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Partisan Politics and War

Ion Pevehouse

Rich traditions within political science argue that every-day partisan politics stops at the water's edge. Many scholars of international relations downplay the relevance of domestic politics to inter-state behavior. Constitutional law scholars lament Congress' abdication of its Article I responsibilities in matters involving war. And journalists decry the rise of an imperial presidency, unchecked and undeterred by either adjoining branch of government. Congress, in all of these accounts, bows before an all-powerful president when the nation goes to war.

These accounts simultaneously overstate presidential power and understate the capacity of Congress to limit its exercise. As William Howell of the University of Chicago and I argue in While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers (2009). Members of Congress have a variety of tools to challenge presidential war powers. Members can enact laws that dictate how long military campaigns may last, control

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the purse strings determine how well they are funded, and dictate how appropriations may be spent. Moreover, members can call hearings and issue public pronouncements on foreign policy matters. Through legislaappropriation, tions, hearings,

and public appeals, members of Congress can substantially

What do Wisconsinites think about UW-Madison?

Katherine Cramer Walsh

What do Wisconsinites think about UW-Madison? Read-

ers of this newsletter know that UW-Madison alumni tend to love their alma mater, but how do residents of the state more generally feel about the university?

Between May 2007 and May 2009, I embarked on a grand adventure to find out, enabled by a Ira and Ineva Reilly Baldwin Wisconsin Idea Endowment Grant. I wanted to listen to the concerns of Wisconsinites in a wide variety of



communities as they expressed them in their own terms on their own turf.

To study these concerns, I invited myself into naturally-occurring groups of people in 23 communities across the state. I chose the communities that I visited by dividing the state into 8 regions based on partisan leaning, median household income, population density, size of community, racial and ethnic heterogeneity, local industry, and agricultural background. Within each of these areas, I then chose the city or population center in that region (or randomly selected it if there were multiple), and randomly chose a smaller municipality. I added several other municipalities to provide additional variation.

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PLEASE CONSIDER DIRECTING YOUR UW ANNUAL FUND DONATION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE - SEE PAGE 4

Who's New in North Hall?

In August 2009, we had the pleasure of welcoming Assistant Professor Katja Favretto and Associate Professor Keisha Lindsay to the Department, adding more depth in International Relations and Political Theory.

Assistant Professor Katja Favretto

Katja Favretto is an assistant professor of political science whose research and teaching interests include crisis bargaining, international conflict management, and third-party intervention in international disputes. Her article, "Should Peacemakers Take Sides? Great Power Mediation, Coercion and Bias" was published in the May 2009 issue of the *American Political Science Review*.

Professor Favretto has taught undergraduate and graduate courses on the topics of third-party intervention, U.S. foreign policy, and war and peace. Before joining the UW faculty, she was a pre-doctoral fellow in the Department of Political Science at Yale University and a faculty fellow in the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles. She earned her doctorate in 2009 at the University of California, Los Angeles



Assistant Professor Keisha Lindsay



Keisha Lindsay joins the Department after receiving her Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago in June. Her dissertation explores the 2009 liberating potential of intersectionality – a concept that illuminates the conjunction of racial, gender, and sexual identity. Lindsay's research and teaching interests include African-American and African-Caribbean political thought, feminist political theory, and the politics of popular culture. She is presently revising her dissertation for publication. Her other current research projects include the racial and gendered implications of designating children as a protected class under the law, sexual identity politics in black popular music, and exploring how, if at all, white urban gentrifiers challenge established understandings of the public sphere, citizenship, and democracy. Lindsay is the author of "Is the Caribbean Male an Endangered Species?" in Gendered Realities: Essays in Feminist Thought.

CHAIR'S INTRODUCTION

John Coleman

Greetings from Madison, where as I write this we have just had one of our typical 70-degree November weekends. Nice. A beer on the Terrace in mid-January? Why not?

It has been an important goal of mine over the past few years to reach out to all our alumni in new ways. Ideally, I'd like all our alums, from the recent past to not so recent past, from across the ideological spectrum, in careers from A to Z or retired, near Madison or far



away, to feel they have a connection with the Department.

Some of these connections are made by holding events where a faculty member speaks to a group of Political Science alumni. Some are by helping an alum identify faculty who might be able to speak at an organizational event or provide some research or analysis. Others are by arranging internship opportunities for the current generation of students. Or by bringing in alumni to speak to our current students about career opportunities.

The list goes on, and we are always eager to find new ways to reconnect with our alums. Our students, both undergraduate and graduate, are the ultimate beneficiaries. If you would be interested in helping today's students by providing career advice or in some other capacity, please see the form on page 17.

I encourage you to take a look at our Alumni Connection page on the Web. Among other features, if you have a hankering for some UW Polisci audio or video—and frankly, what sensible person doesn't?—you'll find the solution here through a page of audio and video presentations by our faculty.

You can read about one of these, the Office Hours television show hosted by Professor Ken Goldstein, in this issue. This show was the outgrowth of a class on the theory and practice of political communication. Students researched, scripted, and produced many elements of the show, in real time. They later had an opportunity to travel to Washington, D.C. to meet people in media, business, and the political world.

You can also find us on Facebook and follow us on Twitter. This is the way it has to be said. Saying "find us on Twitter and follow us on Facebook" has been known to throw the Earth subtly off its orbit.

At our Facebook fan page, you'll find an active community of about 600 Political Science alumni, frequent updates on the Department, and faculty and student news and notes. The Web, Facebook, and Twitter addresses are on the front page of this newsletter. Do you enjoy seeing photos of faculty members visited by large furry animals, as in the lower right-hand corner of this page? Then visit the photo albums on our webpage and on Facebook. Well, there may not be many fuzzy animal photos, but some of the others are pretty good, too.

Opportunities like the Office Hours shows, our summer internship program, a new set of ongoing internships we are arranging in and outside of Wisconsin, and graduate student research stipends, rely heavily on you. Simply put, we need your help, from offering undergraduate scholarships and awards, to providing funds that allow graduate students to travel to conduct their research, to contributing funds that assist faculty to conduct their world-class research. You've heard before that any amount helps, so let me reiterate that any amount helps. Please see page 18. And if you normally make a contribution as part of the UW Annual Fund drive, please consider directing your pledges toward Political Science, as explained on page 4.

