

# North Hall News

Department of Political Science • University of Wisconsin–Madison • Fall 2010



## Israel, Deterrence, and Peace

Andrew Kydd

I recently had the wonderful opportunity to visit Israel with a group of American international-relations scholars on a tour sponsored by the Yitzhak Rabin Center. Rabin was the great Israeli general turned peacemaker who signed the Oslo peace agreement with Yassir Arafat and was subsequently assassinated by an Israeli extremist opposed to peace with the Palestinians. The center dedicated to his memory and mission has a reputation in Israel for remaining pro-peace in an era when peace has become unfashionable. And indeed, one of the strong impressions we received was that peace was not that important to Israelis these days, or at least that there was little attention devoted to the “peace process” that the Obama administration is laboring so diligently to revive. The recent announcement that there would be direct talks between the two sides has been greeted in Israel with criticism and some praise, but mostly fatigue.

Why is this the case? If we look at the major security threats that have faced Israel since its founding, Israelis seem to feel they have solved two and face a third that they are not sure they can solve, but which is unrelated to the Palestinians, and hence to the peace process.

The first and most important threat to Israel’s existence was Arab armies in the neighboring states. This problem was most acute in the 1948 war of independence in which

the Jewish forces beat the numbers and the odds to vanquish the Arab armies and found the Jewish state. The problem continued acute, and wars in 1956, 1967, and 1973 all could conceivably have resulted in total defeat for Israel and at best exile for the Jewish population there. However, Israel built a formidable military force and won all these wars, and continues to maintain and even improve its qualitative superiority over the forces of the frontline states. As a result, these states have accommodated themselves to reality, first Egypt then Jordan signed peace treaties with Israel. Syria remains nominally at war, but Israeli conventional superiority deters any military assault from that quarter.

With conventional war mounted by the Arab states stymied, Palestinians turned to unconventional means to pressure Israel—most prominently, terrorism. A campaign of suicide bombing in the 1990s by Hamas succeeded in scuttling the Oslo accords, catapulting Hamas to prominence and ultimately to power in Gaza. The PLO used the tactic as well during the second Intifada in the early 2000s. This was a new threat that the Israeli military was hard pressed to counter. Tanks and fighter jets were of little use against women with explosive vests walking onto buses. Once again, Israel rose to the challenge and developed a strategy to

*Continues page 16*

## Organizing the APSA Annual Meeting

Lisa Martin

In early September, I had the pleasure of serving as program co-chair of the 2010 American Political Science Association annual meetings. My co-chair was Professor Andrea Campbell of MIT, and we worked closely with the president of APSA for 2009–10, Professor Henry Brady of the University of California, Berkeley. Through this experience I learned a tremendous amount—sometimes more than I perhaps needed to know—

about the structure and functioning of our discipline. It occasionally came as a bit of a shock to realize that, twenty years after receiving my Ph.D. and at least that many APSA annual meetings later, I had only the foggiest of notions about what actually transpires before and during the annual meeting.

The call from Henry Brady asking whether I would consider being co-chair came back in March 2009, eighteen months before the meeting

itself. I knew Henry from my days in graduate school, when I took a number of courses with him and spent a highly enjoyable and formative

*Continues page 11*

### Inside

Who’s New in North Hall? .....	2
Notes from the Chair .....	3
Alumni News .....	4
Awards and Honors .....	6
Department News .....	9
Book Notes .....	12

## Who's New in North Hall

---



**Rikhil Bhavnani** will start as an assistant professor of political science in the fall of 2011. He earned his doctorate from Stanford University in September 2010 and he will be a postdoctoral fellow at Princeton University's Center for the Study of Democratic Politics for the 2010–11 academic year. Professor Bhavnani is working on two research agendas: the

first on the causes and effects of, and remedies for, political inequality; and a second on corruption amongst politicians. His research draws on surveys, as well as natural and field experiments, based primarily in India. His article on the continuing impact of electoral quotas for women even following their withdrawal was recently published in the *American Political Science Review*.



**Alexander Tahk** is an assistant professor of political science whose research and teaching interests include political methodology, judicial politics, and mass behavior. His article "Institutions and Equilibrium in the United States Supreme Court" appeared in the *American Political Science Review*. His dissertation explores the behavior of the judiciary through

the statistical analysis of judicial citations and roll-call votes. His other current research includes projects studying the factors that determine the positions in Supreme Court opinions, the relationship between media attention and public concerns, and the effect of ballot order on vote choice. Professor Tahk earned his doctorate in 2010 at Stanford University.

---

## Interning at a Political Science Journal

**Eric Schmidt**

It is both a blessing and a curse that political science is considered a "catch-all" major at UW–Madison. On one hand, this means scores of undergraduates are exposed to one of the premier political science departments in the country. Yet very few undergraduates ever fully grasp the methodological rigors of our discipline. But thanks to alumni gifts to the Department of Political Science, I was afforded that opportunity by working as Professor David Canon's intern for *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. The experience helped professionalize my approach to political science in advance of starting my doctoral program at Duke University.

When Professor Canon first asked me to intern for *LSQ*, I was a student in his Race and Politics proseminar for undergraduates. The course was remarkably engaging, but I was not

presenting the type of work that would pass muster in graduate school. Looking back, my essays for that course were essentially polemical. They were exhilarating to write and fun to read, but they were better suited to my work at the *Badger Herald* than to any serious political science study.

With *LSQ*, everything changed. *LSQ* taught me very quickly what our discipline is really about—what the toolkit of any serious political scientist should consist of. Interning for *LSQ* demanded from me the essential ability to read and comprehend methodologically rigorous literature submitted to a top-tier political science journal. Having that ability, I am convinced, gave me an edge in my graduate school applications.

