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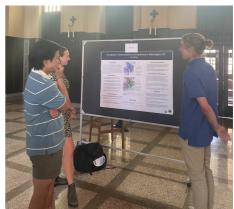
























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A Letter from our Chair

Greetings... What you have in hand (or onscreen) is the newsletter that will inform you how busy, fun, and exciting a place our department is for this community. As we summarize the past year's activities in this newsletter, we all look forward to the 2023-2024 academic year.

This past year, we said goodbye to Willis Hall, where we had several productive years situated above the Department of Economics, and moved into the newly refurbished Hasenstab Hall (formerly Music Hall). The beautiful new space was generously funded by Michael '95 and Mary Ann Hasenstab, and is most suitable for our learning, teaching, and collaborative academic activities. The dedication last October was inspiring and an opportunity to personally thank the Hasenstabs for their incredibly generous gift.



Office: Hasenstab 309 Phone: 4887

As you will see in this newsletter, all of us are very active in collaborative learning with our students. The 2022-2023 academic year was themed "Autocracy vs. Democracy" and almost all of our events and speakers spoke to this theme. It is our scholarly appreciation and a reminder about the challenges we as a global community face in sustaining freedom, justice, and agency of individuals regardless of belief, ethnicity, race, or livelihood practices.

With this academic theme, we presented three in-house faculty panels on topics including the January 6 insurrection, the military coup in Myanmar/Burma, the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and the fragility of democracy. On top of these three faculty panels, we hosted fifteen special guest speakers who contributed to the larger debate about autocracy and democracy.

In addition to moving into Hasenstab Hall, two more exciting things happened in our department this past year. The first was the establishment of *Polis: Carleton Journal of Political Science* edited by political science department majors. We published the inaugural issue of *Polis* in October devoted to "Democracy and Autocracy." We also successfully conducted a search for and hired a new tenure-track colleague who will be teaching courses in American Politics. We are thrilled to welcome Assistant Professor Ryan Dawkins to our department.

The 2023-2024 academic year focuses on "Global Justice and Injustice" which will serve as the framework for larger intellectual conversations, learning, and teaching in our department. Several exciting courses and collaborative activities are planned by my colleagues and our Student Department Advisors (SDAs). This is going to be another exciting and productive year.

I hope you enjoy this Fall 2023 issue of the Political Science Department's annual newsletter!

"It's nice to be important, but it's more important to be nice."

Welcome Ryan Dawkins

Taking a tenure-track position in the department of political science and international relations at Carleton College is truly my dream job. I am beyond excited to come to Carleton, as it represents a major career goal of mine. However, my professional path into academia was never preordained. As a kid, I wanted to go to law school and then work in professional politics. By the time I graduated from college, though, my goals and ambitions grew murky, and it took me a few years to figure out my priorities.



Office: Hasenstab 202 Phone: 4565

After initially starting a Ph.D. program in American and diplomatic history, I left after my master's to spend some time in politics. I worked on a congressional campaign in Colorado, then I worked in a congressional district office where I spent my time focused on constituency casework related to military, veterans' affairs, and immigration issues. During this time, I also moonlighted as a bartender and bar manager.

After a couple of years, I missed the intellectual engagement of academia, and I felt the urge to return to school and finish my Ph.D., except this time in political science rather than history. I spent the next six years at CU-Boulder directing my love of politics into the systematic study of the political world. During that time, I developed several areas of research about which I care deeply.

What excites me most about being an academic and a knowledge creator is being able to share my love and passion for the material with others.

The first line of inquiry is in political psychology, namely the way that salient group identities shape the way people think about the world, define boundaries around who is and who is not considered part of the political community, and how they regulate inter-group attitudes and behaviors. In recent years, this research has explored the identity-based components of partisan polarization, how people think about American identity, as well as the place-based identities that aggravate the rural-urban divide.

My interest in identity politics also informs my secondary research focus on congressional politics and representation. I have grown increasingly interested in how the electoral coalitions of each party condition partisans from each party to think about politics in systematically different ways, including the style of representation they want from their lawmakers. Much of my current research in this regard is rooted in teasing out the governing implications of the fact that whereas the Democratic coalition is maintained by an ideological program that services high-intensity policy demanders, the Republican party's ideological program is more a function of group-based animosities and cultural grievances.

The last line of research that I have developed deals with local politics and governance. This interest in local politics is rooted in the fact that most major policy problems, especially policy problems related to political and economic inequality, have strong local roots. As a result, solutions designed to ameliorate these problems cannot be found in Washington; rather, their solutions are often much closer to home. These solutions are related to reforming land-use policies, local affordable housing plans, etc.

What excites me most about being an academic and a knowledge creator is being able to share my love and passion for the material with others. That is why I developed a profound love of teaching early on in my career. Indeed, my love of teaching is an extension of my love of learning, and I can't think of a more rewarding career than one where I spend my professional life introducing others to the systematic study of politics—something I truly love. In this regard, Carleton is my dream job. I've spent the last five years teaching at topranked liberal arts colleges, and it is an environment in which I feel comfortable and at home. I cannot wait to continue my career at Carleton, one of the best liberal arts colleges in the country.

This coming academic year, I will be teaching several courses that speak to my academic interests. In the Fall, it's *POSC 122 Politics in America: Liberty and Equality*; in the Winter, *POSC 312 Congress & the Presidency*; and in the Spring, *POSC 207 Polarization and Democratic Decline in the United States*. If any of this interests you, please don't hesitate to stop by my office to say, 'Hi!'

Welcome Adam Lê

Hi everyone, I'm Adam, and I'll begin my third term teaching at Carleton this Fall. I'm also a student finishing my PhD at the University of Minnesota. I've been living in the Twin Cities for the past 5 years, and I'm a California (Bay Area) native. I'm probably the only one who will tell you that I really enjoy cold weather: the longer Winter stays, the better! People also get mad when I say that I was also interested in coming to Minnesota for the weather variation because it was so "consistent" in California that it felt like a simulation.

My research focuses on the relationship between government and citizens, and I theorize that marginalized groups in the United States express substantive citizenship in ways outside traditional measures and conceptions of politics.



Office: Hasenstab 310 Phone: ext 4428

Throughout the ethnography, interviews, and statistical analyses I've done, I find that these citizens interact with and know about government through "community-based" institutions

and organizations in addition to the contemporary state-based framework. Moreover, I find that the relationship between citizens and the state is not always positive, and that citizen-government interactions often reinforce government domination over citizens. To navigate this domination, citizens use the community as a space for autonomy and accountability.

When I'm not on campus, I do a bunch of non-school related stuff. I've been playing video games since I was a kid, but I'm still not that good at them. I play a ton of hockey as both a skater and a goalie, and I started playing around ten years ago. In the summer I play tennis–I just started playing in a summer mixed doubles league and it was pretty fun. I play in a Rec hockey league in the winter and summer, and this coming winter I'm planning on playing with my usual team as well as playing in the beginner league as a goalie with a friend and my partner. I'm a pretty big sports fan, following Minnesota sports. It's a heartbreak, but the team I didn't give up was the Warriors. Also, sheesh, what's going on with the Sharks?

What most people know me for, though, is probably my love for animals. My partner and I have 3 dogs: Elsie, Spencer, and Aggie. We also had 2 FeLV cats, Sally and Niko, but Sally unfortunately passed away this summer due to FeLV complications. She was a super silly cat who enjoyed playing ping-pong in our basement – here for a good time not a long time (if you have a FeLV or FIV cat you know)—and we'll miss her a bunch. Niko is a chaotic and funny orange cat. I usually put pictures of my animals in some of my lecture slides and I encourage students to send me pictures of their animals to include. I often bring a dog with me to campus, and I'll probably bring Elsie for the Fall term and Spencer for the Winter term, but we'll see! Aggie is a handful of a puppy who DEMANDS attention, so I'll rarely bring her. That small dog can bark SO loudly.

Being at Carleton these past terms has been super fun. I find that the students are incredibly bright and discussions are really insightful. Small- and large-group discussions are my jam, and I feel that I'm in a great environment to try new things and new assignments. I did a "creative project" in my intro class and it was super fun to see the different ways that students can demonstrate knowledge of a concept we learned in class in an alternative format. The faculty and staff have also been really nice and helpful, and I can definitely vouch that you can drop by their offices to receive some really good support.

I'm really looking forward to working with students in different classes over this next academic year, and if anyone wants to come by and say hi to a pupper, feel free to drop by! I also understand that navigating your years in college can be difficult—moving to Minnesota after living in California all my life was a whirlwind. I'm interested in finding ways to maximize your success and make our various types of brains work effectively, so if you want to drop by to talk about any of that, as well as coursework, come through!

"Each of us is blessed in some particular way, whether we recognize our blessings or not."

Meet Our '23-'24 Student Department Advisors



President, Carleton Student Association
Co-Founder and Treasurer, CarlsVote
Chair, Mental Health Working Group
Student Liaison, Workday Implementation and Transition Team
Student Ambassador, Alumni Admissions Representatives Program

"I decided to pursue Political Science as my major because I wanted to be part of a department that encompassed various disciplines within the humanities and social sciences. The beauty of this choice lies in the flexibility it offers, allowing me to explore a diverse range of subjects without being confined to a predetermined trajectory. This freedom empowered me to tailor my major to align with my unique interests and aspirations, enabling me to carve out a personalized academic journey. By embracing Political Science, I embraced a world of interdisciplinary opportunities and the chance to shape my educational experience according to my own vision."

Co-President, Men of Color (MOC) Captain, Club Soccer Marketing and Graphic Design, Student Activities Programming Board

"I view political science as a science of understanding. Studying politics and power at both domestic and international levels grants me with extensive knowledge of different ideologies, institutions and behaviors. I chose the major so I could come to more of an understanding of the world around us and learn what steps can be taken to positively impact it."





Vice President, Carleton Democrats
Peer Leader/Mentor, Office of Intercultural Life
Live & Organize, Wellstone House of Organizing and Activism

"I decided to pursue a major in Political Science/International Relations & Africana Studies because the department provides a dynamic blend of insightful coursework, research opportunities, and real-world engagement that align perfectly with my interests in public policy, international affairs, and foreign policy. The abundance of research opportunities within the department, coupled with the unwavering dedication of professors who provide invaluable support, presents an immensely appealing and exceptional opportunity for academic and research growth within this major."