One great new giving opportunity is the Student Experience Fund. Established by our Board of Visitors, this fund allows us to hire undergraduates to work in the Department and with professors on research projects. In our large department, this will allow more students to have direct contact with faculty. BOV members will double, up to \$12,500, donations made to this fund through December 31. And if you have a corporate matching gift program, your gift is effectively quadrupled. Help us meet this challenge!

This issue provides you several glimpses of faculty research projects and updates you on the successes of our faculty and students. I thank all of you who have shared stories about Polisci experiences or faculty that played an important or inspiring role for you. The Department values your friendship



and support. You can always reach me at coleman@polisci.wisc.edu to share your stories and suggestions.

POLITICAL SCIENCE PHOTO GALLERY POLISCI.WISC.EDU/PHOTOALBUM

Professor Dresang Retires

Many thanks to Dennis Dresang!

One of only 4 UW Political Science professors to reach the 40-year mark in the Department, Dennis Dresang retired in January 2009. During his years in the Department, Professor Dresang served as Chair twice and personified the Wisconsin Idea, expanding the boundaries of the University to the state.



In the mid-1980s, much of his work focused specifically on

gender- and race-based pay inequities in the public sector. In the past 25 years, he has worked with American Indian tribes on a variety of policy and management issues, directed a program helping Wisconsin communities address the problems of gangs and youth violence, worked with officials in Madison and Dane County to merge their public health departments, and completed a study used by the Wisconsin State Supreme Court to improve the management of the state's court system.

Throughout his career, Dennis Dresang made clear that he loves the state of Wisconsin and its flagship university. He served both with great skill, good cheer, and deep passion. He is widely known, admired, and respected throughout the state by citizens, former students, and those who work in and around government. The Department congratulates Professor Dresang on his career and a well-earned retirement!

Ph.D Cohort Challenge Winner

Last fall Shawn Boyne and Jennifer Ziemke, two recent Ph.D.s, initiated the Cohort Challenge. The Challenge featured competition among the five cohorts entering the Ph.D. program between 1997 and 2001. The Department is pleased to report that the winning cohort is 2001! The students who entered in 2001 led both in the participation rate and total funds contributed.

Anonymous matching gifts from one current faculty member and one emeritus faculty member made the Challenge even more successful. These funds are being used to support graduate student travel to conferences and other graduate student professional and research activities. Many thanks to all the former graduate students who gave a gift to the Department!

Direct your Contribution to Political Science

Q: Can I target my annual telefund gift to Political Science?

A: YES! When you receive a call or mailing from the UW Foundation, just let them know you'd like your contribution to go to the Political Science Department. A list of our specific funds appears on page 18.

Tune into Poli Sci

Political Science faculty are frequently being interviewed by the news media for their insights on issues of the day.

To see the full list of interviews log onto: polisci.wisc.edu/faculty_interviews.

- Obama's health care plan, school choice, mayoral control of Milwaukee Public Schools, Ken Goldstein, October 4, 2009
- Poll Presents Early Favorites for WI Governor's Race, Ken Goldstein, October 4, 2009
- Office Hours: Afghanistan, Jon Pevehouse & Katja Favretto, September 2009
- Office Hours: Healthcare Reform, Charles Franklin, September 2009
- How to Get The Most Out Of The Polling Data You Read About, Charles Franklin, September 2, 2009
- Obama & Medvedev Discuss Reducing Nuclear Stockpiles, Andrew Kydd, July 7, 2009
- Office Hours: Obama's First 100 Days, David Canon & Charles Franklin, April 2009
- Office Hours: International Review, Jon Pevehouse, February 26, 2009
- Wisconsin Credit Union League Government Affairs Conference, New Administration in Congress, John Coleman & David Canon, January 20, 2009
- Getting to Purple: The Voter and the 2008 Presidential Election Campaign, Barry Burden, September 24, 2008
- Passing through Poll Numbers, Charles Franklin, September 10, 2008
- What Party Conventions mean to our Culture and Political Process, Byron Shafer, August 25, 2008
- Wisconsin as a Battleground Ad Wars (WPR), Charles Franklin, August 7, 2008
- China's Majority Rules, Ed Friedman, April 23, 2008
- Is there something wrong with polling this year? Charles Franklin, January 28, 2008

New Members of the Political Science Board of Visitors

The Political Science Department's Board of Visitors volunteers its time to help the Department increase career, internship, and other opportunities for students; promote the Department's image and identity; and support development and outreach. The Board's members, who serve three-year terms, are alumni and Department friends who have excelled in a wide variety of careers and pursuits.



Steve Brenton, 1975 BA Political Science

Steve joined the Wisconsin Hospital Association in January 2002 and serves as the Association's president/CEO.

Who was your favorite professor?

Dennis Dresang, outstanding class lectures and terrific effort to engage discussion.

What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

Early morning coffee klatches at the Memorial Union.

How did your Political Science degree play a role in your career?

My Political Science degree laid a foundation for a career focused on policy development, advocacy and representation.

What was the hardest thing for you to explain to your parents about something that happened at UW?

The bill from the landlord to repair the wall where the dart board was attached for 12 months.



FOR A COMPLETE LIST OF MEMBERS VISIT POLISCI.WISC.EDU/BOV

Amed Khan, 1991 BA Political Science

Amed Khan is the President of Paradigm Global Group Inc., a private investment firm, and serves as senior advisor to the Clinton-Giustra Sustainable Growth Initiative.



Who was your favorite professor?

Booth Fowler and Don Downs - one of the great things about both of them was their willingness to discuss topics (any topics) outside of class. I think they both reminded me that I actually had to attend class to get credit (and that chewing over the topics of the day during and after office hours weren't sufficient substitutes).

What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

It is really one large fond memory consisting of hundreds of magical moments. Walking up Bascom Hill, sitting on the Terrace on a sunny spring afternoon with friends that you would keep for the rest of your life, wandering around North Hall looking for someone to talk to, the joy of being surrounded by thousands of people who love their University.

How did your Political Science degree play a role in your career?

