



North Hall NEWS

THE ALUMNI NEWSLETTER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

SUMMER 2014

Third Party Intervention to Prevent Atrocities

Andrew Kydd and Scott Straus

Despite well intentioned vows that we will “never again” permit them, mass killings continue to happen, primarily in the context of civil wars such as Darfur, Kosovo, Rwanda, and, most recently, Syria. Governments often find it difficult to identify specific rebel supporters and so resort to a strategy of “draining the sea” of civilians that the rebels, following Mao’s advice, swim in like fish.

As a result there has been increasing agitation for international efforts to prevent genocide. In recent years, the United Nations has endorsed the doctrine of Responsibility to Protect (R2P), which holds that the international community has a responsibility to protect civilians if states manifestly do not. The concept helped justify the intervention in Libya that overthrew Muammar Qaddafi. The United States also recently created an Atrocity Prevention Board to coordinate such activities.

But is intervention based on humanitarian principles a good idea? Proponents argue that more credible threats to intervene will prevent states from committing atrocities, solving the problem. They advocate building capabilities at the international level to conduct humanitarian intervention, and intervening if states resort to atrocities. Critics, however, argue that more credible threats to intervene will encourage rebels to start civil wars, hoping for international support, and will thereby actually increase the number of atrocities rather than decrease them. These



critics advocate a hands-off policy that lets civil war combatants fight it out themselves.

We developed a game theoretic model of intervention to assess these competing arguments. In the model, the government and potential rebels bargain about some issue in contention between them, such as the degree of regional autonomy. If the parties fail to come to an agreement, they fight a civil war and the government chooses a level of atrocities to commit. Then the third party may intervene or may choose to stay out.

The results of the exercise suggest that both arguments have merit, but

there is a role for humanitarian intervention to prevent atrocities. If the third party favors the rebel group this

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Third Party

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may make war more likely by encouraging the rebels to be recalcitrant in the negotiations, and that may increase the level of atrocities. However, more neutral interventions, which just seek to suppress atrocities without affecting the balance of power too much, have a better prospect of preventing atrocities without encouraging rebellions.

In addition, if interventions can impose additional costs on government leaders who order atrocities, it may have a dampening effect as well. Holding leaders responsible for their actions through international tribunals may help.

Our results, published in the *American Journal of Political Science* in 2013, imply a qualified endorsement for humanitarian intervention. The model supports neutral intervention, not aimed at regime change, as well as targeted sanctions and punishment for leaders who commit atrocities.

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State Implementation of Insurance Exchanges under the Affordable Care Act

David Weimer

Although experiments, usually in the laboratory but sometimes in the field, are becoming more common in the social sciences, most political science research must rely on observation of changes in policies, governments, or institutions that just happen to occur. In some circumstances, a change in federal policy can be thought of as a sort of “shock” to the states, enabling one to compare how different states respond to the same stimulus. The adoption of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) in 2010 provided just such a shock to the states, which were expected to create insurance exchanges, now called health insurance marketplaces, by October 1, 2013.

I was particularly intrigued by the implementation of the marketplaces for two reasons. First, the governors of a number of states joined in a challenge of the constitutionality of the ACA. Would these governors participate in the implementation of the marketplaces? Second, what role would commissioners of insurance play in the implementation? These rarely studied officials oversaw offices with varying degrees of resources and different histories of intervention in health insurance markets.

Fortunately, one of our graduate students, Simon Haeder, had experience working in the field of health policy before graduate school and had just published an article interpreting the ACA from the perspective of the most prominent models of the policy process. Our research, published in *Public Administration Review* in 2013,

follows the implementation of the marketplaces across the states.

One of our initial findings was that there was an imperfect correspondence between joining the legal challenge to the ACA, or Obama Care as it came to be called, and early progress on implementation of the exchanges: four states that joined the suit established marketplaces while eleven that did not join the suit did not.

What factors explained these deviations?

One important factor was the capacity of the office of the commissioner of insurance.



Other things equal, states with offices with greater capacity (larger budgets) and greater experience in regulating the health insurance market (prior implementation of more insurance mandates) were more likely to have made progress in implementation.

More generally, we saw a number of factors that will enable states relying on the federal marketplaces to eventually create their own marketplaces: considerable preparation, including in information technologies; extensive networking among the commissioners of insurance; and political pressure on Republican governors from health care providers and faith-based organizations. Of course, we will have to do another project to see if these expectations pan out!

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110 North—Notes from the Chair



Greetings from Madison and from North Hall. In previous newsletters I have discussed with you the changing educational landscape for UW students today. Almost 90 percent of political science majors had one or more “high-impact experiences” in the last academic year. These include unique educational opportunities such as internships, service-learning placements, research

opportunities, first year interest groups in which students jointly enroll in three related courses, and study abroad.

Students are also experiencing more courses taught online or, more common, in a “blended” format that mixes online and in-class instruction. Mobile technology will open up new possibilities for student learning as well, including interviews and easily arranged class “appearances” by people all over the globe. Sophisticated simulations, cases, and other ways to bring the “real world” into the classroom so that students can apply their knowledge will be more common. These changes will complement the traditional aspects that make a UW–Madison education so special.

That’s the experience for the enrolled student. But what happens after the student graduates?

Fortunately, we have survey data to help us understand. Each spring, UW–Madison conducts a survey to determine student plans upon graduation. The survey asks students about their post-graduation plans and to assess their gains in knowledge and skills during their undergraduate years. We had a response rate of 55 percent of political science graduates in 2012 and 44 percent in 2013.

