New England Political Science Association

75ᵀᴴ ANNIVERSARY ANNUAL MEETING
NEWPORT HARBOR ISLAND RESORT
**NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND**
APRIL 18-20, 2024

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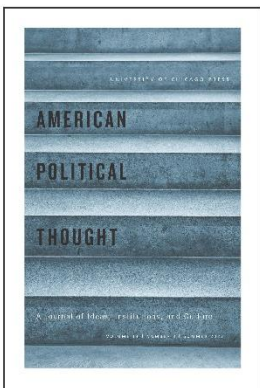
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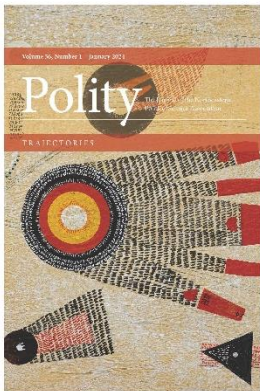
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PROGRAM SPEAKERS

Friday, April 19
SEN. SHELDON WHITEHOUSE (D-RI)

Sheldon Whitehouse has earned a reputation in the Senate as a fierce advocate for progressive values and a thoughtful legislator capable of reaching across the aisle to achieve bipartisan solutions.

Senator Whitehouse has been at the center of bipartisan efforts to pass laws overhauling federal education policy, rebuilding our nation's infrastructure, reforming the criminal and juvenile justice systems, protecting Americans from toxic chemicals in everyday products, and addressing ocean plastic waste.

Recognizing the devastating toll of addiction in Rhode Island and across the nation, Whitehouse authored the first significant bipartisan law to address the opioid crisis, the Comprehensive Addiction and Recovery Act.

Representing the Ocean State, Whitehouse plays a key role in crafting policies addressing climate change, environmental protection, and a price on carbon. He passed into law a dedicated fund to support ocean and coastal research and restoration and bipartisan legislation to confront the crisis of marine plastic and other waste polluting our oceans. He has worked to enact bipartisan measures to reduce carbon pollution and boost America's clean energy economy.

Whitehouse has stood as a staunch defender of Social Security and Medicare, and has made improving care and reducing costs in our health care system a hallmark of his career. To counteract the corrosive effects of special interests in our democracy, Whitehouse has championed efforts to root out dark money from our elections and make Congress and the courts accountable to the American people.

Saturday, April 20
JOHN DELLA VOLPE
Director of Polling
Harvard Kennedy School Institute of Politics

John Della Volpe is the director of polling at the Harvard Kennedy School Institute of Politics, and the author of Fight: How Gen Z is Channeling Their Fear and Passion to Save America (St. Martin's Press, January 2022). The Washington Post referred to John as one of the world's leading authorities on global sentiment, opinion, and influence, especially among young Americans and in the age of digital and social media.

While John's research focus at the IOP is exclusively young Americans, he often collaborates with other HKS centers including the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy and the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy. In 2008, John received an Eisenhower Fellowship for which he traveled extensively throughout China, Hong Kong, and Korea (including a supervised day in North Korea) studying Millennials; in 2011, he was appointed to the U.S.-Russia Bilateral Presidential Commission on Media.

John is also founder of SocialSphere, a Cambridge based public opinion and analytics company. He serves on the Board of Trustees of iCatholic Media, the Ad Club of Boston, and is a member of the Global Alumni Council for Eisenhower Fellowships. John appears regularly on MSNBC's Morning Joe and his insights on the Millennial generation are found in national media outlets in the U.S. and abroad, including the Daily Show with Trevor Noah.

In Memoriam

ROBERT K. FAULKNER
PRESIDENT, NEW ENGLAND POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, 1985

ROBERT K. FAULKNER
BC Faculty 1968-2014

Professor Robert K. Faulkner, who was Professor of Political Science for 50 years and then Emeritus Research Professor died on August 8, 2023. He was 88. He was the husband of Margaret; the father of Rob and Elizabeth and the grandfather of Chase, William and Meg.

Bob was born in Rochester, New York. He graduated with a B.A. from Dartmouth and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago where he studied with Leo Strauss. He first taught at Princeton, a place he was glad to leave. At Boston College he taught a variety of courses in modern political science. His vast knowledge of political thought extended back to Plato and Aristotle and forward to contemporary political philosophy. Many of the graduate students whom he mentored and whose dissertations he directed have gone on to distinguished careers both in and outside of academia.

His research and writing encompassed such topics as Abraham Lincoln's prescriptions for liberal democracy; Thomas Carlyle's ruminations on the hero; the differences between Xenophon's and Herodotus's biographies of Cyrus the Great; Aristotle's doubts about executive power; John Locke's republicanism and critique of religion; and Francis Bacon's scientific method and use of the essay as a literary form. His books include: Richard Hooker and the Politics of a Christian England; The Jurisprudence of John Marshall; The Case for Greatness: Honorable Ambition and Its Critics; and Francis Bacon and the Project of Progress. He also co-edited *America at Risk* and Marshall's *Life of George Washington* and many journal articles.

Bob was an active member of his Auburndale community, perhaps best remembered for his and Margaret's uproarious Halloween parties and his unstinting efforts to rid his stretch of the Charles River of weeds and Canada Geese.

Bob was president of the New England Political Science Association in 1985. He was a regular attendee, panelist and paper giver. His repartee enlivened many an overly serious session. His presence at this and future conferences will be greatly missed.

