



# North Hall NEWS

THE ALUMNI NEWSLETTER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

WINTER 2012

## A MOVE TO THE LEFT?

# Catching the Drift

RYAN OWENS

On June 28, 2012, the Supreme Court held in *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius* that the Affordable Care Act was a constitutional use of Congress's taxing and spending power. Surprisingly,

*Roberts's utterances prior to his nomination showed a fairly stable cognitive process. Roberts may drift slightly over time either to the right or left, but data suggest that his drift will be minimal.*

Chief Justice Roberts, a stalwart among the conservative bloc, cast the deciding vote to uphold the law. After the decision, scholars and pundits wondered whether the Roberts vote was an anomaly or whether it signaled a leftward drift in his voting behavior. Indeed, given the leftward voting trend among former Justices Souter, O'Connor, and Kennedy, conservatives viewed the Roberts vote with trepidation.

Examples like the Roberts vote motivated Justin Wedeking (University of Kentucky) to examine ideological drift on the Supreme Court. We sought to put ourselves in the position of nominating presidents and determine whether, based on publicly observable behavior, we could predict ideological drift among nominees to the Court.

Data from a recent study showed us that nearly all justices drift ideologically



once on the Court. As the left portion of the figure (page 4) shows, some justices, like Blackmun and Douglas, drifted in the liberal direction (shown by their trend downward), while other justices, like Black and Scalia, drifted in the conservative direction (shown by their trend upward). Fully 22 out of the 26 justices studied exhibited some form of ideological drift.

The normative implications of drift are profound. For example, had Justices O'Connor and Kennedy not drifted to the left, the Court's doctrine in key areas would look quite different. Ideological drift also leads to concerns over the confirmation process. Justices are confirmed based on their representations to the Senate and American people. But because

they can behave differently once in office, many argue the confirmation process is ineffectual. These and other considerations led us to our study.

To predict ideological drift, we turned to psychological software that analyzes the

*Continued on page 4*

## CONTENTS

Chair's Notes	2
Who's New in North Hall	5
Alumni News	6
Department News	9
Book Notes	10

## 110 NORTH—Notes from the Chair



We thank those alumni and friends who in 2012 or in previous years established endowment accounts or future bequests that provide annual support to the department for scholarships, internship support, faculty and student research and travel, and other worthy purposes. We also thank those alumni and friends who made a financial contribution to the Department of Political Science between January 1, 2011 and June 30, 2012.

The Department of Political Science is deeply grateful for the support provided to us by our alumni and friends. Your financial support makes opportunities available for undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty that would otherwise not be possible. You help us maintain the UW–Madison Political Science Department as one of the best in the country.

**John Coleman**

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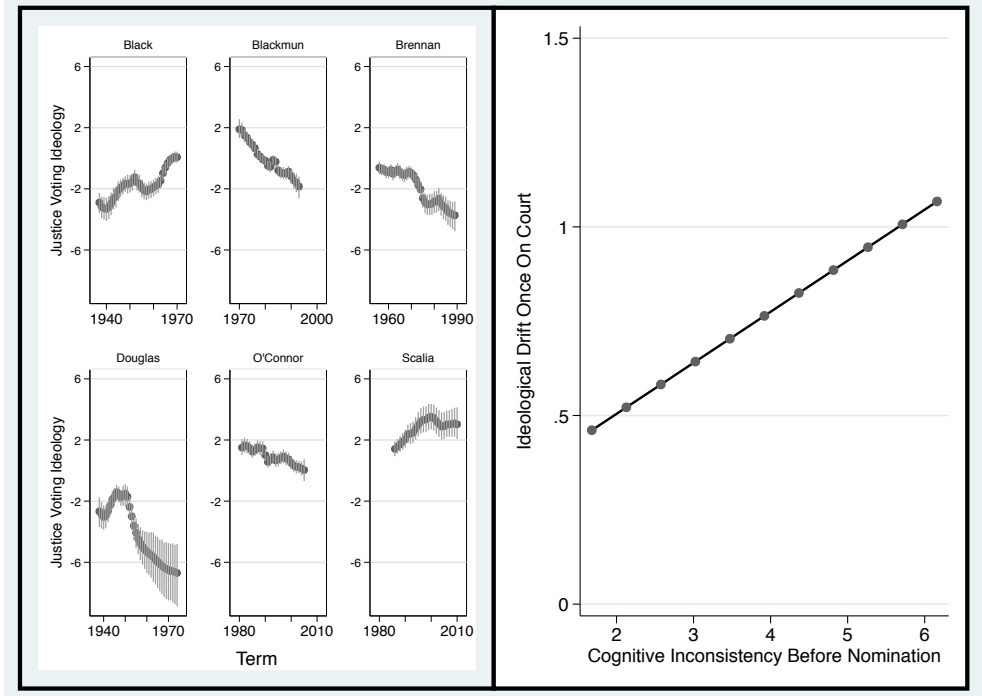
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## Catching the Drift