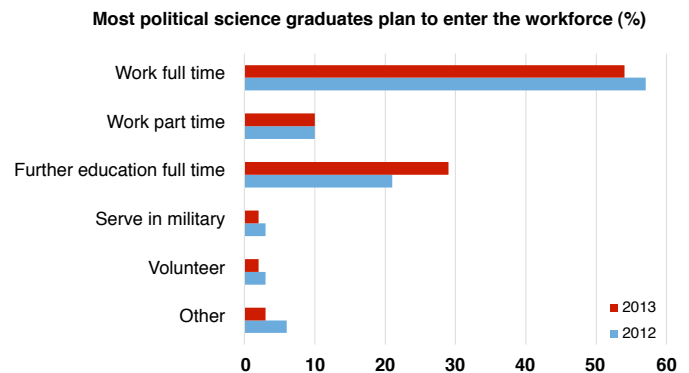
Political science graduates reported significant gains in learning, with the following areas ranking as the top five for 2013 graduates:

- Applying skills and knowledge of your chosen major(s)
- Applying knowledge and skills in real world settings
- Finding, organizing, and evaluating information from multiple sources
- Understanding cultures and societies outside of the United States
- Drawing conclusions after weighing evidence, facts, and ideas

How did these students plan to use their skills and knowledge? As shown in this chart, about two-thirds in 2013 planned to enter the work force and about 30 percent planned to further their education. Among other large majors, the percentage entering the workforce was: economics, 77 percent; history, 68 percent; psychology, 59 percent; and biology, 43 percent.

About half of the political science graduates who were entering the workforce had accepted a position or were considering offers at the time they filled out the survey. In 2012, the percentage was about 60 percent. Most other students were

currently searching at the time of the survey. A relatively small proportion of about 5–10 percent in these two years planned to wait until graduating before they started a job search.



For those students heading off for more education, law school was by far the most common choice. Half of the 2013 graduates pursuing more education were planning to attend law school. This percentage was down from 65 percent in 2012, most likely due to widespread news about challenges on the legal job market. As plans for law school dipped, interest in other graduate, professional, master’s, and doctoral programs increased in 2013 to about 40 percent of those students seeking more education. The remaining 10 percent of this group was planning to pursue more bachelor’s training.

This survey is a helpful tool for us to analyze how the department is doing in preparing students for their life after UW. We look forward to the more robust tools under development for us to get a more in-depth view of how our students do after graduating and the paths they take. In the meantime, I invite you to join your fellow alums by sharing your path at alumni.polisci.wisc.edu/stories.

As always, I want to extend my sincere appreciation for your generosity. The Political Science Department is ranked sixth among all public universities, and your support helps us maintain this reputation and the prestige of a UW–Madison political science degree. You help us recruit and retain the best faculty and students and provide opportunities for our students that would be impossible without your help. Every gift truly makes a difference.

This is my last column reporting to you as chair of the department. It has been an honor and a privilege to communicate with you over these seven years and to get to know many of you. I am pleased to report that Professor David Canon, who has been at UW–Madison since 1991, will serve as the department’s next chair.

Please remember you can stay connected to the Political Science Department and the latest news about our teaching and research at facebook.com/uwpolisci, twitter.com/uwpolisci, and alumni.polisci.wisc.edu.

John Coleman

UW–Madison Senior Wins Prestigious Marshall Scholarship

by Susannah Brooks



Andrew Bulovsky

Andrew Bulovsky's Twitter profile reads like a mini-resume for student involvement. He's vice president of UW–Madison's Class of 2014, a hockey player, golfer, Wisconsinite and proud Badger.

He'll bring all of those qualities with him to the London School of Economics next October, thanks to a prestigious Marshall Scholarship.

Bulovsky is one of 34 students, chosen through a rigorous national selection process, to receive up to three years of study at a British university of their choice.

"Andrew is one of the very most impressive students and young adults I have had the opportunity to interact with at the University of Wisconsin," says John Coleman, professor and chair of the Department of Political Science. "He is the kind of student whose aspirations to leadership appear not only appropriate, but the absolute correct path."

Bulovsky, of Lodi, Wisconsin, is a senior majoring in political science and communication arts. He has been heavily involved in the Associated Students of Madison (ASM), including a year as its chair. He is also the current vice president for public relations of the Wisconsin Union.

Professionally, Bulovsky's interests center on the intersection between communication and politics. In the future, he hopes to run for Congress, representing Wisconsin on a national level.

He plans to expand the work of his senior thesis, "Dissent and Discipline: Strategies for Coalition Management," by earning an MSc in comparative politics followed by an MSc in politics and communication, both from the London School of Economics.

Bulovsky's interest in public service began while growing up in Lodi, a town of 2,800 people "with a high school that's famous for its 'Drive Your Tractor to School Day,'" he notes.

"This combination is the most rigorous and comprehensive of its kind, and will enable me to become a more effective legislator myself," says Bulovsky.

"For me, UW–Madison influenced me the most outside of the classroom," says Bulovsky. "Learning how to interact with people from a variety of backgrounds has been the most influential part of my Wisconsin Experience. The key for finding those opportunities is simply taking a step forward and getting involved in organizations and meeting other people."

At UW–Madison, Bulovsky joined ASM in hopes of serving his fellow students, but found himself in the middle of shouting matches and allegations of ethics violations and racial prejudice.

"Andrew worked hard to establish transparency in policies, improve communication among stakeholder groups and restore faith in the governing process," said Provost Paul DeLuca in his nominating letter.

This collaborative work deepened with a summer internship serving in the British House of Commons. Bulovsky researched the National Health Service, locating government inefficiencies and engaging with the public when his results received national press.

