



NEWS FROM HAMILTON HALL 2015



LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

We are fortunate to be able to look back on another successful year in the pursuit of our mission to further research, teaching, and service to the citizens of North Carolina, the country, and the world. Jeff Spinner-Halev, Kenan Eminent Professor of

Ethics, served as Acting Chair in the spring semester and advanced this pursuit with much energy, diplomacy, and effectiveness.

We graduated 359 political science majors in the Spring of 2015, twenty of them with honors or highest honors. Our honors graduates all completed an independent research project. The topics ranged from “Judicial Elections and Their Implications in North Carolina” to “Private Investment and Terrorism in African States.” But not only graduating honors students are being trained in research; a number of our undergraduates have found opportunities to work on research projects directed by faculty members. One project that has contributed to the national discussion about racial profiling is the data collection on traffic stops directed by Professor Frank Baumgartner. No fewer than ten undergraduate and two graduate students have been working on this project. They have received highly valuable training and they have already experienced how quality social science research can make a real difference in the political debate.

In our department, teaching is intimately linked to research. Professor Benjamin’s new course, *Cities of the Future*, has its origins in her research on political coalitions among different ethnic groups. Professor Sullivan won the Board of Governors Teaching Award in large part because he conveys to students his enthusiasm for research on presidential leadership and uses that research in his teaching. In the nexus between research and teaching, our graduate students play an integral role as researchers in their own right, research assistants to professors, teaching fellows and research consultants for undergraduates. This year, 13 graduate students received their PhD, well prepared to launch their careers as social scientists. A sample of our graduate students’ achievements is listed in this newsletter.

Much of the research by faculty, graduate students, and undergraduates is funded by private donations. Professorship endowments are crucial for faculty research, the Uhlman Endowment is the key to our ability to support graduate students, and other endowments and annual giving are essential for supporting research by undergraduates. We are deeply grateful to our generous supporters.

Evelyne Huber
Chair, Department of Political Science
Morehead Alumni Distinguished Professor

FACULTY PROFILE

ANDREA BENJAMIN DEVELOPS NEW RESEARCH AND A NEW COURSE ON URBANIZATION AND BLACKS AND LATINOS IN DURHAM, NC

Professor Andrea Benjamin isn’t afraid of big questions. Urban areas present enormously complex opportunities and challenges, from the perceived failure of urban public schools, to seemingly intractable racial inequalities, to the integration of a new wave of immigrants, to affordable housing, to efficient public transportation. On the other hand, cities have long been heralded as places of opportunity, spaces of economic development, entrepreneurship, and multiculturalism. Under what conditions are urban spaces socially just, diverse, and prosperous? Under what conditions do they become spaces contested by different interest groups? Cities are the canvas upon which many of the most pressing social issues of our day are being constructed.

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FACULTY PROFILE

These are big questions for all of us, and Professor Benjamin thinks we may find the answer in the history of Blacks and Latinos in Durham, North Carolina. Durham provides a fascinating case study of urban decline and a nascent resurgence. Recently named the most “creative” city in the United States by urban consulting guru Richard Florida, Durham has entered the spotlight of urban studies circles. But Durham is also the fifth most unequal city in the United States. Historically, Black and White elites formed a coalition that led to the first Black insurance company (NC Mutual), the first Black High School in Durham (Hillside High), and the first Black Hospital in Durham (Lincoln Hospital). Blacks in Durham thus emerged as a community with shadow resources, developing their own banking system, hospitals, churches, and meeting places. The development of these institutions had a big impact on the urbanization of Blacks in Durham.

Flash forward to 2015, and the Latino population in Durham is beginning to emerge

as a vibrant but underrepresented community. As Latinos coalesce and invest in Durham, will their path be similar? Professor Benjamin believes the answer may be rooted in whether Latino elites form a coalition with other elites to help develop resources. If there is a coalition, she seeks to gain an understanding of who is in the coalition and how they work together to meet the needs of Latinos in Durham. If a coalition fails to form, Benjamin will study how Latinos move forward in an urbanizing environment without help to form their own infrastructure.

Using the history of Blacks in Durham as her guide, she plans to study this emergence of the Latino community as it unfolds. Professor Benjamin plans to interview members of organizations, political leaders and citizens in Durham to find out how the needs of Latinos are communicated to Durham politicians. Durham will hold elections in the Fall for the Mayor’s office and for half of the city council seats (these are the at-large seats). Perhaps there will be a Latino candidate in this election. If not, then Benjamin will pay close attention to how candidates talk about Latinos

and the community in the campaign.

While this research is grounded in Durham’s remarkable local history, her work has implications beyond the city of Durham. Cities all over the south are seeing an increase in the Latino population. Perhaps even more importantly, this research can help us understand how underrepresented groups interact with the government and society as they urbanize.

Professor Benjamin has also received a grant to develop and teach a new course on urbanization and social problems. The course, *Cities of the Future: Exploring the intersection of political and geographic perspectives on urban development*, is co-taught with a colleague in the Department of Geography. The class, which has been taught twice already, takes advantage of UNC’s proximity to Durham by incorporating a service-learning component. An important way to learn about cities is to experience them, and to compare the academic literature to the “real world.”



TRAFFIC STOPS & PUBLIC POLICY

A recent *New York Times* article on police policy in Durham, North Carolina, featured a group of concerned citizens who relied on social science data as the basis for their request for changes in policing practices. The data came from a team of poli sci undergraduates and graduate students, led by Frank Baumgartner, the Richard J. Richardson Professor of Political Science. Working behind the scenes, they collected the data, crunched the numbers, analyzed the results and added an informed voice to the debate over racial discrepancies in policing.

Baumgartner and his team focused on racial disparities across the criminal justice system in North Carolina.

He and Derek Epp, a doctoral student in political science, created a database of some 17 million records of every traffic stop in the state of North Carolina between 2000 and 2011. This included why a car was pulled over, the age, race, and gender of the driver, and what happened after a car was pulled over – whether it was searched, the driver arrested or given a citation or a warning.

The results of the study revealed that African-Americans were 77 percent more likely to be searched compared to Whites, and that Hispanics were 96 percent more likely.