After leaving Madison, I went to work on the Clinton for President campaign. Then had the good fortune of working at the White House, the State Department, and for two presidential campaigns all within five years of leaving Madison so I would say the various courses I took throughout the Department had a very immediate impact on my career and life. My degree helped me understand the economic and global challenges facing our government and more importantly how to think critically and effectively.

What was the hardest thing for you to explain to your parents about something that happened at UW?

Is it fair to say the "Veer Offense" of our former head football coach, Don Morton?



Laura Miller, 1980 BA Political Science/ Journalism

Laura Miller was Mayor of Dallas, Texas from 2002 to 2007. While mayor, she built a coalition to oppose the construction of 18 oldtechnology coal plants in Texas -

an effort memorialized in an award-winning Robert Redford documentary entitled "Fighting Goliath." She is currently Director of Projects (Texas) for Summit Power Group, a development of clean-coal power plants.

Who was your favorite professor?

Richard Merelman's Political Science 101 had a big enough impact on me that two things happened: I decided to become a double major, adding political science to journalism; and I kept my incredibly detailed class notes – the only ones to survive college. Sample entry: "There are many psychological drawbacks to being rich."

What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

Making friends (who I still have) in Chadbourne Hall. Latenight runs to Picnic Point and the Capitol in the snow. Bonfires on University Avenue. Mr. G's for fish fry. Pool and foosball at The Oasis, The Plaza, The Union, and that bar near Mr. G's. Getting passed up and over at football games. Writing for *TIME* and the Milwaukee newspapers. Lady Liberty on the Lake. Pink flamingos on Bascom Hill (I still have the poster).

How did your Political Science degree play a role in your career?

It made me want to be a newspaper reporter covering politics. I took that to such an extreme that after 18 years covering local government in Miami, New York, and Dallas, I went to the dark side and ran for the Dallas City Council.

What was the hardest thing for you to explain to your parents about something that happened at UW?

Like many of my peers, I take the Fifth. But I was mortified to receive the only C of my life in an advanced French literature class my first semester that I a) had no business taking and b) didn't have the sense to drop. I still have nightmares.



Bill Petasnick, 1968 BA Political Science

Bill Petasnick is President and CEO of Froedtert Memorial Lutheran Hospital and the Froedtert & Community Health System in Milwaukee. He is the Immediate Past Chair of the American Hospital Associa-

tion Board of Trustees.

Who was your favorite professor?

Professor David Tarr.

What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

Most importantly, UW was a place where I met my wife on the fourth floor of the old graduate library and we now have been married for 41 years. Fondest memory is experiencing the social upheaval of the 60s in real-time and personal.

How did your Political Science degree play a role in your career?

It was through working on a paper about a newly enacted law called Medicare that I became familiar with the field of health care administration—thus began a 40 year career in health services administration. Throughout these 40 years I have been able to intertwine my interest in health policy development both at the local, state and national levels.

What was the hardest thing for you to explain to your parents about something that happened at UW?

The passion of the social change occurring during the 60s.



David Tarr



Jerry Whitburn, 1968 MA Political Science

Jerry Whitburn is the Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer of Church Mutual Insurance Company, one of the nation's highest rated property casualty companies. He joined the company in 1996 after serving as Sec-

retary of the Massachusetts Executive Office of Health and Human Services from 1995 to 1996.

Who was your favorite professor?

I found Austin Ranney very impressive. He had a strong national reputation and it showed in the classroom. He hooked me into a project that funded an engagement ring for my wife-to-be.

What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

I would point to a poignant memory. While going to grad school with a full time load, I was also working full time in the Governor's office during the time that Martin Luther King was assassinated. There was unrest on the campus and the National Guard was called on to the campus for the first time ever. There were guys with rifles up and down State Street and German Shepherds. I learned a lot during those days

How did your Political Science degree play a role in your career?

My career has brought me in and out of government and business. Following my service in the Governor's office during grad school, I worked for the Secretary of the Navy in the Pentagon for three years during Vietnam, then after 8 years in the private sector, returned to Washington to work in the United States Senate for 6 years followed by three Cabinet level positions in Wisconsin and Massachusetts state governments. I used my political science degree a lot - certainly during periods of government service, but also in my private sector positions.

What was the hardest thing for you to explain to your parents about something that happened at UW?

I was the first in my family to go to college. My dad was a small businessman who objected to paying a lawyer \$35 an hour so he thought his son should be an attorney. I didn't want law school, I did not like it, and I did not stay beyond one semester. I switched into the graduate school without informing my parents. Not a lot of happy talk over semester break that year.

Mike Wittenwyler, 1995 BA Political Science, 1998 JD Law

Mike Wittenwyler is an administrative and regulatory attorney at Godfrey & Kahn, S.C. splitting his time between Madison and Washington, D.C.



Who was your favorite professor?

Professor Joel Grossman. He taught a number of classes on courts, the legal profession and politics. Professor Grossman cemented my interest in attending law school.

What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

Many great memories. All involve the great people that I got to know while on campus. Many relationships and friendships developed during that time that continue to today.

How did your Political Science degree play a role in your career?

My political science degree pointed me toward politics, law school and everything else I've been doing since graduation. My studies provided me with an academic foundation and the department provided me with introductions to others in the field.

What was the hardest thing for you to explain to your parents about something that happened at UW?

That I was leaving school a few classes short of a degree to take a job in politics. (I did come back and finish a few years later.)



Joel Grossman

An Award-Winning Year

Department of Political Science Awards and Honors, August 2008 through October 2009

FACULTY

Richard Avramenko: Faculty Fellow, Institute for Research in the Humanities, UW-Madison, 2009-2010

Donald Downs: Honored Instructor Award, Chadbourne Residential College **Charles Franklin:** New York Times, 8th Annual Year in Ideas, for Pollster.com

Named a Fellow of the Society for Political Methodology, 2009

Edward Friedman: Hilldale Award for the Social Studies Division, UW-Madison, 2008-09

Scott Gehlbach: Lyons Family Faculty Fellow Award, College of Letters and Science

Kenneth Goldstein: Distinguished Teaching Award, UW-Madison

Honored Instructor Award, Chadbourne Residential College

Jon C. Pevehouse: Richard E. Neustadt Award for Best Book on the Presidency, American Political Science Association Presidency Research Group, 2008, for While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers (Princeton University Press, 2007) with William G. Howell

Karl Deutsch Award, for an outstanding scholar under age 40, International Studies Association, 2009

Vilas Associate Award, UW-Madison

D. B. Hardeman Book Prize, Lyndon Baines Johnson Foundation, for *While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers*, with William G. Howell.