Since 1953, the scholarships (named for Secretary of State George

Marshall and the European Recovery Program) have served as a symbol of British gratitude for assistance provided by the United States in the years following World War II.

UW–Madison's last Marshall Scholar was Erin Conrad, in 2009. Other notable Marshall scholars include Stephen Breyer, associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; Thomas Friedman, winner of multiple Pulitzer Prizes as an author and columnist for *The New York Times*; and Nannerl Keohane, former president of both Duke University and Wellesley College.

UW–Madison Senior Wins Rhodes Scholarship

by Susannah Brooks



Drew Birrenkott

University of Wisconsin–Madison senior Drew Birrenkott of McFarland, Wisconsin, has been awarded a 2014 Rhodes Scholarship. He joins an elite group of students that have received one of the top honors in higher education.

"Congratulations to Drew," says Chancellor Rebecca Blank. "This is a well-deserved honor and reflects his many achievements as well as his multiple skills and interests. I also want to congratulate the faculty mentors and fellow students who have helped him

win this award. It's always an honor to have a UW–Madison student named as one of the nation's Rhodes Scholars."

Birrenkott will be invited to spend two to three years of study at Oxford University in England. The Rhodes scholarship, founded in 1902 by British philanthropist Cecil Rhodes, is the oldest international study program in the world; it is valued at approximately \$50,000 per year on average.

"It's a very surreal experience for me," says Birrenkott. "I'm very happy to have had the opportunity, and I'm excited about the next chapter of my life. That's what this scholarship is really about: moving to the next step."

Birrenkott is a fifth-year student triple majoring in political science, biochemistry, and biomedical engineering.

At Oxford, Birrenkott hopes to combine those areas of study to prepare for a career in global health and international development. The university offers a top-ranked program—one of the few in the world—in Development Studies, focusing on public health and the theories, themes and economics of development.

Birrenkott's interest in international health issues has grown through seeing them firsthand. He has studied in India through the biochemistry department's Khorana Program, named for Nobel Prize winner Har Gobind Khorana. Through his work with Engineers Without Borders, he has traveled to Kenya and coordinates a project in Tanzania, where he plans to visit in January.

"I was driven by seeing the disparity in health services between the United States and the places that I visited," says Birrenkott. "Not everybody has access to these services—which is its own issue—but in some places they're lacking altogether."

For his senior project in biomedical engineering, Birrenkott worked with a team of four other students to design an Infant CardioRespiratory (CaRe) Monitor, capable of detecting the cessation of respiration and pulse in infants. Intended for use in developing

countries, the device uses reusable components, is battery-powered, and is designed to withstand rugged conditions for a total cost of \$170 per unit.

Political science professor Nils Ringe says that Birrenkott is "the very best undergraduate student" he has taught at UW–Madison. Ringe is advising Birrenkott on his senior honors thesis, entitled "A Comparative Analysis of Healthcare in the United States and Europe."

"What makes Drew stand apart is his ability to draw out ways of analyzing the world and solving social problems that can only be found at the intersection of these various fields," says Ringe. "Drew's future contributions to society will come not because he is a doctor or an engineer or a political science professor, but because he is a doctor with a deep understanding of how the political environment can shape health care delivery and how mechanical innovations can be applied to solving some of the world's pressing health crises."

Richard J. Otis, whom Birrenkott considers one of his closest mentors, is a former adjunct professor of civil and environmental engineering who serves

as a professional monitor for the UW–Madison chapter of Engineers Without Borders.

"As a result of Drew's efforts, this EWB team has become a strong and collaborative group that helps each other," says Otis. "Of my six years as mentor for EWB, I have not seen such leadership from other undergraduates involved in EWB."

Hundreds of elite applicants from dozens of colleges and universities vie for the Rhodes scholarship each year. Candidates are judged on a proven record of intellectual and academic achievement, integrity of character, interest in and respect for others, leadership ability, and the energy to fully utilize their talents.

Birrenkott represents a district that includes Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. Nationally, each of 16 districts can name two scholars, for a total of 32 per year.

UW–Madison's last Rhodes scholar was Alexis Brown, in 2011. Well-known past Rhodes honorees include President Bill Clinton and UW–Madison graduate and former U.S. Senator Russ Feingold.



Longtime Professor Honored and Surprised to be Graduation Speaker

by Greg Bump

Donald Downs, a UW–Madison professor of political science, was preparing for a class when he got an unexpected call.

Downs was asked to deliver the charge to graduates at the Winter Commencement ceremony on Sunday, December 22 at the Kohl Center.

“It’s a genuine honor and a definite surprise,” says Downs, whose career spans 29 years at the UW.

“It’s exciting. Some of the students must have taken me, so I take it as a sign that I haven’t been all that awful in the classroom,” he adds, self-deprecatingly.

Downs earned his bachelor’s degree at Cornell University before going on to get his master’s from the University of Illinois and a doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley. Downs’ wife, Susan, her parents and her brother are UW alums. He says he feels like “an alumnus by association.”

Downs taught at the University of Michigan and University of Notre Dame, but he set his sights on UW–Madison.

“This was my dream job, it’s where I wanted to be,” Downs says. “Speaking at commencement is especially meaningful to me because of that and having worked so closely with students over the years.”

Downs teaches courses dealing with public law, American politics, and political theory. He is a longtime affiliate of the University of Wisconsin Law School and the UW–Madison School of Journalism and Mass Communication. In 2010 Downs was named the Alexander Meiklejohn Professor of Political Science at UW–Madison, and in 2013 received the national Jeane Jordan Kirkpatrick Prize for Academic Freedom for his work on the issues of academic freedom and free speech.