Meet Our '23-'24 Student Department Advisors

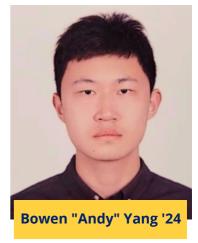


Social & Ballroom Dance Freier Karleton Klub (German Club) Student Worker, Student Financial Services Student Grader, German Department Phi Theta Kappa

"As someone interested in a career in foreign policy and diplomacy, at Carleton I have had the opportunity to explore critical and exciting topics like geopolitics and international security, in addition to the role the intersection of ideas, place, and memory contribute to the way we imagine identity and the nation. In exploring the infinite social, economic, cultural, and environmental dimensions of living in a political community, we are all able to become more active and well-informed citizens. I am thrilled to call the Political Science/International Relations Department my academic home at Carleton and excited to welcome other majors--potential or declared--as well as any student interested in taking any number of the amazing courses in the Department."

Chinese Music Ensemble Basketball (Intramural) Religion Department Assistant

"Politics inhabits a realm where individuals can freely converse with others, embrace diverse perspectives, and collaborate in collective endeavors—yet this public sphere, a supposed sanctuary of democratic exchange, remains vulnerable to the grip of coercive violence and ideological indoctrination. This is precisely why I major in political science. Through politics I can exercise my agency as a human to speak for the silenced, to act against coercion, to not let my conscience slip into apathy, and to always stay indebted to our world."



Student Departmental Advisers (SDAs) are a select group of students whose primary function is to provide fellow students with accurate information about courses, pre-requisites, college requirements, registration procedures and other basic academic information, especially in their own departments. In addition, they provide information from their own experience which, presented as objectively as possible, can help students make appropriate choices for themselves.

These student advisers receive training to familiarize them with the academic information they need and ways of presenting this information. In some departments, SDAs also organize social events, host visitors, produce a department newsletter, design a department t-shirt, or do other tasks to strengthen the relationships among majors and/or between majors and departmental faculty.

SDAs are not assigned to specific students as advisers, but rather are available as a resource to all students, especially new students, who want to talk to a knowledgeable and experienced upperclass student about courses and registration. They supplement those formal advising systems already in effect. Faculty advisers, RAs, and OPLs have a list of the SDAs and may call upon them as needed.

Special Guests, Academic Year 22-23



Congresswoman Angie Craig September 26, 2022

Democratic norms, election security, and the importance of voting as part of our campus-wide 'Autocracy vs Democracy' education campaign this year.



Dr. Ned O'Gorman
October 19, 2022
Professor in the Department of Communication
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
How Liberals Lost the Public: The Case of Walter Lippmann



Dr. Alena Wolflink
October 21, 2022
Assistant Professor
University of Denver, College of Arts, Humanities & Social Sciences
Claiming Value: From Aristotle to Black Lives Matter



John Darby '83
October 27, 2022
Director of Operations, Retired, National Security Agency
Language & Intelligence (or How to Become a Spy)
plus careers in National Security Q & A.



Michael Hasenstab '95 &
his wife, Mary Ann
October 28, 2022
The dedication of Hasenstab
Hall, the new home of Political
Science & International Relations
and Public Policy, thanks to their



Art by Mar Valdecantos

incredibly generous gift. The Roy Grow Classroom was dedicated on October 29, 2022.

More Special Guests, Academic Year 22-23



Elizabeth Shackelford **November 15, 2022** Senior Fellow for Foreign Policy, Chicago Council on Global Affairs The Foreign Policy Toolbox: Understanding US actions toward Ukraine plus careers in Foreign Service Q & A.



Dr. Julia Lynch **January 24, 2023** Professor of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania Regimes of Inequality and Covid-19: How the Welfare States of the Past Affect Health Inequalities in the Pandemic



Dr. Dan Stevens Distinguished Visitor-in-Residence, Winter Term Associate Professor and Director of Education in Politics Exeter University, Cornwall, England Teaching POSC 212 Political Psychology of Elites and Researching with Professor Barbara Allen



February 17, 2023 Assistant Professor of Political Science, Barnard College, Columbia University Wynia Speaker Lecture Series Resisting Extortion: Victims, Criminals, and States in Latin America



April 7-14, 2023 Editor, Director & Artist Mentored students in Prof Barbara Allen's POSC214 (Visual Representations of Political Thought & Action) to create a mural in Weitz Center that was later moved to a permanent home in Hasenstab Hall.

Dr. Eduardo Moncada



Photo: Eric Yuan '24



Dr. Lindsay Flynn
April 10-14, 2023
Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Luxembourg
Let's Talk Housing



Ambassador Ross Wilson
April 18, 2023
Charge'-D'Affaires of the United States to Afghanistan
Discussion: Afghanistan



Musifiky Mwanasali
April 26, 2023
Pius Okigbo Fellow, Northwestern University
AFRICA: Transformation Amidst Current Global Uncertainties



Dr. James C. Scott

April 27, 2023

Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Yale University

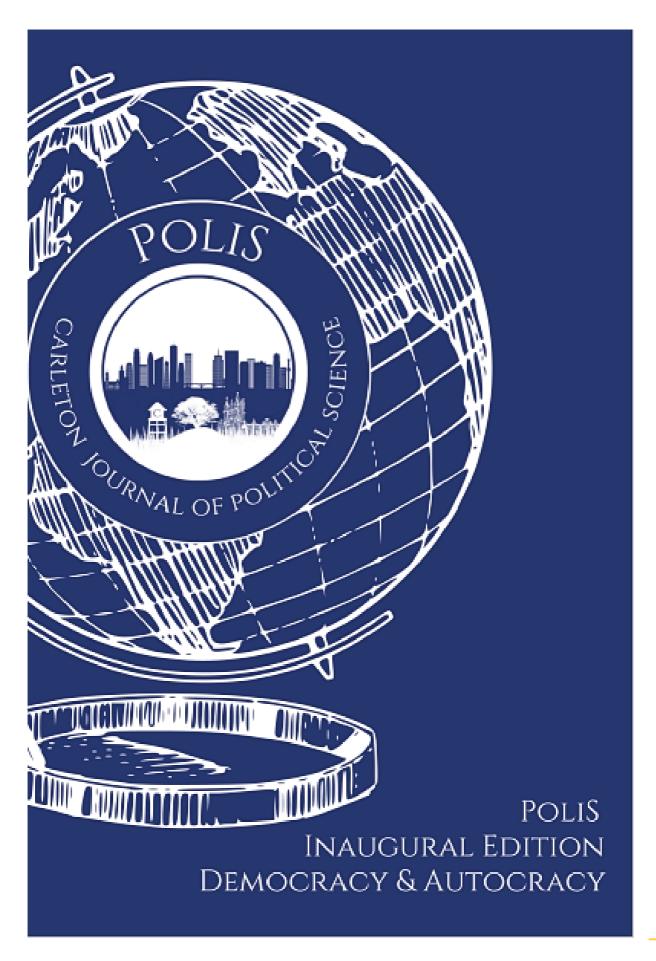
In Praise of Floods: Rivers & Civilization

Dr. Steve Levitsky



May 5, 2023
Professor of Latin American Studies, Government, Harvard University
Revolution and Dictatorship: The Violent Origins of Durable Authoritarianism

PoliS: Carleton Journal of Political Science



"In light of national and international events threatening the status quo of political systems, connections, and conflicts, this first issue explores the themes of "Democracy and Autocracy."

Excerpt:

We are proud to present the inaugural issue of PoliS: The Carleton Undergraduate Journal of Political Science. The release of this issue coincides with the official opening of Carleton College's new political science building, Hasenstab Hall. Both the journal and the building share a common mission of providing a home for students engaged in the rigorous and innovative study of political science for years to come. Emerging from the COVID-19 pandemic, tensions in the global sphere have revealed both the resilience of countries and the crumbling of political structures. In light of national and international events threatening the status quo of political systems, connections, and conflicts, this first issue explores the themes of "Democracy and Autocracy." We have selected four recent graduates' pieces, which employ diverse research methods to examine women's activism, political campaigns, totalitarianism, and foreign involvement. It is our hope that each piece invites you to expand your conceptions of democracy and autocracy: where one becomes the other, and where the definitions seem to blur together. Our goal is for PoliS to spark new questions, ignite curiosity, and open discussions within and beyond our community. We hope you enjoy this inaugural issue.

Sincerely, PoliS Editing Board 2022-23

To read this inaugural edition of **PoliS**, please visit: carleton.edu/political-science/polis-carleton-journal-of-political-science/
For a copy of the book, please email jbuchwald@carleton.edu

NAVAL ACADEMY FOREIGN AFFAIRS CONFERENCE, ANNAPOLIS MD

By Becca Riess '23 & Hana Horiuchi '23

We were asked to represent Carleton College at the 63rd Annual Naval Academy Foreign Affairs Conference ('NAFAC') at the Naval Academy in Annapolis, MD, this spring. This year's theme was "Democracies Divided: The Proliferation of Polarization". The conference brought together students from colleges, universities, and military academies all over the world.

The conference lasted four days and each day had a mix of speakers, panels, and roundtable discussions planned for us. We stayed with other civilian participants at a hotel about a 15-minute drive from downtown Annapolis, while the military delegates stayed on campus. We rode a bus to campus around 6:30 each morning.



"One of the many speakers that stood out to both of us was Iván Duque Márquez, the former president of Colombia, who spoke about leadership during times of crises."

He was an extremely charismatic and powerful speaker– even though we were exhausted at the time of his talk (8PM on our first day), we followed everything he said with little effort. It was interesting to see the impact his words had on the midshipmen; while he overshadowed many of the crises that took place in Colombia during his tenure, he was still met with a standing ovation, because of his charisma.

We were in two different 10-15 member roundtable groups that met every day, each moderated by a midshipman from the Academy with a higher-up service member mentor. Becca participated in "The Politicization of Cyberspace: Disinformation, Political Hacking, and Influence Campaigns" roundtable, which had a Navy Commander from intelligence as the mentor. Hana was in the "New Populism and the Activatability of the Tech-Fluent Public" roundtable.