One unexpected response to these research findings, which were published in a 2012 report, was a bill introduced in the North Carolina legislature to ensure against similar future research by halting the collection of such data. The legislature also commissioned a report that characterized the study as “deeply flawed” but did not mention that correcting the “deep flaws” would not change any of the substantive findings or the level of disparity by more than a fraction of a percent.

“African-Americans were 77 percent more likely to be searched compared to Whites...Hispanics were 96% more likely”

Shortly thereafter, Baumgartner expanded his research team to include a second doctoral student, Kelsey Shoub, and an entire platoon of undergraduate students: Kate Elliott, Amirah Jiwa, Morgan Herman, Reena Gupta, Dana Corbett, Gabrielle Thornton, Colin Wilson, Arvind Krishnamurthy, Justin Cole, and Dory Macmillan. Together, this 12-person team focused not on state-level data but on each of the larger cities in North Carolina. They issued reports on one city at a time, each looking for patterns of traffic stops and searches by race.

As this research was continuing, in 2013 a Durham group working to change police practices asked Baumgartner and his colleagues to analyze their data on routine traffic stops in Durham. In 2014 the group presented its research findings to Durham’s Human Relations Commission, which concluded that racial bias and profiling by the police department were present.

In response, the Durham Police Department is in the process of revising its policies, including, for example, requiring that police use written consent forms in English and Spanish to search vehicles with no probable cause. Steve Schewel, a member of the Durham City Council, told the *New York Times* that “without the data, nothing would have happened.”*

As the research progresses, Baumgartner, Shoub, and Epp (now a post-doctoral fellow at Dartmouth College) will continue to work on a book manuscript while the research team continues to work with local communities and police depart-

Steve Schewel, a member of the Durham City Council, told the New York Times that “Without the data, nothing would have happened.”

ments. Chapel Hill police chief Chris Blue has met with the team several times in order to discuss how the data can be used to improve police practices; the North Carolina Association of Public Defenders has invited Baumgartner to speak about racial differences; the *Charlotte Observer* and other North Carolina media have either used the data or conducted their own extensive inquiries into local traffic stop patterns.



Frank Baumgartner and Kelsey Shoub

What emerges from this professor-student teamwork is a combined contribution to scholarship on racial bias and to the difficult but essential discussions of today’s nationwide debate about racial discrepancies in how police interact with different parts of their communities.

*The article can be found at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/21/us/activists-wield-search-data-to-challenge-and-change-police-policy.html>

COMMENCEMENT 2015

The 2015 Political Science *celebrating our graduating seniors* Commencement Ceremony was

held in Memorial Hall on Mother's Day, May 10, following the university-wide ceremony in Kenan Stadium. Jeff Spinner-Halev, Acting Chair and the Kenan Eminent Professor of Political Science, presided with welcoming and closing remarks to graduating seniors and their families.

Alas, the Carolina Blue sky was not on display this year. Coming a few weeks before the official start of the hurricane season, tropical storm Ana threatened tor-

rential rain and resulted in cancellation of the post-ceremony reception on the patio in front of Memorial Hall. But there was plenty of excitement and celebration to brighten the day. And

celebrate we did, beginning with an enthusiastically received address by commencement speaker Maxine Eichner, the Reef Ivey Professor of Law at UNC, who had taken the uncommon step of supplementing her undergraduate and law degrees from Yale with a doctorate from our Department. Although a member of the Law School faculty, she will always be one of our most admired colleagues.

After congratulating our graduates and thanking families for their support, Eichner noted that the late UNC president Bill Friday had said this to an earlier generation of graduates: "A million North Carolinians living in poverty have paid to subsidize your education. What are you going to do to pay them back?"

Certainly, Eichner said, "there are all kinds of paths to follow, all kinds of ways to give back, and you have to do the one that feels right for you, and that is a good fit for who you are. For political scientists, your edu-

cation gives you the ability to step up – to apply the tools you've learned about how power works in our society, about how to get things done in the world. And when you see the opportunity to make something right that isn't right, your education will be there to help."

As one of Eichner's own mentors once told her, "not everyone can make pursuing the cause of justice their life's work – that's not what we're all cut out to do, but 'when you see the train of justice start to roll,

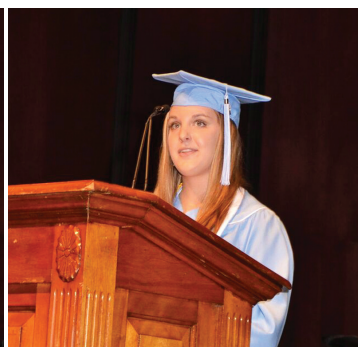
Hovaniec, who will be attending the UNC School of Law on Chancellor's Fellowship, knew that she wanted to major in Political Science when she arrived in Chapel Hill, although she admitted that "if you had asked this first-year student what Political Science meant, I couldn't have told you. Instead, I chose to study Political Science for the most stereotypical reason: I wanted to go to law school."

"And during my four years in the Political Science department, I did learn extensively

about the judicial system. However, I also learned that Political Science is much more than a stepping-stone to law school. For example,

during my junior year I took a class on social justice to fulfill the major's political theory requirement. From the beginning, I was skeptical of how the works of John Rawls or Robert Nozick had any relevance to my life. However, Amanda Cook, the instructor, spent every class leading discussions about the real world implications of the material that we read. She worked with me extensively outside of class to ensure I fully understood the readings, and she challenged me to think and write critically about their importance. By the end of the semester, I had changed."

During her four years "my peers and I were able to explore a variety of political and electoral systems. Through comparative politics, we studied the interactions and conflicts that occur between countries. Within domestic politics, we gained a deeper understanding of how our government functions and analyzed how it interacts with other factors such as the economy. Political Science gave us much more than just academic knowledge.



Maxine Eichner, Samantha Hovaniec, and Jeff Spinner-Halev

you've got to get on that train." That doesn't mean full-time activism. "You can get on the train at times and get off at other times, but when you see a problem that falls into your area of the world, don't turn away – don't think that if someone else hasn't dealt with it yet, it must somehow be okay."

"The baton here is being passed to you – and that baton is your diploma. It's your turn to use your education to measure the current world against your sense of justice and -- when you can do something about it, you've got to get on that train."