NEPSA 2024 PROGRAM OVERVIEW
75th ANNIVERSARY ANNUAL MEETING

THURSDAY, APRIL 18

REGISTRATION	5:00 PM to 8:00 PM	Ballroom Foyer
COLONIAL NEWPORT TOUR	6:00 PM to 7:15 PM	Museum - 127 Thames Street *
BOARD MEETING / DINNER	7:00 PM to 9:00 PM	Hamilton
A/V PROJECTOR DEMO	9:30 PM to 9:45 PM	room TBD **

FRIDAY, APRIL 19

REGISTRATION	7:30 AM to 5:00 PM	Ballroom Foyer
BOOK EXHIBITS	7:30 AM to 5:00 PM	Ballroom Foyer
CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST	7:30 PM to 8:30 PM	Ballroom Foyer
SESSION ONE PANELS	8:30 AM to 10:00 AM	various
MORNING BREAK	10:00 AM to 11:00 AM	Ballroom Foyer
SESSION TWO PANELS	10:15 AM to 11:45 AM	various
LUNCHEON	12:00 PM to 1:45 PM	Lewis Hall
SESSION THREE PANELS	2:00 PM to 3:30 PM	various
AFTERNOON BREAK	3:30 PM to 4:30 PM	Ballroom Foyer
SESSION FOUR PANELS	3:45 PM to 5:15 PM	various
COCKTAIL RECEPTION	5:30 PM to 6:30 PM	Rose Island 2

SATURDAY, APRIL 20

REGISTRATION	7:30 AM to 3:45 PM	Ballroom Foyer
BOOK EXHIBITS	7:30 AM to 5:00 PM	Ballroom Foyer
CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST	7:30 AM to 8:30 AM	Ballroom Foyer
SESSION FIVE PANELS	8:30 AM to 10:00 AM	various
MORNING BREAK	10:00 AM to 11:00 AM	Ballroom Foyer
SESSION SIX PANELS	10:15 AM to 11:45 AM	various
LUNCHEON	12:00 PM to 1:45 PM	Lewis Hall
SESSION SEVEN PANELS	2:00 PM to 3:30 PM	various
AFTERNOON BREAK	3:30 PM to 4:30 PM	Ballroom Foyer
SESSION EIGHT PANELS	3:45 PM to 5:15 PM	various

*   The welcome event for the 2024 Annual Meeting of the New England Political Science Association is a private walking tour of Colonial Newport, conducted by the Newport Historical Society. Enjoy a lantern-lit walk through Newport's historic streets. Learn about Newport's early history, including stories of rebellion, revolution and religious liberty. This tour lasts approximately 75 minutes. Please be advised that the tour will occur rain or shine. Tickets are limited to the first 20 guests, and are $15 each. They must be purchased in advance, at https://www.newenglandpsa.org/2024welcomeevent. The tour will start at the **Museum of Newport History at the Brick Market: 127 Thames Street**.

**   The projector demo is an optional session for anyone who wants to get a preview of how to hook up a laptop to the NEPSA projectors. This is an especially useful session for panel chairs with presenters planning on using PowerPoint, but anyone can attend. If you wish to attend, please go to the Ballroom Foyer to be directed to the breakout room where the demo will take place.

THE 2024 ANNUAL MEETING

1-A (BALLROOM A): Navigating the Nuances of Political Identity: Trust, Representation, and Policy in a Changing America
sponsored by the Race, Gender, and Intersectionality section

Quinn Bornstein, Georgetown University
Jamil Scott, Georgetown University
Flyover Voters: Rural American Political Satisfaction

Nhat-Dang Do, Trinity College
Racial Minority Interest Groups as Reliable Representatives: Evidence from Lobbying

Jane JaKyung Han, University of Massachusetts - Boston
The Impact of Fusion Voting on the Gender-Gap in Office: Are Democratic Women Too Liberal to Fuse?

Girma Parris, Case Western Reserve University
Race, Bilingual Education and American Political Development: How Political Development in Black-White Racial Cleavage Played Out in Bilingual Education Policy in California and Texas, 1965-2015

PANEL CHAIR: Alana Jeydel, Fresno City College
DISCUSSANT: Alec Ewald, University of Vermont

1-B (BALLROOM B): Policy Making and Social Movements
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Zoe Clark, Brown University
Pregnancy, Automation, and Socialist-Utopia: Overcoming the (Sex) Division of Labor

Naw Moo Moo Paw, University of Massachusetts - Lowell
Impacts of Military Involvement in Government on Violence Against Civilians

Justin Perry, Oxford University
How Utilitarian Methods Prompt Unjustified Public Decision-Making

PANEL CHAIR: James Buthman, Hartwick College
DISCUSSANT: David Shakarishvili, Klaipeda University

1-C (BALLROOM C): Challenges and Power
sponsored by the International Relations section

Benjamin Arah, Bowie State University
Nigeria: Post-Independent Challenges of Nation-building, Political Leadership, and Consociation (as a Recipe for Peaceful Co-existence)

Joshua Leon, Iona University
World Cities in History: Urban Networks From Mesopotamia to the Dutch Empire

Muhammad Afzaal, Brown University
Picking Your Battles: Brinkmanship and Escalation in the India-Pakistan Conflict

Ian Spears, University of Guelph
State Formation and Why Conflict Resolution Fails in Africa

PANEL CHAIR: **M.J. Peterson, University of Massachusetts - Amherst**
DISCUSSANT: **Zachary Shirkey, Hunter College**

1-D (BALLROOM D): Polarization and Consensus
sponsored by the American Politics section

Theresa Marchant-Shapiro, Southern Connecticut State University Andrew Marchant-Shapiro, Southern Connecticut State University
Finding Common Ground: The Community Foundation and Collaboration among Diverse Interests

Shannon McQueen, West Chester University
Cory Lane, West Chester University
Hunter Heisler, West Chester University
Let's Talk About It: Understanding Student's Fears and Comforts around Discussion

Anoosha Murtaza, Georgetown University
Partisan Polarities & Proximity Appeals: Examining the Differences in How Proximity Appeals are Employed Between Political Parties

Jacob Tonseth, Johnson & Wales University
The Evolution of Polarized Politics in the United States and its Effect on Public Administration

PANEL CHAIR: **Charles Crabtree, Dartmouth College**
DISCUSSANT: **Perri Leviss, Rhode Island College**

SESSION 1: FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 8:30 AM - 10:00 AM

1-E (WATCH HILL): Multi-Continental Political Developments
sponsored by the Comparative and Canadian Politics section

Diana Flores, New York University
The Women Who Took Up Arms: An Examination of Female Revolutionaries in Latin America

Daniela Melo, Boston University
Paul Manuel, Georgetown University
April 25 and its Consequences: The Emergence of Social Movements in Democratic Portugal