We also explored the campus and culture of the Academy. We were impressed by how beautiful the campus is with its many old and grand buildings built from marble and carved intricately. We ate in King Hall, the Academy's dining hall. Since we were there during sexual misconduct awareness month, with each meal we were given a prompt regarding assault and were asked to discuss it with the people at our table. It was heartening to see how much attention sexual misconduct was given, especially because of its prevalence in the military.

One of the best parts of the conference was getting to meet other delegates, making friends with the people in our roundtable groups, and hanging out with them during our free time. It was interesting to get to know the midshipmen, as well. Since the Naval Academy experience is so unique, the midshipmen's experience in college is almost as different to us as the experience of an international student. Another takeaway for us was learning about the lack of control Academy students have over their schedules. Along with the demands of classes, they work, train, march, and any number of scheduled activities late in the evening, and after these physically and mentally intense days, are expected to do homework. Despite the differences in our experiences, we connected with the midshipmen and have made friends we will stay in contact with for years to come.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION WORLD CONGRESS, BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

By Professor Alfred Montero

Prof. Al Montero attended the International Political Science Association (IPSA) World Congress in Buenos Aires, Argentina, held at the Catholic University of Argentina, July 15-19. The conference brought more than 3,000 political scientists and political sociologists together to present papers and discuss topics ranging across major sub-disciplines of political science (comparative politics, international relations, and methods in particular). The IPSA was first established in 1949 in Paris with the support of UNESCO. Its primary mandate is to foster the development of political science



worldwide. IPSA is the hub of an international network of political science associations across the world; currently it maintains formal connections with 59 such associations. Over the years, IPSA has encouraged the creation of national and regional political science associations.

The IPSA World Congress of Political Science occurs every two years, alternating between continents. IPSA maintains as a central part of its mission the inclusion of scholars from the developing world. To that end, it provides numerous travel grants and it maintains a Global South Solidarity Fund to fund initiatives in worldwide research collaboration in political science.

IPSA disseminates political science research at the world congress but also more regularly through the publication of International Political Science Review, International Political Science Abstracts, Participation, and the IPSA Portal. It also sponsors summer schools on research methods in different parts of the world.

IPSA is strongly devoted to the protection of academic freedom for the social sciences. These principles are not only inscribed in the organization's mission statement but also in its continuing association with the United Nations. IPSA endorses UNESCO's "Recommendations on the Status of Higher Education Personnel," which is strongly protective of the rights of scholars to conduct free and unencumbered research in their fields.

Prof. Montero opted to add a visit to IPSA at the end of a ten-day research trip to Buenos Aires, where he is conducting the first stages of work on a project focused on political polarization and the Argentine presidencies of Cristina and Néstor Kirchner. In addition to meeting with colleagues and contacts in Buenos Aires, Prof. Montero attended the IPSA and participated in numerous roundtables on Latin American politics. One of the highlights was a panel to honor the great Argentine political scientist, Guillermo O'Donnell, who passed away in November 2011. O'Donnell was a founder of several Latin American political science associations, including in his native Argentina. O'Donnell contributed some of the most seminal work on democratization and authoritarianism in comparative politics.

MIDWEST POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ('MPSA') CONFERENCE, CHICAGO, IL

By Jeff Elias '23



Earlier this year, I had the distinct pleasure of attending the annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (MPSA), held in Chicago in early April. At the end of my comps process, my advisor, Professor Dev Gupta, suggested to me that I submit my finished product to the conference. My comps focused on Iraq and Lebanon's 2019 populist protest movements, and their effects upon elite governing structures in those nations. At the end of fall term, I submitted my paper to the undergraduate comparative politics section of the conference and waited.

Eventually, I was accepted to the conference, and assigned to present at an undergraduate poster session focused, curiously, on terrorism. I was also sent the names of a grad student and a professor who would serve as a discussant for my poster. This essentially meant that they would come talk with me about my paper and topic and proffer some critiques and highlights.

As Spring term rolled around, I was ready and excited to go to Chicago and see what this conference thing was about. In week 2 of Spring term, the conference finally rolled around. I got up early one warm Wednesday morning and flew on a packed flight to Chicago and took the L to my hotel in front of Grant Park. I had a nice room with an oblique view of Lake Michigan.

On conference day, I was scheduled to present in the early afternoon, so I walked around the conference hotel all morning. The first thing I saw upon entering was a veritable gaggle of academics, all sitting quietly in the grand but dim hotel lobby, illuminated by the blue light of their open laptops— hard at work preparing for their panels.

"...the experience was a great learning opportunity, as I had the chance to work on my presentation skills [and] gain useful feedback on my paper..."

The second thing I saw was a stunning lack of chairs, meaning that everyone was looking for one. I visited a panel on the Middle East after the 2011 Arab uprisings, which was mostly about Egyptian and Tunisian post-coups. It was then time to present. I set up my poster, standing across from a kid presenting on ethnic conflict in the DR Congo, and waited for visitors.

I met with a wide range of undergraduates, graduate students and faculty on a range of topics related to my paper. I spoke with one of my discussants about global populism and different regional understandings of the phenomenon. Other than my frequent conversations, the session passed uneventfully, at which point I headed to my flight, and was back in Northfield that night.

In many ways, the experience was a great learning opportunity, as I had the chance to work on my presentation skills, gain useful feedback on my paper, and figure out travel logistics by myself. It was further an excellent window into the hour-by-hour events of an academic conference. In all, I'm pleased I went, that Carleton faculty pushed me to go, and that the college helped me to do so. I'm happy I had the chance to talk about my comps outside of Carleton, and would recommend future undergraduate sessions to anyone interested.

INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC CRISES NEGOTIATION EXERCISE (ISCNE) NORTHFIELD, MN

By Peter Sallinger '24

In May, Carleton College's Department of Political Science hosted an International Strategic Crisis Negotiation Exercise (ISCNE) focused on the South China Sea. ISCNEs are run by the U.S. Army War College, which puts on a limited number of exercises around the country every year, typically at graduate schools. Carleton was the second-ever undergraduate institute to host an ISCNE, after Texas A&M University's cadet program.



The ISCNE at Carleton was centered on overlapping territorial claims in the South China Sea. Students in classes across the Department of Political Science were divided into eight country

teams: China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, the U.S., and Vietnam. Modeled after a United Nations summit, the exercise took place over the course of two days. Country teams were supported by world-class mentors, including former members of the U.S. Foreign Service, Intelligence Community, and military. Carleton's Bigelow Teacher-in-Residence, U.S. Ambassador Ross Wilson, played the role of United Nations Special Representative.

"A key takeaway for all - and one emphasized by Ambassador Ross Wilson - was that continued dialogue between nations is a success in and of itself."

In preparation for the summit, students were given both a general exercise overview and "privileged instructions" containing their country's summit goals and red lines. Prior to the summit, teams worked together to develop strategies that reflected their country's real-world approach to international relations.

The exercise began with an opening plenary, which included a series of opening statements presented by each country's team leader; these statements were closely examined by the participants for any hint of the goals of their foreign counterparts. After a dinner, country teams engaged in multiple pre-set bilateral negotiation sessions, which were followed by self-scheduled bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

Throughout the exercise, students attempted to achieve their county's goals while also maintaining friendly relationships with ally nations. Students often found themselves attempting to balance different strategic relationships - and challenged by the ISCNE's structure, which purposefully makes reaching consensus difficult.

Key to the exercise were the relationships within and between different groups of nations-specifically participating non-South China Sea region nations (India, Japan, and the U.S.) and participating nations from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, and Vietnam). The question of how to contend with the presence of China at the summit was constant and often led to tension between the other delegations.



Students, faculty, and distinguished mentors at the International Strategic Crises Negotiation Exercise (ISCNE)

Photo courtesy of Ed Zukowski, ISCNE Program Director

At the summit's closing plenary, country teams each announced any agreements that had been reached between their nations. Following these statements and a statement from the United Nations Special Representative, students broke character to reflect on the summit. A key takeaway for all - and one emphasized by Ambassador Ross Wilson - was that continued dialogue between nations is a success in and of itself. Just as with the actual South China Sea, the nations in the ISCNE have deep and abiding disagreements; while consensus is hard to reach, any dialogue is better than military conflict. A main goal of the US Army War College in putting on ISCNEs is to develop an understanding of peacemaking –not war making– among future leaders.



















carleton.edu/political-science/ Photo by Anthologie

NEW ART INSTALLATION IN HASENSTAB HALL: OPPRESSION DESTRUCTION PASSION HOPE

By Professor Barbara Allen

During spring term artists-in-residence Jesse Willenbring and Bevin Mcnamara worked with students in the POSC 214 course to create a mural and mixed media installation in the Weitz Center for Creativity. The course, Visual Representations of Political Thought and Action, is premised on the idea that visual representation may convey ideas more immediately, with greater depth, or otherwise engage an audience in ways that differ from written or spoken word. The course was designed in two parts: first, to create a collaborative visual statement and second to archive the process of that collective creative act. Part I, the installation, explored four primary concepts in engaged art and politics: visual grid systems and their ability to allude to (or resist) structures of authority; appropriation techniques and their effects on how value is created and assigned by an active public; collaboration and individual choice/response (responsibility and authority); and the action-history nexus (who is authorized tells what story). After completing their visual work, the students used the installation as an interactive backdrop for short videos that explained their views of recent events that raise important questions about race, equity, diversity, authority, and power as well as many of the ideas examined in the course. The videos are the primary medium the students used to archive the project. Part 2, the archive, allowed the class to explore the journey from action/art to archive/history. Following completion, the work, title, moved to Hasenstab Hall. Also check out carleton.edu/political-science-thought-and-action/





Photos by Eric Yuan '25

OFF CAMPUS STUDY, SPRING TERM EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE

By Professor Mihaela Czobor-Lupp



We were 13, a very small group, my students and myself: the 2023 (Spring Term) version of my Off Campus Studies Program, *Xenophobia and Nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe*. We traveled a lot together, through several countries, changing several buses, in torrential rain, in the torrid sun, over mountains, serpentines, and deep valleys with refreshing rivers. We really became a small traveling society. We bonded and came to know each other, sharing the exhausting, at times, long driving days, crammed in a bus, but also tasting together the delights of

discovering new places and of meeting people who proved to be amazingly kind, hospitable people with fascinating life stories, people who were so skilled in their ability to bring us into their stories of suffering, beauty, and hope.

