

# North Hall News

Department of Political Science • University of Wisconsin–Madison • Fall 2011



## Causes and Consequences of the Arab Spring

Nadav Shelef

Since December 2010 the Middle East has been rocked by a series of popular protests against long-standing authoritarian regimes. Nicknamed the “Arab Spring,” the popular protests started in Tunisia and spread to Egypt, Syria, Bahrain, Jordan, Oman, Yemen, Algeria, and Libya, among others. The character of these protests has ranged from peaceful protests in Tunisia and Egypt to outright civil war in Libya. While events at this time are still ongoing, we can already see a great deal of variation in the outcomes of the Arab Spring. The protests succeeded in bringing about regime change in Tunisia and, pending the final outcome of the civil war, in Libya. In Egypt, however, the protests led to the departure of Hosni Mubarak, who ruled Egypt for the last 30 years and limited formal constitutional reforms, but the military which dominated Egyptian economy and politics remains in charge. In Bahrain, Syria, and Iran (which had its version of the uprisings in 2009) the regimes have, thus far, been able to successfully repress the protests. While Jordan and Oman have tried to preempt mass protests with limited reform initiated from above, Saudi Arabia has forestalled protests with talk of limited liberalization and generous cash payments to its citizens.

The protests of the Arab Spring were driven by the

frustrated aspirations of an upwardly mobile educated youth whose expectations for a better life had been systematically dashed. The economies of most Arab states in the Middle East have stagnated as their population has boomed. Importantly, however, these conditions are not new and, on their own, cannot explain the onset of the Arab Spring. Rather, for local and idiosyncratic reasons the self-immolation of a street vendor in Tunisia protesting the corruption of the Tunisian regime was seized upon as a mobilizing symbol by the frustrated youth in Tunisia, and one man’s protest snowballed into a popular movement that overthrew the regime. The protests in Tunisia were broadcast (and supported) by the ubiquitous Arab satellite channels (e.g., Al-Jazeera), subsequently fostering a common thought in much of the Middle East: “If Tunisians could protest and succeed despite an authoritarian regime, why can’t we?” While intangible, this psychological development is probably the most important outcome of the Arab Spring to date. The average citizen in the Arab world now believes that he or she deserves to have a say in how they are governed and, as importantly, are no longer afraid of expressing their desires or demanding accountability from their

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## A Mobilized and Polarized Wisconsin Electorate

Charles Franklin

In the November 2010 elections, Wisconsin turned sharply in favor of Republicans. An unpopular incumbent governor, Democrat Jim Doyle, whose approval ratings had fallen to the low 30 percent range, chose not to seek reelection. Milwaukee County Executive Scott Walker defeated Milwaukee Mayor Tom Barrett to reclaim the governorship for the GOP after eight years of Democratic control.

A political newcomer, Republican Ron Johnson, scored an upset over three-term incumbent Democrat Russ Feingold. Democrat David Obey retired from the northwest 7th congressional district seat he held since 1969 only to see the seat won by Republican Sean Duffy, District Attorney for Ashland county. In the Green Bay area 8th congressional district, two-term incumbent Democrat Steve Kagan lost his

reelection bid to Republican Reid Ribble. And Democrats lost control of both the state Senate and Assembly to Republican majorities. These

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## Who's New in North Hall



**John Ahlquist** joined the faculty in Fall 2011 as an assistant professor. Broadly speaking, he studies how societies resolve the tension between the political demands of poorer groups and the need to provide appropriate incentives for risky investment. His published work has examined the structure of wage bargaining in several countries; the relationship between foreign investment and economic

policy; international trade and development; and the political mobilization of working class interests. He is just beginning a project examining how lengthening recessions affect voters' abilities to hold politicians accountable. His work has appeared in several scholarly outlets including the *American Political Science Review* and the *Journal of Politics*. Professor Ahlquist is a research associate in political economy at the University of Sydney's United States Studies Centre. Prior to joining the Wisconsin faculty he was an assistant professor at Florida State University and held a postdoctoral fellowship at UCLA's Institute for Research on Labor and Employment. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Washington in 2008 and his B.A. from UC Berkeley in 1998.



**Daniel Kapust** joined the department this fall as an assistant professor. He received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 2005, and served as an assistant professor of political science at the University of Georgia from 2005 to 2011. He has published articles and book chapters on rhetoric, Roman political thought, Cicero, Machiavelli, and Hobbes in

journals such as *Political Studies* and the *Journal of Politics*, and his book, *Republicanism, Rhetoric, and Roman Political Thought: Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2011. His research interests include ancient, medieval, Renaissance, and early modern political thought, along with rhetoric and democratic theory. He is currently working on a second book project dealing with flattery and political theory.



**Ryan Owens** started as an assistant professor of political science in Fall 2011. Dr. Owens studies judicial politics and American political institutions. His work analyzes agenda setting on the United States Supreme Court, strategic behavior on the United States Courts of Appeals, and the separation of powers. Dr. Owens's work has appeared in the *American Journal of Political Science*,

*Journal of Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Judicature*, *William and Mary Law Review*, and the *Justice System Journal*. Owens received grants from the National Science Foundation, the Harvard Provost, the Center for Empirical Research in the Law, the George H.W. Bush Library Foundation, and the Southern Political Science Association. Dr. Owens received his J.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 2001 and his Ph.D. from Washington University in Saint Louis in 2008. From 2008 to 2011, he was assistant professor of government at Harvard University.



### Direct your Contribution to Political Science

**Q** Can I target my annual telefund gift to Political Science?  
**A YES!** When you receive a call or mailing from the UW Foundation, just let them know you'd like your contribution to go to the Political Science Department. To see funds go to: [www.polisci.wisc.edu/give](http://www.polisci.wisc.edu/give).