*Continued from page 1*

words people use in an effort to measure their thought processes. The software (Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count) allowed us to estimate various components of nominees' thought processes. It is based on the proven assumption that the words people use can tell us *how* they think, as much as *what* they think.

We examined more than 1,000 speeches, articles, and separate opinions written by justices before they were nominated to the Court. The results, as represented in the right portion of the figure, were clear. Justices who (prior to their nominations) viewed the world in a consistent manner drifted less than their colleagues whose worldviews changed to adapt to situations. That is, the “cognitive consistency” of a nominee predicted their eventual drift. Nominees who reorganized their thinking process in response to changing environmental situations were much more likely to drift once confirmed and drifted more than their colleagues whose pre-nomination words evinced a settled, stable world view. Put plainly, the results told us that presidents would do well to examine the cognitive processing



of their nominees to the Court.

So, what do these results tell us about Chief Justice Roberts's vote in the Affordable Care Act? Does his vote portend a Blackmun-like drift to the left, as many conservatives fear?

Based on our study, we believe his vote was an anomaly. Roberts's utterances prior to his nomination showed a fairly

stable cognitive process. Roberts may drift slightly over time either to the right or left, but data suggest that his drift will be minimal. So as much as conservatives, including his colleagues on the Court, remain unawed by Roberts's decision, they can at least take solace that his overall behavior is likely to remain conservative.

## A Tradition of Excellent Teaching

### Political Science Department Winners of Campus and System-wide Distinguished Teaching Awards

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See the list of award winners honored at our 2012 Annual Awards Reception: [www.polisci.wisc.edu/awards](http://www.polisci.wisc.edu/awards)



## Who's New in North Hall



**Margaret Peters** is an assistant professor and Trice Faculty Scholar. Peters, a Stanford Ph.D., is broadly interested in international political economy, especially the

politics of migration and the effects of globalization on economic policies.

Her book project explores the effect of trade and capital liberalization on business preferences over immigration and immigration policy. Her dissertation won the American Political Science Association's 2012 Helen Dwight Reid Award for the Best Dissertation in International Relations, Law and Politics. Her other current projects examine the role of remittances in local politics in India, the role of international law in controlling immigration, and the effects of the economic downturn on public opinion on immigration.



**Erica Simmons** is a Lyons Family Faculty Scholar and assistant professor of political science and international studies.

Simmons's research and teaching are motivated

by an interest in contentious politics, particularly in Latin America. Her current work explores the intersection of market reforms and political resistance in the region. Simmons also writes on qualitative methods. Her co-authored article "Informative Regress: Critical Antecedents in Comparative Politics" was published in *Comparative Political Studies* in July 2010. A forthcoming co-authored article entitled "Coping by Colluding: Political Uncertainty and Promiscuous Power-sharing in Indonesia and Bolivia" is now available online in the same journal. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and also teaches for the international studies major.