But I believe that experiences need not simply be resume padders. *LSQ* helped eliminate my fatalistic academic

perfectionism, which had previously made it difficult for me to accept the challenges of more difficult political science courses. Seeing how frequently the work of brilliant scholars was rejected from *LSQ* was important to witness. For example, a tenured professor at my current university saw his or her piece rejected by a particularly vitriolic critic convinced the author was a second-year graduate student. So in retrospect, *LSQ* showed me that the review process for journal submissions is indifferent to tenure, past achievement, or notoriety. The blind review process places an exclusive premium on research quality. If I'm not yet capable of writing a paper worthy of *LSQ*, I can at least claim to know in detail what doing so would entail.

*Eric Schmidt graduated in May 2010 with a degree in political science.*

## 110 North: Notes from the Chair

Greetings from Madison. On this beautiful fall day, I look out my window and see... well, scaffolding, caution tape, and plastic sheets. The exterior brickwork on North Hall is getting a face lift, and every window in the building is being pulled out and restored. It is a meticulous process, and workers on the project had to be certified to work on a historic building. By January they should be finished, at which point they ski across Bascom Hill and start the same process on South Hall. We'll have construction photos on the website soon.



As the chair of the Department of Political Science, I've made it a goal from the start for us to have more and better communication and outreach with our alumni, and to make everyone feel welcome, as I've explained in my previous columns. (You do have those memorized, right?) The new look of this year's newsletter is the latest example. Our newsletter, in my humble opinion, has always been rich in content. We hope that you'll now find the presentation more inviting.

As alumni, you know firsthand the wonderful experience of receiving a UW–Madison education and, we hope, the opportunities that education provided you. Now it is the next generation's turn. One of UW–Madison Chancellor Biddy Martin's major development goals is to increase funding for need-based scholarships. I can confirm from personal experience how important this help is.

My financial path through my undergraduate alma mater, Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, required a combination of grants, work, and loans—a mix of resources familiar to many students. The grants I received from Clark, which were funded by its alumni, were a tremendous boost and provided me with great opportunities for which I remain deeply thankful.

Here at Wisconsin, the chancellor similarly hopes to improve our ability to help provide students of modest means the great opportunities that come with a UW–Madison education. Wisconsin's taxpayers, which include many of you reading this newsletter, have given these students a great start at an affordable education. The chancellor's goal is to build upon this generosity through alumni gifts.

There are many ways you can help. The simplest is to visit our giving webpage at [www.polisci.wisc.edu/give](http://www.polisci.wisc.edu/give)

and look through the options, including making a gift to the Great People Scholarship for the university's use in need-based aid. Unrestricted gifts to the Great People Scholarship receive a 100 percent match from the UW Foundation.

When you visit our giving page, you'll also see other ways the department and our students can benefit from your generosity. Please consider us when you are making your charitable gift decisions.

A quick hop away from our giving page, you'll find our Alumni Connection, a handy page for you to link to video and audio of faculty talks and interviews, photos from Political Science events new and old, and more.

As I look out my window at the scaffolding on this historic building, I can't help but think deep thoughts about the failure of my Boston Red Sox to get into the postseason this year. But I digress. The National Research Council's rating of political science programs is the latest assessment to place us among the best programs in the country. We are proud of that accomplishment, reaffirming its outstanding history, but a great academic department must always be a work in progress—refashioning and rebuilding to be even better. Please feel free to reach me at [coleman@polisci.wisc.edu](mailto:coleman@polisci.wisc.edu) to share your stories, thoughts, and suggestions.

### Department of Political Science

Chair: **John Coleman**, 608-263-1793,  
[coleman@polisci.wisc.edu](mailto:coleman@polisci.wisc.edu)

Website: [polisci.wisc.edu](http://polisci.wisc.edu)

Follow us on: [facebook.com/uwpolisci](https://www.facebook.com/uwpolisci) or  
[twitter.com/uwpolisci](https://twitter.com/uwpolisci)

Donate to Political Science: [polisci.wisc.edu/give](http://polisci.wisc.edu/give)

*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**  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

## Career Panels, Spring 2010

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. In spring 2010, we began a new series of career panels that would bring alumni to campus to share their experience with our majors.

We thank the alumni who helped us start this new series, 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.

### Lobbying & Government Relations, February 2010



**Monica Groves Batiza**  
BA Political Science, 2003  
Government Affairs Counsel,  
American Family Insurance,  
for the states of Wisconsin  
and Iowa

### Business Careers, March 2010



**Christopher Jaye**  
BA Political Science, 1989  
Vice President of The  
Commonwealth Companies



**Eric Borgerding**  
BA Political Science, 1988  
Executive Vice President,  
Wisconsin Hospital Association



**Walter Meanwell**  
BA Political Science/Economics,  
1984  
Director, Investment Officer, and  
Portfolio Manager, Wachovia  
Securities



**Thomas Liebe**  
BA Political Science, 1994  
Vice President for Government  
Affairs, Wisconsin Credit Union  
League



**Scott Resnick**  
BA Political Science/  
Legal Studies 2009  
Vice President, Hardin  
Design & Development

## Alumni Awards and Honors

### Robert Barnett

(BA English/History, 1968)

*Distinguished Alumni Award, Wisconsin Alumni Association.*

Barnett is a leading attorney who represents authors, television news anchors and producers, and government officials, and has worked on eight presidential campaigns. Barnett serves on the Political Science Board of Visitors.

### Rita Braver

(BA Political Science, 1970)

*Distinguished Alumni Award, Wisconsin Alumni Association.*

Braver is an award-winning senior correspondent for CBS News, where she reports on topics ranging from arts and entertainment to politics and foreign policy for *CBS Sunday Morning*. Braver serves on the Political Science Board of Visitors.

### Phil Chavez

(BA Political Science, 1994;

JD Law, 1998)

*Forward Under 40 award from the Wisconsin Alumni Association.*

Chavez is a Milwaukee municipal court judge and member of the board of directors of Special Olympics Wisconsin.

### Kathryn Oberly

(BA Political Science, 1971;

JD Law, 1973)

*Distinguished Alumni Award, Wisconsin Alumni Association.*

Oberly is an associate judge on the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. She previously served as vice chair and general counsel of the accounting firm of Ernst and Young.