He has been active in campus civil liberties issues, and is often called upon as an expert by the media on



Graduate Laura Singleton and her 4-week-old daughter sit with Singleton’s faculty advisor, Professor Donald Downs, during a commencement ceremony at the Kohl Center, May 17, 2013. Downs was chosen to deliver the charge to graduates at UW–Madison’s Winter Commencement, December 22, 2013.

constitutional issues at the local, state, and national levels.

Downs has won several awards for excellence in teaching, including the University of Wisconsin Distinguished Teaching Award and the Wisconsin Student Association’s teaching award.

His prize-winning books include *Nazis in Skokie: Freedom, Community and the First Amendment* (winner of the Anisfield-Wolf Award for the best book on race relations); *The New Politics of Pornography* (winner of the American Political Science Association’s Gladys M. Kammerer Award for the best book dealing with American politics or policy); and *More than Victims: Battered Women, the Syndrome Society and the Law*. His most recent book, *Arms and the University: Military Presence and the Civic Education of Non-Military Students*, co-authored by Ilia Murtazashvili, was published in 2012.

Downs says his commencement speech focused on the values and mission of UW–Madison, and how what students have learned here can help them in their careers and personal lives.

“I asked them to reflect back on what they’ve done, their achievements and to look forward to their future,” Downs says. “This moment in their lives will be the beginning of a time when I personally feel their future is very full with possibilities. I conveyed to them how they are going to be writing the next page in their stories.

“This journey upon which they are embarking makes one feel like one does before taking a major trip somewhere, and even though the world is not an easy place for a variety of reasons, generations in the past have confronted difficulties and have always engaged and overcome those things,” he says.

A Badger's Experience at West Point's Student Conference on U.S. Affairs

Hanna Homestead

Student Delegate to the Student Conference on U.S. Affairs (SCUSA) at West Point

On a chilly Wisconsin morning last October, I boarded a plane bound for New York.

Thanks to the generosity of the Political Science Department donors, I was on my way to represent the University of Wisconsin–Madison at the 65th Student Conference on U.S. Affairs (SCUSA), an annual four-day conference hosted by the United States Military Academy at West Point. The conference was created to facilitate professional relationships between civilian student delegates and West Point cadets in order to better understand and prepare for increasingly complicated national security challenges. Each year roughly 200 students from top universities around the country attend the conference which focuses on one aspect of American foreign policy that is particularly relevant to the United States. Last year's theme was titled "Navigating Demographic Flows: Populations, Power and Policy."

As I exited the airport in New York and was whisked through the scenic fall foliage, multiple checkpoints, and West Point's imposing stone walls, it felt as if I was entering a completely foreign world. Although I have studied national security policy, I had no previous military-related experience and knew little about what life was like within the academy. Upon arrival to the campus, one cadet joked that West Point was actually just like Hogwarts, the wizardry school in Harry Potter. The castle-like buildings, strictly enforced dress code, and the fact that every West Point cadet was selected to receive specialized training in subjects that most outsiders have never heard of suddenly seemed a bit more familiar. At that time, I could relate more to the experiences of fictional characters than to West Point cadets who will likely become our country's most influential military leaders. It was my curiosity about military culture, in addition to my interest in international relations, that piqued my interest in attending SCUSA at West Point.

Over the next four days the other delegates and I heard talks from former military commanders, including former National Security Advisor Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft, and engaged in regionally focused roundtable discussions on the economic, social, and political stability of the U.S. and our allies. I participated in a round table that examined demography and strategy specifically within South Asia. Our discussions were guided by Dr. Jon Dorschner and Mr. Dhruva Jaishankar, two experts on Indian politics, and focused on finding ways to preserve peaceful relations between India and Pakistan while exploring nuclear disarmament and development strategies that would serve their growing populations. I found these intimate round table symposiums especially useful for understanding the impact of changing demographics on security issues in this region.



As I had hoped, SCUSA was a cultural experience as well as a platform for intellectual and academic exchange. During our short time at West Point the other civilian delegates and I were immersed in cadet life. We slept on cots in the barracks (West Point's version of student dorm rooms), joined the cadets (all 4,500 of them) in the dining hall for communal meals, and chatted over weak beer at the "Firsties Club" (a small bar patronized only by "firsties," or cadets in their senior year). Overall, I was very impressed by the level of discipline and dedication it takes to fulfill the academic, physical, and military requirements that are necessary to succeed at West Point. The cadets take great pride in attending the academy, and their mantra, "Duty, Honor, Country" is taken very seriously. To my surprise, many cadets were equally curious about what being in a "civilian" college was like. Although we lead very different lives, we walked away with mutual respect and a better understanding of the other.

Attending SCUSA was a fantastic experience that allowed me to learn about U.S. foreign affairs as well as gain insight into the philosophy and culture of our country's most prestigious Military Academy. I am very grateful to have had the unique opportunity to form constructive friendships with our future military and political leaders. These friendships will be valuable moving forward as efforts continue to ensure the military is prepared to defend our country against legitimate external threats as well as address problems within the military structure to ensure safety, security, and respect of all who serve.

Learning and Growing Through the Political Science D.C. Internship Program

Amy Hasenberg

During the summer of 2013 I had an amazing opportunity. I was chosen to participate in the University of Wisconsin–Madison Political Science Washington, D.C., Summer Internship program. I was fortunate to receive financial assistance from a fund established by UW Poli Sci alum and former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and his family. This internship fund provided support that allowed me to participate in the summer program. After being chosen as one of 20 some individuals to be a part of this program I commenced an intense and stressful search for an internship.