PANEL CHAIR: Susan McCarthy, Providence College
DISCUSSANT: Susan McCarthy, Providence College

1-F (ROSE ISLAND): 2024 Presidential Primaries: What have we learned and where do we go from here?
sponsored by the American Politics section

Rachael Cobb, Suffolk University
Amy Fried, University of Maine
Dante Scala, University of New Hampshire
Nathan Shrader, New England College

PANEL CHAIR: Christopher Galdieri, Saint Anselm College

1-G (HAMILTON): Constitutional Interpretation
sponsored by the Public Law section

Douglas Edlin, Colorado College
The Undignified First Amendment

Ethan Talleur, Westminster College
Tobias Gibson, Westminster College
Constitutional Interpretation and American Democracy

Daniel Tagliarina, Utica University
Who Deserves to be American?: Deservingness, Dreamers, and Fights Over Immigration Policy

PANEL CHAIR: **Helen Knowles-Gardner, Institute for Free Speech**
DISCUSSANT: **Rick Peltz-Steele, University of Massachusetts School of Law**

1-H (POINT JUDITH): Authors-Meets-Readers: *Reforming the Reform: Problems of Public Schooling in the American Welfare State*, by David Cohen, Michaela Krug O'Neill, and Susan Moffitt
sponsored by the Public Policy section

Melissa Lyon, University at Albany (SUNY)
Marie Schenk, Lehigh University
Patricia Strach, University at Albany (SUNY)

PANEL CHAIR: **Kathleen Sullivan, Ohio University**
DISCUSSANT: **Susan Moffitt, Brown University**

PLEASE JOIN US FOR COFFEE SERVICE
Ballroom Foyer

2-A (BALLROOM A): Climate, Scientific Expertise, and Natural Disasters
sponsored by the American Politics section

Megean Bourgeois, Brown University
In the Wake of Hurricane Harvey: What Texas Can Teach Us About the Future of Disaster Response

Jonathan Bradley, University of Vermont
Even unto the Environment: Study of Christian Denominations' Attitudes on Environmental Issues as a Measure of Social Identity Theory.

Deborah Guber, University of Vermont
Up and Down with Climate: Public Attention and Media Agenda-Setting on Global Warming

Daniel Klinghard, College of the Holy Cross
Politicizing Science: The Presidential Science Advisory Committee and the Uses of Scientific Expertise, 1945-1974

PANEL CHAIR: **Brian Wolfel, Purdue University - Fort Wayne**
DISCUSSANT: **John Berg, Suffolk University**

2-B (BALLROOM B): WORKSHOP – Political Science Teaching and Artificial Intelligence
sponsored by the Technology and Politics section

Nicholas Kapoor, Fairfield University
Carrie LeVan, Colby College
Artificial Intelligence in Political Science Education: Challenges, Opportunities, and Ethical Considerations

In the evolving landscape of political science education, AI is no longer just a buzzword—it's becoming a vital tool in our teaching arsenal. This workshop brings you into the conversation and gets hands-on with the AI technologies transforming our classrooms. Together, we'll explore the exciting potential of these innovations and tackle the practical challenges they present, not to mention the ethical questions they raise. It's all about enhancing learning while staying true to the principles that guide our teaching. Bring your assignments and syllabi to the table, and let's collaborate on meaningfully integrating AI into our curricula. Whether you're starting to dabble in AI or looking to deepen your application of technology in education, this workshop is about sharing insights, sparking dialogue, and equipping ourselves for the next wave of educational technology. (*This description was written with the help of AI*.)

2-C (BALLROOM C): North American Spillover
sponsored by the Comparative and Canadian Politics section

Simon Vodrey, Carleton University
Andre Turcotte, Carleton University
The Corrosive Creep of Political Polarization, Anger, & Wedge Politics in Canada & the United States

Jamie Gillies, St. Thomas University
Make Canada Great Again?: Canada's Populist Shift & The Fracturing Of A Moderate Political Culture

Paul Petterson, Central Connecticut State University
Has MAGA Trumped Domestic Politics In Canada? The Cross-Border Impacts Of American Political Ideology

David Rovinsky, U.S. Department of State
James McHugh, University of Akron
Is Canada's Notwithstanding Clause Reformable?

PANEL CHAIR: Benjamin Cole, Southern New Hampshire University
DISCUSSANT: Benjamin Cole, Southern New Hampshire University

2-D (BALLROOM D): Topics in Undergraduate Research 1: Voting and Civil Rights
sponsored by the Undergraduate Research Committee

Bradley Abel, Trinity College
A Comparative Analysis of Redlining's Impact on Household Well-Being in Roxbury and Milton, 1930-1970

Carson Goh, Dartmouth College
Competition or Representation? How the Public Views Substantive and Descriptive Effects of Independent Redistricting Commissions

Jared Hirshfield, Saint Anselm College
Administrative Capacities of the Local Election Official: Effects on Voter Turnout in Maine

Kyle Mashia-Thaxton, Southern Connecticut State University
The Paradox of Freedom: The 13th Amendment and the Chains of Prison Slavery

PANEL CHAIR: Naw Moo Moo Paw, University of Massachusetts - Lowell
DISCUSSANT: Matthew Ulricksen, Community College of Rhode Island

2-E (WATCH HILL) Comparative Policy Approaches: America and Ukraine
sponsored by the Public Policy section

Mahesh Admankar, University of Massachusetts - Boston
Impact of Climate Change on the Mental Health of Youth in USA

Niel Brasher, Shippensburg University
Ukraine War Trade Sanctions on Russia: Smaller Country Behavior

Tim Hoheneder, University of New Hampshire
Cultivating Stability: Spatial Trends in Conflict and Agriculture to Inform State Capacity in Ukraine

Marc Eisner, Wesleyan University
Crisis Planning, American Style

PANEL CHAIR: June Speakman, Roger Williams University
DISCUSSANT: June Speakman, Roger Williams University

2-F (ROSE ISLAND): American Political Development: Winners, Losers, and Enduring Consequences
sponsored by the Politics and History section