### Brian Riedl

(BS Political Science/Economics, 1998)

*Forward Under 40 award from the Wisconsin Alumni Association.*

Riedl is the Grover Hermann Fellow in Federal Budgetary Affairs for the Heritage Foundation and public educator on government spending.

### Arnold Weiss

(BA Political Science/Economics, 1951;

LLB Law, 1953)

*Distinguished Alumni Award, Wisconsin Alumni Association.*

Weiss discovered Adolf Hitler's last will, now in the National Archives. Having witnessed the war's destruction, Weiss dedicated his career as an investment-bank attorney to building, and his efforts brought social and economic progress to many developing nations.



John Armstrong (center) speaking with Matthew Holden (left) and Jim McCamy (right)

## Farewell

Professor Emeritus John Armstrong passed away on February 23, 2010, at the age of 87. He died in St. Augustine, Florida, the city of his birth. Professor Armstrong served during World War II and earned multiple advanced degrees. The author of many books and articles, Professor Armstrong specialized on the politics of the Soviet Union and nationalism. He spent 32 years on the faculty at UW-Madison, arriving in 1954 and retiring in 1986.

# An Award-Winning Year

## Faculty Awards and Honors

**Richard Avramenko:** William H. Kiekhofers Distinguished Teaching Award, UW–Madison

**Barry Burden:** Romnes Faculty Fellowship, UW–Madison Graduate School

**John Coleman:** Honored Instructor Award, Chadbourne Residential College, UW–Madison

**Donald Downs:** WARF Named Professorship, UW–Madison Graduate School; Honored Instructor Award, UW–Madison Housing

**Dennis Dresang:** Women’s Philanthropy Council “Champion Award” for 2009

**Booth Fowler:** Distinguished Honors Faculty Award, College of Letters and Science Honors Program; Honored Instructor Award, UW–Madison Housing

**Charles Franklin:** Named a Fellow of the Society for Political Methodology; 2009 Lasting Contribution Award of the Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association for “Republican Schoolmaster: The U.S.

Supreme Court, Public Opinion, and Abortion,” *American Political Science Review*, 1989; *Time Magazine’s* 50 Best Websites of 2009, for Pollster.com

**Scott Gehlbach:** Honorable mention, AAASS Davis Center Book Prize in Political and Social Studies, *Representation Through Taxation: Revenue, Politics, and Development in Postcommunist States* (2008)

**Kathryn Hendley:** Kellett Mid-Career Award, UW–Madison Graduate School

**Liane Kosaki:** 2009 Lasting Contribution Award of the Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association for “Republican Schoolmaster: The U.S. Supreme Court, Public Opinion, and Abortion,” *American Political Science Review*, 1989.

**Lisa Martin:** Honored Instructor Award, UW–Madison Housing

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

**Howard Schweber:** Honored Instructor Award, UW–Madison Housing

**Scott Straus:** Honored Instructor Award, Chadbourne Residential College, UW–Madison

**Katherine Cramer Walsh:** 2010 Phi Beta Kappa Faculty Teaching Award, UW–Madison

## Classified Staff

**Edward Kaul,** One year

**Diane Morauske,** Twenty years

## Graduate Students

**Adam Auerbach:** National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement Fellowship; Social Science Research Council (SSRC) International Dissertation Research Fellowship; Fulbright–Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship; American Institute of Indian Studies Junior Fellowship

**Meina Cai:** Institute for Humane Studies Fellowship, 2009–10; National Science Foundation Dissertation Fellowship

## A Tradition of Excellent Teaching

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

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

# An Award-Winning Year

**Jessica Clayton:** L&S Teaching Fellow 2010 (Alternate), College of Letters and Science

**Valerie Hennings:** Teaching Assistant Innovation in Teaching Award, College of Letters and Science

**Courtney Hillebrecht:** National Science Foundation Dissertation Grant

**Stéphane Lavertu:** Mildred Potter Hovland Award, UW Department of Political Science, for “Group Conflict, Political Uncertainty, and Executive Discretion.”

**Mehreen Zahra-Malik:** Mosse Graduate Exchange Fellowship for academic year 2010–11, UW–Madison

**Naya Mukherji:** L&S Teaching Fellow 2010, College of Letters and Science; Honored Instructor Award, UW–Madison Housing

**Zachary Oberfield:** Leonard D. White Prize for the best dissertation in the field of public administration, American Political

Science Association, 2009, for “Becoming the Man: How Street-Level Bureaucrats Develop Their Workplace Identities and Views.”

**Michael Pisapia:** Leon Epstein Prize in American and British Politics, UW Department of Political Science, for “The Authority of Women in the Political Development of Public Education in the American States, 1860–1930.”

## Undergraduate Students, Department awards

**Benjamin Brunner:** Elaine C. Davis Award

**Colton Connor:** Judith Hicks Stiehm Award

**Jonathan Gorman, Melissa Marcus:** Philip J. Schemel Award

**Kevin Doyle:** Thomas L.W. Johnson Award

**Steven Olikara, Ayobami Olubemiga:** Charlene Barshefsky/Edward Cohen Award

**Diana Maas, Jacob Vandelist:** Clara Penniman Award

**Melissa Hanley, Benjamin Meyer:** William F. and Fayette G. Taylor Scholarship

**Amjad Asad, Kseniya Vaynshtok:** Neha Suri Memorial Award

**Emily Hendricks, Kari Krajewski, Jacob Markey, Kimberly Manecke, Scott Reid:** Robert Trice/Lockheed Martin Award

**Ryan Jeffery, Abram Shandling:** Rose Family Undergraduate Research Fellowship

**Hilary Sprangers:** Skornicka Public Service Award

## Undergraduate students, national awards

**Asad L. Asad:** Beinecke Scholarship

**Nicholas Lillios:** Truman Scholarship

**Emily Duma, Steven Olikara:** Morris K. Udall Scholarship



Professor Ed Friedman chats with student award winners at the second annual Political Science Awards Reception, April 2010

# An Award-Winning Year

## Best Dissertation Award—Public Administration

Zachary Oberfield (Ph.D. Political Science, 2008) received the Leonard D. White Prize from the American Political Science Association for the best dissertation in the field of

public administration. We asked Zach about his dissertation, “Becoming the Man: How Street-Level Bureaucrats Develop Their Workplace Identities and Views.”