My program almost did not happen. Cancelled in 2021, the memory of its 2018 experience was (almost) lost. I mean the living memory that is passed from one generation to another. Memory, indeed, is one of the main topics of my program: the importance and difficulty of memory, both individual and collective. I will never forget, never, our days in Mostar, a city in Bosnia and Herzegovina, tucked between the mountains, but enriched and magnified by the tumultuous waters of Neretva, a river as blue and green as the sky and the blossoming grass of spring embracing each other, a city of many bridges, as the whole country is.

We met Dragan Markovina, a Croatian historian, on a rainy day, in the Spanish Square in Mostar. A tall, dark-haired man, in his early forties, shy or rather a bit reserved, like a bear who does not quite know what to do with himself when surrounded by so many people, Dragan conquered our souls and hearts in the first 10 minutes or so of his talk, despite his not very good English. He was 12 years old when the war started in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Coming from a mixed background, as everyone does in the Balkans, Muslim/Bosniak and Croatian/Christian, Dragan's family left the country for Zagreb, in Croatia, when the war started in 1992. After the war, he decided to return to Mostar. Since then, he lives between Split, in Croatia, and Mostar, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a border crosser, a ferryman between two worlds, two cultures.

Like so many people in the Balkans who experienced the war in former Yugoslavia, Dragan never came to terms with the suffering and the destruction this caused. This proved to be an impossible bridge for him to cross. Though he tries every day. Perhaps, this is the Sisyphean work of memory: the endless, meaningful, and so empowering attempt to look the (human) beast into its eyes and still not lose love for it and hope for its future.

Dragan keeps going back in time, retrieving memories and stories, and telling them again and again. He keeps walking through Mostar, his native city, hiking on its surrounding hills, to the Serbian cemetery, where his ancestors are buried and from where the Serbian snippers sent death down to the people in Mostar during the war.

He goes to the, now in ruin, Partisan Monument, which commemorates the fight against the German occupiers in WWII. He just published a book about the partisan fight during WWII in former Yugoslavia, a time when people succeeded in building solidarity across ethnic lines. He is happy to show his city to people like us, outsiders, travelers. As he told me, it helps him to see the beauty in his city. The gaze of the other brings life back into his beloved Mostar.

Dragan is, in so many ways, a typically Balkan character, a hero in a story that we kept hearing through our travels through Romania, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, a story of centuries of living together across religions and cultures, a story of common suffering, and still also a story of ethnic divides, conflicts, and even gruesome genocide(s). I cannot stop from invoking here Ivo Andrić's novel, The Bridge on the River Drina, which tells a Balkan(er) story. It is the story of the bridge over Drina River, built in 1571 by the Grand Vezir, Mehmed Sokollu a Serbian who converted to Islam, in Višegrad, a town on the border between Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he, as Andrić, was born.

Andrić's story is about the power of life that somehow always succeeds to crystallize its gems of happiness and beauty, despite all the violence and the destruction brought about by narrow minded nationalistic discourses and ideologies, which are, sadly, gaining ground these days again. It is this power of life that we saw at work, in Mostar and Sarajevo, but also in Serbia and Romania. And this was one of the most moving and penetrating lessons that both my students and I learned from our common travels and experiences in the Spring of 2023. Human beings have the tremendous healing ability to remember suffering and the wounds that caused it, and still affirm life, despite the setbacks of wars and despite the political stupidity of their elites and leaders.



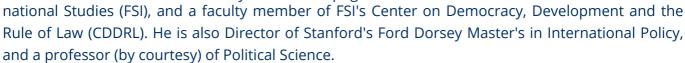
Belgrade, Saint Sava

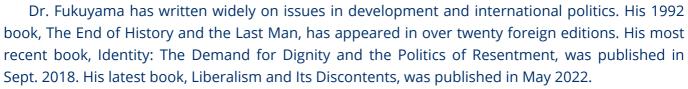
LOOKING AHEAD FOR A MOMENT

The Carleton College Convocations program is a weekly lecture series that brings fresh insights and perspectives from experts in a variety of fields, to stimulate thought and conversation on a wide range of subjects. Weekly convocations take place Fridays at 10:50 a.m. in Skinner Memorial Chapel.

We are excited to welcome Dr. Francis Fukuyama, American political scientist, political economist, international relations scholar, and writer. He will be here for convocation events on January 26, 2024.

From Stanford University: "Francis Fukuyama is the Olivier Nomellini Senior Fellow at Stanford University's Freeman Spogli Institute for Inter-



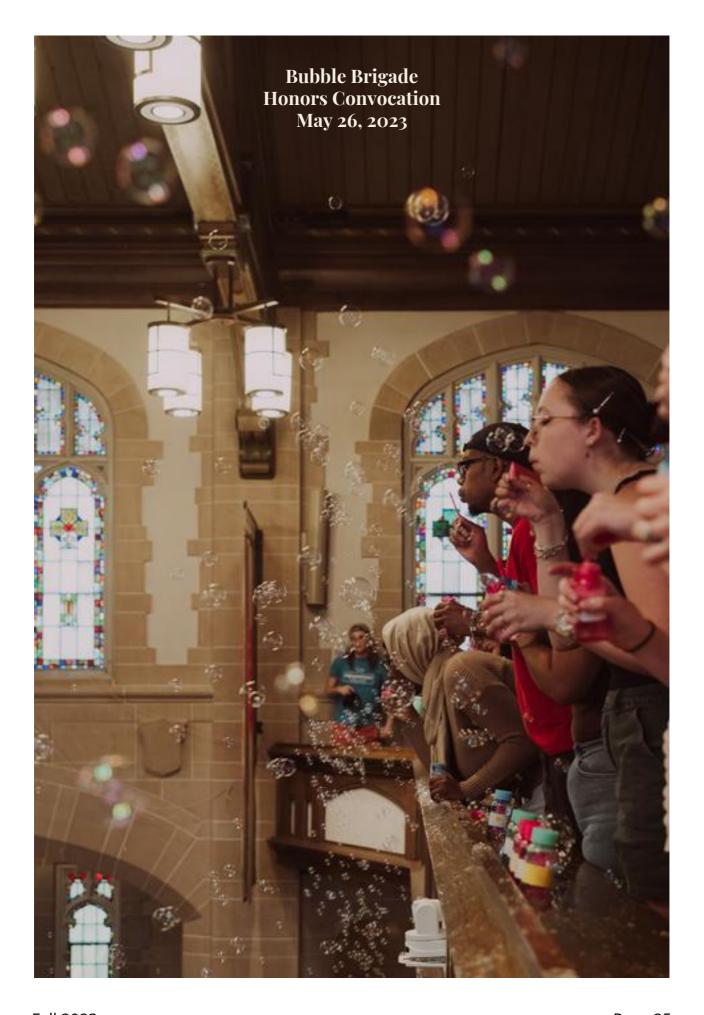


Francis Fukuyama received his B.A. from Cornell University in classics, and his Ph.D. from Harvard in Political Science. He was a member of the Political Science Department of the RAND Corporation, and of the Policy Planning Staff of the US Department of State. From 1996-2000 he was Omer L. and Nancy Hirst Professor of Public Policy at the School of Public Policy at George Mason University, and from 2001-2010 he was Bernard L. Schwartz Professor of International Political Economy at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University. He served as a member of the President's Council on Bioethics from 2001-2004.

Dr. Fukuyama holds honorary doctorates from Connecticut College, Doane College, Doshisha University (Japan), Kansai University (Japan), Aarhus University (Denmark), and the Pardee Rand Graduate School. He is a non-resident fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and at the Center for Global Development. He is also a member of the Board of Trustees of the Rand Corporation, the Board of Governors of the Pardee Rand Graduate School and the Volcker Alliance, and a member of the American Political Science Association and the Council on Foreign Relations."

By Francis Fukuyama

The End of History and the Last Man
Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity
Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution
The Origins of Political Order
Political Order and Political Decay



Distinctions in Integrative Exercises (Comps)



Jancyn Appel
An Investigation of the
Constitutionality of Racialized
Policies through the Lens of
Thurgood Marshall's Supreme
Court Opinions



Bjorn Holtey
Considering the Court: A
Content Analysis of Online News
Coverage of the Supreme Court
and the Overturning of Roe v.
Wade



Juliana Bachulis
Xi's China and Trong's Vietnam
- The Emergence of Populism in
the Authoritarian Context



Aashutosha Lele Revolutionary Peasant Movements: A Comparative Study of the Zapatistas and Naxalites



Jeff Elias
The People Want The Fall of The
Regime: Political Protest and
Populist Fallout in Iraq and
Lebanon



Becca Riess
Why Some Americans Trust
Their Government More Than
Others: An Analysis of the
Impact of Partisanship, Race,
and Education on Political Trust
in 2012 and 2020



Avi Faber
Who Defends Democracies in
Crisis? Discerning How Groups
Advocating Electoral Reform
React to Democratic Backsliding



Mikhalina Solakhava
Por las Familias y la
Revolución, #CóDigoSí:
Imagining the National Family
in Cuba



Emma Freedman
Academic: The Legal
Struggle to Apply Academic
Freedom to Digital
Scholarship



Julian White-Davis
Dwelling in America



MORTAR BOARD

NATIONAL COLLEGE SENIOR HONOR SOCIETY



Jancyn Appel '23



Bjorn Holtey '23



Hana Horiuchi '23



Rekiyat Agboola '24



Quinn Buhman '24



Roderick Liu '24



Sandy Ramirez '24



Hala Shabaita '24



Brayden Stark '24



Mariam Zewdu '24

Mortar Board is a national honor society that recognizes students who have combined distinguished scholarship, leadership, and service to their colleagues and College Community.