James Morone, Brown University
The Long Racial Roots of Political Hyper-Partisanship: Past, Present, and Possible Futures

Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College
The Racialized History of Day Care in American Political Development

Julie Novkov, University at Albany (SUNY)
Military Service and Civic Membership: Fighting America's Wars while Fighting for Change

Kathleen Sullivan, Ohio University
Patricia Strach, University at Albany (SUNY)
Sanitarians and Local Political Development

PANEL CHAIR: Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College
DISCUSSANT: Ken Kersch, Boston College

2-G (HAMILTON): Authors-Meet-Readers: *Supreme Bias: Gender and Race in U.S. Supreme Court Confirmation Hearings*, **by Christina Boyd, Lori Ringhand, and Paul Collins**
sponsored by the Public Law section

Nicole Blanchard, University of Connecticut
Anne Marie Cammisa, Georgetown University
Virginia Hettinger, University of Connecticut
Kevin McMahon, Trinity College

PANEL CHAIR: Lisa Holmes, University of Vermont
DISCUSSANT: Paul Collins, University of Massachusetts - Amherst

2-H (POINT JUDITH): The Value Proposition in Undergraduate Education
sponsored by the American Politics section

John Bing, Heidelberg University
Stephen Ceccoli, Rhodes College

PANEL CHAIR: John Bing, Heidelberg University

2-I (SANDY POINT): Multicultural Education and American Citizenship
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Robert Maranto, University of Arkansas
Better Ways to Teach, and Do Multiculturalism

Paul Peterson, Harvard University
Religion in Charter schools: The Hawaiian immersion school experience

Thomas Powers, Carthage College
American Multiculturalism and the Anti-Discrimination Regime

David Schaefer, College of the Holy Cross
Culture vs. Multiculturalism

PANEL CHAIR: David Schaefer, College of the Holy Cross
DISCUSSANT: David Schaefer, College of the Holy Cross

PLEASE JOIN US FOR LUNCH
Lewis Hall

FEATURED PRESENTATION

SENATOR SHELDON WHITEHOUSE (D-RI)
"The Washington Update with Senator Sheldon Whitehouse"

3-A (BALLROOM A): Unconventional Candidates, Unconventional Leaders, New Ways of Choosing Them
sponsored by the American Politics section

Jason Barabas, Dartmouth College
Carson Goh, Dartmouth College
How Old is Too Old? Public Support for Older Political Leaders and Mandatory Retirement Policies

Robert Boatright, Clark University
Caroline Tolbert, University of Iowa
What a National Primary Day Would Look Like, and How we Might get There

Joseph Peschek, Hamline University
The Trump Presidency and the American Power Structure

Jesse Rhodes, University of Massachusetts - Amherst
Tatishe Nteta, University of Massachusetts - Amherst
Adam Eichen, University of Massachusetts - Amherst
Bel Corder, University of Massachusetts - Amherst
Graham Backman, University of Massachusetts - Amherst
Emily DeGowin, University of Massachusetts - Amherst
Kaitlyn Soper, University of Massachusetts - Amherst
Know It When You See It? Authoritarianism, Normative Threat, and Public Opinion Toward "Unworthy" Political Leaders

PANEL CHAIR: Quinn Bornstein, Georgetown University
DISCUSSANT: Jonathan Wharton, Southern Connecticut State University

3-B (BALLROOM B): Author-Meets-Readers: *The Crucible of Desegregation: The Uncertain Search for Educational Equity***, by R. Shep Melnick**
sponsored by the Public Law section

Khalil Gibran Muhammad, Harvard Kennedy School
Robert Maranto, University of Arkansas
Julie Novkov, University at Albany (SUNY)
Michael Paris, College of Staten Island (CUNY)

PANEL CHAIR: Michael Paris, College of Staten Island (CUNY)
DISCUSSANT: R. Shep Melnick, Boston College

3-C (BALLROOM C): Electoral Contexts and Party Developments
sponsored by the Politics and History section

Zachary Bowen, Alfred State College (SUNY)
Abdicating the Moment: Coalition, Consensus, and Chaos within the Democratic Party (1968-1972)

Douglas Harris, Loyola University - Maryland
US Senate Leadership Selection: Historical Development and Partisan Patterns

Theodore Masthay, DeSales University
Legislative Reorganization and Congressional Career Arcs

PANEL CHAIR: **Amy Fried, University of Maine**
DISCUSSANT: **Bryan Frost, University of Louisiana - Lafayette**

3-D (BALLROOM D) Topics in Undergraduate Research 2: Feminism and Women's Issues, Home and Abroad
sponsored by the Undergraduate Research Committee

Christina Charie, Providence College
Aesthetics of Populism: The Impact of Hairstyles and Makeup on the Electoral Success of Populist Women in Europe

Audrey DellaBarba, Saint Anselm College
Influence of Daughters on Parent's Attitudes Towards Abortion

Camille Jackson, Vermont State University - Castleton
I me mine: a feminist critique of the American failure to address climate change.

Katarina Sousa, Simmons University
The Global Gag Rule: America's Neocolonial Impact on the Ethiopian Reproductive Healthcare System

PANEL CHAIR: **Theresa Marchant-Shapiro, Southern Connecticut State University**
DISCUSSANT: **Theresa Marchant-Shapiro, Southern Connecticut State University**

3-E (WATCH HILL): Contemporary Trends in Public Administration and Policy
sponsored by the Public Policy section

Daniel Chand, Kent State University
ICE's IMAGE Problem: Ethics and Impacts of PPPs in Immigration Policy

Adanna Kalejaye, University of Massachusetts - Boston
Building sustainable and resilient cities (SDG 11) through zero waste policy – A case study of Massachusetts dwindling landfills

Michael Moltz, Shippensburg University
Madison Johnson, Shippensburg University
Chey Saez, Shippensburg University
Work-Life Balance and Organizational Commitment in the Public Sector

Christopher Simon, University of Utah
Nicholas Lovrich, Washington State University
Examining Racial Resentment in Public Administration: Insights from a Repeated Cross-Sectional Design General Social Survey Study (2000-2016)