Leon Epstein Faculty Fellow, College of Letters and Science, UW-Madison

Michael Schatzberg: International Institute Faculty Contribution Grant, UW International Institute and Division of International Studies, in recognition of outstanding service to African Studies

Scott Straus: Robert and Susan Trice Faculty Scholar Award

Philip Certain Award, College of Letters & Science Board of Visitors

Distinguished Teaching Award, UW-Madison

Aili Tripp: Kellett Mid-Career Award, UW-Madison

David Weimer: Named a Fellow-Elect of the National Academy of Public Administration, 2008

GRADUATE STUDENTS

Jennifer Brick: Best Student Paper, American Institute for Afghanistan Studies, 2008

Meina Cai: Institute for Humane Studies Fellowship, 2009-10

National Science Foundation Dissertation Fellowship

Valerie Hennings: Carrie Chapman Catt Prize for Research on Women and Politics, Catt Center for Women & Politics at Iowa State University, 2008

Brandon Kendhammer: Teaching Fellow, College of Letters and Science 2009-10

Zach Oberfield: Leonard D. White Award, American Political Science Association, for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of public administration, "Becoming the Man: How Street-Level Bureaucrats Develop Their Workplace Identities and Views"

Saemyi Park: Myung-In Talented Student Scholarship, Sookmyung Women's University, South Korea

Emily Sellars: National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship

Dan Walters: Richard D. Cudahy Writing Competition on Regulatory and Administrative Law, American Constitution Society for Law and Policy

Timo Weishaupt: Haas Award, best dissertation in European politics, American Political Science Association, 2009

Timothy Werner: Hovland Article Prize, Department of Political Science, for "Congressmen of the Silent South: The Persistence of Southern Racial Liberals, 1949-1964," <u>Journal of Politics</u> 71, 1 (2009): 70-81

Genevieve Gorst Herfurth Award for Outstanding Research in Social Studies, UW-Madison, for "Congressmen of the Silent South: The Persistence of Southern Racial Liberals, 1949-1964," <u>Journal of Politics</u> 71, 1 (2009): 70-81

Amber Wichowsky: Joe Wholey Award, American Society for Public Administration, for the best article on performance management in 2008: "Measuring How Administration Shapes Citizenship: A Policy Feedback Perspective on Performance Management," Public Administration Review 68(5): 908-920 (with Donald Moynihan)

Cai (Vera) Zuo: Scott Kloeck-Jenson Pre-Dissertation Fellowship, UW International Institute, Global Studies Political Science Department Summer Research Initiative: Fifteen graduate students received project support, thanks to the David Adamany Graduate Travel Fund, Marion John Atwood Scholarship Fund, Llewellyn Pfankuchen Scholarship Fund, and Robert and Susan Trice Graduate Scholar Fund

UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

Department awards:

Asad Asad: Judith Hicks Stiehm Scholarship
Emily Bisek and Ismael Cuevas: Kathy Lefco Gift
Jennifer Brody: William F. and Fayette G. Taylor Scholarship
Marta Christianson and Heather Huhn: Clara Penniman Award
Sara Eskrich and Steve Horn: Robert Trice/Lockheed Martin Award
Jennifer Ostroth: Thomas L.W. Johnson Scholarship
Adam Thal: Philip J. Schemel Scholarship
Jeffrey Wright: Elaine C. Davis Award

External awards:

Matthew Costello: Hilldale Research Award Rocio Sanchez-Moyano: Hilldale Research Award Elizabeth Toussaint: Hilldale Research Award

Joel Smoot: Holmstrom Environmental Research Scholarship



Professors Ken Goldstein, Richard Avramenko, David Weimer, Edward Friedman, Scott Gehlbach, Aili Trip and graduate students Amber Wichowsky, Saemyi Park, and Valerie Hennings, were among the honorees at the 2008-2009 Political Science Awards Reception

Office Hours

Ken Goldstein

After the Big Ten Battleground Poll in Fall 2008, Amy Toburen, Director of University Communications, asked if I would be willing to take a shot at hosting an interview program that would air on the Big Ten Network and showcase the work of University of Wisconsin faculty. It seemed like a fun opportunity to me to get to "play" on the other side of the camera and, more importantly, to create a class that would teach students how to write and do research in real time and take advantage of the UW's role in this new national television network reaching almost 60 million homes. I had just finished teaching a class on campaigns and elections and invited ten of the best students from that class as well as some students who had worked for me on the University of Wisconsin Advertising Project to take part in the new seminar. It proved to be one of the most valuable experiences I have ever had as a faculty member.

The class was not about the technical aspects of TV production – lights, sound, camera angles, and so on. While students were made familiar with how these things influenced what we would do on the show, these technical aspects were handled by University Communications and a professional studio staff at WHA-TV. The students decided on a name for the program, "Office Hours," and handled all the guest selections, research, and writing for nine, half-hour programs that included discussions on stem cells, psychopaths, the common cold, and the current economic and political situations. Two of the "Office Hours" programs highlighted

Political Science faculty – an update on international affairs with Jon Pevehouse and a look at President Obama's first 100 days with David Canon and Charles Franklin.

In addition to my academic work on political communication and ongoing work with the ABC News Election Unit, one of my first jobs out of college had been as a researcher and segment producer on CBS News Nightwatch hosted by Charlie Rose. Using these experiences, my major goal for the students in the course was teaching them how to translate the writing and research skills they have learned in college to the real world. Put another way,

they needed to learn how to synthesize large amounts of information and research into a maneageable and digestable amount of information under tight deadlines.

These students completely exceeded my very high

expectations and were as talented a group as I have ever worked with.