This search was especially frightening because it meant that I was really going to D.C. This would be the first time I was completely detached from my family and completely out of reach from all my childhood and college friends. With applications submitted, deadlines passing, interviews scheduled, and a waiting period expanding what felt like decades, my stress level was reaching an all-time high. But suddenly relief, fear, and excitement struck when I was offered a position with Manchester Trade, an international trade association. This felt like the perfect spot for me (working in the private sector in international trade). International trade and foreign relations had always truly interested me because of many of the classes I had taken. I readily accepted the offer.

As time went on the major roles of each of the interns were clearly defined. Morgan was event focused, Alex was technology focused, and I was the trade and research intern.

I thought it was perfect since research and trade were the reasons I wanted to be there. Something that made this all the better was the fact that our office was focused not exclusively, but to a large extent on trade with Africa and the African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA). Everything I was looking into was something I knew little to nothing about. This made everything all the more exciting. Lucky for me two of my bosses were two of the quintessential figures in African trade. So not only was I being thrown into a realm completely foreign to me, but I was surrounded by experts. These two factors made this learning environment fascinating—so fascinating that I am now working on a certificate in African studies in addition to my political science degree.

Washington, D.C., is full of extroverts, and for an introvert this can be daunting. But I could handle this. I realized that being an introvert in this extroverted world was perfect



because these people would talk, I would listen, and I would benefit from hearing about this person's experiences. By eliminating this fear I met countless individuals at meetings around Washington who gave me fantastic advice about making it in Washington, about what to continue doing while in school, what to do after, and how to hopefully get a job in this field. This was an especially beneficial thing to learn since informational interviews were a requirement of the program.

My experiences in D.C. taught me so many things. Although being a small fish in a big pond was not a groundbreaking realization, D.C. showed me what being a small fish in the ocean is like and it showed me how to maintain and maximize my abilities as this small fish. I found a new love and appreciation for international trade to the extent that I hope to one day have a career in this field. I also gained a newfound appreciation for the intricacies of doing business with Africa. I am now all the more confident in myself and my abilities. Without this program as the catalyst I would not have learned so much about myself and I would not have this new outlook on my future and my career.

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.



George Broder
B.A. '78 Political Science

George Broder is the President of George Broder Group, LLC, a public affairs, government relations, strategic communications consultancy based in San Francisco.

Who was your favorite professor?
Henry C. Hart

What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

Wisconsin upset over Nebraska at Camp Randall in 1974. The Pail and Shovel Party. Bonnie Raitt concert on State Street the night Saigon fell, April 1975. Sliding down the Science Hall fire chute. Sailing my 16-foot Hobie Cat with pals on Lake Monona. "Risk" games freshman year in the dorms, always started about midnight. Capitol internship in Governor Pat Lucey / Marty Schreiber's press office. Two Summer sessions, light class load,

hanging out on the Terrace. A spontaneous, midnight-departure road trip to Detroit for the 1977 NCAA Frozen Four Championship that Bucky won over Michigan Blue in overtime 6 to 5.

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

My degree has served as the foundation, platform for every professional endeavor I've undertaken since graduating in 1978. To this day I rely on it. It has always provided me with the confidence, assurance that I can get the job done—whatever the particular task or challenge might be. The degree has been my passport to success. And a source of great pride. I love North Hall.

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

Hmm, what's the statute of limitations in Wisconsin? Steering clear of many skeletons—I told them not to worry about me, that I was hitchhiking from Madison in a raging snowstorm on Thanksgiving Day to my girlfriend's home in Wisconsin Rapids. I made it, half-frozen, in time for dessert.



Tracy Genesen
BA '85 Political Science

Tracy Genesen currently serves as general counsel to Edrington Americas, the American arm of a Scotland based manufacturer of distilled spirits

Who was your favorite professor?
Professor Booth Fowler.

What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

Visiting with friends and faculty on the Union Terrace in the summer and trekking up Bascom Hill in the snow in the winter.

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

My political science degree helped shape my world view, provoked me to think about issues from all sides, and most importantly built my confidence in developing and advocating my own perspectives in both law and politics.

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

How I managed to get so many parking tickets in 4 years time!



Lisa Gingerich
B.A. '91 Political Science, Law, Behavioral Science

Lisa Gingerich is a shareholder in the Law Firm of von Briesen & Roper, s.c. in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She is an advisor for health industry clients on transactions, strategic opportunities and implementation, and corporate compliance.

Who was your favorite professor?

That is a tough question. I enjoyed all of my political science professors and learned so much from all of them. If I must pick one, my favorite was Professor Friedman. I could not believe

how fascinated I was by Chinese history and politics. I read the *Economist* to this day because of Professors Friedman and Barnett.

What are some of your fondest memories of UW ?

1. Saturday morning Game Days are some of my favorite memories. The football team was not good, but we did not care. I woke up earlier than most other Saturdays, always was surrounded by friends, and we just made a day of going to pre-game festivities, seeing the game, 5th Quarter, post-game fun. I loved fall in Madison! 2. I spent countless hours at the Memorial Union terrace sharing laughs and good times with friends. 3. I voted for the first time at Tripp Commons.

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

I learned to appreciate and understand history, process, and the value of relationships. Mostly, I learned how to think critically and logically. These skills are invaluable as I advise and lead others.

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

The two that come to me happened at the beginning and the end of my time in Madison. Beginning: The day that I moved into the dorms, there was gigantic sign on the door to our dorm that said: "Get Lei'd on Cole Beach Dance—Tonight." I lived in Cole Hall and Cole Beach was a large grass area outside. My mom was not impressed even when she understood the play on words or when she learned what Cole Beach was. The End: I was waiting for my thesis grade in spring and did not technically graduate until August 1991. My parents could not understand how I got to "walk" for graduation at Camp Randall in May.