PANEL CHAIR: Bruce Caswell, Rowan University
DISCUSSANT: Gregory Burnep, College of the Holy Cross

3-F (ROSE ISLAND): Exploring the Dynamics of Warfare: From Napoleon's Strategies to Modern Terrorism
sponsored by the International Relations section

Clay Parham, Baylor University
The Geist of Napoleon's War: Bülow, Clausewitz, and Jomini on Offensive War in Modern Europe

Casey Stevens, Providence College
Epistemics of Warfare: The Changing Ideas of Warfare in the 21st Century

Zachary Shirkey, Hunter College
Why International Organizations are Ill-Suited to Combat Terrorism

Ken Courtney, University of New England
"Alas; Time to Talk about 'Terrorism' All Over Again"

PANEL CHAIR: Christopher LaMonica, United States Coast Guard Academy
DISCUSSANT: M. Aynal Haque, University of Connecticut

3-G (HAMILTON): Liberalism and its Critics
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Peter McNamara, Arizona State University
Defending Liberalism

Lucas Swaine, Dartmouth College
Speech Woes on Campus: The Culture of Agreement and Its Discontents

Brian Wolfel, Purdue University - Fort Wayne
The Antagonism of Thomas Carlyle and Karl Marx on the Peril of Liberal Political Economy

PANEL CHAIR: Timothy Bristol, Southern Connecticut State University
DISCUSSANT: Mark Graber, University of Maryland Carey School of Law

3-H (POINT JUDITH): Author-Meets-Readers: *Boston Mayor Thomas Menino: Lessons for Governing Post-Industrial Cities*, by Wilbur Rich
sponsored by the American Politics section

Tony Affigne, Providence College
Jeffrey Gerson, University of Massachusetts - Lowell
James Jennings, Tufts University
June Speakman, Roger Williams University

PANEL CHAIR: Paul Collins, University of Massachusetts - Amherst
DISCUSSANT: Wilbur Rich, Wellesley College

3-I (SANDY POINT) Politics Between Art and Religion
sponsored by the Politics and History section

Mathis Bitton, Harvard University
Self-Creation as a Work of Art: A Defense of Romantic Liberalism

Amy Chandran, Harvard University
Finding a 'Civil' Solution: Unity, Sociability and the Emergence of 'Religion' in Late-Sixteenth Century France

Haidun Liu, Harvard University
Supererogation and the Freedom to Reject the Ideal

Jan-Paul Sandmann, Harvard University
A Crisis of Creativity

PANEL CHAIR: **James Stoner, Louisiana State University**
DISCUSSANT: **James Stoner, Louisiana State University**
DISCUSSANT: **Shterna Friedman, Harvard University**

PLEASE JOIN US FOR AFTERNOON SNACKS
Ballroom Foyer

4-A (BALLROOM A): Novel Approaches in Comparative Politics
sponsored by the Comparative and Canadian Politics section

Mark Sachleben, Shippensburg University
Comparative Semiotics: What Walkers Learn While on the Trail

Andre Turcotte, Carleton University
Vincent Raynauld, Emerson College
Where Have All the Issues Gone? Analysis of Contemporary Political Appeals in North America

Aubrey Westfall, Wheaton College
The Character and Political Impact of Muslim Social Capital in Europe and North America

PANEL CHAIR: **Gregory Williams, Simmons University**
DISCUSSANT: **Gregory Williams, Simmons University**

4-B (BALLROOM B): Policy Theories in Action
sponsored by the Public Policy section

Stephen Ceccoli, Rhodes College
John Bing, Heidelberg University
Diffusion and Policy Transfer: The Ebb and Flow of State Higher Education Funding Policies

John Grummel, Upper Iowa University
An Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) Examination of Assessment of Community Health

Katie Zuber, John Jay College (CUNY)
Elizabeth Pérez-Chiqués, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas
Incomplete Transformations in Issue Understandings: Lessons from Drug Policy

PANEL CHAIR: **Nathan Shrader, New England College**
DISCUSSANT: **Jennifer Jackman, Salem State University**

4-C (BALLROOM C): Economic Crisis, Conflict Dynamics, and Tactical Choices in Global Hotspots
sponsored by the International Relations section

Mohid Iftikhar, Chinese University of Hong Kong
Comparative Policy Responses of Pakistan and Sri Lanka towards Economic Crisis: Explaining International Constraints and Domestic Political Economy

Emma Mariano, University of Missouri
Bryce Reeder, University of Missouri
Unintended Consequences of Intervention: Understanding Gender-Based Violence After Withdrawal

Edgar Torres, University of Massachusetts - Lowell
Gang Violence Crackdown: The Impact of El Salvador's Iron Fist Policy on Migration

Muhammad Afzaal, Brown University
Caution and Aggression in Enduring Rivalries: Tactical Decision-Making on the Battlefield

PANEL CHAIR: Kevin Buterbaugh, Southern Connecticut State University
DISCUSSANT: Kevin Buterbaugh, Southern Connecticut State University

4-D (BALLROOM D): Topics in Undergraduate Research 4: Implications of American Public Policy
sponsored by the Undergraduate Research Committee

Katherine Costello, Quinnipiac University
Untouchable: International Criminal Court Jurisdiction for Alleged War Crimes in Afghanistan and How to Approach and Resolve U.S. Impunity

Finn Gruber, Simmons University
Politics of Translation in Healthcare: Translation Policies and Haitian Linguistic Experiences in Boston Hospitals

Sophia Sirois, Providence College
Melting Pot or Multiculturalism: Latina Migrants' Path Towards Assimilation

Zachary Tucker, Rhode Island College
The Thrifty Food Plan Shortchanging America

PANEL CHAIR: Anne Marie Cammisa, Georgetown University
DISCUSSANT: Anne Marie Cammisa, Georgetown University

4-E (WATCH HILL): Exploring International Policy Narratives
sponsored by the International Relations section

James Baker, Syracuse University
Maria Cudowska, Syracuse University
Tobias Gibson, Westminster College
Adding Education as an Instrument of Power