The PHI BETA KAPPA Society



Juliana Bachulis '23



Avi Faber '23



Emma Freedman '23



Bjorn Holtey '23



Emmett Lefkowitz '23



Sadie Ray Smith '23



Mikhalina Solkhava '23

Phi Beta Kappa is national honorary scholastic fraternity founded in 1776. The Carleton chapter was established in 1913 and elects its membership from students who rank in the highest 15 percent of their graduating class and meet other prescribed criteria.





Emmett Lefkowitz '23



Mikhalina Solakhava '23

The **Fulbright U.S. Student Program** awards fellowships to college seniors and recent graduates to pursue independent research, graduate study, or English teaching in over 160 different countries around the world. Funded jointly by the U.S. Department of State and host countries, it is the world's largest educational and cultural exchange program.



Julian White-Davis '23

Established in 1968 to enable college graduates of unusual promise to engage in a postgraduate year of independent study and travel abroad, the **Thomas J. Watson Fellowship** is administered in cooperation with 50 outstanding private colleges and universities throughout the U.S. Selection of fellows is based on such qualities as integrity, imagination, strong ethical character, intelligence, capacity of leadership, potential for creative achievement, excellence within a chosen field, and humane and effective participation in the world community. The participating institutions submit nominations to the foundation, and after careful review of the qualities of the candidates and their proposed project, a maximum of 50 Watson Fellows are named each year.

Victoria Kindall '25

The **David Maitland - Robert Will Prize** honors Professor David J. Maitland and Professor Robert E. Will '50, and recognizes qualities important in defining a Carleton education - in this instance, involvement in one's community. It is awarded to students who are completing their sophomore year and have shown the greatest capacity for transforming their community through service.





Teagan Klinkner '24

The Lee Sigelman Prize honors Professor os Political Science Lee Sigelman, who graduated from Carleton in 1967 and served as the editor -in-chief of the American Political Science Review from 2001-2007. The prize recognizes the best paper written by a junior political science major.



The Independent Research Fellowships are awarded to enable qualified students to carry out independent research activities in any field taught at the College or to undertake projects in the creative and performing arts.





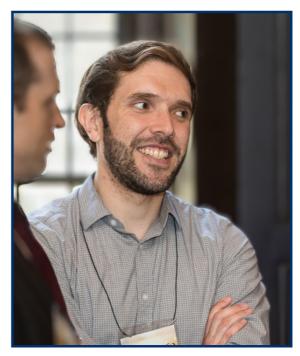
George Lefkowicz '25

The Larson International Fellowship was established in 1986 by Robert Larson '56, John Larson '60, and David Larson '63 in memory of their parents, Frances W. and Eugene Larson, who had a deep interest in Carleton and were champions of international understanding and involvement. The fellowship fund enables students with leadership promise to have a significant international summer experience.

A Fond Farewell: Juan Diego Prieto

After two years, Juan Diego Prieto, who was the Robert A. Oden Jr. Postdoctoral Fellow for Innovation in the Liberal Arts and Political Science, is off to a new tenure-track job at SUNY-Cortland. Juan Diego joined our department in fall 2021. He came highly recommended by his mentors at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and his colleagues at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, Colombia. At Carleton, Juan Diego taught several courses while working on his research program on how nonstate actors play crucial roles in shaping public policy in subnational economies.

Juan Diego taught Latin American Politics, the introduction to comparative politics (Democracy and Dictatorship), a middle-division course on Contemporary Capitalisms, and an advanced seminar on Social Welfare in a Time of Crisis.



Juan Diego's primary research program, which is based on several years of careful fieldwork in Colombia and other Latin American countries, focuses on the actions of nonstate actors in "economic hot spots" - locations dominated by singular sectors or industries. Using meticulously done field work, Juan Diego demonstrates that nonstate actors play a central role in targeting recipients of these policies, even when program designs fail to use community-based targeting. His research shows that informal practices, such as clientelism, are not incompatible with programmatic distribution. Even clientelistic brokers can coproduce programmatic social policy targeting. The research demonstrates powerfully how nonstate actors can shore up state weaknesses to deliver social services.

While at Carleton, Juan Diego contributed to our Latin American Studies program, co-coordinating the latest Foro Latinoamericano in spring 2023 on Latin American labor. He was also a crucial collaborator with Al Montero in the organization of the annual Gary Wynia Memorial Lecture and numerous convocation and regular guest speaker events.

This summer, Juan Diego's paper "State Patching: What Emergency Social Transfers in Brazil and Colombia Can Teach Us About State Capacity and Performance" was awarded the **Best Paper Prize** at the 2023 REPAL (Red para el Estudio de la Economía Política de América Latina) Conference in Quito, Equador.

Even as we are happy for Juan Diego as he begins his new job at SUNY-Cortland, he will be greatly missed by his colleagues and students here at Carleton. We wish him all of the best! //

A Note from Juan Diego

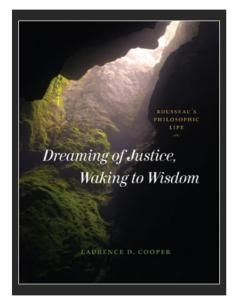
"I am deeply grateful to the entire Carleton community for these two wonderful years. I will miss the many brilliant students I met and worked with, my colleagues' kindness, generous support, and baked goods (Dev!), and the many bunnies frolicking around campus. But I know this isn't really goodbye but just 'hasta luego' ("until later")!"



In 2022, Barbara Allen returned to campus from the University of Luxembourg where she was a Fulbright Scholar teaching courses on institutional analysis and development and political communication. Her courses included POSC214 Visual Representations of Political Thought and Action, where she and her students worked with artists-in-residence Jesse Willenbring and Bevin Mcnamara on a collaborative artwork, Oppression Destruction Passion Hope, recently installed in Hasenstab Hall. She also continued her research with students analyzing news coverage of U.S. elections from 2000 through 2016. The research group added studies of media coverage of the protests following the murder of George Floyd and the trial of Derek Chauvin to their collaborations. They will present two papers at the 2023 Annual Conference of the Political Studies Elections, Public Opinion and Parties specialist group at the University of Southampton, UK.



Professor Allen presented several other research talks in 2022, including: "Misinformation and Democratic Decline in the United States" presented for the University of Leuven American Studies Center; "Ideas and Institutions: The Epistemology of the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework with a focus on Language, Information Framing, and Policy Analysis," Ostrom Workshop 50th anniversary of the Workshop Colloquium Series, Indiana University; "Misinformation and Disinformation in US News Coverage of the George Floyd Murder Protests," Fulbright Commission, Race and Identity Discussion Group Brussels, Belgium; "News Media and Misinformation," Carleton College Political Science Department; News Media and the January 6, 2021 Insurrection, University of Luxembourg; and "comment and discussion" in Race and Community Building in the EU, a workshop presented by the University of Luxembourg. (Photo: at the Statua di Karl Marx in Trier, Germany)



Laurence Cooper published his most recent book, Dreaming of Justice, Waking to Wisdom: Rousseau's Philosophical Life in March. It reveals what could be thought of as the capstone of Rousseau's thought, even if that capstone has been nearly invisible to readers.

Prof Cooper gave an invited talk in December at Duke University, and in April was a panelist at 'Mercer University's A.V. Elliott Conference on Great Books and Ideas,' where he gave a talk on 'The Philosopher as Natural Man."



Last academic year, **Mihaela Czobor-Lupp** attended two conferences. At the Annual Meeting of the Association for Political Theory (held at the University of Houston in October 2022) she presented a paper entitled, *The Moderate Cosmopolitanism of Tzvetan Todorov*. In March 2023, she attended a conference at Bard College on Judgment, Pluralism, and Democracy: On the Desirability of Speaking with Others. Here she presented a paper written in collaboration with one of her former students, Noah Rosenfield. The paper was entitled *Hannah Arendt and Mihail Sebastian: Friendship and the Activity of Thinking*. Also, for the first two terms of the last academic year Prof. Czobor-Lupp was a fellow in the Faculty Research Seminar sponsored by the Humanities Center at Carleton College.

The theme of the seminar was Variations on Sovereignty. My research topic was on Tzvetan Todorov and the idea of living as a go-between, at home between cultures. In the Spring Term of the last academic year, she led her Off Campus Studies Program, Xenophobia and Nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe, which took place in Romania, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. She is currently finalizing a paper entitled Undoing 'East' and 'West' in Orhan Pamuk's Novels and the Idea of Europe. Happily, after nine years of continuous teaching, she is looking forward to a sabbatical leave in the academic year 2023-2024 and to the many projects that are waiting to be either finalized or launched. (Photo: In un ristorante in Barga, Italy.)

Political Behavior https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-022-09834-x

ORIGINAL PAPER

'American' is the Eye of the Beholder: American Identity, Racial Sorting, and Affective Polarization among White

Ryan Dawkins 10 - Abigail Hanson

Accepted: 7 November 2022

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Abstract

White Americans are more affectively polarized today than at any point since at least the 1870s—and the trend shows no sign of abating any time soon. Recent work using the Common In-group Identity Model (CIIM) suggests that appealing to a super-ordinate identity—in this case, American national identity—holds the potential of bridging the social distance between partisans (Levendusky, 2018). However, CIIM assumes that the normative content—ic. the norms and stereo-types—that people associate with being an American are the same across subordinate groups. Using the 2016 and 2020 American National Election Studies cross-sectional surveys, as well as the 2016–2020 AMES panel survey, we demonstrate three key findings. First, White Democrats and White Republicans have systematically different ideas about what attributes are essential to being a member of the national community. Second, the association between partisanship and these competing conceptions of American identity among White Americans has gotten stronger during the Trump Era, largely because of Democrats adopting a more racially inclusive conception of American identity. Lastly, appeals to American identity only dampen out-partisan animosity when the demographic composition of the opposing party matches their racialized conception of American identity. When there is a mismatch between people's racialized conception of American identity when the composition of the opposition party, American identity is associated with higher levels of partisan hostility.