# 110 North: Notes from the Chair

Greetings from Madison. The news these days is filled with numbers. The latest poll results track the race for the presidency day by day. National debt as a percentage of the economy is a concern facing governments in the United States and around the world. Housing prices, starts, and foreclosures are a focus of conversation each month. And the list goes on.

In that spirit, I thought I would share with you some numbers about the Political Science Department at UW–Madison.

Let's start with our undergraduate program. A dozen years ago, the number of undergraduates majoring in political science was around 550–600. Today, that number is about 1100, which is down a little from our peak of 1200 a few years ago.

A total of 446 undergraduate political science majors graduated during the 2010–11 academic year. According to survey results, two-thirds of these students planned to go on to full- or part-time work upon graduation, and one-quarter were heading to graduate school. The remainder were serving in the military, doing volunteer work, or had other plans.

At the time of the survey, 60 percent of those who were planning to work had already accepted a position or were considering offers. About half of the students entering the workforce said they would be entering business or a firm. Government, education, and nonprofits were all at about 15–20 percent.

Graduating seniors who were heading to graduate school were primarily pursuing law degrees—55 percent fall in this category. Another quarter were seeking various master's degrees.

Turning to our graduate program, there are nearly 100 graduate students in the Political Science Department, all pursuing their doctoral degrees. We usually receive about 250 applications annually to enter our graduate program, of which around 40–45 are admitted and 15 accept the offer of admission.

Last year, 55 percent of our graduate students who were on the job market landed tenure track jobs at colleges and universities. Nearly two-fifths took postdoctoral fellowships or short-term teaching appointments. Four students won best dissertation awards from the American Political Science Association, keeping us in the top six nationally in that category.



We have 42 faculty, including all faculty who either have a full or partial appointment with us, and three faculty arriving in future years. Our faculty are premier researchers dedicated to high-quality teaching. Faculty teach 90 percent of all credits in lecture and seminar courses, including all of our large introductory classes. And a remarkable 30 percent of our faculty have won Distinguished Teaching Awards, the university's most prestigious recognition of excellence in teaching.

And then there are our alumni, over 16,000 strong. We are proud of your amazing accomplishments, and deeply grateful for the support you provide us, whether through financial gifts, advising students on careers, placing a student in an internship, or in a myriad of other ways. A number of articles in this newsletter point out how gifts from our alumni and friends helped make an opportunity possible. When you visit our giving page at [polisci.wisc.edu/give](http://polisci.wisc.edu/give), you'll see the many ways the department and our students benefit from your generosity. Please consider us when you are making your charitable gift decisions.

To learn more about UW Political Science, you can find us at [polisci.wisc.edu](http://polisci.wisc.edu), [facebook.com/uwpolisci](https://www.facebook.com/uwpolisci), and [twitter.com/uwpolisci](https://twitter.com/uwpolisci). Speaking of numbers, we currently have 880 friends on our Facebook page and 582 followers on Twitter. I'll round that up to the nearest million and say we have one million each on both social sites. Please feel free to reach me at [coleman@polisci.wisc.edu](mailto:coleman@polisci.wisc.edu) to share your thoughts and suggestions.

## Department of Political Science

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*North Hall News* is published for alumni and friends of the Department of Political Science. Alumni should send address corrections to:

Wisconsin Alumni Association  
Alumni Center  
650 North Lake Street  
Madison, WI 53708

Send other changes and news items to the department.



**WISCONSIN**  
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## New Members of the Board of Visitors

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



### Jeffrey Gershman

1970 BA Political Science,  
1973 JD Law

*Jeffrey is a shareholder with the law firm Stone, Leyton & Gershman in Saint Louis, Missouri.*

**Q** Who was your favorite professor?

**A** My favorite professor without a doubt was John F. Manley, although

Austin Ranney was a close second. Manley was a very low key guy who always came to class wearing a suit, white shirt, and a narrow black tie. In fact his lectures were more like conversations than lectures. He was absolutely riveting.

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

**A** My fondest memories were the people I met throughout my four years, and that included all types: kids off the Wisconsin farms, brash east coast people, guys on the football team, southern girls, brilliant professors, etc. The sheer physical beauty of the campus was another fond memory.

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

**A** I knew as a freshman that I wanted to go to law school. After taking courses from Professors Manley, Ranney, and Jack Dennis, among others, I became a political animal and decided that once I got out of law school I was going to Washington, D.C., which I did. My political science degree and experience as a student in the department strongly influenced my decision to start out in Washington, and it still plays a role in my law practice.

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

**A** Second semester of my senior year, Nixon made the decision to bomb Cambodia. The Campus erupted over that, and a TA strike occurred at about the same time. Finally, the decision was made to suspend classes for most of the semester. We still had to pay tuition, of course. My parents never understood my explanation of why school had been called off or how I got all A's that semester if there were no classes.



### Eliot Jubelirer

1971 BA Political Science  
*Eliot is a partner in the San Francisco, California, law office of Schiff Hardin LLP.*

**Q** Who was your favorite professor?

**A** George Mosse and Booth Fowler. Both were thought-provoking but in very different ways. George's

lectures about European history gave us a foundation to understanding the Cold War and a non-United States perspective on world events. I was fortunate enough to be admitted to one of Professor Mosse's seminars my senior year. An unforgettable experience.

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

**A** So many, it's difficult to choose: discussing politics and the draft with friends; reading on quiet Sunday mornings in the Rathskeller; campaigning for Eugene McCarthy for president in 1968; taking courses that gave me a different and broader perspective; making life-long friends.