**Vipin Narang** joined the Department of Political Science in fall 2012 as an assistant professor.

For the 2012–13 academic year he is a visiting assistant professor and

Stanton Nuclear Security Junior Faculty Fellow at Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation. From 2010 to 2012, he was an assistant professor of political science at MIT and a member of MIT's Security Studies Program. He received his Ph.D. from the Department of Government at Harvard University in 2010. His research systematically explores the effect of nuclear postures in deterring conflict and develops a theory for their origins in regional nuclear powers. He was awarded Harvard's Edward M. Chase prize for the best dissertation on a subject related to international peace and conflict.

## New Career and Internship Coach Serves Political Science Students

In today's job market, graduates of even top ranked programs need support as they transition from academic studies to professional success. With this in mind, UW–Madison's Department of Political Science has hired David Nelson as an internship and career coordinator to serve our undergraduates through one-on-one advising, workshops, and mentoring services.

In prior positions, Nelson worked as vice president of health care reform for Mental Health America, director of federal advocacy for the American Psychological Association, and as a manager in three states for Bristol-Myers Squibb. While working on his political science Ph.D., he managed and taught the department's

Washington, DC, Summer Internship and Research Program.

Nelson meets with students to help them develop internship and career plans. This includes identifying career paths for students to research, developing resumes and cover letters, as well as facilitating connections between students and alumni. He also teaches professional development courses and has developed workshops such as:

- Networking for Careers in Politics and Policy
  - Landing a Job in Washington, DC
  - Careers in Social Change
  - The Senior Year Job Hunt
- Rather than deliver one-size-fits-all

services, Nelson typically works with students through ongoing meetings that help them navigate professional opportunities and find suitable first careers.

"I give more homework than they expect," he said. "But their hard work pays off. In just the last few months, I've watched students find jobs in Congress, state and federal agencies, political campaigns, research firms, and the private sector. I can't wait to point to them in a few years and say 'I knew them when.'"

Nelson also serves students working on majors in international studies and sociology. His position was funded through the university's Madison Initiative for Undergraduates.

# Alumni News

## New Members of the Board of Visitors

*The Political Science Department's Board of Visitors volunteers its time to increase career, internship, and other opportunities for students; promote the department's image and identity; and support development and outreach.*



**STEVEN FREEDMAN**  
BA '74, Political Science

Steven Freedman is president of Freedman Jewelers Inc., a Boston family-owned jewelry store, established in 1945.

### Who was your favorite professor?

So many great professors to choose from! I would have to say my favorite was Booth Fowler. I took a political science class (Political Thought) with him in fall 1971 (my sophomore year). I came into that class undecided on my major and left committed and enthralled with political science.

### What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

I could write a whole novel about this topic! Freshman year I “borrowed” a lunch tray from Gordon Commons and sledged down Bascom Hill after the first snowfall in 1970. The highs and lows of working on a presidential campaign, back when I worked for George McGovern in 1972. The best memory was meeting my future wife, Ruth, at the Plaza bar in the fall of 1973.

### How did your political science degree play a role in your career?

The skills I learned from my studies, such as communication and analytical and critical thinking, have served me well in the business world.

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

The hardest thing to explain to my parents was taking a bus to Washington DC for May Day, the 1971 protest of the Vietnam War. They were a little bit worried to say the least. I then hitchhiked a ride back to Madison before the police started the arrests. I made it back to Madison in one piece but I'm glad I went to May Day and experienced a piece of history.



**MARTHA HARRIS,**  
MA '74, Ph.D. '81, Political Science

Martha Harris has been an educator, public servant, policy analyst, and civic contributor.

### Who was your favorite professor?

It's difficult to select one, since I had many terrific professors. Murray Edelman, Ed Friedman, and Richard Merelman all come to mind as outstanding educators who challenged, engaged, and supported students. John Dower in the History Department made Japanese history come alive.

### What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

Sitting on the Memorial Union Terrace after a day of reading and research in a small cubicle in the library

### How did your political science degree play a role in your career?

In a broad sense, my training in political science made every aspect of my career possible—teaching, public policy research, developing international networks

of professionals, international negotiations. Learning how to think through a complex, contemporary public policy issue and developing a framework for analyzing the data and communicating results were essential throughout.

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

Can't really think of anything in this category. My parents were fully supportive of my graduate education and proud that I chose UW.