### Q. What were you exploring in your dissertation?

A. I wanted to explore the development of street-level bureaucrats—the frontline government workers who interact directly with the public and play an important role in implementing public policy. Though there’s a lot of cross-sectional research about these workers, we know much less about how they develop over time. To put it somewhat crudely, I wanted to know if street-level bureaucrats were “born” or “made.”



### Q. What got you interested in this topic?

A. Two things got me interested. First, disadvantaged groups—like low-income populations and racial minorities—are much less likely to participate in formal politics, such as voting or engaging elected officials. However, they have many contacts with street-level bureaucrats like police officers, child-welfare case workers, and public-housing officers. In fact, as poverty policy has evolved and tightened over the past 30 years, some have argued that disadvantaged groups have more contact with government than privileged groups. Since street-level bureaucracies are an important site of government interaction for disadvantaged groups, I wanted to better understand the workers with whom they interact. Second, I was generally curious about the relationship between elected and unelected officials. In particular, I was interested in how governments get responsive bureaucracies. Do they groom the people they hire to think and act like they want or do they rely upon self-selection? What are the mechanisms that bureaucracies use to shape the views and actions of incoming bureaucrats?

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

A. To complete this study I conducted a two-year, longitudinal, comparative case study of entering police officers and welfare caseworkers in a large city. I used two main research methods to follow their development: surveys and in-depth interviews. In addition, I underwent training and worked as a welfare caseworker for a year to get an insider’s view of the process I was studying.

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

A. The major finding from my research was that, across both cases and a variety of outcomes, there was a lot more continuity than change. Though organization socialization has been pointed to as a key time in which government bureaucrats develop their views, identities, and motivations, the subjects in this study remained connected to their entering views. As a result, my findings suggest that street-level bureaucracies may be more strongly shaped by organizational recruitment and self-selection than on-the-job socialization.

### Q. What’s next in your research?

A. I have an article from this project coming out in the *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* and two others under review. In addition, this summer I’m working to turn my dissertation into a book. One future project that I am considering that builds on this research is to study frontline “government” workers across a range of organization types. Since many traditionally public services are now delivered by private or non-profit agencies as part of the “new public management,” a variety of new bureaucrats are implementing public policy. To date we know relatively little about how bureaucrats in these varied organizations understand their roles and act. For this project I’d like to compare the thoughts and actions of lower-level bureaucrats across a variety of organizational and policy settings.

## Students Succeed at Model United Nations

Jennie Sutcliffe

Welcome to my world, the world of Model United Nations or MUN as it is called by its near cult-like followers. To introduce you, let me give you a laundry list of things that make MUN both endearing and wonderful, but also the nerdiest make-believe game ever created.

- You have to do an extensive amount of research and writing as background preparation.
- You have to learn to speak in this weird language called parliamentary procedure where pronouns don't exist and you refer to yourself by the name of your country.
- You have to wear business formal attire.
- You travel to far away cities just to sit in a hotel conference room from 8 a.m. until 10 p.m., four or five days in a row, while fueling your body primarily on coffee and assorted Starbucks pastries.
- During these long days you have heated debates with other delegates about real issues—the spread of transnational crime, sustainable agricultural practices, and the growing insanity of Kim Jong Il (although praise is due for his avant-garde sunglasses look).



Jennie Sutcliffe and Brenna Conway

Although MUN sounds crazy, I know there are at least 10 other Wisconsin Badgers who feel as strongly as I do about this political science nerd mania. In April, thanks in part to the generous support of gifts provided to the Department of Political Science Fund by alumni, we embarked to the National Model United Nations Conference held in New York. This was the first time the UW Team ventured to the National Conference.

We had been assigned the Union of the Comoros, a set of islands off of Mozambique. Initially none of us even knew where this set of islands was located and we all had to huddle around a map and an online pronouncer to figure out how to say it. We quickly learned that the Comoros (pronounced comma-rose) has had more coups than just about any other nation, but touts itself as a beacon of democracy in the Africa Union and the Arab League to which they belong. The Comoros economy relies on the exportation of ylang ylang, a key ingredient in Chanel No. 5 perfume.

MUN conferences function much like the real UN. A team is assigned a country and students become delegates who represent that country in the various committees of 30 to 200 members. To prep we held debate practice, gave impromptu speeches, drafted resolutions, and scoured the UN database for information on our topics. In Model UN it's easy to learn about the topics, but the trick to being a successful delegate is learning your country's policy on the topics and advocating that position.

Overall, Wisconsin performed incredibly well. Four of our delegates received the "Best Delegate Award." Reid Quade and Sami Ghani won in the Organization of the Islamic Conference and Brenna Conway and I won in the African Union.

The impact of UW MUN on my four years at Wisconsin is immeasurable. Not only did it shape my social life and take up most of my free time but it also made my political science classes real to me. MUN helped me transcend the lecture hall and apply what I learned in a tangible way, increasing the value of my education. Although I tearfully left the UW MUN to new and amazing leadership, I have no doubt they will be up to great things this year and will hopefully again take the Nationals by storm next April.

*Jennie Sutcliffe was the UW–Madison Model UN president for 2009–10.*



The 2009-10 UW-Madison Model UN team at the National Model United Nations Conference in New York City

# Kindergartners Stump a Professor, Learn About College

Stacy Forster, *Wisconsin Week*

How many clowns are there in the world? How do slugs pull their eyes into their bodies? What's the meaning of life?

Those are a few of the questions a group of kindergartners from Madison's Glenn Stephens Elementary School used to stump political science professor Ken Mayer in one of his classes.

"I'm getting taken to school by some kindergartners," Mayer told the 18 young students, who wore pink name tags and packed the worn wooden chairs in the first two rows of 125 Agricultural Hall, filling in the few seats not occupied by the hundreds of UW–Madison students in Mayer's introductory course on American politics.