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

**A** Booth Fowler's Political Thought course helped me organize my thinking and analysis of problems, both through the course work and in discussions with Booth about the process of composing reasoned arguments for and against a proposition; good training for being a lawyer. David Fellman's Constitutional Law class gave me my first organized review of historic U.S. Supreme Court decisions and my senior honors thesis on riot law was written with the help and advice of Professor Fellman.

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

**A** That I was not about to get arrested every time there was a demonstration or a riot on campus (and there were many during my four years in Madison), and that most of the students (me included) could disagree with the country's foreign policy, and: (i) not be addled by drugs; (ii) not belong to the Weathermen or SDS; and (iii) not need a haircut.



### David Schaefer

1971 BA Political Science  
*David is the managing partner of the law firm Brenner Saltzman & Wallman LLP and chair of the firm's Litigation Practice Group in New Haven, Connecticut.*

**Q** Who was your favorite professor?

**A** I don't have one favorite professor.

# Alumni News

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

**A** Serving as president of the Wisconsin Student Association and as an ex-officio member of the UW Board of Regents.

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

**A** The studies which led to that degree cultivated my interest in government and politics. This interest resulted in my service on the staff of U.S. Senator Abe Ribicoff and my involvement in four presidential campaigns.

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

**A** Why students were protesting against the war in Vietnam and certain policies of the university, including on occasion “striking” or otherwise missing classes due to these protests.



## Tracey Klein

1980 BA Political Science  
*Tracey is a shareholder in the firm Reinhart Boerner Van Deuren's Health Care Practice in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.*

**Q** Who was your favorite professor?

**A** Favorite course: The Rhetoric of Campaigns and Revolutions.

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

**A** Sitting at Memorial Union on the terrace talking politics.

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

**A** It gave me historical perspective on current conflicts. Also, it provided me with a perspective regarding the skill set needed for a successful transformation.

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

**A** Explaining the value of a liberal arts education; how it makes you think vs. the immediate ability to get a job (or not).



## Laura Lake

1967 BA Political Science  
*Laura is president of Lake & Lake Consulting, Inc., in Los Angeles.*

**Q** Who was your favorite professor?

**A** Jim McCamy and JT Salter

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

**A** Meeting my husband on State Street, sitting on the Union Terrace,

walking in the Arboretum, and cooking amazing budget meals with my roommates.

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

**A** I loved it so much I got a doctorate and focused on environmental politics and policy implementation. Eventually, I became active in my community in Los Angeles (Westwood) and ran for office.

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

**A** Getting on academic probation—I was 16 when I started and did not like my major (pre-med). Once I switched, I did great!



## Ron Bonjean

1993 BA Political Science  
*Ron heads the Bonjean Company and is a partner of Singer Bonjean Strategies.*

**Q** Who was your favorite professor?

**A** My favorite professor was Ed Friedman. He was phenomenal at presenting complicated political

situations and explaining how the worldwide political system has worked for decades. He is simply brilliant at testing our ability to analyze and present the topics we had digested over the semester. While I attended classes that were interesting, this professor helped develop my critical thinking and convinced me to go into the political arena. I really wish I had an iPad back then so I could have documented all of his lectures and stored them forever.

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

**A** Walking to class on Bascom Hill was a favorite of mine because the UW is such a beautiful campus. Also, going on runs along the Lakeshore path and spending time at the Union Terrace. I also loved to write stories for the Badger Herald, which helped develop my abilities in communications. I also enjoyed being the president of my fraternity, Sigma Phi Epsilon, which was an interesting political position to have as a young student.

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

**A** Graduating from UW with a political science degree was critical towards preparing for my career in Washington, D.C. It was like getting a political drivers license before really going off on my own. The professors and classes helped provide a solid foundation for years to come. I would encourage any young student who is interested in politics to pursue this type of degree.

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

**A** That I just would never be the best at mathematics, but I think they had that already figured out from my time in high school.

# Alumni News

## Career Panels

The Department of Political Science is fortunate to have a large and accomplished alumni community that we can call upon to help today's students. Each year we hold a series of career panels that bring alums to campus to share their experience with our majors.

We thank the alumni who give their time to our students, and we encourage you to consider being part of our Career Contact Network. Visit [polisci.wisc.edu/alumni](http://polisci.wisc.edu/alumni) for more details.



*The Political Science Degree and Washington, D.C., October 2010*  
Board of Visitors members: Robert Barnett, Robert Trice, Rita Braver, and Edward Cohen



*Law Careers, November 2010*  
Karl Dahlen, Vice President and Senior Legal Officer, Land's End, BS '84; Allen Arntsen, Partner, Foley and Lardner LLP, BA '77, JD '81; Mark Grapentine, Senior Vice President for Government Relations, Wisconsin Medical Society, BA '90, JD '97; Ray Taffora, Partner, Michael Best & Friedrich LLP, BS '83, JD '86; Lissa Koop, Associate, of Perkins Coie LLP, BA '03



*The Political Science Degree and Careers/ Internships in Law, Politics, Journalism, and Nonprofits, October 2010*  
Board of Visitors members: Laura Miller, Mike Wittenwyler, and Patti Peterson

# Alumni News

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## Health Care Careers, February 2011



**Juli Aulik**  
Community Relations Director  
UW Health  
BA '88



**Lon Sprecher**  
Chief Executive Officer  
Dean Health Plan  
BA '74, MA '75



**Brian Purtell**  
DeWitt Ross Stephens  
General Counsel  
Wisconsin Health Care Association  
BA '89



**Tracey Klein**  
Reinhart Boemer Van Deuren  
Shareholder, Health Care Practice  
BA '80

## Education Careers, March 2011



**Ellen Foley**  
Former Executive Director  
of Communications  
and Community Development  
Madison Area Technical College  
BA '74, MA Journalism '87



**Margaret Lewis**  
Executive Director  
of the Wisconsin Academy  
of Sciences Arts & Letters  
BA '76



**Will Lipske**  
Undergraduate Biology Advisor  
UW–Madison  
BA '06, MIPA '07



**Leigh Vierstra**  
Bilingual Social Studies Teacher  
Madison East High School  
BA '05

# Award Winning Dissertations

Four UW Political Science Ph.D. students won dissertation awards at the 2011 American Political Science Association annual meeting. We feature two award winners in this issue and two in our spring 2012 issue of *North Hall News* and asked them to tell us about their research.