**SCOTT HARRIS**  
MA '70, Ph.D. '80, Political Science

Recently retired after fifteen years with Lockheed Martin Corporation. For the last ten years he has been president for Europe for Lockheed Martin Global, Inc., responsible for business development and corporate representation throughout Europe.

### Who was your favorite professor?

I was fortunate to be at the UW when virtually all of the professors were excellent as teachers and as role models, but Bernard C. Cohen stands out as my mentor and guide.

### What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

The colleagues in graduate school, the intellectually stimulating atmosphere, and the film societies.

### How did your political science degree play a role in your career?

I taught the subject for a while, and then leveraged that experience into a career in Washington in government, think tanks, and international business. My political

science knowledge and, more importantly, the analytic skill developed in getting the degree, were important in every job I had.

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

That I would be leaving for Madison two weeks after Sterling Hall had been bombed.



**SHERRY KAIMAN**  
BA '79, Political Science and History  
Sherry Kaiman is a consultant in the areas of education, workforce development, health, and the environment.

**Who was your favorite professor?**

Booth Fowler and Graham Wilson in political science and Stanley Kutler and John Sharpless in history. All four were brilliant, enthusiastic, and challenged me to be a critical thinker and to always keep in mind the important intersection of politics and history.

**What are some of your fondest memories of UW ?**

There are so many, it's difficult to choose. A few are: the friends I made and who continue to remain close to me over three decades later; spending time on the Memorial Union Terrace studying or engaging in lively discussions, some of which were political; walking the Lakeshore path in the fall and spring; the beauty of Bascom Hill; and being exposed to and engaging with a student body and a faculty with diverse backgrounds and philosophies.

**How did your political science degree play a role in your career?**

I arrived at UW knowing I wanted to be a congressional staffer. My political science and history degrees, combined with my work experience while I was a student in the Wisconsin State Senate and an intern

with U.S. Senator William Proxmire in his Madison office, enabled me to achieve my goal of landing a job on Capitol Hill immediately after graduation.

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

Explaining the value of majoring in political science and history and how the skills acquired with those two majors would always serve me well as my career path evolved.



**DOUG MARK**  
BA '81, Political Science  
Doug is owner of the firm Mark Music & Media Law, P.C., which was founded in 2007, and has offices in Los Angeles and New York.

**Who was your favorite professor?**

My favorite professors were R. Booth Fowler and Ed Friedman (both now retired). Professor Fowler's challenging, Socratic method as he explored political thought from the ancient Greeks through current American politics was most stimulating (and fun!). Professor Friedman was so steeped in the transformative upheavals of the Mao revolution and China that the amount of information I gleaned was amazing.

**What are some of your fondest memories of UW ?**

The Rat, the Terrace, the Arboretum, the snow, the Red Gym.

**How did your political science degree play a role in your career?**

I became a lawyer and remained involved in politics as a hobby. The role that politics plays in any community and in our thought processes has guided me in my life's decisions.

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

The tubes full of booze being passed around by the Iowa fans at the homecoming game!



**KEITH PATTIZ**  
BA '73, Political Science  
Keith Pattiz is a partner in the law firm McDermott Will & Emery LLP and is based in the firm's New York office.

**Who was your favorite professor?**

Booth Fowler.

**What are some of your fondest memories of UW ?**

My fondest memories include walking the campus and lake front in particular after the snow melted in April. Football weekends are also right up there.

**How did your political science degree play a role in your career?**

I knew that I wanted to apply to law school before I arrived on campus. Political science was a great jumping off point for law school. Like many liberal arts majors, it afforded an opportunity to develop my writing skills, critical to law school and to the practice of law.

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

Freshman year a group of us headed to Washington, DC, for the mass antiwar protest in the spring of 1971. We were away for a total of four days and I mentioned the trip AFTER we returned to campus sort of, "by the way, if you were trying to reach me, I just spent three nights in Washington, you might have seen us on TV."