Due to the generosity of Political Science Board of Visitors Chair, Ron Rose and Karen Rose, his wife, I was able to take the students to Washington DC, and arrange meetings with a variety of political and media professionals. While in DC, the students also had the chance to meet with area alumni and get career advice. "Washington D.C. is clearly a very unique and potentially intimidating city. Through meeting with various alumni and professionals, we were able to get an insider's perspective that allowed for an incredible educational experience," UW senior Josh Korenblatt said. For senior Hannah Young, "My favorite part of the trip was the behind the scenes look we got at places like Politico and ABC News. Seeing how these companies run and hearing what they think their role in the political process is were opportunities I would have never had outside this course."

These students were obviously top notch, but the personal connections they have made and the strong recommendations I was able to provide after having the opportunity to see them work under pressure helped a number of them get positions with media outlets and political consultants right after graduation.

We are at it again this fall with a new class of students and 12 new shows being aired on the Big Ten Network. You can follow the activities of the class and see previous episodes by visiting www.polisci. wisc.edu and clicking on the Office Hours link.



Professors Charles Franklin and David Canon are interviewed by Ken Goldstein for Office Hours.

What do Wisconsinites think?

-continued from page 1

Once I had selected the communities, I sought a group of people who met regularly and casually of their own accord in a neighborhood gathering place to which I could gain access.

I asked for advice from University of Wisconsin Extension offices, local newspaper editors, and local leaders. These groups were typically early morning coffee klatches that met in restaurants, cafes or gas stations, or groups that met regularly in a local place of worship. I visited each group between 1 and 4 times over the past 2 years.

On a typical visit, I would walk into the place someone had told me that "regulars" meet, introduce myself, and ask if I could join the group that morning. I passed out tokens of my appreciation donated by the WAA, such as football schedules and pens, then started off by asking about the main concerns in that community. With respect to UW-Madison, I asked 3 questions: "What do we do well?" "What could we do better?" "What should the university be doing in your community?"

People of a wide variety of backgrounds and in a wide variety of places had many positive things to say about their state's flagship university. They tend to admire, in approximately this order, Badger sports (especially football, men's basketball, and men's hockey); the marching band; the high-caliber research (especially stem cell research); UW Extension; the UW Hospital; and the overall reputation and the quality of education at UW-Madison.

However, when I asked what the UW-Madison could do better, the people in the groups tended to give me lengthier and more detailed lists. The top concerns were admissions many people said that it was too difficult even for good students to get in, and that not enough in-state students are admitted); the cost of tuition: the dominance of drinking in student social life; and the faculty. The use of teaching assistants rather than professors in all institutional settings drew complaints. The perceived liberal tilt of the faculty politically and socially drew some ire. And there is a perceived distance between the public and the faculty for two reasons. First, because we earn salaries higher than the average Wisconsinite. And second, because the concerns of ordinary people are seen as underrecognized, particularly people in outstate Wisconsin (the areas of the state beyond the Milwaukee and Madison metropolitan areas).

I believe this last concern is the most interesting and im-

portant of my findings. This sentiment that UW-Madison faculty do not recognize the concerns of the people of outstate Wisconsin was part of a broader, and very pervasive, view. Many people across the state had a mental map of Wisconsin that pitted Madison/Milwaukee against the rest of the state. When they spoke of "Madison," they were referring to UW-Madison, but also to the state legislature. In general, they equated Madison with people and institutions with important decision-making power over their lives. In this us vs. them understanding of the state, they perceived that Madison draws in resources, spends them on Madison or diverts them to Milwaukee, and never returns them to the rest of the people of the state. Also, part of this picture was the belief that power emanates out from Madison, never in reverse. That is, they perceive that people in Madison proclaim policy decisions, rather than listen to what the outstate residents think or need. This was very much an issue of urban vs. rural, as time and again people claimed things such as "the folks in Madison have no understanding of the rural way of life."

For people on the UW-Madison campus, part of this is a problem of a lack of communications or public relations. Many times the people I spoke with would state that they wished the university would do research on a certain topic or run a certain type of program, when in fact such research or programming is already in place. However, part of this is a problem with the typical way in which policy makers, either from UW-Madison, the state legislature or other institutions with authority, tend to connect with the public. All too often, connections with the public are unidirectional, or in the form of town hall meetings. The public is included by inviting people into a forum in which the authorities sit at the front of the room (literally or figuratively, as is often the case in internetbased communications), and members of the public sit in the audience. This type of set-up sends strong signals that it is not members of the public who hold expertise.

A solution is to incorporate more listening into policy-making. We need to find creative ways to meet up with people in the course of their everyday lives to discover their concerns, rather than inviting them into the settings in which we as policymakers or people in positions of authority are most comfortable. Whether it is a public university, or any other public institution, serving the public requires this basic form of communication.

GENERAL WILL SYMPOSIUM

Jimmy Klausen

A central problem of modern Western political thought has been how to conceptualize and make practicable a notion of the public good and specifically how to overcome the egocentrism of private



particular wills in order to constitute a general will that could serve as both the inspiration and aspiration for individuals' actions. How, in other words, do we make the community both the origin and end of citizens' actions? Theorizing this general will is Jean-Jacques Rousseau's most famous contribution to the tradition of Western political theory, and analyzing the intellectual background to and roots of Rousseau's general will stands among Professor Emeritus Patrick Riley's greatest legacies.

In October 2008, sixteen scholars convened at UW-Madison's Memorial Union to honor Riley's legacy for a symposium on the general will in Western political thought. Those in attendance included not only Riley's early interlocutors (e.g., Tracy Strong) but also Riley's former UW-Madison political theory colleagues (James Farr, Richard Boyd), former undergraduate and graduate students (Sankar Muthu, Andrew Murphy, Daniel Kapust), and his successors in the department (Richard Avramenko, John Zumbrunnen).

Riley's The General Will before Rousseau (1986) deftly traced Rousseau's more or less secular concept of the general will to the reception of earlier Christian thought by the seventeenth-century French philosophers Pascal and Malebranche and their circle. The scholars invited to present their recent research challenged this classic analysis in one of two ways. They either challenged Riley's account of the concept's development by expanding it to include precursors, parallels, or possible futures to the Rousseauian general will left unexamined by Riley. Or else they challenged the concept of the general will itself by exploring the persistence of egocentric motivations for action and the possible advantages for justice of partial thinking (rather than generality or impartiality). Patrick Riley concluded the symposium with a critical assessment of his two decades-old monograph, which he retrospectively believes to have overlooked the importance of early modern French theorist Pierre Bayle's contributions to the development of the concept of the general will.