It's the fifth time that Mayer has welcomed the students from Glenn Stephens Elementary into his introductory political science class. The tradition started when Mayer's daughter was in teacher Josh Reineking's class, and Mayer and Reineking thought a visit to a university classroom might make for a fun field trip for his 5- and 6-year-old classmates.

The school is just four miles from Bascom Hall, but Reineking says many students know the university only as a place where the Badgers play football or basketball.

"What a cool and unique experience for the kindergarten kids and college students," says Reineking, a 2001 UW–Madison graduate. "How many kindergarten kids can say they are going to college today? And how many college students are going to have a group of kids, 5 and 6 years old, come in to ask their professor interesting questions?"

The kindergartners learn that college students are going to school, doing reading, writing, and math, just like they do in kindergarten, he says. They also learn about differences between the

two types of schools—while kindergartners can walk down the hall to the library, college students have to walk to another building to find books, he says.

"It's about getting the kids out in the community and seeing what the university really is instead of just hearing about it," Reineking says.

The day before the kindergartners' trip to Agricultural Hall, Mayer visited them at their school to talk about what he does—and how it's different from the teaching Reineking does—and encourage the students to come up with questions to ask him the next day.

"Can they come up with a question that someone who's so smart as a college professor won't be able to answer?" Mayer says of their assignment. "That becomes part of the project."

Mayer spent about 20 minutes at the beginning of his class—preceding a lecture on economic and social policy—trying to answer questions on everything from how many people there are in the world (his guess: 5.5 billion; right answer: about 6.8 billion) to what would be on Mayer's final exam for the course.

That question got a round of applause and cheers from the college students in the room, even though Mayer didn't deliver an answer they could use.

"I honestly don't know yet," Mayer said. "That's another big-time stump."

Chancellor Biddy Martin welcomed the kindergartners after Mayer introduced her as the principal of the university.

The kindergartners asked Martin whether college students get recess and whether college would involve math.



Students from a kindergarten class at Glenn Stephens Elementary School in Madison, visit a lecture during Political Science 104, taught by Professor Ken Mayer

"Math is really fun once you get the hang of it," Martin told them, "You're going to love math later in life. Do you believe me?"

A few of the kindergartners were holdouts, holding up their hands saying they didn't believe her.

Mayer says he hopes the experience can be an eye opening one for the kindergartners who otherwise might not have exposure to a college setting. That could be a catalyst for them to seek opportunities for higher education as they get older, he says.

"If we can get them to have an experience, that they've been to a university, it's a way of planting a seed," Mayer says. "There may not be a serious upside to this, but there's no downside. It's just a lot of fun."

The kindergarten students finished their visit with a walk through campus and lunch at the Memorial Union. Sarah Galanter-Guziewski, principal of Glenn Stephens Elementary, says a trip like the one Reineking's class took to UW–Madison can stay in students' heads well through high school.

"The next time the students meet a university student, they have the background knowledge to connect with from their trip," she says. "Every experience is valuable."

# Department News

---

## APSA Annual Meeting *continued from page 1*

---

summer working as a research assistant. Henry had already lined up Andrea, who I also knew from my time at Harvard, as program cochair. If there were ever two individuals that I knew I could count on, both intellectually and personally, it would be Henry and Andrea. So, after a little consideration, I happily agreed to take on this rather large task.

Our first challenge was to decide on a theme for the program. The program is made up of more than 800 panels and hundreds of associated group meetings. Individual divisions generate most of these panels and meetings, reflecting current intellectual developments rather than any top-down direction from the chairs. Nevertheless, establishing a theme for the meeting creates a visible identity and catalyzes collaboration around topics relevant to the theme. Choosing a theme therefore provides an opportunity to highlight areas of research and to put a public face on the work of political scientists, and Andrea and I eagerly grasped this opportunity.

As we considered possible themes in the spring of 2009, we were of course reeling from the financial crisis of fall 2008. Choosing a theme about the political causes and consequences of economic crisis seemed an easy call. We did question, briefly, whether it might happen that we would see a rapid recovery from the 2008 crisis, so that a meeting emphasizing economic crisis as a theme in September 2010 would seem anachronistic. Unfortunately for us all, we rightly predicted that the economic and political fallout from the crisis would still be very much with us in late 2010. We tossed around a number of possible theme titles (of which my favorite remains “Where’s My Bailout?,” which we reluctantly decided to jettison as its focus was too narrow for the big tent that is political science).

The theme we eventually landed on was “The Politics of Hard Times: Citizens, Nations, and the International System under Economic Stress.” This statement of the theme proved to be both timely and to generate a degree of intellectual coherence

at the meeting, while addressing the extraordinarily wide array of topics that political scientists study. After appointing fifty division organizers to undertake most of the hard work of sifting through paper and panel proposals to craft panels for the meeting, Andrea and I turned our attention to organizing approximately 35 theme panels and plenary sessions. The theme panels that eventually emerged linked in a myriad of ways to the theme itself, ranging from direct analysis of the macroeconomic and regulatory sources of financial crisis to the impact of economic crisis on higher education to the ways in which economic crisis leads to scapegoating and the exacerbation of “hard times” for socially vulnerable groups.

I anticipated that in the immediate run-up to the meeting, and during the meeting itself, much of my time would be consumed by dealing with minor crises as they arose. In fact, the APSA staff itself proved remarkably adept—especially given its small size—at handling these issues. This freed Andrea and me to spend much of our time in pleasurable ceremonial roles, such as handing out book, dissertation, and lifetime service awards. One of my most enjoyable duties was to introduce 2009 Nobel laureate Elinor Ostrom, who gave a plenary address entitled “Addressing the Theory of Collective Action from a Multiple Methods Perspective.” Turnout and enthusiasm at this plenary session and the following reception was tremendous, sending hotel personnel scurrying to provide additional seating.