## Award-Winning Dissertation



**Lauren McCarthy (MA '05, Ph.D. '11, Political Science)**, assistant professor of political science and legal studies at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, received the 2012 Edwin S. Corwin Award for the best dissertation in the field of public law from the American Political Science Association.

Dissertation: "Trafficking (In)justice: Law Enforcement's Response to Human Trafficking in Russia"

### What were you exploring in your dissertation?

My dissertation explores how Russian law enforcement agencies, mainly police and prosecutors, have dealt with human trafficking. I focused on sex trafficking and was trying to understand whether, when, and why the laws on human trafficking were being implemented.

### What got you interested in this topic?

I became interested in Russia when I

wrote my undergraduate senior thesis on sports and politics during the Cold War. After that, I decided to learn Russian so I moved to Moscow for a year to teach English. When I decided to go to graduate school at Wisconsin, I wanted to continue to study Russia, but from a different perspective. I was interested in women's rights, so after my first year of grad school, I did an internship at an anti-trafficking organization in Moscow called the Angel Coalition. There I was struck by the disconnect between how the justice system understood trafficking and how human rights organizations understood it and came back knowing that I wanted to study it in a more serious way.

### How did you go about doing the research?

To really understand whether and when trafficking was being prosecuted, I knew I needed to speak to the people who actually implemented the laws on a day-to-day basis—ordinary police and prosecutors—and find out what kinds of incentives drove their behavior. I spent a year in Russia on a Fulbright Scholarship in 2007–08 traveling around the country, conducting interviews with law enforcement agents, non-government organizations and other people involved in the fight against human trafficking. While there, I also did a six-month internship at the International Organization for Migration, which was then conducting the largest anti-trafficking project in Russia, working in their law enforcement cooperation division. Finally, I created a database of trafficking cases from over 2,000 Russian newspaper articles which allowed me to track how the cases were processed through the justice system.

### What did you find? Were you surprised by any of your findings?

I was really surprised by my major finding that in Russia, human traffickers are being prosecuted but not under the laws

meant to combat human trafficking. This was particularly surprising to me because the predominant narrative about Russia's fight against human trafficking is that it has been a failure. Instead, I found that law enforcement agents use other laws, primarily those on prostitution, to prosecute human traffickers. They do this because even though they asked the legislature to pass laws on human trafficking, they have almost no incentive to use them. Police and prosecutors are judged by a very strict system of statistics that punishes them in terms of promotion, salary, and other types of advancement if they do not process cases quickly. Human trafficking is a very complicated crime and investigating it is very time consuming. So, they would rather rely on parts of the criminal code that were already there and they already know how to use.

I was also surprised to find that most of the trafficking cases that were prosecuted in Russia were cases where women were trafficked within Russia, not out of Russia. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, Russia has had a reputation for being a source country of sex trafficking victims in Europe, the Middle East, Asia and sometimes even the United States. Of course, this doesn't mean that international trafficking has stopped being a problem. It just means that the same pressures that make law enforcement agents prosecute trafficking with other laws also make them hesitant to conduct very complicated international investigations.

### What's next for this project?

This past summer, I returned to Moscow to do follow up interviews to see what has changed for police and prosecutors as they implement an amended trafficking law passed in 2008. Next year, I will be spending eight months at the Kennan Institute in Washington, DC, working on turning the research from my dissertation into a book.



## Department News

### UW–Madison Interns Succeed in DC

DAVID NELSON

The Department of Political Science's Washington, DC Summer Internship and Research Program continues to bring new opportunities to undergraduate students. Last summer, 22 students interned in the nation's capital for members of Congress, federal agencies, and national advocacy organizations.

The 2012 cohort included three graduating seniors, each of whom landed full-time employment before the program was over. Kathryn Donnel is now working as a scheduler with U.S. Representative Tom Petri, R-Wisconsin. Maggie Henderson has gone on to become a staff assistant with Senator Al Franken, D-Minnesota, and Nick Lyel has joined the campaign organization Winning Connections.