Sponsored by Alumni contributions to the Department of Political Science, as well as the Anonymous Fund, and

other campus and UW-system units, the general will symposium introduced world-class research in political theory to the UW-Madison community and afforded students and faculty in the Department of Political Science an opportunity to host theorists making cutting-edge contributions to the subfield and to witness a long-established scholar review his own place in the history of the field.

Joining and in organizing the general will symposium were David Lay Williams (Professor of Political Science & Philosophy, UW-Stevens Point), and Steven Nadler (Professor of Philosophy, UW-Madison).

BEYOND THE HEMICYCLE: THE EUROPEAN UNION LEGISLATIVE PROCESS IN WIDER PERSPECTIVE

Nils Ringe

The European Union has not only become a rising player in international politics, increasingly also affects domestic the politics of its member Perhaps most importantly, EU law is superior to national law and must be implemented



at the domestic level. The dynamics of EU law-making were the topic of a conference I organized that was made possible by alumni contributions to the Political Science Department, and co-sponsored by the European Union Center of Excellence, the Center for European Studies, and the Center for German and European Studies. Nine participants from eight universities in the US, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Norway, and the Netherlands presented and discussed new and innovative research on the legislative process of the European Union. Giacomo Benedetto (Royal Holloway University London, UK), for instance, highlighted the consensual nature of decision-making in the European Parliament (EP) by examining differences in the voting behavior of legislators across policy areas. Bjørn Høyland (University of Oslo, Norway) documented the disconnect between the content of parliamentary debates and how members of the EP vote on the floor. The particular nature of the 'electoral connection' between national constituents and international legislators was the topic of Aaron Abbarno's research (University of Pittsburgh), while a number of articles considered decision-making dynamics between the

EU institutions involved in the legislative process: the EP, the Council of Ministers, and the European Commission. For example, Ewa Mahr (European Parliament Secretariat) and I investigated the determinants of legislative success in the bargaining between the EP and the Council. We found that the EP is successful in having the Council adopt its amendments when the EP member responsible for guiding a legislative proposal through the decision-making process, the so-called rapporteur, is a political moderate and when her country holds the EU Presidency. Finally, papers by Frank Häge (University of Limerick, Ireland) and Andreas Warntjen (University of Twente, the Netherlands) focused on decisionmaking dynamics in the Council of Ministers. Häge's research demonstrated that a more powerful EP has led to more politicized Council decision-making, while Warntjen showed how EU member states can steer the Council's agenda according to their domestic priorities when they hold the EU Presidency. The paper presentations and the lively discussions that followed, both among the conference participants and with the audience, made for a successful event that shed new light on the nature and processes of EU law-making.

Partisan Politics and War

-continued from page 1

increase the political costs of military action -- sometimes forcing presidents to withdraw sooner than they would like or even preventing military action.

The real challenge, though, lies in identifying the particular conditions under which members are likely to exercise these powers. We focus on the partisan composition of Congress, which has historically determined whether lawmakers will oppose or acquiesce to presidential calls for war. When the opposition party holds a large number of seats or controls one or both chambers of Congress, its members routinely challenge the president and strengthen their oversight of foreign conflicts. When the president's party dominates the legislative branch, however, Congress generally follows the White House's lead.

The dramatic increase in congressional oversight following the 2006 midterm elections demonstrates this tendency clearly. Immediately after assuming control of Congress, House Democrats passed a resolution condemning a proposed "surge" of U.S. troops in Iraq and Senate Democrats debated a series of resolutions expressing varying degrees of outrage against the war in Iraq. The spring 2007 supplemental appropriations debate yielded a House bill calling for a phased withdrawal (the president vetoed that bill, and the

Senate then passed a bill accepting more war funding without withdrawal provisions). During 2008, Democratic committee chairs in both chambers continued to launch hearings and investigations into the various mishaps, scandals, and tactical errors that plagued the Iraq war. And just as importantly, both the state policies and official rhetoric of the Bush administration surrounding other foreign threats—notably Iran and North Korea—softened considerably.

Fast forward to 2009, where the Obama administration has continued to draw down troops in Iraq (most of which were planned under the Bush administration), while also moving to expand the American military presence in Afghanistan – all with little fanfare from a Democratically controlled Congress.

For better or worse, none of this is new. Republicans practiced similar oppositional tactics when Bill Clinton waged wars in Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo, just as previous generations of Democrats did when Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford were in office. Partisan division ran deep during the contentious debates surrounding the supplying of arms to the Nicaraguan contras in the 1980s and Congress' prohibition of U.S. involvement in the Angolan civil war in the 1970s.

Critics of the "imperial presidency" or the "complacent Congress" have made a habit of equating legislative inactivity with Congress' abdication of its foreign policy obligations. Too often, the infrequency with which Congress enacts restrictive statutes is seen as prima facie evidence of the institution's failings. Sometimes it is. But one cannot gauge the health of the U.S. system of governance strictly on the basis of what Congress does -- or does not do -- in the immediate aftermath of presidential initiatives. After all, when presidents anticipate congressional resistance that is unlikely to be overcome, they often abandon the sword as their primary tool of diplomacy. More generally, when the White House knows that Congress will strike down key provisions of a policy initiative, it usually backs off.

To assess the extent of congressional influence on presidential war powers, therefore, it is not sufficient to count how many war authorizations are enacted or how often members deem it necessary to start the 60-day "war powers clock." Rather, one must examine the underlying partisan alignments across the branches of government as well as presidential efforts to anticipate and preempt congressional recriminations.

Examining the deployment of military forces in the post-World War II era, we find that partisan divisions have fundamentally defined the domestic politics of war. For example, presidents emerging from midterm election defeats have been less likely to respond to foreign policy crises aggressively, and when they have ordered the use of force, they have taken much longer to do so. Extending old datasets on the frequency of troop deployments, and building altogether new ones on "opportunities" to exercise military force abroad, we find considerable evidence that the partisan composition of Con-

gress correlates with the propensity of U.S. military action. We find that the White House exercises military force steadily less often as members of the opposition party pick up seats in Congress; and the probability that presidents respond militarily to specific crises occurring abroad similarly declines as the opposition party gains seats on Capitol Hill.