Eichner's address was followed by remarks from Samantha Hovaniec, the graduating senior who received the Department's highest honor – the L. Richardson Preyer Award, named in honor of the six-term member of Congress from Greensboro, North Carolina, and a firm friend of the Department and the University.



DEPARTMENTAL AWARDS

Each year a set of eight faculty committees recognizes undergraduates, graduate students, and a faculty member for outstanding achievement, and this year's award winners are an especially talented group.

Samantha Hovanic (Class of 2015) received the William Scott Bryant Award for Interns. This award, named in honor of the late Scott Bryant, a member of UNC's Class of 1988 who died shortly before graduation, is given each year to outstanding undergraduates so that they can participate in internship programs or conduct research. Scott Bryant viewed his own internship as an important intellectual milestone in his life, and his family honors his memory by extending this opportunity to outstanding undergraduates.

Samantha Hovanic also received the L. Richardson Preyer Award for Excellence in Political Science. The faculty awards this honor, named in memory of a distinguished member of the United States House of Representatives from North Carolina, to a graduating senior with the best record of scholarship in political science and service to the community.

Noam Argov (Class of 2015) received the Terry Sanford Award for Excellence. Named in honor of the noted alumnus who served as Governor of North Carolina and as United States Senator, this award is given to the graduating senior who has written the best political science honors thesis. Argov's "Private Investment and Terrorism in African States," was advised by Professor Navin Bapat.

Courtney Beals (Class of 2018) received the Shepard Jones Award in International Relations for her paper, "Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Commitment Problems." This award honors Professor Shepard Jones's thirty-three years of service to the department and the contribution he made as a teacher, scholar, and mentor of students. The award is given to an undergraduate student judged to have written the best essay in International Relations. This is the first time that a first-year undergraduate has received the Jones Award.

Lindsey Reid (4th-year graduate student) received the John Patrick Hagan Award for Outstanding Teaching by a Graduate Student. This

award is given in honor of the late John Patrick Hagan, who received his doctorate in Political Science from UNC and was a member of the political science faculty at the University of West Virginia. The award is given to a graduate student judged to be outstanding in the teaching of undergraduates as a graduate teaching assistant.

Eric Hansen (4th-year graduate student) received the Earle Wallace Award for Graduate Student Teaching. This award honors Political Science Professor Earle Wallace, who received numerous undergraduate teaching awards during his long career at the University. The award is given to an outstanding graduate teaching assistant who primarily serves as an assistant in large lecture sections.

Tamar Malloy (5th-year graduate student) and Gabriele Magni (3rd-year graduate student) were both recipients of the James W. Prothro Award for Outstanding Research. Established in 1987, this award

recognizes research excellence among graduate students of Political Science. It also honors the legacy of Professor Prothro, who served as chair of the department and had a major impact upon the discipline's study of public opinion. Gabriele was recognized for outstanding research for his master's thesis, "The Political Effects of Anger about the Economic Crisis." Tamar was recognized for outstanding research for

"Reconceiving Recognition: Towards a Cumulative Politics of Recognition," which was published in the *Journal of Political Philosophy*.

The Department's faculty award, the Charles Robson Award for Excellence in Graduate Instruction, was presented to Professor Thomas Oatley. Established in 1996, the Robson Award is given to a faculty member who has significantly influenced the professional and intellectual development of graduate students. It honors Charles "Pat" Robson, a scholar of European politics and one of the Department's founders.

Congratulations to all our award recipients.



Clockwise from top left: Pamela Conover & Lindsey Reid, Sarah Truel & Eric Hansen, Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo & Tamar Malloy, Elizabeth Meninga & Thomas Oatley, Gabriele Magni & Michele Hoyman

2015 UHLMAN SEMINAR

In January the Department held its 6th annual Uhlman Seminar, where graduate students presented the results of their previous summer's research projects funded by the Thomas M. Uhlman Endowment



From Left to Right:

Claire Greenstein, "What Motivates Governments to Pay Domestic Reparations?"

Thomas Uhlman

Kristin Garrett, "The Moral Dimension of Party Leader Perception"

Tamar Malloy, "Don't Hate the Player: the NBA and the Politics of Respectability"

John Lappie, "Campaigns, Education, and Voter Participation in Elections without Party Labels"

Zoila Ponce de León, "Organized Interests, Business, and Political Parties: Healthcare Reform in Latin America"

Lindsay Tello, "Donor Interests, NGO Strategies, and Human Trafficking"

The Thomas M. Uhlman Graduate Fund in Political Science is a gift from the Uhlman Family – Tom earned his doctorate in political science from UNC. The Endowment is designed to allow the Department to attract outstanding graduate students and help them embark on their own original research.

In addition to the Uhlman Research Fellowships, the Uhlman Endowment also provides funding for graduate students to present papers at professional meetings and for the Department to recruit outstanding applicants to our graduate program. In 2015 Caroline Carlson was named the seventh Uhlman Fellow. She recently completed her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Maryland at College Park where she was a double major in Information Systems and Government and Politics. The first Uhlman Fellow, Derek Epp, graduated with his PhD in May 2015 and will be undertaking a post-doc at Dartmouth College.

TERRY SULLIVAN WINS BOARD OF GOVERNORS AWARD FOR TEACHING EXCELLENCE



This year the UNC Board of Governors selected Political Science Associate Professor Terry Sullivan for a 2015 Award for Excellence in Teaching. This award comes on the heels of a 2014 Student

Undergraduate Teaching and Staff Award for outstanding classroom instruction.

"Terry Sullivan's commitment to excellence in the classroom exemplifies Carolina's leadership in research, scholarship and creativity," commented Chancellor Carol Folt. "Students and faculty consider him a great story teller, provocateur, and a breath of fresh air. I agree and congratulate him

on bringing this recognition to Chapel Hill."

Professor Sullivan earned his BA and PhD in Government from the University of Texas and completed his postdoctoral studies at Carnegie-Mellon University Graduate School of Industrial Administration. A member of the UNC Political Science faculty for 26 years, he is recognized across the campus for his passion, commitment to students, and especially for bringing research to life for undergraduates.

One undergraduate wrote in a nomination letter that "Professor Sullivan creates a dynamic, intellectual environment, which allows his students to think critically about politics." A colleague noted that "he devotes considerable attention to writing and gives students hands-on opportunities to engage in research design."