Keywords American identity - Affective polarization - Political identity - Public opinion - Race and ethnicity - Political psychology

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Extended author information available on the last page of the article

Published online: 04 December 2022



Ryan Dawkins continues to push forward his research agenda on multiple fronts. With respect to his work on identity politics, he has published two papers in the journal Political Behavior. The first paper explores partisan differences in conceptions of American national identity and the way in which the Trump era has deepened these differences and has aggravated partisan tensions as a result. Similarly, Prof. Dawkins' second paper, which was accepted to publication in August, explores the connection between racial attitudes and a person's place-based identity. In particular, he shows that non-rural identifying White Americans tend to express higher levels of rural resentment—that is, the belief that rural Americans are being mistreated by urban and government elites—not because they embrace a rural identity, but because it reflects a form of White grievance politics stemming from the belief that the stereotypical rural resident is a White American suffering from relative deprivation at the hands of government officials who privilege non-white (and nonrural) constituents over them. Again, this paper sheds

new light on how the racial coalition politics of the Trump era has further aggravated the rural-urban divide and how the rural-urban divide has fed racial tensions. Moreover, Prof. Dawkins continues his research in congressional representation, both in terms of his book project on asymmetrical representation in Congress and in a new paper he has prepared for publication that explores the role that emotions play in Congressional representation. He and his co-author refer to it as their "vibes' theory of politics."

Christina Farhart was promoted to associate professor with tenure, while developing new classes and working with her research assistants and coauthors to produce peer-reviewed research tackling contemporary questions related to the spread and belief of COVID-19 misinformation and conspiracy theories, vaccine hesitancy, and the democratic consequences of election denial. Publications appear in a range of journals including *Political Behavior*, *Research and Politics, The Journal of Experimental Political Science, The Forum*, and *Applied Cognitive Psychology*. She also co-edited a special issue on 'Political Misinformation in the Digital Age During a Pandemic' for the journal *Frontiers in Political Science*. Additionally, she and Economics professor Ethan Struby have been working with research assistants on their project to unpack the complexity behind inflation misperceptions.

complexity behind inflation misperceptions.

This summer, Prof. Farhart was honored to serve as the keynote speaker for the Humphrey Policy Fellows Big Think program at the University of Minnesota. She has also enjoyed spending time with fantastic hosts via radio and podcasts, including NPR Connections with Evan Dawson, KYMN Public Policy This Week, and podcast Wrong about Everything. Her work research has been covered in a handful of media sources, but most recently was discussed in a PsyPost article published this last August. While she continues to chip away at her research, she will also be on parental leave this coming fall, but is excited to return to

campus in 2024. (Photos: Goodest boy and soon-to-be big brother Bartlet)





Summer Forester, who was on sabbatical for 2022-2023, traveled to Jordan to conduct research for her book on international politics and gender justice in the Middle East. While in Jordan, she interviewed feminist activists, policymakers, and women's rights practitioners and collected archival data at different sites in the country. Summer also presented her research on conflict and feminist activism at the European Conference on Politics and Gender in Ljubljana, Slovenia, and shared her research on agentic learning and simulations at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association in St. Pete Beach, FL. Her solo-authored work was published in Gender and Development, and her co-authored papers were published in International Studies Quarterly and Women's Studies International Forum. (Photo: Overlooking Amman, Jordan)



Over the summer, **Huan Gao** began a new project that investigates local governance and the relationships between grassroots government representatives and the residents with collaborators in China. A team of graduate student researchers visited a dozen different neighborhoods across three Chinese cities to conduct surveys and interviews with residents and those who with in grassroots administration roles. The team collected 270 surveys with residents and more than 40 interviews with local administration staff members. A Carleton POSC student was also able to participate in this research project and contribute to collecting and processing data. Huan looks forward to putting together articles using this data to answer important questions about the evolution of local governance throughout the covid-19 crisis and deepen our understanding of state-society relations in China. (Photo: conducting interviews in China)





In Academic Year 2022-23, **Dev Gupta** spent much of her time on service activities, serving as faculty president and also on the strategic plan coordinating committee. In addition, she served on the US Fulbright selection committee for Scholarship proposals involving Ireland. Prof Gupta spent some time this summer doing fieldwork in Northern Ireland for a research project on the evolution of the political parties on the topic of representation/inclusion of minority ethnic communities, and continued work (with Max Serota, '25) on populist discourse surrounding the Eurovision Song Contest. (Photo: Dev at the "border" Vilnius Uzupio, and a self-declared autonomous republic, which is more of a performance art piece than a real political statement).

Over the summer **Adam Lê** has been conducting interviews for his dissertation and attending community-led protests and gatherings to show solidarity for marginalized communities and individuals. He has also been writing a report for a program evaluation that he co-conducted over the last year in hopes that the different stakeholders involved in college-in-prison programs are ultimately able to support and enhance the student experience across different Minnesota correctional facilities. (Photos: summer at the cabin.)







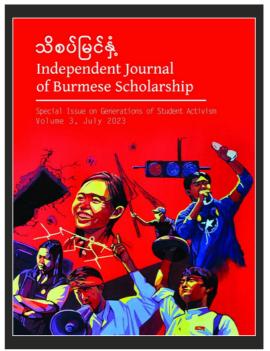
Greg Marfleet recently published a chapter "Students as consumers and producers: the research methods course and information literacy" in the volume *Teaching Undergraduate Political Methodology*. His current work involves using the natural language processing capabilities of AI (chatGPT) to analyze the evolving definition of security articulated in the top-level defense and strategy documents of countries around the world. (Photo: Finding Northfield, Massachusetts.)



Al Montero continues to conduct research on political polarization and populism in South America. He engaged in exploratory research focused on Néstor and Cristina Kirchner's governments in Argentina (2003-2015) in October 2022 and July 2023. Prof. Montero also attended the International Political Science Association meetings in Buenos Aires, July 15-19. With the help of his research assistant, Mitch Porter '25, he is constructing a new database on the performance of populist governments in Latin America. In the 2023-24 academic year, Prof. Montero will conduct new field work in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay during the winter and spring trimesters and the summer of 2024. (Photo: in front of La Casa Rosada -- the Argentine presidential palace, in Plaza de Mayo, July, 2023.)



Faculty & Research Updates



Tun Myint edited the second and third issues of the Independent Journal Burmese Scholarship (https://ijbs.online/), which he and 11 other colleagues who specialize in Southeast Asia and Burma co-founded. IJBS is the only peer-reviewed academic journal that publishes in both Burmese and English. The second issue, published in March 2023, considered the role of journalism in reporting the military coup and democracy movement in Burma titled, "Special Issue on Journalism: The Inside Scoop After the Coup." The third issue, published in July 2023, is titled "Special Issue on Generations of Student Activism." All three issues analyze how the crisis in Myanmar represents a global threat to democracy, as the military coup or insurrection has been normalized to nullify election outcomes. All the issues are downloadable. In addition to editing the IJBS issues, Prof. Myint published a peer-reviewed article

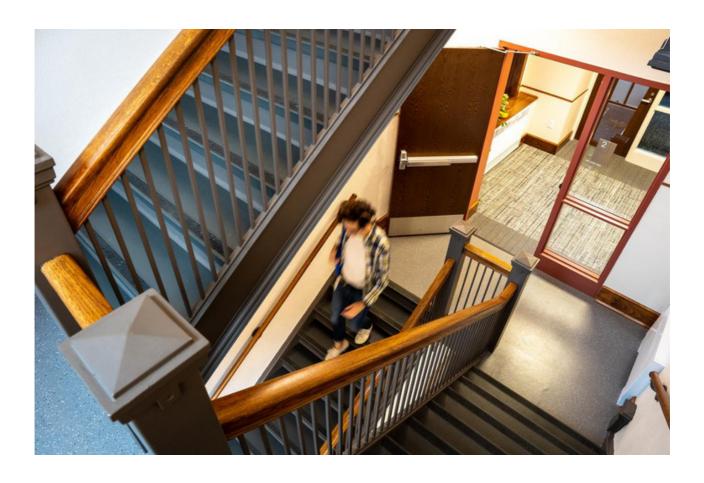
titled "The Necessity of a Polycentric Federal Democracy in Myanmar" in the International Journal of Public Theology, which is well-read by ethnic scholars of Burma/Myanmar and Southeast Asia. He has been active as a public scholar with the Democratic Voice of Burma, where he appears regularly on talk shows and interviews commenting on the ongoing political crisis in Burma/Myanmar.

This spring and summer **Steve Poskanzer** has been giving talks on the Supreme Court's affirmative action cases, describing not just the actual decisions in the cases but their likely impact on higher education. He is also writing his second book. This one considers when colleges and universities should or should not take formal institutional stances on political, economic, moral, and social issues.

Prof. Poskanzer has spent time this past year as chair of the board of ITHAKA, a nonprofit corporation that supports the technology needs of faculty, researchers, and students. ITHAKA runs the JSTOR research service, Portico preservation service, and other programs for higher education. He also sits on the boards of the Mohonk Mountain House Hotel and the Schuler Educational Foundation. (Photo: Cheering on the MN Twins this summer.)



carleton.edu/political-science/



"What good is an idea if it remains an idea?

Try.

Experiment.

Iterate.

Fail.

Try again.

Change the world."

Quote by Simon Sinek Photo by Harry Pound

In late June, we asked alumni to update us on their lives.

Here is what some of them had to say.

Joanne (Febel) Tharin '54: My husband passed away several years ago. I live at Freedom Village and participate in exercise classes. There is a pool and I participate in water aerobics three times a week. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, I participate in chair exercise. I play bridge several times a week and also am in a wine group.

Paul Hess '75: Married to Nina Kopach '76. Two daughters, Sara and Amanda Hess, also graduates of Carleton. Retired 2016 as Executive Officer of two healthcare companies in New England. Graduated William Mitchell College of Law 1983.

Walter Kuntz '77: Retired from financial services industry in 2020. Still married to Esther (St. Olaf, '76). Moved in 2021 from Chicago suburbs to Baltimore to be closer to kids/extended family. Every day is an adventure in Baltimore!

Bob Vogel '77: I am retired as the Director of Governmental Relations for the Montana School Boards Association. We recently celebrated the graduation of our oldest granddaughter from high school with a cruise to Alaska. We are enjoying retirement!