Alyssa Mastromonaco

BA '98, Political Science

Alyssa Mastromonaco recently left the White House after serving as White House deputy chief of staff for operations since 2011. Prior to that, she was director of scheduling and advance, a position she held since January 2009. She also served as director of scheduling and advance during President Obama's first campaign. Mastromonaco began working with then Senator Obama in January 2005, where she served as an advisor and political director of his PAC, Hopefund.

Who was your favorite professor?

Professor Patrick Riley—one of the most thought provoking, complicated courses I ever took.

What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

Going down to the Union and sitting on the Terrace after finals! Also, walking up and down Bascom Hill for all of my political science classes that never seemed to be back to back!

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

My political science courses at UW most importantly taught me how to listen to and evaluate other people's opinions. Even if someone clearly didn't have the same political views as you did, there was so much to learn about why others believed what they did. Invaluable. An early lesson in how to disagree without being disagreeable

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

How, just a month before my 21st birthday I was busted for a having a fake ID at Paul's Club and had to go to court to ask for a "payment plan" on my fine so that I wouldn't have to tell my parents that I got tagged—I admitted the story to them about 10 years later.



Gregory Reed

B.A. '83 Political Science

Gregory Reed is a vice president at Moody's Investors Service in New York City monitoring Moody's rated commercial mortgage backed securities and conducting structured finance market research.

My favorite political science professor was Booth Fowler and his course entitled "The History of American Political Thought." As my master's degree major professor, James Graaskamp also taught me about politics within the realm of real estate.

Some of my fondest memories of UW—Madison include playing violin for many years in the UW—Madison Chamber and Symphony orchestras, attending hockey and football games. My last semester as an undergrad was especially memorable having taken both the Legislative Process class with an internship at the Wisconsin State Capitol and the Real Estate Process class from Professor James Graaskamp.

My political science degree has played a key role throughout my career in helping me to understand the role and function of government, remaining abreast of current affairs at both the local, regional, national and

international level, galvanizing support for influencing both public and corporate policy as they relate to LGBT issues and working on and fundraising for political campaigns.

The hardest thing for me to explain to my parents about something that happened at UW was my decision to switch to political science the second semester of my junior year from landscape architecture. I had never taken a political science class before and by switching majors so late in college, it meant that I would have to go to school an extra semester.



Mark Rewey
B.A. '92 Political Science/International Relations

Mark Rewey is a managing director and head of sales and distribution for Segall Bryant & Hamill, a Chicago-based institutional money manager. He is responsible for national sales and marketing to institutional consultants, financial intermediaries, banks, corporations, foundation and endowments.

Favorite Professor: James Hoyt

My fondest memories of the UW are going to campus as a child with my parents, fall semester and football games, being involved in various student organizations and working directly with the dean of students and chancellor.

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

It gave me a solid, well rounded foundation for communication and people skills.

Hardest thing for me to explain to my parents is when grades came out, I would always remind them that I was not letting my studies get in the way of my education.



Bruce Weisenthal
B.A. '80 Political Science

Bruce Weisenthal is a partner, executive committee member, and public law and finance practice group leader for the national law firm, Schiff Hardin LLP.

Who was your favorite professor?

First, I confess that my undergraduate days are very long behind me. I very much enjoyed my Constitutional Law class, but it is hard for me to remember the professors name.

What are some of your fondest memories of UW?

Which are not? Hard to imagine a place that was more conducive to growing into a adulthood. I would say my fondest memory would be sharing the dais with Kurt Vonnegut at graduation in 1980.

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

My career in the public finance has exposed me to the nuts and bolts of government. My political science degree has proven to be invaluable in navigating

the political landscape in which the gears of government grind.

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

Again, probably far too many to name. I came home in one piece with a degree and decent grades, so they probably were willing to look the other way most of the time!

A Tradition of Excellent Teaching

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

Thomas L. Thorson	1961–62
Charles W. Anderson	1962–63
Herbert Jacob	1963–64
Kenneth Dolbeare	1966–67
R. Booth Fowler	1968–69
Patrick T. Riley	1984–85
Donald K. Emmerson	1984–85
Melvin Croan.....	1985–86
James Farr.....	1986–87
Joel Grossman	1987–88
Donald Downs.....	1988–89
John Coleman.....	2000–01
Jon Pevehouse.....	2004–05
Kenneth Mayer.....	2005–06
Howard Schweber	2005–06
Katherine Cramer Walsh ..	2005–06
David Leheny	2006–07
David Canon.....	2007–08
Edward Friedman	2007–08
Kenneth Goldstein	2008–09
Scott Straus.....	2008–09
Richard Avramenko	2009–10
Melanie Manion	2010–11
John Zumbrunnen.....	2011–12

See the list of award winners honored at our 2014 Annual Awards Reception: www.polisci.wisc.edu/awards

Award-Winning Dissertations

Four UW political science PhD students won dissertation awards in 2013 from the American Political Science Association. In previous issues of North Hall News, two award winners told us about their award-winning research. In this issue we present the remaining two award recipients.



Adam Auerbach

(MA '07, Phd '13)

Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame was awarded the Best Field work award, the Comparative Democratization Section, American Political Science Association *“Demanding Development: Democracy, Community Governance, and Public Goods Provision in India’s Urban Slums.”*

What were you exploring in your dissertation?

My dissertation explores community organization, electoral politics, and development in India’s urban slums. The project seeks to understand why some poor urban communities in India are able to demand and secure development from the state while others fail. Residents of India’s slums exist in an environment defined by informal economic activity, clientelistic politics, and for many, the pervasive risk of eviction. Despite these shared conditions, slums dramatically vary in their access

to basic public services—roads, water, trash removal, streetlights, and schools. My dissertation seeks to understand the causes of these disparities.