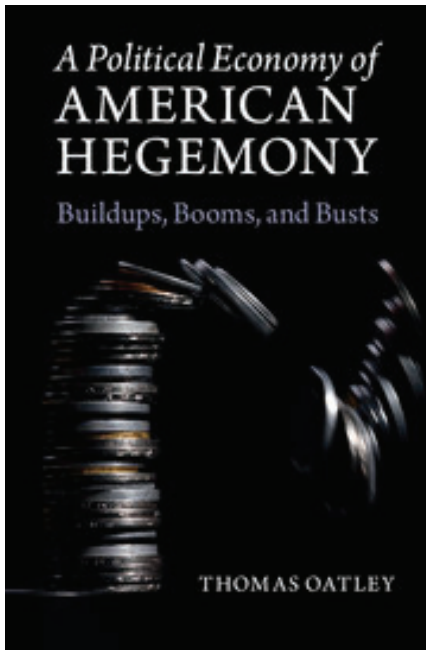
Sullivan said "I'm honored, of course. This recognition reflects on my students. They want

an education that challenges them to learn through doing something complicated and challenging – and a bit scary. And while they hope an education will help them start their careers, they also want to lead and not follow, to create and not simply fit into a cubicle."

Professor Sullivan teaches courses on political leadership and on the role of the Presidency and the Congress. He is past president of the Presidency Research Group, a worldwide association of scholars focused on the American presidency. Since its founding in 1997, he has also served as executive director of the White House Transition Project, a non-partisan consortium providing assistance to U.S. presidential campaigns, the presidents-elect, and the outgoing presidential staffs. The consortium has also lent assistance to a number of emerging democracies worldwide, including most recently South Africa, Mexico, Argentina, Poland, East Timor and Colombia.

RECOMMENDED READING:

“Summertime is an academic’s most precious commodity, and it shouldn’t be wasted” wrote Daniel Drezner of Tufts University in the *Washington Post*’s PostEverything. We here at UNC already



knew one book that should be on anyone’s list, but it was nice to see it listed as #1 on Drezner’s list. Professor **Thomas Oatley**’s *A Political Economy of American Hegemony: Buildups, Booms, and Busts* (Cambridge University Press). “Oatley might be the most interesting international political economist writing today, and this looks like it will be his most unusual book. Its core argument is that the only way to understand key elements of the American business cycle is to appreciate the role that military buildups play

in generating the boom-bust cycle of the U.S. economy over the past 65 years. I don’t know if I’ll agree completely with Oatley, but I’m looking forward to having my mind blown.”

Oatley argues that the 2008 subprime crisis – as well as the housing bubble that preceded it – was the most recent manifestation of this buildup, boom, and bust cycle, developing as a consequence of the decision to deficit finance the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Earlier instances of financial crises were generated by deficit-financed buildups in the 1980s and the late 1960s. This pattern results from the way political institutions and financial power shape America’s response to military challenges: political institutions transform increased military spending into budget deficits, and financial power enables the United States to finance these deficits by borrowing cheaply from the rest of the world.

Other reviewers have been equally generous: “Thomas Oatley has made an excellent contribution to our understanding of the relationship between American political economy and national security,” writes Michael Mastanduno of Dartmouth College. “This tightly argued book shows how the U.S political system, U.S. security strategy and the special role of the dollar combine to send the domestic economy into ‘boom and bust’ cycles as political leaders mobilize periodically to undertake overseas military interventions.”

Benjamin Fordham at SUNY Binghamton (and a UNC alum, PhD in 1994) agrees: “Thomas Oatley brings the leading economic and political roles of the United States together, offering a new and

provocative account of the relationship between them. His analysis ranges across military, trade, and monetary policy, and will be required reading for anyone interested in either the military or the economic side of American hegemony. It should convince us that these two aspects of the country’s global role are best studied together.”

“I’m looking forward to having my mind blown”

“We are what psychologists call “cognitive misers,” writes Lee Drutman in his *Washington Monthly* review of *The Politics of Information*, by UNC political scientist **Frank Baumgartner** and his co-author at the University of Texas, Bryan Jones.

“With simplicity comes clarity; with diversity comes loss of control. Yet clarity,” Drutman continues, “limits the ability to examine problems creatively, from multiple angles, and makes it harder to change anything. Good luck solving health care or energy or immigration or global trade in a few pages. Once you allow in more angles and dimensions, you inevitably open up the process to who knows what.”

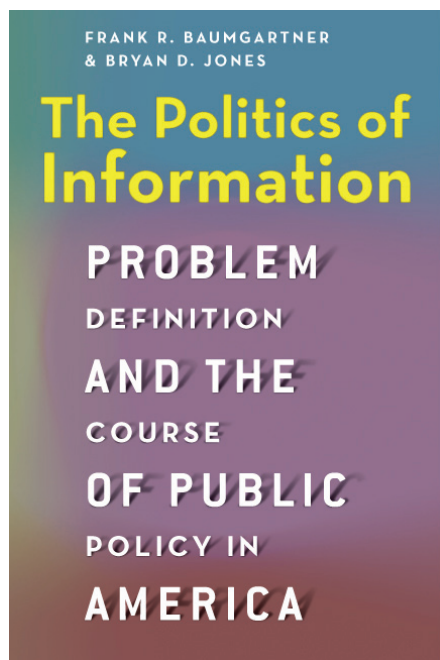
And, he continues, “what happens when we attempt to impose simplicity on complex public policy problems that defy such control? Baumgartner and Jones argue that we have two choices. We can impose control and clarity on the chaos by clear top-down jurisdictions (in, for example, non-overlapping committee structures with powerful leaders). Or we can allow institutions that will look at problems differently, embracing the value of diversity in generating different perspectives (for example, messy overlapping committee jurisdictions). The second option brings in more information but diffuses power.

The authors draw on one of the most impressive data collections ever assembled, the Policy Agendas Project, a comprehensive resource of bills, hearings, laws, media coverage and budgets, which show how the federal government has gone through two distinct periods since World War II. In the first, from about 1950 to 1980, the government opted for more diversity and engaged in what the authors call the “Great Issue Expansion.” During this time, the range of different issues on the government agenda grew significantly. Congressional subcommittees became bigger. Overlapping jurisdictions proliferated. Government held more hearings, sought more information, paid attention to more problems, and, as a result, came up with more solutions.