## Amber Wichowsky

*Assistant Professor of Political Science, Marquette University*  
Dissertation: “The Competition Cure? The Consequences of Competitive Congressional Elections”

### What were you exploring in your dissertation?

I was exploring the question of whether competitive congressional elections are desirable. We often hear that competition is what keeps democracy healthy. As David Broder of the *The Washington Post* once put it: “the scarcity of real competition in nearly all districts has many consequences—all of them bad.” I wanted to see whether Broder was right.

### What got you interested in this topic?

Believe it or not, I got interested in the topic while studying for prelims. I found myself drawn to the literature on representation and I saw real holes in the existing studies on how well members of Congress represent their districts. I felt that prior research had not adequately accounted for differences in issue, individual and district characteristics, and frequently failed to consider implications for the equality of political representation. At the same time, new survey data had become available that had large enough samples to really explore the differences between competitive and uncompetitive districts.

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

I started by sketching out the theorized links between competition and democratic accountability. On the one hand, electoral sanctions appear to be the primary means by which elected representatives are held accountable. On the other hand, low competitiveness could indicate that legislators are representing their like-minded constituents well, or that their opponents do not offer better alternatives. In short, I saw that the linkages could cut in both directions. And indeed, the empirical evidence to date was rather mixed as to whether electoral threats improve legislative responsiveness and political accountability. If competition is vital to the health of democracy, as many contend, then I thought that my study would have to be more systemic. Much like a doctor would take a patient’s temperature, blood pressure, and heart rate,



I would examine the multiple ways that competition might affect how well constituents are represented in the “people’s house.” I then took advantage of survey data in the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) and the National Annenberg Election Study (NAES) to test several hypotheses linking close elections to the behaviors of citizens and their elected representatives.

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

Overall, I showed that while House members are neither more nor less responsive to their constituents in competitive districts, electoral competition plays a key role in facilitating political accountability.

However, I was surprised by how little support I found for many of the dominant hypotheses in the literature. For example, House members representing safe districts are not necessarily ideologically closer to their constituents. This calls into question the assumption that members are safe because they are representing like-minded constituents. I also found no evidence for the “marginality hypothesis,” which posits that representatives elected by close margins are more responsive to the policy preferences of their constituents. Rather, I found that constituents exert influence by initial selection, not via electoral threats. Although incumbents are punished for being out-of-step with district opinion, electoral sanctions do not incentivize better representation as much as they select better representatives.

### What’s next for this project?

I am currently revising several chapters from the dissertation for publication. Going forward, I will be working on a larger project that builds off one of my dissertation chapters. In this research I will be tracing the income composition of state electorates over the last 30 years and examining whether shifts in “who votes” have any bearing on “who gets what” from state government.

# Award Winning Dissertations

## Michael Callaghan Pisapia

Assistant Professor of Political Science,  
Wake Forest University (Fall 2012)

Dissertation: "Public Education and the Role of Women in American Political Development, 1852–1979"

### What were you exploring in your dissertation?

I explored women's political authority in public education policy, tracing how it shifted over time as county and state governments and the federal government took on more responsibility for it. Specifically, I looked at women's influence as education professionals, civic actors and as voters and office holders during major legal developments, including the passage of compulsory education laws from 1852 to 1918, the abolition of more than 100,000 school districts between 1920 and 1970, and the creation of the U.S. Department of Education in 1979.

### What got you interested in this topic?

John Coleman's course on American political development (APD). I was surprised that APD scholars gave scant attention to education, a fundamental policy area that concerns the state. I was also surprised that women and politics scholars had not examined how expanding opportunities to administer public education intersected with women's political authority, given women's prominent position in the education profession. I expected that women had actively formed the state's role in public education since the Civil War, and that turned out to be true.

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

I asked questions with the form, "How did politics at time 1 become politics at time 2?" Then at the Wisconsin Historical Society Library, I dug up evidence to help answer them, always sensitive to regional variation. For example, I knew that in 1851, no states had compulsory education laws, but by 1918, they all did. How did that occur? To find out, I compiled statistics and official commentaries from state legislative manuals and department publications; I recorded votes in state legislatures; and, I studied proceedings of national civic associations. Then, I wrote analytic narratives that weaved qualitative evidence together and fitted it with data tables quantifying women's office holding and logistic regressions on how legislators, nearly all male, had voted on key laws.



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

I found that women in Western states who had voting rights had more influence on education policy than women elsewhere in the country had; that the South developed compulsory education regimes because of women civic actors; that women education officials had abolished tens of

thousands of school districts; and, that the formation of the U.S. Department of Education turned on "women's interests." Several findings surprised me, including this last one. Most scholars had explained away the creation of the U.S. Department of Education as a "payoff" by Jimmy Carter to the National Education Association, a "power-hungry teacher's union." Well, sort of. Actually, mobilization of the NEA in support of the department was already strong because the NEA had mobilized behind the Equal Rights Amendment in support of women's more general struggle for political equality. The NEA hoped the department would enhance the prestige of the teaching profession, and give its members, mostly women, a louder voice in the federal government.