What got you interested in this topic?

I settled on my dissertation topic during a 2009 summer internship in India. As a graduate intern at the National Institute of Urban Affairs in New Delhi, I had the unique opportunity to examine government data on slums and regularly interact with policy experts. In addition to the internship, I began to visit several slum communities to explore the local politics of slum development. My experiences that summer inspired me to conduct further research on the topic for my dissertation.

How did you go about doing the research?

My fieldwork in India involved both qualitative fieldwork and a large household survey. I first conducted 15 months of ethnographic fieldwork, interviews, and archival research in two north Indian cities. This kind of sustained fieldwork was necessary to understand how politics actually works in slums. Based on my fieldwork, I then designed and conducted a household survey across 80 slum settlements.

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

My fieldwork revealed a number of surprising findings. I found that slums are not the anarchic spaces that they are typically portrayed to be. Instead, most slums exhibit stable forms of leadership and organization. Further, the nature and extent of that organization varies across settlements. In some slums, leaders perform a range of activities for residents—they resolve disputes, organize internal development efforts,

and demand services from the government. Other leaders do very little for residents, while others are transgressive. I find that these differences are partially explained by how residents choose their leaders and sanction leaders if they fail to perform.

My fieldwork also uncovered the central role of political parties in slum development. Party organizations in urban India are hierarchically structured and connect local workers to the highest strata of party leadership. Slums that are integrated into party networks are well positioned to make demands on the state. These networks provide slums with an organizational capacity for protest and a critical degree of political connectivity. Slums that fail to develop party networks are marginalized in the distributive politics of the city.

Another interesting finding that emerged from my fieldwork is the relationship between social diversity and community development. I find evidence that social diversity is positively related to development through its influence on local competition and accountability. More diverse settlements tend to produce more fragmented leadership, and the resulting competition among slum leaders to maintain and expand their following produces an incentive structure that generates local accountability and encourages development.

What’s next for the project?

During my year at the Kellogg Institute, I will prepare my book manuscript for publication. I also plan to take full advantage of the expertise at Notre Dame in the regions of Africa and Latin America, and begin to investigate urban politics and development in other developing democracies outside of South Asia.



Jeremy Menchik

(MA '07, PhD '11)

Assistant professor of international relations at Boston University. Awarded honorable mention for the 2013 Aaron Wildavsky dissertation award for the best dissertation on religion and politics, *“Tolerance Without Liberalism: Islamic Institutions and Political Violence in the Twentieth Century Indonesia.”*

What were you exploring in your dissertation?

My dissertation explores the meaning of tolerance to Muslims in Indonesia. Tolerance is one of the most important civic virtues of the 21st century and vital to political development, yet we know surprisingly little about the origins and practices of tolerance in non-Western democracies. Turkey, Senegal, Tunisia, and Indonesia are emergent democracies, but the meaning of tolerance stems less from the values of a secular modernity than from modern Islamic values with the support of organizations like the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, the Turkish Justice and Development Party, and the Senegalese Muslim brotherhoods. Indonesia is the world's largest Muslim-majority country and a consolidated democracy. Understanding tolerance in places like Indonesia is important as democracy continues to spread to the Muslim world.

What got you interested in this topic?

I have long been interested in issues of religion, politics, and democracy in the

developing world. I became especially focused on tolerance after the attacks of September 2001, when xenophobic claims about Muslim barbarism plagued the public sphere and were used to justify military interventions in the Middle East. These claims ran directly counter to my personal experiences in Tunisia, Jordan, and Turkey as well as things I was reading about Muslim democrats in Indonesia.

How did you go about doing the research?

I spent a long time in Indonesia! The dissertation is a combination of original survey data, ethnographic observation, and archival research. I spent an entire year trying to understand the formal and informal rules structuring minority-majority relations by undertaking a survey and interviewing prominent leaders of Islamic organizations. I found, for example, that Muslim leaders and the state safeguard the rights of religious minorities as long as they fit within six available official religions: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Confucianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Liminal and heterodox faiths are not protected by the state. This makes Indonesia a sort of hybrid of a theocracy and secular-democracy. I then spent a second year trying to determine how these rules emerged from a combination of Dutch colonial laws, Islamic law, and contingent events in Indonesian history.

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

I found that Muslims in Indonesia are tolerant of religious minorities but through social attitudes and institutional rules that differ from the Western model of liberal-secular tolerance. Muslims in Indonesia support tolerance based on group rights, legal pluralism, the division between religious and social affairs, and they tolerate some minorities more than others. This understanding of tolerance, which I call “group tolerance,”

is not theologically determined but is due to historical interactions between Islamic groups, between Islamic groups and Christian missions, the underlying structure of Islamic organizations, and the influence of modernizing states.

My biggest surprise was how difficult it became to escape the categories of analysis inherited from liberal political theory and secularization theory, even while I knew those theories were not adequate for explaining politics outside the West. The distinction between public and private, for example, is much less salient in Indonesia than the distinction between social and religious affairs. To describe contemporary attitudes, I had to draw on Islamic legal theory and develop a different vocabulary for minority-majority relations.

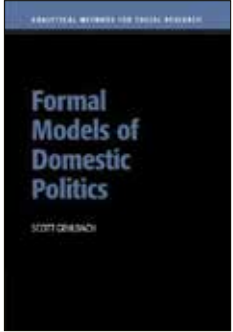
What's next for this project?