NEW FACULTY BOOKS

Then the expansion of issues and staff gradually came to a halt, and the focus turned to a search for clarity. As the range of issues and the number of subcommittees declined, Congress reduced overall levels of committee staff positions. Congress also held fewer hearings. This reversal was no accident. By 1980, the public had turned decisively against government.

The Politics of Information is an investigation of these basic patterns, but an equally important contribution of the book is its



convincing argument for why greater diversity of information is a necessary component of a dynamic politics capable of solving complex problems. Baumgartner and Jones write that “clear jurisdictions imply narrower definitions of what is at stake, what information is relevant, and how this information should be interpreted. Messy and overlapping jurisdictions imply contests about what is at stake, what information is relevant, and what goals we are trying to maxi-

mize.” Contested jurisdictions also mean competition. And competition is a good thing. The authors write, “Many quasi-independent venues for policy making and problem discovery and definition lead to dynamism and change.” Ignoring or failing to solve problems does not make them go away.

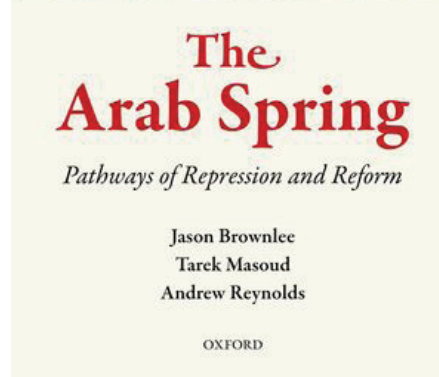
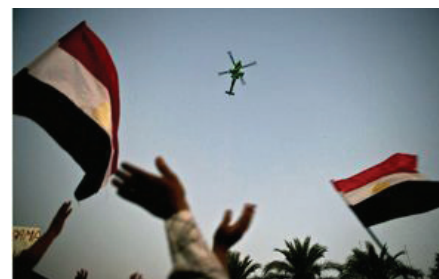
Andrew Reynolds, UNC associate professor of political science and former chair of the Curriculum in Global Studies, has published a new book, *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform* (Oxford University Press). His co-authors are Jason Brownlee of the University of Texas at Austin, and Tarek Masoud, at Harvard’s John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Several years after the Arab Spring began, democracy remains elusive in the Middle East. The Arab Spring that resides in the popular imagination is one in which a wave of mass mobilization swept the broader Middle East, toppled dictators, and cleared the way for democracy. The reality is that few Arab countries have experienced anything of the sort. While Tunisia made progress toward some type of constitutionally entrenched participatory rule, the other countries that overthrew their rulers in Egypt, Yemen, and Libya remain mired in

authoritarianism and instability. Elsewhere in the Arab world uprisings were suppressed, subsided or never materialized. The Arab Spring’s modest achievements cry out for explanation. Why did regime change take place in only four Arab countries and why has democratic change proved so elusive in the countries that made attempts? This book attempts to answer those questions. First, by accounting for the full range of variance: from the absence or failure of uprisings in such places as Algeria and Saudi Arabia at one end to Tunisia’s rocky but hopeful transition at the other. Second, by examining the deep historical and structure variables that determined the balance of power between incumbents and opposition.

Brownlee, Masoud, and Reynolds find that the success of domestic uprisings depended on the absence of a hereditary executive and a dearth of oil rents. Structural factors also cast a shadow over the transition process. Even when opposition forces toppled dictators, prior levels of socioeconomic development and state strength shaped whether nascent democracy, resurgent authoritarianism, or unbridled civil war would follow.

Reviews of *The Arab Spring* have been glowing. Jack Goldstone of George Mason University writes that “this is the best



book yet on why the Arab Uprisings proved unable to bring desired changes. Deftly blending theories of regime change with attention to the details of the uprisings and post-breakdown efforts to restore order, the authors clearly show why aspirations for democracy were so often disappointed.” Noting that the Arab Spring uprisings are the most dramatic political events to date in the 21st century, Dartmouth’s John Carey adds that

“we need to make sense of the Arab Spring, and Brownlee, Masoud, and Reynolds are uniquely equipped for this task, bringing expertise on the history, culture, economy, geopolitics, and institutions that drove the uprisings and the politics that followed. The book reveals patterns amid complexity and separates solid evidence from speculation.” Harvard’s Melani Cammett sums it up: “This is the most systematic and analytically rigorous book on the Arab uprisings to date.”

GRADUATE STUDENT NOTES

Amanda Cook's manuscript, "Breastfeeding in Public: Disgust and Discomfort in the Bodiless Public Sphere," has been accepted for publication by *Politics and Gender*. The question posed in this paper is: from the perspective of a breastfeeding mother, what characterizes an ideal—that is, equal and autonomous—public sphere in a liberal society? Breastfeeding bodies challenge the idea that social equality can be found through equalizing access to the public sphere. Cook argues that public and private spheres must be accessible—that is, every person must be able to occupy public space and the public sphere; that the comfort of others cannot weigh more than an individual's own needs in public; and that all people must be able to opt for privacy in a way that does not entail invisibility or exclusion. If these conditions are not met, public and private spheres are replete with domination and oppression. Using this theoretical perspective, Cook offers concrete steps that can improve the position of breastfeeding mothers in public.

John Curiel received an honorable mention from the Gerymandering Competition sponsored by Common Cause for his work developing one of the best practical theories for the federal and state courts to follow in order to protect legislative and congressional districts from unconstitutional gerrymanders. He also received a fellowship from the Institute for Humane studies to examine state-level inter-branch bargaining over traditional redistricting principles, particularly geographic compactness and overlap with political subdivision boundaries.