Min Hyun Cho, New York University
Loopholes in the Global Public Health Regime: A comparative analysis of the TRIPs in the case of HIV/AIDS and COVID-19

Nuria List, George Mason University
Considering International / Local Peacebuilding Partnerships: The Stoplight Analysis System

Kirin Taylor, Syracuse University
NGO Sources of Power at UN CSocD58: Examining 2020 Written Statements

PANEL CHAIR: Jonathan Bradley, University of Vermont
DISCUSSANT: Casey Stevens, Providence College

4-F (ROSE ISLAND 1): Honoring Greatness: Robert Faulkner as Teacher, Scholar, and Colleague
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Paul Carrese, Arizona State University
Dan Cullen, Rhodes College
Peter Josephson, Saint Anselm College
Stephen Knott, Naval War College
Peter McNamara, Arizona State University
Amy Nendza, Boston College

PANEL CHAIR: Marc Landy, Boston College
DISCUSSANT: Marc Landy, Boston College

4-G (HAMILTON): Author-Meets-Readers: *A Supreme Court Unlike Any Other: The Deepening Divide Between the Justices and the People*, by Kevin McMahon
sponsored by the Public Law section

Paul Collins, University of Massachusetts - Amherst
Mark Graber, University of Maryland Carey School of Law
Steven Lichtman, Shippensburg University
Julie Novkov, University at Albany (SUNY)

PANEL CHAIR: Steven Lichtman, Shippensburg University
DISCUSSANT: Kevin McMahon, Trinity College

4-H (POINT JUDITH): Love and Rhetoric in Philosophic Dramas
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Emma Bernstein, Baylor University
Eros in Xenophon's Cyropaedia and Memorabilia

Spencer Krauss, Clemson University
Machiavellian Rhetoric and the Mandragola

Sasha Rickard, Boston College
The Pleasure of Courage: Sophistry and Popular Opinion in Plato's Protagoras

PANEL CHAIR: **Eryn Rozonoyer, Boston College**
DISCUSSANT: **Linda Rabieh, Massachusetts Institute of Technology**

4-I (SANDY POINT): The Specter of Violence in American Politics: Guns, Conspiracism and Party Tribalism
sponsored by the Race, Gender, and Intersectionality section

Gabriel Acevedo, Quinnipiac University
Desmond King, Nuffield College, University of Oxford
Scott McLean, Quinnipiac University
Nicole Mellow, Williams College
Genevieve Quinn, Quinnipiac University
Candice Travis, Quinnipiac University

PANEL CHAIR: **James Morone, Brown University**

PLEASE JOIN US FOR THE NEPSA COCKTAIL RECEPTION
5:30-6:30 PM
Rose Island 2

5-A (BALLROOM A): The Francis Factor: Democracy and Inclusion in the Catholic Church
sponsored by the International Relations section

MaryAnne Borrelli, Connecticut College
Advocating for a Democratic Church? Editorial Themes and Assertions Throughout the Papacies of Benedict XVI and Francis I

Miguel Glatzer, La Salle University
Pope Francis and Women's Role in the Church

Christine Gustafson, Saint Anselm College
Responding to Authoritarian Challenges: Do the Pope and the Catholic Church Really Support Democracy?

Thomas Lacourse, Saint Anselm College
Francis in Mongolia: Analyzing 21st Century Papal Diplomacy

PANEL CHAIR: Paul Manuel, Georgetown University
DISCUSSANT: Alynna Lyon, University of New Hampshire

5-B (BALLROOM B): Politics of Identity
sponsored by the Comparative and Canadian Politics section

Mohsen Jalali, Midwestern State University
Ethnicity as Conspiracy Theory

Raza Raja, Syracuse University
State Nationalism and Political Islam

Blake Cameron, Carleton University
Andre Turcotte, Carleton University
An Authentic Test: Measuring the "Authentic" in Canadian Politics

PANEL CHAIR: Vincent Raynauld, Emerson College
DISCUSSANT: Vincent Raynauld, Emerson College

5-C (BALLROOM C): The Identity Mosaic: Deconstructing Culturally Diverse Narratives in a Globalized World
sponsored by the Race, Gender, and Intersectionality section

Marc Julien Camanag, Georgetown University
Pachamama or Death: Identity Salience and Environmental Attitudes within Bolivia's Indigenous Population

Masako Okura, Columbus State University
Digital Echoes in Tokyo: Naomi Osaka's Olympic Saga and the Complex Web of Japanese Online Discourse

José Tavares, Nova School of Business and Economics
Margarida Matos, independent scholar
João Pereira dos Santos, University of Lisbon
Attitudes Towards Immigrants: Evidence from Veterans of Colonial Wars in Africa

PANEL CHAIR: Walton Brown-Foster, Central Connecticut State University
DISCUSSANT: Marie Schenk, Lehigh University

5-D (BALLROOM D): Histories with Global Consequences: Narratives, Identities, and Legacies
sponsored by the Politics and History section

Jessica Falk, Brown University
Reality Bites Back: Media, Culture and the War on Terror

Saba Samy, Georgetown University
National Security: Procedural or Racist? The Efficacy of a Racialized Fifth Column

Stephen Thomas, Baylor University
John Adams: His Foreign Policy and its Consequences

Aseel Azab, Brown University
(Extra)Ordinary Muslims, (Extra)Ordinary Possibilities

PANEL CHAIR: Shawn Driscoll, University of Massachusetts - Lowell
DISCUSSANT: Shawn Driscoll, University of Massachusetts - Lowell

5-E (WATCH HILL): Representation, Democratic Accountability, and the Judiciary
sponsored by the Public Law section

Richard Izquierdo, New College of Florida
The Reagan Court in Constitutional Time

Helen Knowles-Gardner, Institute for Free Speech
The First Amendment to the Constitution, Associational Freedom, and the Future of the Country: Alabama's Direct Attack on the Existence of the NAACP

Kenneth Manning, University of Massachusetts - Dartmouth
Gender and Judicial Replacement in the U.S. Federal Courts