### What's next for this project or what's next in your research?

After revisions, I plan to publish the dissertation as a book. In addition, I am working on several research projects, including creating a database of women's office holding in state and county government across four presidential election years, 1968, 1980, 1992 and 2004. I am also working on a paper that compares perceptions of women's professional and political authority and ideas about centralized political power in Japan and the U.S. after World War II. Generally, I'm fascinated by how the power of different social groups intersects with the administration of policy at different levels of government. I expect my future research will stem from that interest.

### Undergraduate Profile: Steven Olikara

*Steven Olikara, a senior from Brookfield, Wisconsin, pulled off a major feat this past year as the recipient of two nationally prestigious undergraduate scholarships—the Harry S. Truman Scholarship and the Morris K. Udall Scholarship. In this interview, Steve reflects on his time at UW-Madison.*

**We know that you decided to come to UW–Madison at the last minute and that you almost didn’t come here. What do you think has been the value of your experiences at UW–Madison?**

Coming to UW–Madison was absolutely the right decision. The “Wisconsin Experience” has been integral to helping me develop as a well-rounded leader, with opportunities to work at the highest levels of UW–Madison on various issues. I have enjoyed the combination of an intellectually rigorous academic and research environment, with a highly spirited campus and student body. There is a common saying about Wisconsin grads that I think is especially true of the great leaders that emerge from our campus—that we take our work seriously but avoid taking ourselves too seriously. I think this culture has a strong connection to our public service ethic, and it inspires me to see the bigger picture of any cause or issue I work on.

Also, a major part of my experience at the UW has been the many mentors—faculty, administrators, and older students, who believed in me to make a difference right from my freshman year

**Why did you decide to major in political science?**

The types of issues I have been interested in, such as energy and its connection to environmental health and economic development, have so many dimensions—technological, social, political, economic, etc. Political science provided the flexibility to pursue these interests across many departments, while providing a great home base to study public policy. I thought the department also had great advisors and faculty.

**What have been your favorite experiences at UW Madison?**

Two come to mind. One was speaking at the Obama rally last year to a crowd of over 26,500 people. At the time, it was the largest presidential event since his inauguration. The other was experiencing the Badgers beating Ohio State (who had been undefeated and #1 in the country) in Camp Randall’s student section. That sea of red on the field after the game is a sight I will never forget.



**You’ve spent the summer working on environmental projects. Could you talk a little about these projects and what they mean to you? What has been the best part of working on these projects?**

This summer, I have been working on a public-private initiative with USAID and Coca-Cola focused on improving access to safe water

and sanitation in Africa. While supporting the project management in Washington, D.C., I had the opportunity to travel to project sites in Africa, including a few schools in rural areas—I loved interacting with the children who were full of laughter and smiles. Overall, I think the partnership demonstrates how we can strategically reconcile public and private interests in the water sector, while dramatically expanding impact.

I also spent time in China, working with an NGO promoting sustainable development at a World Heritage Site in Sichuan Province known for its giant panda habitat and rich biodiversity. Part of a new service-learning program I developed in the Division of International Studies, we were joined by an interdisciplinary group of students and faculty conducting conservation and cultural research in the field. It was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity that allowed me to work with the indigenous Tibetan population, engage multiple levels of Chinese government, and travel to Hong Kong with the NGO’s president to establish a charity to support this work. And I got to see a few pandas!

**After such an exciting summer, what will you most look forward to on your return to Madison?**

The Terrace on Lake Mendota! I am also looking forward to celebrating the “Year of the Wisconsin Idea” and re-envisioning what the next hundred years will look like for our service mission to the state and beyond.



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### Learning about Leadership

Sarah Soon

This summer, I traveled to Lexington, Kentucky, for a week-long student congress held by the Henry Clay Center for Statesmanship. A little background on the program: I was chosen by the UW Political Science Department to represent the state of Wisconsin alongside 50 other delegates from each state, including Washington D.C. Eligible delegates needed to be incoming college seniors attending a university.

One of the most amazing things I gained from this experience was the knowledge I learned about each state and their differing opinions on certain key issues. Each delegate was representing a different state and the influence that their home region had in shaping their views became extremely apparent during the student congress. Before this experience, I did not realize how little I knew about each state until I was able to meet a delegate who is from the region. Additionally, it was also interesting learning how others viewed Wisconsin.

Due to the strange circumstances that brought us all together and combined with the activities, lectures, meet-and-greets, and dinners, we quickly became a very cohesive group. From beach volleyball challenges that left us with dirt under our nails and scrapes on our knees to heated yet civilized debates against our peers to our three minutes of C-SPAN fame, this group seemed to have no

other choice but to unify. But we did have a choice. So often in the world of politics, participants are so concerned with climbing to the top alone; whether that be climbing to the top of their political party, which has led to the creation of such polar partisan positions, or being the one with the most authority over a set group of people. After witnessing the interactions among the delegates as well as listening to the issues that we brought up during discussions, I have developed such faith in my peers and the incoming generation of leaders. I have also made some amazing connections with many confident and patriotic individuals that I am proud to call my friends. We will always have this experience, keeping us connected with a bond unlike any other. After the week I spent with the Henry Clay delegates, the optimism that I often have in order to assure myself that our country and our world will see a brighter future has become more than just a mirage, a naive screen I chose to look through towards an otherwise dark and ominous future. I can confidently say that I believe that our country is headed for a fortunate destiny.

I thank Department of Political Science alumni and friends for making this opportunity possible.