Claire Greenstein has received one of seven Freie Universität of Berlin Dissertation Fellowships that are awarded to U.S. graduate students. The program is designed to promote a new generation of young North American scholars with specialized knowledge of modern Germany and Europe. These highly competitive awards support both dissertation and postdoctoral research by scholars in all social science and humanities disciplines. Claire's topic is "The Motivations Behind Domestic Reparations Programs." Further information on the program can be found at <http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/sites/bprogram>

Josh Jansa received one of the coveted fellowships from the Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy to support his dissertation research. One of 20 recipients out of 416 applications, Josh was further recognized as one of eight awardees to receive special recognition—his was the Robert K. Merton Award. Josh's dissertation, co-directed by Virginia Gray and Tom Carsey, is titled "Laboratories of Inequality: The Politics of Economic Development Subsidies and the Distribution of Resources in America." The Foundation's press release announcing the awards noted that "the Trustees consider the awardees' work on topics of social and political importance to be vibrant examples of how policy research can help us address the challenges of today's complex society."

Tamar Malloy had a dream year. First, she was awarded one of the AAUW's dissertation fellowships for the 2015-2016 academic year. She will use the award to complete her dissertation that examines how dress, comportment, and other behavioral norms of respectability, which are not addressed in anti-discrimination laws, are used to justify and provide cover for discrimination based on gender, sexuality, race, and class. Then Tamar's article, "Reconceiving Recognition: Towards a Cumulative Politics of Recognition" was published in the *Journal of Political Philosophy*. It argues that political and social recognition is a cumulative asset that helps historically marginalized groups advocate for continued expansion of legal rights. This paper was also awarded the department's James W. Prothro Award for outstanding research by a graduate student. Tamar was an invited speaker at the Carolina Seminar on the topic of "Democracy in the Age of Global Capital," at a panel sponsored by the Working Group on Feminism and History, and at a panel on "Sitting at the Seminar Table: A Discussion of Sheryl Sandberg's *Lean In* and Academia." It addressed challenges and strategies for women at different stages of their academic careers. Finally, she was awarded a competitive Teaching Assistantship in the Department of Women's and Gender Studies for the 2014-2015 academic year.

Jacob Forrest Smith received a travel award from the Center for the Study of the American South to present a paper, "The Case of the Non-existent Marginals: Explaining Competition in Southern Congressional Elections since 1964," at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association in New Orleans. He also received a Whit Ayres Travel Award to present a second paper, "Attainability, Partisan Dysfunction, and the Changing Nature of Senate Leadership," at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago.

Casey Edward Stegman's manuscript, "Remembering Atlantis: Plato's Timaeus-Critias, the Ancestral Constitution, and the Democracy of the Gods," has been accepted for publication by one of the discipline's premier journals, *Political Theory*, an uncommon achievement for a graduate student. It analyzes how Plato used the Atlantis myth to comment on the democratic politics of his own day. At the same time, the paper argues that Plato's story also advances a unique veneration of democracy by asserting that it is how the gods govern themselves. Reviewers commented that Casey's paper contributes a valuable new perspective on the relationship between Plato's philosophy and democracy.

See also the awards provided by the Uhlman Endowment, page 7

NIEDZWIECKI WINS DEAN'S AWARD

Sara Niedzwiecki, a 2014 PhD in the Department of Political Science, is the recipient of the prestigious Dean's Distinguished Dissertation Award in the Social Sciences. Sara's dissertation, titled "Multilevel Social Policies and Partisan Alignments: Social Assistance and Healthcare in Argentina and Brazil," is only the second ever awarded to a political science doctoral student.

"Obviously, I am deeply honored by this award," Sara said. "To be recognized for my dissertation on the political challenges faced by social policies in decentralized countries is not simply an individual achievement, but rather the product of guidance and support from my adviser (Evelyne Huber), my dissertation committee (John Stephens, Liesbet Hooghe, Tom Carsey, and Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo), and many others who generously offered their time to read and comment on my work."

Professor Huber, Morehead Alumni Distinguished Professor and Chair of Political

Science, added that "Niedzwiecki's ambitious dissertation addresses a central question of contemporary Latin America: subnational variation in the quality of cash transfers and social services that citizens receive is an important one that has not received sufficient attention and is not well understood. Sara explains this variation as a combination of partisan political alignments and institutional legacies. The research combines the painstaking collection and analysis of statistical data with extensive interviews in two important Latin American countries, Argentina and Brazil. The insights gained from the study travel well to other contexts and thus make a strong contribution to comparative politics."

Sara has just completed her first year as an assistant professor of political science at the University of New Mexico, where her work continues to focus upon social policy and multilevel governance. To this she has added an interest in the territorial structure of government, with an emphasis on the measurement of the authority



of regional governments across countries.

The book on which she is currently working, *Multilevel Social Policies and Partisan Alignments*, combines both research agendas by examining how partisan alignments at state and local levels shape the implementation of social policies in decentralized countries. She argues that the successful implementation of major national social assistance and basic health care policies depends upon whether governors are allied with the national executive and whether policy recipients are able to attribute the policy to the national government.

ROBERTSON AND POP-ELECHES: UKRAINE PROJECT

War in Europe has once again been on our television screens over the past year, and at the top of the international political agenda. In early 2014 a revolution led to the overthrow of the President of Ukraine. Almost overnight, the corruption-ridden Ukrainian state disintegrated and the country began to fall apart.

Russia took advantage of the crisis to annex the strategically important Crimean peninsula. At the same time, local insurgents in the eastern part of the country declared independence for their regions, prompting the authorities in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, to launch an offensive to recapture the rebellious eastern provinces. After some initial successes for the Ukrainian army and private militias fighting by their side,



Russia stepped in to support the rebels, and the fighting bogged down in a violent stalemate. So far more than five thousand soldiers and civilians are estimated to have been killed.

The crisis has raised enormous issues for the region. Previous democratic revolutions in Ukraine, in 1991 and 2004, ended in corruption and failure, in part due to deep political divisions between the east and west of the country. The question now is whether this third revolution can succeed. Will the revolution, the Russian annexation of Crimea and the war in the east lead to a rallying around Ukrainian identity or to even greater polarization?

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NEW FACULTY – LUCY MARTIN

Having completed her PhD at Yale, Lucy Martin is thrilled to join the UNC faculty as an assistant professor of political science. Also trained as an economist with a master's degree from Yale, Lucy's research focuses on the political economy of development in sub-Saharan Africa. Her dissertation shows that when citizens pay taxes they are less tolerant of corruption and are more likely to demand accountability from government officials. This makes governments that rely on taxes for revenue, rather than foreign aid or oil revenues, more likely to be accountable to their citizens. She has conducted extensive fieldwork in Uganda, using qualitative, game-theoretic, and experimental methods in her work. She is currently expanding the dissertation to look at how and when governments will tax citizens if doing so generates increased pressures to provide public goods. Her research has been covered in *The Economist*.