Charles Hayden '78: I have been a Judge on the Philadelphia Municipal Court, which traces its origins to 1682, for fourteen (14) years. On June 14, 2023, I was recognized by the Legal Intelligencer publication for Professional Excellence in Pennsylvania. Most importantly, my two adult children, Charles and Adia, came from Boston and Chicago to celebrate the moment with us.

Tom Ditty '80: Semi-retired. Working at a local wine shop, tasting and teaching.

Dave Johnson '80: Had a great time across 20+ years of GC gigs in Silicon Valley. In parallel, I've been teaching (part-time, just a "Lecturer") at Stanford Law School and the Stanford Institute of Design ('d.school'). Loads of fun, I'd recommend the teaching side hustle if you can find it (but, know that it's a whole lot more hustle than pay). Recently finished a 2-year 'sabbatical' in Singapore, so my wife Rebekah could help kick open Stripe's entry into APAC. Taught some at NUS Law (amazing), and looking for other overseas law teaching if anyone has interest or a lead, hit me up please!

Lauri Rockne '80: I steward a half mile of woods along the Snake River for wildlife. Over the last 10 years the woods has become abundant with food for all wildlife and me. Mama Bear, Mama Otter, and the deer herd are my teachers. We continue to study the elements, climate changes here, and Ayurveda. I teach herbalism and have a booth at the local farmer's market with potions that heal. Most of my customers disagree with my politics, but value me as a member of the community and healer. Another name for voter is neighbor. It is a peaceful life after a career solving organizational conflict and creating workplace flow.

Lee Blons '82: I'm retiring this year after 20 years as the President of Beacon Interfaith Housing Collaborative, a non-profit organization that provides supportive housing for those coming out of homelessness and advocates for transformational investment in housing so that all people have a home. It's bittersweet to leave after so many years but I'm excited for a new chapter of adventure and learning.

Debra Carlson Wood '82: Life is wonderful and exciting! Once my three daughters were raised and launched, I spent two years in Qatar and five in Saudi Arabia. A funny thing happened on my way to my next post in Armenia, my first love from when I was a high school exchange student in Oaxaca, Mexico, and I reconnected courtesy of the net, and after a year and half decided to marry. I am presently (June 2023) working online as a high education consultant and a law professor for women in Saudi Arabia. As Victor winds down his medical practice, I am looking for opportunities to work in person literally any where in the world. We, of course, welcome Carls to visit us on Oaxaca where we have five bungalows for guests. My three daughters are happily working in Florida (2) and Melbourne, AU (1). They all inherited my travel bug and travel extensively.

Patti DeFazio '82: I am recently retired and loving it! I kicked off my retirement with a trip to Sicily and Naples (Pompeii has been on my bucket list for years!) and will be headed to Egypt this fall. I'm also catching up on projects around the house, spending more time with family, and working on my art. And there is much more to come....

Anita Stolarow '82: Beginning to consider retirement.

Stephen Booth '84: Just completed teaching summer school for elementary at the school where I've taught the past 30 years. Looking forward to the BWCA and hiking Pictured Rocks in the UP.

Peter Davidson '84: Nearing my third anniversary as Head of Global Government Affairs at Intelsat following my stint as Deputy Dean at Scalia Law School at George Mason University in northern Virginia. Using my Carleton PoliSci/IR skills every day!

Jennifer Sosin '84: After a career in political campaigns followed by communications research and strategy, I am now retired. I spend my time serving on non-profit Boards, providing pro-bono support in strategic planning, leading wine tasting events, traveling, and digging back into all the hobbies I had little time for while working – making art, singing in a choir, reading books, and, of course, like everyone else my age, playing Pickleball.

Susan Olson '86: I'm an investment advisor and CFP® at Abacus, a firm specializing in values-aligned investing. But more importantly, my last kid just got married. It feels really different to have your children married off and living their own lives. My husband and I also moved into our town-proper and now we walk everywhere – it feels like a great shift to just spontaneously decide to go out to eat, hear live music, and just walk 5 minutes to get there. We are also looking forward to doing our second Carleton Alumni Adventures trip to see the eclipse in Mexico next year.

Reid Mackin '87: Returned from a twice-Covid-postponed trip to Spain. My previous international trip was to Israel in January, 2020.

Elissa McBride '87: I am in my second term in an elected leadership role (Secretary-Treasurer) of a national union, AFSCME (the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees). The Carleton Political Science department first connected me with AFSCME when I was writing my senior thesis. Paul Wellstone was my advisor and he introduced me to the leadership of AFSCME in Minnesota, which had advocated for and recently won a pay equity bill in the state. I have worked in the labor movement for the past 30+ years, most of that time in AFSCME.

Cynthia (Barrett) Bremer '90: I am married with two sons, ages 14 and 11. We are super busy with tons of sports and other activities. I'm an attorney with Ogletree Deakins. I am the former managing shareholder of the Minneapolis office. After almost 13 years in that role, I transitioned to co-chair of our healthcare industry group. I also serve on the firm's Diversity and Inclusion Steering Committee among other leadership roles.

John Spear '90: Anders Nelson and I remain happily married after 33 years together. We just bought a house on the northern Sonoma coast and will be moving there soon from our longtime haunt in San Francisco. Anders is an attorney (permanently remote -- lucky him), and I'm still hanging my hat at the Hotel Drisco after 13 years managing the property. Retirement is on the horizon somewhere, but the details elude us as yet. Crazy trips to remote parts of the globe continue to be our principal hobby.

Jessica Askew '92: I'll be starting my 22nd year teaching social studies at Andover High School (Minnesota) including AP and regular US Politics and Government. On a recent trip to DC, I stayed at the Capitol Hill Hotel—the same hotel we lived in for the Carleton-in-DC off-campus study program in 1990–1991. I can report that the cheap burrito place just around the corner from the hotel where we maximized our meal allowances is still open!

Bill McGeveran '92: After serving on the faculty of the University of Minnesota Law School since 2006, I will become the interim dean for the 2023–2024 academic year. Our previous dean was just inaugurated as the new president of Bates College (yay for small liberal arts colleges!).

Vishant Shah '94: After three years of the end of the world, my family and I traveled to San Diego and Orlando in 2022. This year we traveled to Washington DC and San Francisco. I am raising a Tony Hawk wanna-be, so also visited CItyWalk in Birmingham to checkout one of the largest skateparks in the South. We are hoping to visit even larger skateparks in Springfield, MO and Des Moines, IA before school starts. This summer, I will start a new position as the Chief Data Officer for the Office of District Attorney General Steve Mulroy for Shelby County & the Thirtieth Judicial District in Memphis, Tennessee.

Aaron Spitzer '95: In 2022 became an associate professor (focusing on Arctic governance) in the Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen, Norway.

Jeanne Briggs '96: It's been a few years of hunkering down at home during the pandemic, during which my husband and I bought our first home in the suburbs of Washington DC, adopted a sweet little dog, spent as much time as possible with family and friends, and (mostly) maintained our health and sanity. Now we are preparing to go back out into the world again, my work with USAID will take us to Africa for a few years to manage democracy and governance programs in Malawi. We're looking forward to our next new adventure!

Christian Lee '98: After spending five years at WeWork, three of them in Shanghai launching the business across Asia (China, India, Singapore, Korea, and Japan), we (my wife and two boys) moved back to the U.S. in 2020. I have recently joined a new company called Mint House as CEO. Mint House provides flexible rental (1 night up to several months) in residential apartment buildings in 15 cities across the US. We are focused on the domestic market for now, but exploring international expansion in the next few years. Had a great time at 1998's 25th reunion seeing so many friends and making new ones as well! It was so neat to get to show the boys the Roy Grow classroom and tell them all about what a huge impact he had on me and so many of us.

Michelle (Giacobbe) Allendoerfer '01: After 11 years teaching at George Washington University, I started working at the American Political Science Association in July 2021 as the Senior Director of Teaching and Learning. I still credit my fantastic professors at Carleton for my love of both political science and teaching and learning.

Lauren (Janus) Mack '01: After spending almost eight years in the UK, our family moved back to Evanston, IL right at the start of COVID. Our two boys, ages 6 and 10 are loving American life, and we really enjoy being back in the midwest. Alex ('01) works as a data scientist from our basement, while I work two floors up as a senior philanthropic advisor for Phila Engaged Giving. We're living the active family life with regular bike rides, swim team carpool duty and trips to explore the greater Chicago area.

Tyler Rogstad '01: After a three-year stint in COVID-era Shanghai, China, my children have relocated to Minneapolis for their mother's turn with them and I am in Doha, Qatar working on a State Department program to process Afghan refugees and Special Immigrant Visa holders onward to the U.S.

Joel Schlosser '03: I met and collaborated with Yuki Nagaoka (Political Science, '22) in Sitka, Alaska this summer, where we were both part of a summer seminar at Outer Coast, a nascent postsecondary institution with transformative, immersive, and self-governance model of education. This was my second summer in Sitka and it's thrilling to help to build a new college with extraordinary colleagues like Yuki!

Jesse Lamarre-Vincent '04: Jesse is currently working as a Senior Analyst at the Government Accountability Office. He lives in Maine with his beautiful wife and two young kids on 5 acres in a home built in 1791. In his free time he is working with his towns Sustainability committee and developing a town orchard. At home he has planted over 100 fruit and nut trees on his property, turning his once boring lawn/field into an abundant food forest and wildlife refuge.

Jamie Long '04: Jamie was elected Majority Leader of the MN House this year.

Jeremy Sanchez '05: I have recently started a new role as Chief Compliance Officer of 24 Exchange, a foreign exchange trading platform looking to register as a US stock exchange in the near future.

Elizabeth 'Lizzie' Morris 'o5: I just moved back to Minnesota after graduating from Carleton over 18 years ago this summer. I am living close to Minneapolis while my husband finishes his PHD in clinical psychology at University of Minnesota. We met in graduate school at Harvard Divinity School studying Buddhism and hospital chaplaincy. We now have one daughter who is about to turn 5. I now have a private psychotherapy practice with a focus on trauma resiliency, mindfulness practices, EMDR, and end-of-life care planning. I also am completing a teacher training in Kum Nye yoga, a form of Tibetan Yoga to support stress reduction and relaxation for groups online and in person near the Twin Cities. I hope to spend more time on Carleton's campus now that I'm back in the area!