Megan Winkeler, University of Massachusetts School of Law
Democratic Accountability or Transparency Theater?: The Drawbacks of Public Transparency in Negotiated Rulemaking Deliberations

PANEL CHAIR: Douglas Edlin, Colorado College
DISCUSSANT: Mark Graber, University of Maryland Carey School of Law

5-F (ROSE ISLAND 1): The Clyde McKee/Garrison Nelson New England Politics Roundtable
sponsored by the American Politics section

CONNECTICUT	**Stefanie Chambers, Trinity College**
MAINE	**James Melcher, University of Maine - Farmington**
MASSACHUSETTS	**Jerold Duquette, Central Connecticut State University**
NEW HAMPSHIRE	**Christopher Galdieri, Saint Anselm College**
RHODE ISLAND	**Emily Lynch, University of Rhode Island**
VERMONT	**Paul Petterson, Central Connecticut State University**
PANEL CHAIR:	**Garrison Nelson, University of Vermont**

5-G (HAMILTON): The Duty of the Philosopher
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Daniel DiLeo, Penn State - Altoona
Liberating the best from dependence on the many: Undermining Philotimia in Aristotle's "Rhetoric"

Thornton Lockwood, Quinnipiac University
Politics 3.6-18: Aristotle's (long lost?) dialogue on justice

John Moriarty, Hillsdale College
Xenophon and the Rational Ground of the Best Way of Life

James Stoner, Louisiana State University
Who Is Aristotle's Legislator, and What Does He Know?

PANEL CHAIR: Lucas Swaine, Dartmouth College
DISCUSSANT: Timothy Bristol, Southern Connecticut State University

5-H (POINT JUDITH): Constitutional Interpretation Over Time
sponsored by the American Politics section

Brigid Flaherty, Baylor University
The Full Extent of Sovereignty: Joseph Story's Application of National Popular Sovereignty in Federal Disputes

Jerome Foss, Saint Vincent College
From Institutional Limitations to Individual Rights: How Our View of the Bill of Rights has Changed Over Time

Alex Hindman, College of the Holy Cross
Necessity Hath No Law: The U.S. Constitution and Presidential Seizures of Private Industry

PANEL CHAIR: Daniel Tagliarina, Utica University
DISCUSSANT: Paul Herron, Providence College

5-I (SANDY POINT): Public Policy Across the Discipline
sponsored by the Public Policy section

James Buthman, Hartwick College
Public Policy Across the Landscape: Examining public policy through experiential learning

Emily Pucino, Rhode Island College
Perri Leviss, Rhode Island College
The Relationship of College Internships, Student Empowerment, Civic Learning, and Sense of Belonging - An Exploratory Study of Rhode Island College's Washington Week/Congressional Internship Program

PANEL CHAIR: **John Grummel, Upper Iowa University**
DISCUSSANT: **Daniel Chand, Kent State University**

PLEASE JOIN US FOR COFFEE SERVICE
Ballroom Foyer

6-A (BALLROOM A): The Global Politics of Pope Francis
sponsored by the International Relations section

Alynna Lyon, University of New Hampshire
A "Dialogue of Diplomacy:" Moral Authority and the Francis Factor

Paul Manuel, Georgetown University
Of war and Global Pandemic: How the Theological Priorities of Pope Francis Inform His Policy Goals

Jim McHugh, University of Akron
Pope Francis, Modernism, and Liberal Democracy

Lawrence Reardon, University of New Hampshire
"Pope Francis' Dream of Unifying Chinese Catholic Church"

Marc Rugani, Saint Anselm College
Pope Francis and Synodality as Political Process

PANEL CHAIR: **Christine Gustafson, Saint Anselm College**
DISCUSSANT: **Christine Gustafson, Saint Anselm College**

6-B (BALLROOM B): Cultivation and Education
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Bruce Caswell, Rowan University
Wilson Carey McWilliams, The Idea of Fraternity (1973), at 50.

Kenneth Leonardo, Hamilton College
Injustice and the Intellectual in José Rizal's Noli Me Tángere

Nicholas Tampio, Fordham University
Poetry and Democratic Education: The Political Relevance of Charles Taylor's Expressivist Theory

PANEL CHAIR: **Bryan Frost, University of Louisiana - Lafayette**
DISCUSSANT: **Bryan Frost, University of Louisiana - Lafayette**

6-C (BALLROOM C): Truth and Fiction: Trends in Political Communications
sponsored by the Technology and Politics section

Tess Gellert, New York University
The Revolution Will Be Gossiped: The Role of Leader Health Rumors in Political Participation Outcomes in Autocracies

Tobias Gibson, Westminster College
Silver Screen, Superheroes, Science Fiction, and Security

Marie Schenk, Lehigh University
Toxicity by Design: Affordances, Audience Choice, and Toxicity on Twitter

PANEL CHAIR: Mark Sachleben, Shippensburg University
DISCUSSANT: Daniel Klinghard, College of the Holy Cross

6-D (BALLROOM D): Topics in Undergraduate Research 3: Political Socialization and Participation
sponsored by the Undergraduate Research Committee

Ashley Aguilera, Southern Connecticut State University
Machine Politics is Not Enough: A Case Study of Public Participation in Bridgeport, Connecticut

Charlie Cisneros, Vermont State University - Castleton
The Political Impact of the Beautiful Game: Exploring Soccer's Growth and Sociopolitical Associations in the United States

Dennis Haggerty, University of Rhode Island
Realigning Suburbia in Political Time: Presidential Politics from 1980-2020

Myles Johnson, Providence College
"I'se in Town Honey!" Racial Caricatures in Branding and Framing Historical Memory

PANEL CHAIR: Kevin McMahon, Trinity College
DISCUSSANT: Kevin McMahon, Trinity College

6-E (WATCH HILL): On Paper and In Real Life: Public Policy Theories of Stasis and Change
sponsored by the Public Policy section

Michelle Bozzi, Simmons University
"Problematizing Punctuated Equilibrium: A Comparative Analysis of the Post-Regulation Tobacco Policy Landscape"

Kylie Collins, Simmons University
The Development of the Inflation Reduction Act of 2022: How the Multiple Streams Framework can be utilized to understand each stage of the Policy Process