The ways students find these jobs demonstrates the timely support they receive from the program as well as the university's DC network. For example, Donnel learned of the opportunity in Petri's office at an alumni event. She impressed congressional staff connected with the office who then forwarded

her resume to decision makers. While this was occurring, Donnel talked with program staff to hone internship skills and practice answers to likely questions. Her efforts paid off, and after just a few weeks in Washington she was ready to make the transition from hardworking intern to dedicated congressional staff member

We focus on helping students make connections and find jobs in politics and policy, but we also take a broad view of what is needed to help students succeed. This includes working with them for a semester prior to the summer to develop their resume, cover letter, and job search strategies, and their interviewing and professional skills. In DC, students work with advisers to make the most of their internship and connect with mentors who have expertise working in the fields they want to pursue.

Lauren Ehlers, who interned for the Campaign Media Analysis Group, found this support essential. "I'd like to think that I would have been brave enough to go to DC alone, but having the UW program made me so much more confident in my decision. It was so nice to have our adviser as a support system, both in Madison and in DC. I am very lucky to have met the people I met this summer and gotten the advice that I needed. I have a job lined up for after I graduate!"

Sam Seering, who interned with representative Ron Kind, D-Wisconsin, touted his summer experience as the reason he has the confidence to launch a career in the nation's capital. "The advice that was given to me by my mentors was invaluable. I know that the knowledge that they imparted to me will help me when I'm looking for a job in the future. When I head back there once I graduate, I will have an established network that will allow me to succeed right away."

The department thanks those alumni and friends who provided funds that allow us to financially assist our interns.



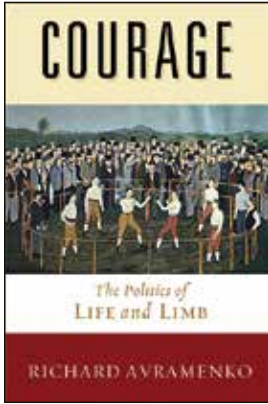
### Many thanks to John Witte!

Professor John Witte retired at the conclusion of the 2011–12 academic year after 35 years of dedicated service to the campus and our students. Professor Witte, a scholar of American public policy with specialties in tax policy and education policy, among other areas, held a joint appointment with the La Follette School of Public Affairs. His work was not only important in the scholarly community, but contributed directed and significantly to public policy debates. Professor Witte's work on school choice was especially prominent and he was selected by the State of Wisconsin to undertake a large, longitudinal study to assess the effect of choice programs. Last year, Professor Witte won a prestigious UW–Madison Hilldale Award, granted for contributions in research, teaching, and service. Only one such honoree is named in the social sciences annually. Professor Witte received a mentoring award this year from the American Political Science Association for his outstanding work mentoring graduate students. He is currently serving as the dean at the new School for Humanities and Social Science at Nazarbayev University in Kazakhstan. Throughout his career, John Witte served the University of Wisconsin and the State of Wisconsin with superb scholarship, deep integrity, and good humor. The department thanks Professor Witte for his many contributions!



## Book Notes

### *Courage: The Politics of Life and Limb* Richard Avramenko



Some years ago, while hiking with my girlfriend in the Canadian Rockies, the issue of courage arose in what was, for me, a new light. Understandably, as a city-slicker from Toronto, she asked if we

should be worried about bears. I responded with a half-joke: “I’m not worried about bears, I run much faster than you.” We both half-laughed.

The response was a half-joke because of the irony. It is unacceptable to leave our near and dear in the lurch. It would be to count myself as more important than her. The courageous person does not act this way. One might retell the joke as a conversation with one’s child, boy or girl, or between two marines. The courageous person does not ditch others for the sake of him or herself. Courage thus has a two-fold character—the physical and the relational—and this is what I have explored in *Courage: The Politics of Life and Limb*.

The ancient Greek word for courage was *andreia*. The word stems from *aner*, which means man, as in male. In other words, courage was a quality exclusive to men, and it was both begotten and proved in battle.