Of course, it is important not to overstate the extent of congressional influence. Even when Congress is most aggressive, the executive branch retains a tremendous amount of power when it comes to military matters. Modern presidents enjoy extraordinary advantages in times of war, not least of which the ability to act unilaterally on military matters and thereby place on Congress (and everyone else) the onus of coordinating a response. Moreover, our findings do not support

the contention that Congress offers a steady check on presidential war powers. When large numbers of the president's party reside in Congress, the president enjoys considerable discretion to wage war as he sees fit.

Thus, interbranch struggles over the conduct of foreign policy operate much like those on domestic policy—the most salient cleavages are partisan in nature, and the probability that presidents will have their way critically depends upon the level of support they can count on in Congress. Congressional influence is both episodic and circumscribed. But it is not random. Nor is it politically insignificant.

Another key finding of our work is that Congress' ability to influence executive-

branch decision-making extends far beyond its legislative and budgetary powers. Cutting funds, starting the war powers clock, or forcing troop withdrawals are the most extreme options available to them. More frequently, members of Congress make appeals designed to influence both media coverage and public opinion of a president's war. For example, Congress' vehement criticism of Reagan's decision to reflag Kuwaiti tankers during the Iran-Iraq War led to reporting requirements for the administration. Similarly, the Clinton administration's threats to invade Haiti in 1994 met with resistance by Republicans and a handful of skeptical Democrats in Congress, who took to the airwaves to force Clinton to continually justify placing U.S. troops in harm's way.

Such appeals resonate widely. Members of Congress -through their own independent initiatives and through journalists' propensity to follow them -- stand out as the single
most potent source of dissent against the president. The
sheer number of press releases and direct feeds that members
of Congress produce is nothing short of breathtaking. And
through carefully staged hearings, debates, and investigations,
members deliberately shape the volume and content of the
media's war coverage. The public posturing that fill these high-

ly scripted affairs are intended to focus media attention and thereby sway the national conversation surrounding questions of war and peace. Whether the media scrutinize every aspect of a proposed military venture or assume a more relaxed posture depends in part on Congress' willingness to take on the president.

Utilizing data from the Wisconsin Newslab Project, we analyzed the media coverage of the Iraq War debate in the weeks preceding the October 2002 war authorization vote. We find that the media paid a tremendous amount of attention to debates about Iraq inside the Beltway. Following the vote, however, coverage of Iraq dropped precipitously, despite continued domestic controversies, debates at the United Nations, continued efforts by the administration to rally public

President (Party)	Total Deployments	Avg./Year
Truman (D)	36	4.5
Eisenhower (R)	59	7.4
Kennedy/Johnson (D)	90	11.3
Nixon/Ford (R)	52	6.5
Carter (D)	22	5.5
Reagan (R)	76	9.5
Bush (R)	17	4.3
Clinton (D)	31	3.9

support, and grass-roots opposition to the war punctuated by large public protests. Congress helped set the agenda for public discussion, influencing both the volume and the tone of the coverage granted to an impending war, and Congress' silence after the authorization was paralleled by that of the press.

Crucially, congressional influence over the media extended to public opinion as well. An analysis of the Newslab data, along with national public-opinion surveys from the period reveals a strong relationship between the type of media coverage and public opinion regarding the war. Even when accounting for factors such as the ideological tendencies of a media market (since liberal markets tend to have liberal voters and liberal media, while conservative districts have the opposite), we found that the airing of more critical viewpoints led to greater public disapproval of the proposed war, and more positive viewpoints buoyed support for the war. As Congress speaks, it would seem, the media report, and the public listens.

As these cases illustrate, the United States has a Congress with considerably more agenda-setting power than most analysts presume and a less independent press corps than many would like. The use of that power, however, we find to be

conditional on partisan politics. In Washington, the party that controls Congress also determines the volume and the tone of the coverage given to a president's war.

Congressional affronts to presidential war powers are not new. Nor are they confined to one political party or to one war. The essential issues that shape policy are not legal or constitutional—they are distinctly political. Partisan politics never has stopped at the water's edge, nor is it likely to in the future.

Election Reform in Wisconsin and Beyond

Barry Burden

In the days leading up to the 2008 presidential election, voters in Wisconsin and many other states waited in long lines

to cast their votes early. In 1992 only 7% of votes were cast early; last November it was 30%. It seems clear that early voting is a hit with the public.

Early voting is but one of the reforms sweeping across the states. One of the benefits of our federal system is that states have some freedom to experiment with how elections are run. States have introduced innovations such as centrally-located voting centers, different forms



of voting equipment, and Election Day Registration (EDR), which allows people to register and vote on the same day.

Over the past year professors David Canon, Kenneth Mayer, Donald Moynihan, and I have been working closely with state election officials to understand the costs and benefits of these reforms. We began a collaboration with officials at the Wisconsin Government Accountability Board (GAB), the state agency responsible for administering elections. The team secured a \$2 million grant from the federal Election Assistance Commission (EAC), one of only five given out across the states. The grant funded the development of a new web portal that could be used by the state's nearly 2,000 election clerks to report data in an efficient and uniform manner following each election. With the help of several Ph.D. students, we conducted a survey of the state's clerks and interviewed dozens of clerks in person. An evaluation report was just completed that provides the state with recommended improvements and identifies successful innovations that could be adopted by other states.

Fortunately, this task blossomed into a partnership between the GAB and faculty in Political Science. It is has become a wonderful demonstration of the Wisconsin Idea. Not only are we able to serve the state, but state officials help to improve our research. For example, to assess the voting experience in Wisconsin, we conducted a nationwide survey of voters. From that we learned that relative to voters in other states, Wisconsinites were more satisfied with their experiences at the polls, more confident that their votes were be counted properly, and took less time to vote. Apparently using paper ballots, EDR, and local administration makes for happy voters.

