Election Study. And when these data are consulted, the true story looks much more like one of economic development and a powerfully emergent politics of class. Where once the poor voted Republican and the rich voted Democratic, that pattern reversed in the 1950s, and economic development then became the rising tide that lifted Republican boats.

A decade later, the civil rights revolution exploded, most forcefully in the American South, and thereafter the politics of race was reliably entwined with the politics of class. Yet if racial desegregation was never far from the center of the subsequent story, it was often a brake upon, rather than a stimu-



lus for, Republican gains. And this story is further complicated by the fact that class worked its influence upon voting by Southern whites for both Congress and the presidency in a powerfully parallel fashion, while race worked in opposite directions for these two great institutions. Whites in blacker areas were thus more Republican for the presidency; whites in blacker areas were simultaneously more Democratic for Congress. Only in the 1990s did the Republican triumph in Congress nationwide finally eliminate these differences.

JIMMY KLAUSEN

"Room Enough: America, Natural Liberty, & Consent in Locke's Second Treatise"

My article, published in the *Journal of Politics* in August 2007, scrutinizes political obligation in the *Second Treatise* by analyzing the category "natural liberty," which Locke attributes to children, so-called savages, some foreigners, and others who are said to consent only tacitly to political associations. Using Isaiah Berlin's insight, I argue that Locke accords a natural liberty *from* obligation to an existing polity (negative liberty) in the case of minors and some foreigners, but when he refers to the natural liberty of savages, Locke can only mean a natural liberty *to* obligate themselves (positive liberty) since, according to Locke, they do not yet have binding indigenous polities. Though natural liberty manifests itself differently in the two cases, Locke nonetheless analogizes them. However, exploring the logical consequences of each case, I argue that they are mutually contradictory. Both natural liberty and the voluntarism of consent require certain conditions to be actualized, one of which is "room enough": unoccupied space like that found in America in which it is possible to "exit" from the potentially coercive dilemmas of tacit consent and perhaps to originate a founding express consent. Insofar as consent and natural liberty rely on the availability of open space, though, Lockean liberalism justifies, maybe requires, the possibility if not the practice of settler colonialism: that is, the possibility of founding new polities on the very land where aboriginal Americans live their supposedly pre-political lives. Ultimately, I conclude, natural liberty undermines its own critical purchase as a concept for liberal theory.

ANDREW KYDD

Research on International Security

My work focuses on topics related to international security, such as conflict and cooperation, arms races and proliferation, international mediation of disputes and terrorism. My 2005 book, *Trust and Mistrust in International Relations*, developed a theory of how states form evaluations of each other's motivations and change those beliefs in

response to each other's behavior. I apply the theory to the origins and end of the Cold War and the rise of European cooperation in the early Cold War era. In a series of papers on mediation I look at the role of mediator bias, and investigate under what conditions mediators should be unbiased and in what conditions they need to be biased towards one side to be effective. For instance, a mediator who is trying to build trust between two parties should be unbiased, as a biased mediator will not be effective at that task. However, a mediator trying to convince one side to make a concession because the adversary will not make peace without it must be biased in favor of the side it is communicating with to be believed. Finally, in a series of papers on terrorism I and a coauthor analyze a family of strategic theories of terrorism, asking what role terrorism plays in conflicts and how it can best be countered. We look at five strategies of terrorist groups: attrition, or wearing down the adversary; spoiling, or sabotaging peace agreements between moderates; provocation, or inducing the enemy to overreact; outbidding, or demonstrating dedication to the cause and taking support away from moderate groups; and intimidation, persuading the population that it is dangerous to support the regime. We consider how each of these strategies works and how best to undermine it.

KATHERINE CRAMER WALSH

Talking About Race: Community Dialogues and the Politics of Difference

Katherine Cramer Walsh woke up one morning seven years ago to hear a radio advertisement promoting a community-based conversation about race in Madison.

At the time, Walsh was skeptical. At first blush, she pegged the discussions—called the Study Circles on Race—as a feel-good exercise in one of America's more liberal-thinking communities. Although Walsh was doubtful, she was curious, too.

A University of Wisconsin-Madison political science professor whose specialty is civic dialogue on politics, Walsh decided to take a deeper look—one that turned her original judgment on its head and led to her just-released book from the University of Chicago Press, *Talking About Race: Community Dialogues and the Politics of Difference*.

"This seemed, at first, to be a creative way of avoiding doing anything about race relations," Walsh says. "But I've become kind of enamored of the process. People in the conversations were very sincere and pretty intense, often against the wishes of the facilitators."

People generally resort to two paths to reconcile problems



about race, either by focusing on unity and similarity or by stressing the importance of multiculturalism, she says.

"These conversations, I thought, would be very multicultural and have a limited use because polls have shown that doesn't resonate with the American public," she says. "Instead, participants in these discussions did this complex balancing of unity and difference."

Walsh identified 400 cities in 46 states that engaged in these types of discussions, and her research zeroed in on five programs—three in Wisconsin and two in Illinois.

The unity theme was often the starting point for the discussions, but they quickly took off in other directions when people discussed their differences.

"In introducing themselves, almost everyone would say, 'I'm doing this because I want to get beyond race,' or 'I want to see people as people,'" she says. "Then, people of color would offer up these stories about life in the community. That would make people stop and say, 'Maybe we don't all experience things in the same way and maybe we do have a problem here.'"

Anecdotes from daily life were powerful tools in stimulating the discussions, Walsh says.

"Light bulbs would go on all over the place," Walsh says. "People would say, 'I had no idea that my Japanese-American neighbor was followed through the grocery store every time she shops.' And people of color had light bulbs go off, too. They said they had no idea that their white neighbors had no idea about the experiences they faced."

At one of the discussions a black couple talked about how their friends in Milwaukee were reluctant to come to visit them in a predominantly white city, fearing for their personal safety. A white city agency official attending the session—one who lived in the community for 25 years—was astounded, Walsh says.

"I have to believe that kind of awareness has had some impact on the way he does his job," she adds.

The discussions were often blunt and honest.

"People would engage in these difficult conversations and say things like, 'What the heck do I call you? Black? African American? The N-word?' It drew some chuckles, but it sparked a fascinating hour-long discussion about how to ask and when you should ask."

Walsh says that while the sessions in some communities may have been created to be a Band-Aid for racial problems, people who participated saw them as important avenues for the exchange of views about race.

"There are so many reasons to believe that this sort of thing is baloney, but people on the front lines swear by this," Walsh says. "Simply talking to one another is something that needs to happen and can generate lots of positive action. The value of people listening to one another can't be overestimated."

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