Morgan (Weiland) Nordholm 'o6: Cameron Nordholm ('o6) and I welcomed our second child, Poppy Evans Nordholm, in February. She is thriving. River, now three, is flourishing in his new role as a big brother. I am continuing as Executive Director of the Stanford Constitutional Law Center at Stanford Law School while completing my PhD in Communication. Earlier this year, I published an article in the Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities, "First Amendment Metaphors: The Death of the 'Marketplace of Ideas' and the Rise of the Post-Truth 'Free Flow of Information'", along with a related op-ed in the San Francisco Chronicle, "Elon Musk's libertarian 'information flow' ideology is going to drown us all."

Jon Eichten '07: Since late 2018, I have been serving as the Deputy Commissioner for the State of Minnesota's consolidated IT services department - Minnesota IT Services. The last few years have been consumed by the State's pandemic response efforts and all of the IT needs associated with that response on the public health and economic security fronts. With the historic investments made by the Minnesota Legislature this year, I am looking forward to taking on IT implementation efforts for new programs such as paid family medical leave, free school meals, and the creation of a new Department of Children, Youth and Families.

Nathan Kennedy '07: I've been working in international NGOs managing humanitarian and development projects. I recently was Program Director for GOAL (an Irish NGO) in Sudan for four years, fortunately leaving in October 2022, long before the conflict between the RSF militia and Sudanese military. My time there was incredibly interesting, during which I learned a lot about organizational management & team leadership, working in context of chronic humanitarian need yet also transitioning to development work (during the now-interrupted political transition in Sudan), and also about setting my own boundaries to have a better work-life-family balance in an industry not known for it. Since then, I spent 6 months in Spain learning Spanish, and am currently in the US doing some remote support for other GOAL country offices.

Katherine (Knutson) Russell '07: I started as Senior Director of Advancement at Little Free Library in St. Paul, MN in September 2022. It has been a blast fundraising for this incredible organization focused on building community, inspiring readers, and increasing book access. There are over 165,000 Little Free Libraries around the world (as of June 2023)!

Natalie Sheneman '09: I am the advocacy manager for the Global Alliance for Surgical, Obstetric, Trauma and Anaesthesia Care (G4 Alliance), an 80-member civil society coalition advocating for universal access to quality, safe, timely and affordable care for surgical patients. I have the pleasure of working with another Carleton graduate Amb. Jimmy Kolker ('70), who is a member of our Board of Directors. I am living in Chicago with my husband Dan, 1.5-year-old Rainer, and two orange cats. Dan and Rainer traveled with me on work trips to Geneva, Switzerland (where they met WHO Director-General Dr. Tedros) and Dublin, Ireland in the past year—big trips for our little guy! We are excited to spend summer mostly in Chicago, tending to our new community garden plot.

Jeremy Girton '10: In the past year I got married to my wonderful husband, Reedy Swanson (sadly not a Carleton alumnus, but spiritually he would have fit in well). We live in Washington, D.C., where we are both attorneys. Last spring I started a new position working in the Office of the Attorney General for the District of Columbia and am loving the opportunity to help District residents and connect with our local community.

Kelsey Sloan '10: In 2022 I finished my dual MBA and MS in Sport Management at UMass Amherst, got married, and moved back to my home state of Maine. In early 2023 I joined Carleton grad Craig Jonas ('87) to lead the sport subsidiary of CoPeace, an impact investing and services B Corp, where we are helping socially and environmentally impactful companies in the sports world grow.

Jane Sturges '10: Married on May 20, 2023 to Elizabeth (Leska) Sturges, and went on our honeymoon to Greece, visiting Athens, Santorini, and Mykonos. She is an accountant at a real estate firm, and I am working at an accounting firm providing contracting and billing support. We live in South Minneapolis with our two orange cats, Toaster and Basil (pronounced the British way) and are planning to travel to Atlanta in September for DragonCon, as well. A busy year!

Trevor Hill '11: I moved to Boston and recently started a new job as Director of Capital Markets for Revolv, a full-service provider of electric medium-to-heavy duty commercial fleets. The company helps businesses with fleets of commercial vehicles transition to zero-emission electric vehicles. I've worked in the climate tech space since graduating from Carleton and I'm excited about the opportunity both professionally and because of the important role Revolv is playing in decarbonizing the transportation sector.

David Sacks '11: I am now a Fellow for Asia Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations and just published a Task Force Report on U.S.-Taiwan Relations, which was chaired by Admiral Mike Mullen, the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Sue Gordon, the former Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence (https://www.cfr.org/task-force-report/us-taiwan-relations-in-a-new-era).

Peter Duggins '13: Since 2015, I've been working on getting a Master and a PhD in Computational Neuroscience from the University of Waterloo. I finally finished in June 2023, and I am now looking for postdoc or faculty positions in the same field. I hope to study the neural and cognitive mechanisms that underlie social decision making using computational models, and eventually apply that knowledge to study large-scale social and political phenomenon. In my free time, I still play the drums, captain an ultimate frisbee team, go hiking and canoeing in the backcountry, and play video games.

Michael Massad Jr '14: My wife (**Katin Liphart Massad '17**) is also a Political Science major and we finally had our wedding celebration back in November of 2021. I was just named the Director of Admissions at the Humphrey School of Public Affairs, here at the University of Minnesota. We are the top graduate school of public affairs in the state and ranked in the top 10 nationally! I'd love for more POSC/IR and Public Policy Carls to join our ranks.

Emilia Calma '14: I work at the D.C. Policy Center, a think tank focused on D.C. city policy. We recently started putting together a housing pilot project that would create affordable housing in a new way, particularly for essential workers such as teachers and nurses. In more personal news, I hiked Machu Picchu last month with my mom as part of a charity challenge! It was beautiful and we raised about a month's worth of expenses for the Phoenix Projects – an organization that runs schools and sustainable income programs in indigenous communities in Peru, Guatemala, and Ecuador.

Marina Montgomery '15: Director of Political Affairs for Planned Parenthood of Greater New York.

Taylor Gee '16: I am graduating from UCLA Law next year and I am working in the LA County Public Defender's office this summer.

Jacob Frankel '17: I spend my days roasting, tasting, and selling coffees from around the world as a Specialty Coffee Trader at San Cristobal Coffee Importers in Washington State!

Katherine Miles '18: I worked for Mayor Lightfoot as a political finance associate until last year. I went to Northwestern University to obtain my master's in education and social policy, and now teach high school US history and psychology. I love it!! I also coach high school girls' basketball and volleyball.

Miko Zeldes-Roth '18: I am a PhD student in political theory at the University of Toronto! I just completed my second year, and I study the relationship between liberalism, racism, and settler-colonialism, with a particular focus on the U.S. and Israel/Palestine.

Andrew Biddison '19: In May 2023 I graduated Magna Cum Laude from the University of Minnesota Law School. After the Bar Exam I'm starting my practice at Lathrop GPM in Minneapolis in the Trust, Estates, and Legacy Planning department.

Shelby Jones '19: I started working at Slack about 9 months ago and I'm loving my job! I work on the Developer Enablement team, where we partner with 3rd party app developers to help them build apps to be published on Slack's App Directory. Slack is such a fun company to work for and I love what I do!

Mara Sybesma '19: I graduated from law school at the University of Minnesota and passed the bar last year, and just started working as a lawyer at the Office of the Minnesota Attorney General! It's great work, and I'm really excited about it. Please feel free to reach out to me if you have any questions about law school / legal practice in Minnesota (my contact info is in the Alumni directory) - I'm happy to chat!

Oliver Wolyniec '19: I recently left my job at an international development organization, Eurasia Foundation, in Washington, DC. There, I worked primarily on civil society- and media-focused projects centered on Russia. I'm currently in Almaty, Kazakhstan, participating in an intensive Russian language program, and this fall will begin a master's program in European & Russian Studies at Yale University.

Calle Erich '20: I recently quit my day job as a business strategy analyst to pursue my own small business. Last year I started a screen printing company with my brother and a friend of mine and I'm looking to grow the business and potentially return to grad school for my MBA in a year or two.

Adam Loew '20: I started a new role in December 2022 at Georgetown University's McDonough School of Business as the Assistant Director for Data Operations, Assessment, and Analysis!

Amber Zhang '20: I just finished my master in public policy.

Joshua Angevine '21: After wrapping up my Fulbright, I accepted a full time position at Ovative Group, a native Minnesotan company, as an analyst. On top of this, I've been finding ways to get involved in my community and give back to some of the organizations that have helped mold me into the person I am today through volunteering and donations.

Ishmael Ali Maxwell '21: I've just wrapped up my two-year Marshall Scholarship in the UK, completing an MA in Conflict Transformation at Queen's University Belfast and an MSc in Modern South Asian Studies at the University of Oxford. Following these degrees, I now plan to stay on in the UK for some time. Next month, I will be starting as an Analyst at Macro Advisory Partners, a leading geopolitical risk consultancy based in London.

Tuomas Sivula '21: I spent 2022 and 2023 learning to build fiberglass sculpture at a contractor that produces exhibits for children's museums across the country. Now, I'm packing my things to move to Helsinki, where I'll be attending a master's program in Urban Studies and Urban Planning.

Benjamin Takahashi-Willmore '22: I am currently working as a teacher in Himeji, Japan, but I am in the process of applying to PhD programs (sorry to say, not in Political Science but in Anthropology!).









SENIOR DINNER MAY 25, 2023

























Photos by ANTHOLOGIE

















Commencement June 10, 2023



"What gives me hope for our nation and for our future, Class of 2023, is that you already excel at this. You and your generation are fearless in looking at things the way they are, and demanding they be better... 34 years from now—when one of you is standing here telling the Class of 2057 about the world as it is and how it can and must be better—I have no doubt the world as it is then will be better than it is today. You are the generation, Carleton Class of 2023, [that can] bend the arc of the moral universe in the right direction... and I could not be more relieved." - Jonathan Capehart '89



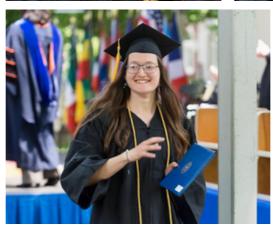


















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