I am working on revising my manuscript for publication as a book. The biggest challenge in my field is that secularization theory, the dominant theory in religion and politics, has largely failed. The world is not becoming more secular! Religious actors are increasingly central to political life and religion is at the center of some of the biggest challenges facing U.S. policy makers. I hope that my book will help to rebuild the literature by transcending the narrative of a teleological progression from traditional societies to modernity organized around the liberal-secular virtue of tolerance. Additionally, as Indonesia's democratic transition in 1998 predated the Arab Spring, my book will offer a close look at the subsequent years to evaluate best and worst practices for fostering tolerance amid political change.

BOOK NOTES

Formal Models of Domestic Politics

SCOTT GEHLBACH



Since coming to Wisconsin ten years ago, I have regularly taught methods to undergraduate and graduate students. One of the courses I have most enjoyed is “Formal Models of Domestic Politics,” an introduction to game-theoretic (i.e., mathematical and strategic) models of politics that regularly draws graduate students from our department and elsewhere on campus. In this course, students learn important models that can help us to understand the domestic politics of democracies and non-democracies. Thus, for example, we examine models of electoral competition that illustrate why parties adopt the platforms they do, and we explore models of regime change that generate predictions about when dictators will democratize. Each model is a kind of map: a stylized representation of reality that strips away what is unimportant so that we can focus on what is central.

For a course of this sort, it is useful to have a textbook that presents models in a way that is accessible to graduate students with a year or two of training. Economics has long followed this approach, with often-complicated research papers boiled down to a smallish set of equations that can be written on the blackboard. Alas, there was no suitable book available when I began to teach this course: unlike economics, political science does not have a long tradition of producing graduate texts.

So I wrote my own. This is not something one does all at once, or all by oneself, but class by class. Each year I added a bit more material, and each year my graduate students would help

me to understand what was clear and what was not. Eventually I had a book with more material that I could fit into a semester: models of electoral competition, special interest politics, veto players, delegation, coalitions, political agency, and regime change.

It is a relatively short book, notwithstanding the broad coverage. In writing the text, I was mindful that I would not be the last to write a text of this sort. I therefore focused on doing a few things well rather than a lot of things poorly. With word arriving regularly of colleagues at other institutions who are using the book in their own courses, I am increasingly confident that I made the right decision.

Bridging the Information Gap: Legislative Member Organizations as Social Networks in the United States and the European Union

NILS RINGE



Does it seem like Republicans and Democrats don't talk to each other anymore? In our recently published book, *Bridging the Information Gap: Legislative Member Organizations as Social Networks in the United States and the European*

Union, Jennifer Victor (George Mason University) and I show that legislators have systematic, institutionalized ways of engaging with one another outside of the confines of political parties and legislative committees. Legislative member organizations (LMOs) are voluntary groups of legislators who share a common interest in a particular political issue or theme (e.g., the Animal Welfare Intergroup, the Trade Union Intergroup, and the Anti-Racism &

Diversity Intergroup in the European Parliament or the Black Caucus, the Caucus for Women's Issues, the Mining Caucus, and the Rural Health Care Coalition in the U.S. Congress). They are a widespread phenomenon—we find that LMOs exist in the national legislatures of about 55 percent of advanced industrialized liberal democracies—yet, it is not immediately clear what benefits LMOs offer their members.

Our main argument is that LMOs allow lawmakers to become part of extensive information networks that transcend the boundaries imposed by partisanship, opposing ideology, and committee jurisdictions. Importantly, these networks are composed of weak, bridging ties between legislators and their offices, which are inexpensive to create and maintain, yet facilitate information flow because they cross the boundaries imposed by formal legislative institutions, such as parties and committees. Hence, voluntary participation in LMOs gives lawmakers access to otherwise unattainable, policy-relevant information and makes all members of the network better informed.

To investigate the role of LMOs in legislative politics, we use a comparative framework that relies on quantitative, social networks, and extensive interview data from two primary cases, caucuses in the United States Congress and intergroups in the European Parliament (EP).

It may be easy to be dismissive of groups such as the Congressional Footwear Caucus or the Wine Intergroup, especially if they only meet irregularly and the set of participants fluctuates. But we find that the weak ties formed through LMOs are of great informational value, especially given the low costs associated with LMO membership. Altogether, our findings suggest that there is value even in purely social LMOs that relate to seemingly trivial matters, because relationships can be forged in one setting and become meaningful, from a policy-making perspective, in another.

The American Political Landscape

BYRON SHAFER



One of the central facts about American politics in our time, occasionally celebrated but more often bemoaned, is that its two political parties are more ideologically separated than at any point since the earliest New Deal.

The American Political Landscape explains how that separation occurred and why it is not going away any time soon. Along

the way, the book is the story of a move from an old world of American politics, where economic preferences energized partisan voting, to a new world, in which both economic and cultural preferences are always in play. Along the way, this is also the story of a move by *both* political parties away from the ideological center, a shift highlighting the weakness of the middle and the importance of the extremes.

In order to tell that story, it is necessary to combine cutting-edge methods from the social sciences with the hard-won experience from campaign consultants—wisdom from two populations that almost always just talk past each other. What comes into view as a result of this effort is the strategic “landscape” for electoral conflict in the United States over the

past quarter-century, a latent structure with major practical consequences. More concretely, what results is a mapping of how different social characteristics are associated with different political attitudes; how these attitudes are themselves organized; and how this organization can both persist as a powerful shaping influence and yet permit different ultimate election outcomes. Part and parcel of those results, finally, is an extended set of colored contour maps that bring the political values of the diverse social groups that make up American society—economic, racial and ethnic, religious, and gendered—into easily accessible map formatting, with all the inherent choices and strategic dilemmas that this American mosaic entails.





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