In the end, all went remarkably smoothly, and the experience is one that I am more than glad I took on. Attendance at the annual meeting set a record, at about 7,300 individuals. I came away with a renewed appreciation for the dynamism and variety of our profession, and respect for the dedication of those who make the association work behind the scenes, both professors who devote their time and energy to APSA and the APSA staff itself. That said, I now consider my meeting-organizing duties to the profession forever fulfilled!

---

## Scholarship Honors Memory of UW–Madison Student Neha Suri

Neha Suri, a beloved 22-year-old senior journalism and political science major passed away in February 2010 at UW Hospital and Clinics from meningococcal disease.

The Department of Political Science and the School of Journalism and Mass Communication teamed up to establish

the Neha Suri Scholarship Fund.

The scholarship will be awarded to juniors or seniors majoring in political science or journalism and mass communication. Reflective of Suri’s time at UW–Madison, a strong preference will be given to applicants seeking a combined major in both

areas of study with a passion for service and/or campus involvement.

To make a gift to the Neha Suri Scholarship Fund, please contact Jennifer Karlson at the UW Foundation 608-262-7225, or visit [www.polisci.wisc.edu/give](http://www.polisci.wisc.edu/give).

## Book Notes

### The International Monetary Fund in the Global Economy: Banks, Bonds, and Bailouts

Mark Copelovitch



This summer, Cambridge University Press published my book, *The International Monetary Fund in the Global Economy: Banks, Bonds, and Bailouts*. The book seeks to explain the politics and policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF, or Fund) over the last two decades. Established at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944, the IMF is one of the world's foremost multilateral economic institutions. Over the last thirty years, the Fund's primary role in the global economy has been to act as the de facto international lender of last resort: much like the Federal Reserve lends to banks in crisis in the US, the IMF provides emergency financing to countries facing financial and currency crises or an inability to repay their private international debt. Since the onset of the Latin American debt crisis in 1982, the IMF has provided over \$400 billion in such loans to developing countries. Most recently, the Fund has lent more than \$85 billion in credit to 18 countries (including Iceland, Hungary, Latvia, Pakistan, and Ukraine) hit hardest by the current global economic crisis. In exchange for this assistance, the Fund has gained substantial control over economic policymaking in its borrower countries through its use of conditionality, the policy reforms it requires in return for credit.

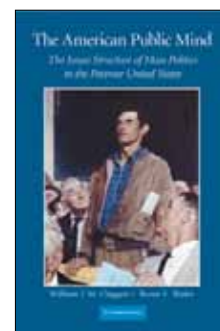
In the book, my primary goal is to explain the substantial variation in the size and terms of these IMF loans over time and across cases. Put simply, some countries get much better deals (larger loans, less conditionality) from the IMF than others, and we lack a clear understanding of why this is the case. In order to address this puzzle, I show how Fund lending decisions are driven both by the major shareholder governments (the US and a small number of other advanced industrialized countries) and by the IMF's bureaucratic staff at its Washington-based headquarters. I argue that both the intensity and the heterogeneity of the preferences of the IMF's major shareholders determine whether a country will receive favorable treatment from the institution. The book furthermore shows that the nature of IMF lending has changed because of major historical shifts in patterns of international financing from concentrated sovereign bank lending to decentralized portfolio investment and bank lending to the private sector. The greater collective-action problems generated by these new forms of international finance force the IMF staff to propose larger loans with more extensive conditionality in order to reassure global markets. In the book, I find strong evidence in support of these claims through a rigorous statistical analysis of all 197 IMF loans from 1984–2003, as well as through two detailed case studies of IMF relations with Mexico and Korea in the 1980s and 1990s. Both the statistical analysis and the case studies draw heavily on material gathered from the Fund's internal archives, and they shed substantial light on the degree to which changes in patterns of financial globalization have shaped the politics of Fund lending. Finally, the book

concludes with an in-depth discussion of the policy debate surrounding the IMF's changing role in global governance in the wake of the ongoing international economic crisis.

Given the IMF's central role in governing global financial markets, understanding and explaining what it does is a critical issue not only for those interested in international finance, but also for political scientists studying both international political economy and international cooperation. Indeed, by focusing on the politics of IMF lending, this book engages one of the core puzzles in modern political economy: what is the relationship between markets and politics? More broadly, explaining how the IMF operates has important implications for our broader understanding of international institutions. Ultimately, by emphasizing the highly political nature of IMF lending, as well as the ways in which financial globalization has altered the Fund's policies over time, the book aims to sharpen our understanding of the complex connections between the international economics and international politics.

### The American Public Mind

Byron E. Shafer



What is the real nature of substantive conflict in American politics during the postwar years? And more precisely, how is it reflected in the American public mind? Is it even possible to talk about an “issue structure,” about ongoing policy conflict with continuing

## Book Notes

policy alignments, at the level of the general public and not just among political elites? If so, what is the ongoing structure of issue conflict characterizing the mass politics of our time? How do policy issues cluster, and nest, within this substantive environment for mass politicking? How does the resulting issue structure relate to, and shape, electoral conflict? Has this relationship remained essentially constant over the last half-century, the period when public opinion data are most widely available? Or are there major breakpoints, and when did these occur? Those are the questions that motivate *The American Public Mind* (Cambridge University Press).

Bill (William J. M.) Claggett and I answer by developing measures of public preference in four great policy realms—social welfare, international relations, civil rights, and cultural values—for the entire period between 1952 and 2004. We then use these to identify the issues that were moving the voting public at various points in time, while simultaneously unpacking the way in which public preferences shaped the very structure of electoral politics. What results is in one sense the first comprehensive political history of American politics at the level of the general public for the postwar period. What results in a different sense is nothing less than the restoration of policy substance to the center of mass politics in the United States.