*Sarah Soon is a senior honors student majoring in political science and languages and cultures of Asia.*

### Many Thanks to Edward Friedman!



The longest serving faculty member in UW-Madison Political Science history, Ed Friedman retired in June 2011. For over four decades, Professor

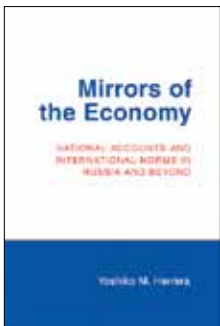
Friedman compiled a distinguished record in research, service, and teaching. His research focused on democratization and transition, Chinese politics, international political economy, and revolution. He has edited or authored four books on these topics since 2005 alone, along with dozens of other publications. Students benefitted from his effectiveness in the classroom and his deep concern and care for them. He was a true mentor to countless students from Wisconsin and around the world. Professor Friedman's far-reaching service and outreach included contributions at the campus, state, national, and international levels.

A record such as this deserves recognition. We were pleased to see Professor Friedman's legendary teaching contributions rewarded in 2008 by his receipt of a Chancellor's Distinguished Teaching Award, and his record of outstanding accomplishments in research, teaching, and service acknowledged with a campus Hilldale Award in 2009.

Throughout his career, Ed Friedman served the University of Wisconsin with great skill, good humor, and deep passion. The department thanks Professor Friedman for his many contributions and congratulates him on his retirement!

### Mirrors of the Economy: National Accounts and International Norms in Russia and Beyond

Yoshiko M. Herrera



National accounting is admittedly not the most glamorous topic, nor even one that most people have heard of. Yet, the international System of

National Accounts (SNA) is the framework for virtually all of our information about national and global economies. Although national statisticians largely work behind the scenes, we see the fruits of their labors on the SNA every day in news about unemployment, GDP, analysis of when the recession might end, and so on.

The SNA, however, is a relatively new institution. It was developed at the conceptual level in the mid-20th century, but its early decades were marked by a plethora of different country practices. A turning point in the development of the SNA as the only institution for national accounting across the globe came in the early 1990s when the adherents to the main alternative system, the newly postcommunist countries, dropped their own national accounting system, the Material Product System, and enthusiastically embraced the SNA. That is the story of this book. Why did Russia and other post-communist states abandon a system they had developed and worked with for decades and adopt this Western international institution?

In contrast to much of the literature

on international institutions, the empirical focus of this book is on the people who are responsible for implementation, namely the bureaucrats in particular national statistical offices. By taking up the question of domestic bureaucratic reform, and why seasoned bureaucrats sometimes are, or are not, willing to change course, this book combines an approach from comparative politics with a theoretical question central to international relations, namely the development of a globally hegemonic institution.

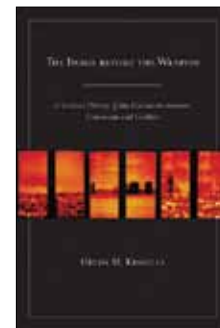
To understand the decisions of Soviet/Russian statisticians we have to consider who they are—their identities and shared norms, what their interests are, and the political and economic context that they worked in. The research for this book is based on extensive interviews in 2003–05 with statisticians across ten regions of Russia and internationally, and a systematic content analysis of Soviet/Russian statistical journals from 1950 to 2000. I also conducted a cross-national quantitative examination of implementation of the SNA throughout the world.

The essential argument of the book is that in Soviet times, the appropriateness of statistical institutions was linked to the structure of the economy: market economies were to use the SNA, while centrally planned economies were to use the Material Product System. But the transformation of economic systems across Eastern Europe in the 1990s brought about a change in the conditions underlying the appropriateness of the Material Product system, and hence triggered a change in interests among Russian and other Eastern European statisticians in favor of a move to the SNA. Theoretically I identify this basis for

institutional change as a *conditional norm*, whereby it is the change in conditions rather than norm itself that leads to institutional change. This argument has implications for understandings of the role of norms, structural conditions, and professional communities in institutional implementation. The book also contributes to our understandings of bureaucracy, state reform and state capacity.

### The Image Before the Weapon: A Critical History of the Distinction between Combatant and Civilian

Helen M. Kinsella



In 2001, a judge advocate general for the United States military advised against a military strike on a Taliban convoy, concerned that such a strike would violate

international humanitarian law. She based her decision on “indications that women and children might be in the convoy.” In June of 2002, U.S. Central Command apologized for the bombing of an Afghan wedding party. Partially justification and partially explanation, the apology noted that it was impossible to tell “women from men, children from adults.” Immediately before its 2004 offensive in Fallujah, the U.S. military turned back scores of men who attempted to flee the city. At that time, U.S. military rules of engagement allowed only women, children, and the elderly to leave.

## Book Notes

Each of these incidents refers to the distinction between a permissible target, a combatant, and an impermissible target, a civilian. In international humanitarian law, the corpus of law governing armed conflict, this is known as the principle of distinction: combatants and civilians are to be distinguished at all times during armed conflicts and attacks may be directed only toward the former.

To be identified as combatant or as civilian is to be privy to the rights, respect, and protection offered to each under international humanitarian law. And, as the controversies over the extension of prisoner-of-war status to those detained and over the effects of military strikes in Afghanistan and Iraq both demonstrate, these rights and protections are consequential.

However, even as this distinction is referred to as the fundamental tenet of international humanitarian law, forming the basis for the “entire regulation of war,” it is a distinction recognized as indeterminate—what some refer to as a “term of art.” As one legal scholar observes, “there is no doubt that there is still confusion as to who is a combatant and who is a civilian.” A U.S. soldier confirmed, “[t]here is always a moment of uncertainty that some Iraqi would be passing by, giving us the thumbs up and the next minute he’d fire an AK-47 at us.”