This is the paradox of courage. *Courage* is about commitment to others, but in its pure form at least, it is exclusionary and violent. Is it possible to maintain all that is good about courage, yet jettison the bad? These are precisely the questions asked by figures such as Aristophanes, Plato, and Aristotle in what I call the Athenian moment. In opposition

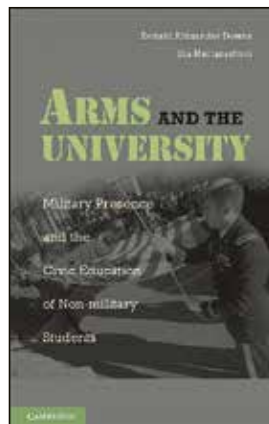
to what one might call *Spartan culture* and martial courage, they suggest what might be called *political courage*—a courage that aims at justice rather than honor. Rather than relying on a man’s capacity to do violence, they point to *logos*—speech and reason—as the preferred weapon.

For other thinkers, however, the paradox cannot be overcome through reason. To Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a reliance on reason will be ill-fated. Instead, the flourishing individual needs autonomy achieved by tapping into a form of courage based on a moral capacity of all people: compassion. Rousseau envisions a community of individuals invoking *moral courage* for the sake of liberty and autonomy.

In *Courage*, in addition to martial, political, and moral courage, I suggest two other types of courage: economic and existential. Examples abound of human beings, male and female, risking life and limb for the sake of wealth. Similarly, history is replete with examples of communities fighting and dying for the sake of authentic living, often (but not always) informed by religious principles.

The story of *Courage: the Politics of Life and Limb* is that just as one cannot run away from egregious acts of cowardice in the Canadian Rockies, we cannot run away from the story courage tells us about who we are, both as individuals and as a community.

### *Arms and the University* Donald Downs



Maintaining the right balance between military and civil society in America is a matter of constitutional significance. But alienation between the military and the society it serves

has grown in recent decades. Such alienation is unhealthy, as it threatens both effective civilian control of the military as well as the long-standing ideal of the citizen soldier.

The citizen soldier ideal is predicated upon two related assumptions: the belief that all citizens at some point bear a measure of responsibility for defending the country, and the assumption that the presence of officers and enlisted personnel with significant ties to civilian society helps prevent the military from becoming too separate from the society it serves.

Four decades after the advent of the all volunteer force, less than 1 percent of Americans have borne the substantial burden of defending our country. Elites in particular have gone AWOL from the military obligation, and nowhere is the alienation between the military and elites more prevalent than at many major universities, which began thumbing their noses at the military during the tumultuous years of the Vietnam War. Among other things, many elite private schools effectively banned ROTC programs from campus. Later, the study and teaching of military history and the military as an institution became marginalized in history and many social science programs.

In *Arms and the University*, Ilia Murta-zashvili and I probe various dimensions of this problem, and discuss recent noteworthy efforts to restore an appropriate relationship between the military and the university. The book has empirical and normative aspects.

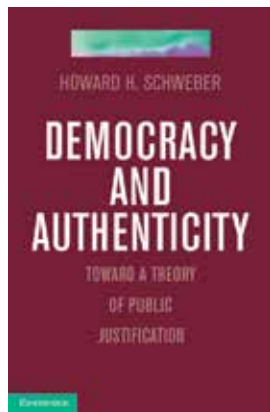
Empirically, we use surveys, interviews, and other research data to examine the status and evolution of military history as a discipline in major history departments, and to assess the status of strategic security studies in major political science departments. We also present a historical analysis of the fall of ROTC in the Ivy League, and the first detailed portrayal of ROTC’s return to such schools as Columbia, Harvard, Yale, and Stanford. We find that traditional military history is indeed in real decline, though more

broadly conceived courses on military history have gained acceptance. Meanwhile, strategic security studies continue to have meaningful presence in political science, though they are challenged by the growing pluralism of security studies. We also find growing respect for ROTC since 9/11, though our analysis reveals continuing tensions.

The crux of *Arms and the University* is normative. Drawing on political theory and theory dealing with intellectual diversity and free speech, we develop a model of civic and liberal education that makes a case for the inclusion of military-related study and presence in higher education. This model presents a new twist on the classic rationale supporting the citizen soldier ideal: it proposes that an appropriate military presence on campus can contribute not only to the military, but also to the civic and liberal education of nonmilitary students. We support this theoretical hypothesis by drawing on a survey and interviews with UW–Madison students who have taken military-related courses or been exposed to ROTC students. Appropriate military presence broadens the intellectual diversity of the university by providing *sui generis* knowledge and perspectives.