Our project also has something to say about those voters who waited in line to vote early last November. Our research team won a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts to study the effects of early voting. This was of special interest to Wisconsin officials because the state is considering replacing the current system of absentee voting to true early voting. Although voters might not see a difference between the two, there are significant financial and administrative implications for clerks. A GAB study suggested that early voting would require much more staff time and funds.

As the 2008 election demonstrated, voters like early voting. But perhaps something is lost when early voting is an option. Early voting might be convenient for some voters, but it also robs Election Day of its unique civic virtues. In a national analysis drawing on the Pew project, our research shows that early voting in fact results in lower voter turnout. Early voting is good at retaining dedicated voters but poor at stimulating new voters to participate. By spreading the voting process out over many days, early voting robs Election Day of its unique ability to stimulate peripheral voters. In contrast, we find that EDR increases voter turnout quite significantly. If turnout were the only goal of election reforms, states would be wiser to adopt Election Day registration than early voting. Of course, there are other goals to consider, but our results will be among the factors that policy makers consider as they entertain various reforms.

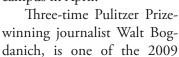
The partnerships we have established over the past year with Wisconsin election officials and researchers at other universities are invaluable. The next couple of years will be occupied with further study of election administration. It is fun and rewarding to be able to study issues that are inherently interesting but also of real importance. With a little luck we will be able to improve the electoral process further before the 2012 presidential election approaches.

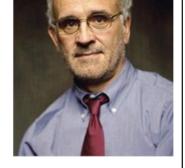
Be a Career Mentor to Today's Students see page 17

Distinguished Alumni Award

The Distinguished Alumni Award is the highest honor

bestowed by the Wisconsin Alumni Association. The award celebrates outstanding UW-Madison graduates whose professional achievements, contributions to society and support of the University exemplify the Wisconsin Idea. The recipients were honored at an awards program on campus in April.





recipients of the Distinguished Alumni Award. He's had a career in both newspapers and television, and earned his degree in Political Science in 1975. He returned to campus as a writer-in-residence in 2006.

Forward Under 40 Award

The Forward Under 40 award, given by the Wisconsin

Alumni Association, honors young UW grads for their early career success. Clayt Freed, a Political Science alum, was a Forward Under 40 recipient in 2009. He is the Founder and Director of the Progressive Voter Network. Through the Network, Clayt organizes grassroots



support for a variety of political, social, and environmental groups.

Faculty honored George Edwards (Ph.D 1973) and Carmella Edwards for their estate gift of an endowed chair in American Politics.

From left to right are Dean Gary Sandefur, Carmella Edwards, John Coleman and George Edwards

Thank you George and Carmella!

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Research Notes

African Women's Movements: Transforming Political Landscapes

Aili Tripp

My new book, African Women's Movements: Transforming Political Landscapes, co-authored with Isabel Casimiro, Joy Kwesiga and Alice Mungwa (Cambridge University Press 2009), explains why over the past decade women have become visible in African politics in unexpected and unprecedented ways. Women today claim 56% of the seats in Rwanda's parliament, the highest level of female legislative representation in the world (we have 16% women in the US Congress). Women claim close to or



over 30 percent of the parliamentary seats in Mozambique, Namibia, Uganda, South Africa, Tanzania, and Burundi. In 2005, Liberia's Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf became the first elected woman president in Africa as women are increasingly running in presidential elections throughout Africa. At the regional level, Gertrude Mongella of Tanzania became the first president of the Pan-African Parliament of the African Union, and half the parliamentarians are women.

Women's heightened engagement in politics is evident in other ways as well. Women's movements have successfully lobbied for constitutional reforms to include gender equity and anti-discrimination clauses. They have sought the passage of new legislation to expand women's rights. Women are for the first time making bids to participate in an official capacity in national level peace talks in countries where conflicts have come to an end. These are just a few of the dramatic changes in women's status that are underway in Africa today.

Our book shows how and why women became more influential in politics and began to affect policy in ways not evident in the past. It also looks at why some countries have had more success than others in passing legislation to advance women's rights. These developments are related to the emergence of active women's movements; changes in international norms regarding women's rights and representation and the related emergence of institutional mechanisms to spread those norms globally and within Africa; the availability and application of resources to advance women; and, finally, a change in opportunity structures as a result of a major upheaval in society, e.g., the end of conflict.

The book focuses on the cases of Cameroon, Uganda,

and Mozambique, situating them in a broader sub-Saharan context. As a scholarly work, it is unique in that it draws on the expertise of four scholars, several of whom were early leaders in their home countries of these movements we are describing. They have also been active within international women's movements. They have observed these transformations both from within as well as from an academic perspective. The authors have been engaged in policymaking as parliamentarians (Casimiro), in advising and engaging government agencies (Kwesiga) and donors (Tripp), and at the pan-African level, working for the African Union (Mungwa).

The authors brought a range of expertise to the book (particularly Liberia, Angola and Uganda). Alice Mungwa is Senior Political Affairs Officer of the African Union Observer Mission to the United Nations. Prior to that she served as Senior Political Officer of the African Union Commission in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. She brought to the book project her knowledge of women's movements in Cameroon and Francophone Africa as well as perspectives of transnational mobilization from the African Union vantage point. Isabel Casimiro's (Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Mozambique) focus is on Mozambique and Lusophone Africa, while Joy Kwesiga (Vice-Chancellor, Kabale University) focused on Uganda and Eastern Africa. I have written extensively on women and politics in Uganda as well as throughout Africa and am currently completing a book on why countries coming out of conflict in Africa have been more active in adopting women's rights agenda.

In Memoriam: Clara Penniman

Professor Emeritus Clara Penniman, long-time faculty leader and specialist in state administration and public finance, died of pneumonia in Madison on January 30, 2009, at the age of 94. She was the first woman member of the Department of Political Science upon her initial appointment in 1953 and served a term as Department Chair 1963-66. This was another first, as she was the first female Chair of a major political science



department. She then was founding director of the Center for the Study of Public Policy and Administration (now the La Follette School of Public Affairs) from 1967 to 1974. From 1979 untill her 1984 retirement, she held the position of Oscar Rennebohm Professor of Public Administration.

Clara Penniman was a wonderful friend to and supporter of the Department. You can read more about her at <u>polisci.wisc.edu/penniman.</u>



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