In *The Image Before the Weapon*, I take up this question of indeterminacy by exploring the evolution of the concept of the civilian and how it has been applied in warfare. I argue that a series of discourses—including gender, innocence, and civilization—have shaped the legal, military, and historical understandings of the

civilian and I document how these discourses converge at particular junctures to demarcate the difference between civilian and combatant. Engaging with works on the law of war from the earliest thinkers in the Western tradition, including St. Thomas Aquinas and Christine de Pisan, to contemporary figures such as James Turner Johnson and Michael Walzer, I identify the foundational ambiguities and inconsistencies in the principle of distinction, as well as the significant role played by Christian concepts of mercy and charity.

I also analyze the definition and treatment of civilians in specific armed conflicts: the American Civil War and the U.S.–Indian Wars of the nineteenth century, and the civil wars of Guatemala and El Salvador in the 1980s. Finally, I analyzed the two modern treaties most influential for the principle of distinction: the 1949 IV Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War and the 1977 Protocols Additional to the 1949 Conventions, which for the first time formally defined the civilian within international law. I show how the experiences of the two world wars, but particularly World War II, and the Algerian war of independence affected these subsequent codifications of the laws of war.

For me it is precisely because respecting and protecting civilians is so critical that it is obligatory to ask what makes the formulation of the concept and category of the civilian possible. This, I argue, is the crucial antecedent step necessary before we—as we must—evaluate either the efficacy of the principle of distinction or explain compliance with the principle of distinction.

## A Tradition of Excellent Teaching

Political Science Department winners of Campus and UW System Distinguished Teaching Awards

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governments. Such beliefs about civic participation and ownership of society, while not sufficient, are a necessary condition for successful democracy.

Much has been made about the role played by new media — especially Facebook and Twitter — in driving the Arab Spring. We should, however, be cautious in attributing too much causal power to new media. Internet and Facebook penetration rates appear to have little correlation with either the presence or outcome of the popular protests in the Middle East. While a relatively large proportion of the population in Tunisia has access to the internet (34 percent, with 16 percent having Facebook accounts), in Egypt, however, the numbers are much lower: 21 percent and 5 percent, respectively. (For comparison's sake, in the United States, the internet penetration rate is about 78 percent, with 48 percent of the population possessing Facebook accounts.) In other places that have experienced protests, new media have played a negligible role. For instance, in Yemen, only 1.8 percent of the population has access to the internet and 0.05 percent are on Facebook. In Iran, on the other hand, despite one of the region's highest internet penetration rates (43 percent) the regime was able to repress protests after the disputed 2009 elections. There appears to be no systematic link, in other words, between the availability of new media and the emergence or outcome of the popular protests in the Middle East. This doesn't mean that new media didn't play any role. Their contribution, however, is likely limited to providing protestors with new tools to accomplish old tasks — using a Facebook post instead of a phone tree or leaflets to announce the time of a gathering. This lowers the marginal cost of communication among protestors, but it is not clear that it plays the decisive factor in the success or failure of the popular protests.

What does? One of the most robust conclusions of the political science scholarship on transitions to democracy is that splits within authoritarian regimes between hardliners and those willing to make concessions to democratizing forces are very important. Where the latter are able to win, democratization has a reasonable chance of proceeding. This key dynamic was reflected in the variation in the ways in which the armies and security forces in each state decided to respond to the popular uprisings. In Egypt and Tunisia, the army and security forces refused to fire on civilians. (Although as the challenges to continued military rule in Egypt proceeds there are some indications that the military government there may not shy of using force in this manner.)

In Iran and Bahrain, in contrast, the military and security forces remained loyal to the regime, forcibly repressing the protests. The Syrian experience, at least to date, seems to follow more closely the experience of Iran and Bahrain than that of Egypt. And in Libya, where the army splintered, the state and its population are in the midst of a fully fledged civil war.

Whatever its domestic impact in the states experiencing it, the Arab Spring also has some key implications for regional stability and the interests of the United States. The historic support by the U.S. of the ancien regimes and, with the exception of the rebels in Libya, tepid support of the protestors has led to a decline in American influence, at least in the short term. Second, the main contenders for regional power have been sidelined: Egypt is focused on its internal affairs and Iran's legitimacy has been undermined because it stands on the wrong side of the democratic moment. As a result, Turkey is attempting to assert itself as the most important regional power. Third, since uncertainty tends to breed risk aversion, the current moment of transition in the Middle East suggests that it is unlikely that a breakthrough requiring deep sacrifices is likely to be forthcoming in the relations between Israelis and Palestinians.

Finally, the fall of authoritarian regimes in the Middle East has led some to worry that they will be replaced by Islamist led governments. This is certainly a possibility. Indeed, at least in the short-run, because the Islamists tend to be the best organized social movement in societies with historically weak civil societies, the Islamists are likely to do disproportionately well in post-transition elections. At the same time, it is important to remember that the Islamists are not a monolithic bloc in any of the states of the Middle East and that the questions of the appropriate relationship between religion and politics and what democracy means are hotly contested within them. The role of Islamists in future governments will depend a great deal on who wins and who loses these internal debates. Second, the Arab Spring was not initiated by the Islamists, who have been rushing to catch up with the popular moment. Over the medium and long term, therefore, they are likely to face increasingly significant challenges from secular forces buoyed by the legitimacy of democratic ideals. Whether the Arab Spring will ultimately look like Iran in 1979, Czechoslovakia in 1968, or Philadelphia in 1776 will depend on the outcome of the political struggles that are yet to come.

Republican victories, plus the reelection of Republican Attorney General J. B. Van Hollen, put Republicans in unified control of state government and a 5–3 majority of congressional seats.

The sweeping Republican victories were generally by competitive margins. Walker, Johnson and Duffy each won 52 percent of the vote. Ribble had a larger 55 percent. And the state legislative races featured a number of very close contests. The breadth of Republican victories was extremely impressive. The vote margins, however, indicated a state still rather evenly divided between the parties. Those facts set the stage for what followed.