Beyond her work on taxation, Lucy is interested in corruption and accountability more generally. She is currently conducting research on how and when corruption will induce citizens to take part in collective action, and how citizens decide whom to blame for accountability failures. She is also interested in the psychological mechanisms that affect when citizens will take part in elections or protests. At UNC she will teach courses on African politics, the political economy of development, and research methods.

Born in England to a Scottish mother and English father, but reared in Kentucky, Lucy did her undergraduate studies at Kenyon College in Ohio, graduating magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa.



There, she majored in Political Science, minored in Sociology, and spent an inordinate amount of time running a variety of student organizations, including the on-campus women's center. After graduating in 2004, she did campaign work in Kentucky, then moved to Washington, D.C. There, she worked for Clean Water Action and the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty. Lucy is excited to move back to the South, and is looking forward to exploring North Carolina, from the mountains to the ocean. Lucy also enjoys cooking and baking, and is widely (and wildly) praised for her peanut butter fudge and lemon bars.

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ROBERTSON AND POP-ELECHES: UKRAINE PROJECT CONTINUED

How will perceptions of the revolution and its aftermath differ and with what consequences for the future of Ukrainian unity? Can the tumultuous events of the last year create the possibility of a new post-Soviet Ukrainian identity that can transcend the old divisions based on language, ethnicity and region?

The results are crucial not only for Ukraine, but also for Russia, the European Union and the United States. A successful revolution on its borders would represent a major threat to the stability of Vladimir Putin's regime in Russia. On the other hand, a failed revolution would effectively end the spread of the western alliance and its influence in the former Soviet space.

Graeme Robertson, an associate professor in our department, and his co-author, Grigore Pop-Eleches of Princeton University, have recently launched a new project designed to help policy makers answer these complex questions. Their research in Ukraine focuses on questions of ethnic, political and national identity. They use public opinion surveys to see how the brutal experiences of the last year have shaped citizens' thinking across Ukraine, but particularly in the contested eastern part of the country. With the generous support of the Smith Richardson Foundation, Robertson and Pop-Eleches are conducting multiple rounds of public opinion surveys asking the same people batteries of questions at different periods of time.

Both Robertson and Pop-Eleches have been working in the former USSR for more than twenty years, and in 2010 began looking at questions of political identity in eastern Ukraine. In an article that appeared in the *Washington Post*, they were among the first to call attention to the growing crisis of political authority facing the new revolutionary government. Today, their research is designed to provide an independent and evidence-based assessment of the progress that the government makes over the next couple of years in building support for economic reform, democracy and the Ukrainian state.

POLITICAL MOVEMENT AND GENDER EQUALITY AT UNC

Nowadays it is common for academics, particularly political scientists, to bemoan a lack of political engagement on college campuses. Indeed, since the 1960's and 70's, when social movements sprung up like wildflowers, we have seen a decline in political activity among college-age students, and this is often taken as a sign of apathy. For the past few years, however, UNC students have challenged this stereotype in a big way.

As noted in our 2014 Newsletter, two Poli Sci majors, Annie Clark (Class of 2011) and Andrea Pino (Class of 2014), both of whom had been assaulted while undergraduates, were among the five people associated with UNC, including former dean Melinda Manning and undergraduate Landen Gambill, who lodged the first complaint to the Department of Education under Title IX, the federal civil rights law that prohibits sex discrimination at colleges and universities.

While Clark and Pino feel there are weaknesses that still need to be addressed, a new University policy was unveiled last Fall. Focused on sexual discrimination, harassment, and assault, the policy strengthens Title IX on campus by explicitly prohibiting discrimination and exclusion from educational settings. The central part of this new policy focuses on sexual assault, and redefines consent as an explicit verbal affirmation (so, not the absence of a "no," but the necessity of a clear "yes"), establishes far more stringent investigation and hearing processes, makes clear that a

person under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol cannot consent, provides greater clarity about what constitutes discrimination, harassment, and assault, and contains a major educational and outreach component.

All students and university employees, including faculty, are required to participate in a training on how to better prevent, iden-

was brought about by student advocates and activists, mainly women, who saw and experienced an injustice, understood the impact of it upon their own and upon other students' ability to learn, and then had the courage and energy to challenge UNC to take remedial action. They stood up first, and together with other advocacy groups on college campuses across the country, engaged social media to spread the word about what was happening to women on the Chapel Hill campus.

They created an organization, End Rape on Campus, that has worked on legislation to make campuses safer for women and ensure a better process for victims. They have appealed to the White House for assistance and participated in the making of a powerful documentary, *The Hunting Ground*, that exposes the endemic problem of rape on college campuses across the United States.

Four decades ago, feminist theorist and poet Adrienne Rich warned students that if women are to truly claim an equal education, then we must first establish safe and just environments in which they can learn – campuses where they are safe to study at night in the library, and then walk back to their dorm rooms without the fear of rape; campuses where they are treated with respect, and where they can be heard, particularly when an injustice has occurred. It is because of these brave women at UNC-CH that our campus and others are a little closer to that all-important goal.



Andrea Pino and Annie E. Clark in Vogue magazine. Photograph by Jeff Lipsky.

tify, report, and respond to instances of discrimination, harassment, and assault. One notable aspect of this training is to educate all members of the University community, most importantly men, about sexual assault, rather than simply putting the burden on female students to protect themselves.

The importance of these changes in policy and the University's renewed commitment should not be underestimated, but what is most remarkable here is that the entire shift

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COMMENCEMENT

We performed academic research and practiced writing argumentatively. We learned how to work with our peers as well as debate constructively against them. We learned to draw connections across cultural and political divisions and to apply historical lessons to new contexts."

Most of all, Hovaniec concluded, "the Political Science department showed us what it means to be passionate about learning.

- Through the classmates who were more concerned with understanding the material than making an A;

- Through the professors who pushed us to challenge ourselves and devoted significant amounts of time and effort to helping us succeed; and

-Through the graduate students who went out of their way to provide individual help to students.