## Democracy and Authenticity

### Howard Schweber



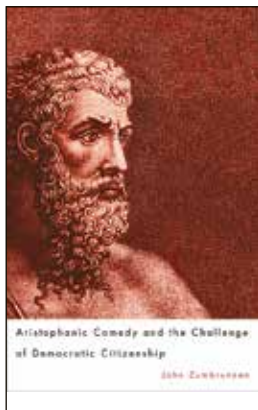
for citizens and public officials to justify coercive political actions. My book challenges the theoretical underpinnings of a

In *Democracy and Authenticity*, I tackle a central challenge in democratic theory. When a political entity is characterized by a multitude of identities and values, certain constraints apply to reasons

range of existing accounts of deliberative, multicultural, and contestatory democracy. I discuss political messages in terms of their effects on the listener rather than the speaker. The book abandons an endless search for authenticity in favor of the construction of a language of political dialogue. This approach welcomes participation by persons holding different worldviews while at the same time rejecting the exercise of coercive state authority when its justification is not genuinely accessible to people across these worldviews. My argument takes the concept of legitimacy out of the realm of the personal and attempts to frame that concept squarely in a distinctly political terms by calling on citizens in a liberal democracy to satisfy their responsibilities to one another.

## Aristophanic Comedy and the Challenge of Democratic Citizenship

### John Zumbrennen



Many of my students love Jon Stewart. I get lots of emails with links to clips of Stewart's *The Daily Show*. Even if they don't always agree with him, students are drawn to Stewart's skewering of politicians,

his mocking of the media, and his comic despair about the state of democratic politics. My students aren't alone, of course. Even scholars have been drawn in. We now have empirical studies that explore the *Daily Show* effect, and a book titled *The Daily Show and Philosophy: Moments of Zen in the Art of Fake News*. Can we really take political comedy so seriously? In my new book, *Aristophanic Comedy and the Challenge of Democratic Citizenship*, I argue that the answer is yes: comedy—at least as practiced by the ancient Athenian comic poet

Aristophanes—can be a serious sort of political thought.

Aristophanes lived and wrote in the ancient Athens of radical direct democracy. Citizens periodically gathered in the assembly to make all the city's important decisions. Athenian democracy was thus much more participatory than contemporary democracy. It also, of course, drew on a much less inclusive citizen body. These important differences aside, though, some similarities to our own politics stand out. Aristophanes' plays and other sources indicate that a relative handful of Athenian political elites did most of the talking while the mass of ordinary citizens remained silent, listening and from time to time making decisions. Against this rather familiar backdrop, Aristophanes' comedies suggest that ordinary citizens faced a challenge of democratic citizenship that resonates today. As members of the citizen body, the individual citizen was called to contribute to the collective action of the city. At the same time, democracy's insistence on political equality called citizens to resist collective action when it appeared to be dominated by elites.

This tension between the impulse towards collective democratic action and the impulse towards democratic resistance might well seem a recipe for cynicism—but not for the heroes and heroines of Aristophanes' plays. To be sure, they battle domineering elites and lambast the war-loving ways of their fellow citizens. But they also dream fantastical dreams of better days to come, when humans might achieve peace and justice. On my reading, imperfect though they are, Aristophanes' heroes and heroines taken together reveal a complex comic sensibility that allows citizens to navigate the challenge democracy poses to them. This sensibility balances plans for working together with vigilance against creeping domination and tempers hopes for a better world with an appreciation for what is possible. Aristophanes deploys satire and sarcasm as well as any comic working today, but he holds on to comedy's transformative, even uplifting potential. Aristophanes, that is to say, is no Jon Stewart.





DEPARTMENT OF  
**Political Science**  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

1050 Bascom Mall  
Room 110 North Hall  
Madison, WI 53706