Following his January 3rd inauguration, Governor Walker called a special legislative session to deal with a series of bills intended to boost the state's economy. On February 11, 2011, he proposed the "budget repair bill" to deal with an expected shortfall in the state's budget ending June 30. Among many provisions of the bill were changes in policy governing state employee unions and their bargaining rights as well as changes in employee contributions to retirement and health care packages. Unions strongly opposed the changes which would limit bargaining to wages only and limit wage increases to the rate of inflation unless approved by voter referendum. In addition, state employee unions would face annual recertification votes which would require 51 percent support from all employees in the bargaining unit, rather than a majority of those voting. Other provisions gave employees the right not to join or contribute a representation fee to the unions and prohibited the state from automatically deducting union dues from paychecks. Unions immediately saw these provisions as a direct threat to their continued existence. Still, with Republican majorities in both houses of the legislature, the bill seemed certain to pass and be signed by the governor in just eight days from its introduction.

On February 17, as the bill was on the verge of passage in the state senate, all 14 Democratic senators left the state. The Republican majority of 19 senators was left one vote short of the quorum required by the Wisconsin Constitution (Article 8, Section 8) for action on bills concerning "fiscal" matters. This extraordinary move by Democrats produced a stalemate that lasted until March 8, when Republicans revised the bill to remove the fiscal aspects, allowing the policy changes regarding unions to be passed by a simple majority. During the weeks of stalemate the capitol was the site of the most extensive demonstrations seen in the state since at least the 1960s.

All of this set the stage for unprecedented efforts to recall nine state senators, three Democrats and six Republicans. Wisconsin recalls require the collection of signatures

followed by a special election between the incumbent and a challenger. If more than one challenger qualifies for the ballot, a primary is held prior to the special recall election.

In recent years, Wisconsin has seen two successful recalls of state senators. In 1996 Senator George Petak lost a recall election after switching his vote from opposition to support for a tax to build the Milwaukee Brewers' new Miller Park. In 2003 Senator Gary George lost a recall election prompted by corruption charges. Prior to 2011 only two other recall attempts had ever been made against Wisconsin legislators and both failed.

While Governor Walker and Republican majorities in the legislature were ultimately successful in passing the budget repair bill, the protests it ignited divided the state sharply. Throughout the spring and summer, public opinion polls consistently found 85–90 percent approval of Governor Walker among Republicans, while 10 percent or less of Democrats approved. This split was the most polarized evaluation of a governor in any state during that time.

The recall elections, which were held in July and August, demonstrated that the state is simultaneously mobilized and divided over the policy changes in the budget repair bill. Turnout in the nine recall elections was far beyond normal expectations, exceeding that of the spring Supreme Court election (which itself set a record for spring elections). Turnout for the nine recalls totaled 485,266 or over 80 percent of the November 2010 turnout for Governor in those districts, a remarkable result for special elections.

Perhaps equally remarkable was the closeness of the results. Democrats gained two seats by defeating Republican senators Dan Kapanke and Randy Hopper, giving Democrats wins in 5 of the 9 races. The vote total for all races was 50.7 percent Democratic to 49.3 percent Republican. And the end result was a state senate in which Republicans retained their majority by a single seat. Both parties claimed victory, Democrats for the two seats they gained and Republicans for holding on to their majority control.

In October 2011, the Democratic Party of Wisconsin and other groups announced a recall effort against Governor Walker, to begin collecting signatures in mid-November which, if successful, would lead to a recall election, most likely in April or possibly May. Recent polling continues to show a very evenly divided state. As we look ahead to 2012 it seems likely that high turnout and high polarization are likely to make Wisconsin elections more unpredictable than ever as each side seeks a narrow margin over the other. The 2012 elections may harken back to 2000 when the presidential race was decided by just 5,708 votes out of 2.48 million cast, or two-tenths of a percentage point.



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## Networking in the Nation's Capital

Emily Hendricks

The Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress provides a unique opportunity to travel to Washington, D.C. to meet with 75 other undergraduate and graduate students from schools throughout the U.S. At the conference I attended several listening sessions regarding topics such as “Fiscal and Economic issues and the Millennial Generation” as well as smaller groups meetings with the other students. The smaller breakout sessions gave my peers and I a chance to discuss various topics surrounding the presidency and Congress that were relevant to our areas of study. In addition, each student wrote a 30-page paper regarding some aspect of the executive and federal branches of government. I wrote about interest group influence over the federal regulatory process and in particular over the entity that oversees the process, the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs.

I didn't study abroad during my undergraduate career, so I considered this to be my “study abroad” experience. I met amazing individuals and learned about their areas of interest as well as produced a piece of work on a topic I had not yet studied in depth. This was an incredible experience that not

only provided me with an abundance of knowledge, but also allowed me to network beyond Wisconsin and Minnesota. I have several friends and mentors throughout the U.S. that I stay in contact with and I plan to remain in touch as they continue on with their post-undergraduate endeavors. I am now a part of a network of hundreds of students who have gone through the center and hundreds yet to come: a network of intelligence, poise, and leadership working to better our American government.

I graduated this past spring with comprehensive honors and majors in political science and economics, so I am now a proud alumna of the University of Wisconsin-Madison. After spending a summer in Madison, I moved back to my home state of Minnesota (Go Badgers, but of course, Go Vikings!) to begin a job with IBM in Rochester as a financial analyst. I eventually plan on returning to graduate school to obtain a master's degree in public policy as well as an administrative law degree.

*Emily Hendricks graduated in May 2011 with a degree in political science and economics.*