My experience in the Political Science department was filled with individuals who are passionate about what they study *and* about sharing this knowledge with others."

Then Professor Jason Roberts, the Department's Associate Chair, read the names of each of the graduates as they walked across the Memorial Hall stage, accompanied by enthusiastic applause from family and friends. And, lo and behold, the sky had cleared just enough for photos on the Memorial Hall patio.

FACULTY NEWS

Navin Bapat and **Sean Zeigler**, a post-doctoral fellow at UNC in 2014, have an article on terrorism forthcoming in the *American Journal of Political Science*. “Terrorism, Military Conflict, and Dynamic Commitment Problems” examines why states go to war over terrorism when terrorist groups kill fewer people annually than traffic accidents. The key finding: when terrorists destabilize local areas of strategic significance, they create incentives for both preventive and predatory conflict.

Frank Baumgartner is publishing two papers co-authored with undergraduates. One, with Alisa Mastro (Class of 2013), now a student at Georgetown University’s School of Law, and UNC doctoral student Amanda Grigg, is forthcoming in 2015 in *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. This paper examines the role of racial bias in the implementation of capital punishment. First, their analysis of existing literature confirms higher rates of capital punishment for those who kill Whites, that Black males have been the primary victims of homicides, but their killers are much less likely to be put to death. A second study, co-authored with Anna Dietrich (Class of 2014), is “Most Death Penalty Sentences Are Overturned. Here’s Why That Matters.” It was published in the *Washington Post.com* Monkey Cage, March 17, 2015, where they presented data from 1973 to 2013 indicating that 8,466 sentences of death were handed down by U.S. courts, and 1,359 individuals were executed – 16 percent.

Virginia Gray received the Excellence in Mentoring Award from the Public Policy Section of the American Political Science Association for her “sustained efforts to encourage and facilitate the career of emerging political scientists in the field of public policy.”

Evelyne Huber and **John Stephens’** article, “Income Inequality and Redistribution in Post-Industrial Democracies: Demographic, Economic, and Political Determinants,” recently appeared in *Socioeconomic Review*, and their edited volume, *Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, was published in mid-2015. The *Handbook* covers different types of states in the Global South (from failed to predatory, rentier and developmental), in different kinds of advanced industrial political economies (corporatist, statist, liberal, import substitution industrialization), and in various post-Communist countries. It also addresses crucial challenges in different areas of state intervention, from security to financial regulation, migration, welfare states, democratization and quality of democracy, ethno-nationalism, and human development. Huber and Stephens co-authored the introduction and conclusion to the volume. Stephens co-authored the chapter on the corporatist political economies of northern Europe with Jingjing Huo, a former UNC

graduate student, and Huber co-authored the chapter on welfare states in Latin America and East Asia with Sara Niedzwiecki, also a former graduate student. In the same volume, **Milada Anna Vachudova** wrote the chapter on state transformation in Eastern Europe; **Graeme Robertson** co-authored the chapter on recent democratic transformations; and **Liesbet Hooghe** and **Gary Marks** co-authored the chapter on multi-level governance.

Jeff Spinner-Halev was a keynote speaker at the annual conference of the Association of Legal and Social Philosophy, held at the University of Leeds. His address, “Misunderstanding Markets: The Role of Injustice in Theories of Distributive Justice,” argued that many theories of justice focus too much on the role of individual responsibility and ignore the unpredictability of markets. Spinner-Halev argued that the state should try to ensure that people can act as responsible agents, but that the state must take into account the unpredictable nature of markets and family responsibilities while doing so.

Issac Unah has been appointed Interim Director of UNC’s Institute of African American Research, where he has been serving as chair of the Institute’s Advisory Board. The Institute was established in 1995 to foster scholarly inquiry about the experiences of black people, particularly but not exclusively in North Carolina.

Unah also recently completed two papers on the Supreme Court, each with one of our recent undergraduate majors as coauthor. One is with Kirsten Rosano, Class of 2013, who is now in medical school at Washington University in St. Louis, and K. Dawn Milam. “U.S. Supreme Court Justices and Public Mood,” *Journal of Law & Politics*, (2015), examines the role of the public mood in structuring the behavior of individual justices of the Supreme Court. The second paper, currently under review at *Political Research Quarterly*, was co-authored with Katherine Wheeler, Class of 2014, who has recently begun Law School at UNC. Their paper, “The Structure of U.S. Supreme Court Litigation,” argues that much of the litigation activity in the U.S. Supreme Court over the last 100 years is explained by the level of social development, the political culture in Washington, and institutional change within the Court itself.

STAFF SPOTLIGHT: FOND FAREWELL TO CAROL NICHOLS AND CYNTHIA TANG

Cynthia Tang and Carol Nichols retired on June 30 this year. The two have collectively been a part of our department for nearly half a century – 46 years – and we celebrate their contributions as we sadly say goodbye. It is safe to say they are irreplaceable, and our office will never quite be the same without these two.

Cynthia was hired in 1999 as a student services assistant, then in 2002 became the department’s accountant, where she has helped manage our research funds, our gift accounts, and our student support. This has been no small feat (the expression, “herding cats” comes to mind), and Cynthia has been a big part of helping us be successful in our research and teaching.

Carol came to UNC in 1983 to work as the assistant to the Department Chair. She has seen more changes come to our university than most, and she was an essential member of our family before most of the current faculty were out of high school. Most importantly, Carol cultivated an immense wealth of community for all of us. She was always the first one in the office to get the day started. Her famous grilled cheese sandwiches and hot dog days would draw faculty, students and staff from all around. And nothing will ever compare to her Halloween parties, of course, which grew to become lavish celebrations with food, costumes, and crazy decorations. With every event, and with every goodie bag she gave to the children of our graduate students and faculty, she steadily built a community that will endure. This kind of social capital may not show up in the rankings of the *US News and World Reports*, but it has made a world of difference for our students, our staff, and our faculty.

Our gratitude goes out to both Cynthia and Carol. We will miss you, and we wish you well as you begin your new adventures in retirement.



From top to bottom: Carol Nichols, Cynthia Tang



Department of Political Science
UNC at Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3265

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