All too much of the writing about American politics makes it look idiosyncratic to its own time, subject to fleeting influences, and organized by things like personality, strategy, and press interpretation. To sharpen the contrast, *The American Public Mind* takes what is in effect the opposite approach, asking how

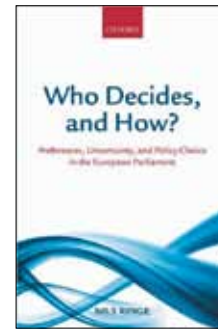
much of postwar politics within the general public can be explained by knowing the policy preferences of rank and file voters, a few key pieces of historical background, and only that. The picture that results is not uncomplicated, but it is stable, recurrent, and easily interpreted:

- Concerns of *Social Welfare* prove to be insistent across all these years, imparting a kind of “policy spine” to electoral conflict throughout.
- Yet they are rivaled by concerns for *International Relations*, which are more intermittent but equally powerful when they emerge. Among these concerns, *National Security* proves a consistent force across this entire period, while *Foreign Engagement* changes its partisan impact, not once but twice.
- *Civil Rights* likewise shifts from an old to a new partisan world, as a minor but insistent influence on voting behavior during the earliest and the most recent years.
- And *Cultural Values* remains latent as a policy domain across most of the postwar period, before exploding to prominence in the 1990s and staying on the dial thereafter.

One way to summarize all of that is to describe it as the product of a search for the issue context of modern American politics. Another is to quote the great postwar student of American politics, V.O. Key, Jr., writing before the relevant data was available to him to back up his point: “The perverse and unorthodox argument of this little book is that voters are not fools. To be sure, many individual voters act in odd ways indeed; yet in the large the electorate behaves about as rationally and responsibly as we should expect, given the clarity of the alternatives presented to it and the character of the information available to it.”

## Who Decides and How? Preferences, Uncertainty, and Policy Choice in the European Parliament

Nils Ringe



My book *Who Decides and How? Preferences, Uncertainty, and Policy Choice in the European Parliament* was published by Oxford University Press earlier this

year. In it, I explain how individual members of the European Parliament (EP) make decisions on the wide variety of policy proposals they routinely handle.

The European Parliament is the first directly elected international parliament with genuine law-making powers. In most policy areas it passes legislation jointly with the Council of Ministers, where the governments of the European Union (EU) member states are represented. Council and EP have to agree on an identical text in order for a law to pass; in this sense, the legislative process in the EU resembles the interplay between the House of Representatives and the Senate in the United States Congress. Legislation made at the EU level greatly impacts the lives of almost 500 million EU citizens because EU law is superior to national law and must be implemented by the member states.

Despite a flourishing literature on the EU's only directly elected institution, we know surprisingly little about the micro-foundations of EP politics. *Who Decides, and How?* addresses this shortcoming by examining how individual members of the EP (or MEPs) make policy choices,

how these choices are aggregated, and what role parties and committees play in this process. To make my case, I rely on statistical analyses of more than 40,000 individual legislators' votes and 90 in-depth interviews I conducted with EU officials, most of them MEPs.

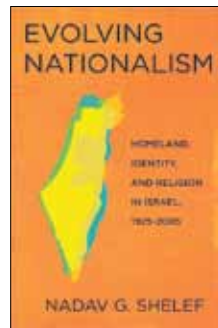
The book argues that MEPs lack adequate resources of staff, time, and expertise to make equally informed decisions across policy areas. Therefore, when faced with choices in policy areas outside their realms of expertise, members make decisions on the basis of what I call perceived preference coherence: they adopt the positions of their expert colleagues in the responsible EP committee whose preferences over policy outcomes they believe to most closely match their own. These preferences are difficult to determine, however, which is why legislators rely on a shared party label as stand-in for common preferences. As a result, members of the same party vote together most of the time, on most policy proposals.

This finding sheds new light on an important question about EP politics, namely why legislators in the EP are more likely to vote according to their partisan affiliations than their national ones. Previous research had shown that the likelihood of a Social Democrat from France voting like a German Social Democrat, for example, is greater than the likelihood of two Democrats or two Republicans in the House of Representatives voting together. This striking reality, however, was generally explained in reference to the ability of party leaders to "whip" their rank-and-file into taking a common position by either rewarding loyalty or punishing defection. This explanation of party cohesion, or the degree to which members of the same party vote alike, had struck me as problematic ever since I began

studying the EP, because I found little indication that party leaders were capable of enforcing party discipline. What is more, party leaders had told me that they did not *need* to force their colleagues to vote "the party line" because they overwhelmingly did so in the first place. My explanation of party cohesion tells us why this is the case.

### **Evolving Nationalism: Homeland, Identity, and Religion in Israel, 1925–2005**

**Nadav Shelef**



how nationalism changes. How do the basic building blocs of the political community, the extent of the homeland, who is part of it, and what sort of society should we strive for, change over time? Even true believers change their answers to these questions. This was especially evident in context of Israel's 2005 "disengagement" from the Gaza Strip. During the disengagement, demonstrators burned Israeli flags, threw stones at Israeli soldiers, and compared the atrocities of the state of Israel to those of the Nazis. These protestors were not Palestinian. They were religious nationalists who once sanctified the state of Israel as the harbinger of the Messiah and the dawn of redemption. How is it that this particular group now delegitimizes the state to the degree

that it is acceptable to compare it with, of all things, the Nazis? Nationalists, especially religiously motivated ultra-nationalists, are not supposed to change their minds. Yet they do; and not just in Israel.

Most of the time political scientists and historians assume that such changes, if they take place, are either rational adaptations to new realities or the product of elites shaping ideological formulations for their own gain. In my book, I test the ability of these explanations to account for the actual timing, direction, and substance of ideological transformation over the last eighty years. Using primary archival materials, I trace the ways in which three Zionist movements—Labor, Religious, and Revisionist—answered three cardinal, and contested, questions both publicly and privately: (1) where is the Land of Israel?; (2) Who can be Israeli (paying special attention to the place of Diaspora Jews and Palestinian Arabs)?; and (3) What is the nation's mission?

The answers to all of these questions changed over time. My main finding is that transformations in the meaning of nationalism took place in much the same way as changes in evolutionary biology. While strategic reactions to new realities (including the Holocaust, the establishment of the state of Israel, and the 1967 war) and the changing incentives of nationalist leaders played important supporting roles, they rarely caused change directly. Most of the time, changes in the basic understandings of the nation were the unguided byproducts of attempts to solve mundane, local, political problems. The need to form alliances led the Zionist movements to make what they saw as temporary tactical concessions in their ideological formulations. However, when these alliances succeeded in achieving their

## Book Notes

political goals, the concessions that made them possible became hard to abandon. Soon thereafter, the once tactical concession became understood as the new ideological orthodoxy. Nationalism, in other words, evolved.

The Israeli case is special in many ways, but it is not unique. Israeli nationalism, in its construction, internal variation, contestation, experience of historical shocks, and cast of characters has a lot in common with other deeply divided societies. Even more broadly, conflicts over territory, religion and state, and citizenship rage in many places that we no longer think of as “deeply divided.” The lesson that the basic aspects of the political community evolve can be used to understand the contours of these broader conflicts as well as the prospects for their resolution.

### Medical Governance: Values, Expertise, and Interests in Organ Transplantation

David Weimer



A dozen years ago I had what public radio pledge drives refer to as a “driveway moment.” As I pulled into a parking spot, a story that kept me in my seat

began about the heated controversy over the rules for allocating cadaveric livers for transplant. At the center of the controversy was the United Network for Organ Sharing, a private non-profit organization that administered the Organ Procurement

and Transplantation Network (OPTN), a congressionally-created body with responsibility for developing rules for organ transplantation. This posed an apparent puzzle: Why would the federal government delegate responsibility for the development of organ allocation rules, with literally life and death consequences, to a private organization? Resolving this initial puzzle launched me on a study of the governance of organ transplantation that I believe has more general implications for how we can create institutions for effectively implementing evidence-based medicine.

Although there are normative reasons for choosing private rulemaking as an alternative to bureaucratic rulemaking related to the application of expertise in a rapidly changing area of medicine, I believe that there were also two positive explanations: first, because the zero-sum nature of organ allocation creates a very unfavorable balance of credit claiming and blame avoidance for members of Congress, they sought to isolate themselves from constituent pressure to intervene by delegating allocation to medical professionals; second, a voluntary network of transplant centers already existed to serve as a model for a more formal organization so that an alternative to bureaucratic allocation could be envisioned.

When I joined the UW–Madison faculty in 2000, it became practical for me to attend OPTN committee meetings, which are often held at O’Hare Airport, a Van Galder bus ride away. Through attending these meetings and reviewing available documents, I eventually concluded that the OPTN was highly effective

in implementing evidence-based medicine. The simultaneous creation of the Scientific Registry for Transplant Recipients, which follows patients placed on the transplant waiting list throughout the remainder of their lives, provides data for creating evidence relevant to transplantation. The active participation of transplant professionals in OPTN committees created a cycle of policy-relevant questions and empirically-based answers, allowing this evidence to inform changes in procurement and allocation rules. These professional also contribute to the process a wealth of tacit knowledge based on their clinical experience. The use of the evidence takes place in the context of an explicit recognition of the often conflicting values at stake. With the exception of the episode involving liver allocation rules that initially caught my attention, conflicting interests are mediated within the OPTN without congressional involvement.

In *Medical Governance* (Georgetown University Press) I begin by developing case studies of OPTN rule making to assess its application of evidence-based medicine. I then determine which of its organizational features seem to be most important for its successes and failures. Finally, I show how the OPTN model could be applied to other areas of medical governance, such as creating incentives for improving the quality and controlling the costs of surgery paid for by Medicare.



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

1050 Bascom Mall  
Room 110 North Hall  
Madison, WI 53706

Nonprofit Org.  
U.S. Postage  
**PAID**  
Permit No. 658  
Madison, WI

## **Israel** *continued from page 1*

---

counter terrorism that has largely succeeded. The strategy relies on several factors, including first-rate intelligence and extensive cooperation with Palestinian security forces in the West Bank. To Israelis, the symbol and main guarantor of security against terrorism is the security fence separating them from most of the West Bank and all of Gaza. As the fence was completed, terrorist attacks plummeted. Israelis have drawn the lesson that the wall stopped terrorism. So who needs a peace process? Those on the right who have not prioritized peace can proceed with settlements without suffering any consequences, and those in the middle who wanted peace primarily to stop terrorism have been demobilized. When concrete and barbed wire make war cost free, peace becomes superfluous.

Israelis are by no means sanguine about the future. The third major threat to Israel is attacks from afar. At first this was rocket attacks from Hamas in Gaza and Hezbollah in Lebanon. Israel responded with wars in 2006 and 2008 that are widely regarded in Israel as having bought a respite, for now. However, both Hamas and Hezbollah are amassing new stores of longer range rockets capable of targeting all of Israel, and Israelis wonder how long deterrence will hold and whether extremist groups like Hamas and Hezbollah are deterrable in the long run. The larger threat is Iran and its emergent nuclear weapons capability. A debate rages in Israel whether Israel

should preventively attack Iranian nuclear capabilities or rely on Israeli nuclear weapons, reputed to be upwards of 200, to deter any future attack from Iran. But with a regime so radical, whose leader, Ahmadinejad, has openly denied the Holocaust and called for Israel to be wiped off the map, Israelis wonder if deterrence will work.

While Israel is an important friend and ally, it is worth remembering that Israeli and American interests in the Middle East are correlated, but not perfectly. For the US, peace between Israel and Palestine remains a critical national interest because it would serve to defang extremist anti-American propaganda in the Islamic world. Towards this end we should continue to work to strengthen the moderate Palestinian administration in the West Bank and continue to prod the two sides towards negotiations, and painful concessions. In this regard, the final meeting of my trip offered a ray of hope. Tzipi Livni, the opposition leader in the Israeli Knesset, gave us the most coherent and sensible outline of a future peace with the Palestinians and how it could be achieved. Given that Livni actually won more votes than the current leader, Netanyahu, but failed to put together a governing coalition, her views are not mere academic musings. She is likely to be the next Israeli prime minister, and the peace process will once again have a major opportunity to move forward when that happens.