Audrey Grant, Simmons University
Let Bartlet Be Bartlet: How The West Wing Defined the Policy Process for the 21st Century

Stephanie Lessing, University of Massachusetts Boston
Body Cameras and Disturbances in Law Enforcement Processes: Explanations from Activity Theory and Nudges

PANEL CHAIR: Gregory Williams, Simmons University
DISCUSSANT: Amy Fried, University of Maine

6-F (ROSE ISLAND 1): Authors-Meet-Readers: *The State of Rhode Island: Politics and Government*, by Emily Lynch and Maureen Moakley
sponsored by the American Politics section

Rob Horowitz, University of Rhode Island
Aaron Ley, University of Rhode Island
Adam Myers, Providence College
Gary Sasse, Bryant University
Wendy Schiller, Brown University
June Speakman, Roger Williams University
Matthew Ulricksen, Community College of Rhode Island

DISCUSSANT: Emily Lynch, University of Rhode Island
DISCUSSANT: Maureen Moakley, University of Rhode Island

6-G (HAMILTON) The Politics of Persuasion
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Stephon Boatwright, CUNY Graduate Center
Reading Through the Myths: The Styles and Techniques of Far Right Propagandists - Abstract

Daniel Fram, Middlebury College
On the Conservative Origins of J.S. Mill's Liberal Nationalism

Matthew Hodgetts, Case Western Reserve University
Kevin McGravey, Merrimack College
Denial and Discourse: A Story of Fear and Misinformation

Nolan Reisen, Baylor University
The Two Logoi of Plato's Crito

PANEL CHAIR: Benjamin Arah, Bowie State University
DISCUSSANT: Daniel DiLeo, Penn State - Altoona

6-H (POINT JUDITH): Author-Meets-Readers: Mere Natural Law: Originalism and the Anchoring Truths of the Constitution, by Hadley Arkes
sponsored by the Public Law section

Murray Dry, Middlebury College
James Stoner, Louisiana State University
Jean Yarbrough, Bowdoin College

PANEL CHAIR: James Stoner, Louisiana State University
DISCUSSANT: Hadley Arkes, James Wilson Institute

6-I (SANDY POINT: Political Realism on the Just and the Useful
sponsored by the International Relations section

Eric Fleury, Connecticut College
Kissinger the Reactionist

Michael Gonzalez, Princeton University
Diplomatic Practice and Theory's Limits

Joshua King, United States Military Academy
Hans Morgenthau's Concept of the Political and the Weimar Roots of American Realism

Anthony Spanakos, Montclair State University
Political Realism and Justice in International Relations

PANEL CHAIR: Eric Fleury, Connecticut College
DISCUSSANT: David Clinton, Baylor University

PLEASE JOIN US FOR LUNCH AND THE NEPSA BUSINESS MEETING
Lewis Hall

FEATURED PRESENTATION

JOHN DELLA VOLPE
Director of Polling, Harvard Kennedy School Institute of Politics
"How Gen Z's Values Will Determine the 2024 Election"

AWARDING OF THE BEST PAPER PRIZES FOR THE 2023 ANNUAL MEETING

JOHN C. DONOVAN PRIZE FOR BEST PAPER WRITTEN BY A FACULTY MEMBER
Erin O'Brien (UMass-Boston) and Jane JaKyung Han (UMass-Boston)
"Gendering Yankee Ingenuity: Electing Women in New England"

ROBERT C. WOOD PRIZE FOR BEST PAPER WRITTEN BY A GRADUATE STUDENT
Clara Sedzro (New York University)
"Nationalism Through a Gendered Lens: Women's Movements During the Anti-Colonial Struggle in South Africa"

WILSON CAREY McWILLIAMS PRIZE FOR BEST PAPER WRITTEN BY AN UNDERGRADUATE
Alyssa Stankevitz (Saint Anselm College)
"Deconstructing a 'Representational Nexus:' Prison Gerrymandering and Political Representation in Texas"

7-A (BALLROOM A): Exploring Global Challenges
sponsored by the Comparative and Canadian Politics section and the International Relations section

Min Hyun Cho, New York University
The Effect of Constitutional Provisions on Gender Equality

Martin Mendoza-Botelho, Eastern Connecticut State University
Severe democratic crises and parliamentary response in Latin America. The limits of legislative powers bridging constitutional breaches

M. Aynal Haque, University of Connecticut
Paris Agreement and Climate Change Mitigation — Made in Bangladesh?

Nathanial Walker, Brandeis University
Confronting Sovereignty at the Final Frontier: Technological Development, Issue Appraisal, and the Birth of Space Law (1957-1967)

PANEL CHAIR: Benjamin Arah, Bowie State University
DISCUSSANT: Anthony Spanakos, Montclair State University

7-B (BALLROOM B): Controlling the Narrative
sponsored by the American Politics section

Lawrence Becker, California State University, Northridge
Douglas Harris, Loyola University - Maryland
Constraining Narratives: The Strategic Implications of Interpreting Victory and Loss in Modern Presidential Elections

Janet Box-Steffensmeier, Ohio State University
Sahar Abi-Hassan, Northeastern University
Dino Christenson, Washington University (St. Louis)
Laura Moses, Ohio State University
Adam Perhala, Ohio State University
Enan Srivastava, Ohio State University
Congressional Speech Networks: A Measure of Membership in the House of Representatives

Brian Conley, Suffolk University
The Challenges of Implementing a National Party Message: A Comparative Analysis of Midterm US Senate Elections.

Tim Magdziak, Georgetown University
What Determines Social Media Success for US Members Of Congress?

PANEL CHAIR: Natalie Rogol, Rhode Island College
DISCUSSANT: Natalie Rogol, Rhode Island College

7-C (BALLROOM C): Overcoming Policy Gridlock Through Bureaucracy
sponsored by the Public Policy section

Daniel Carrigg, University of Rhode Island
Crossing the Streams: Public Administrators as Policy Entrepreneurs in the War on Poverty

Aaron Ley, University of Rhode Island
The Enforcement of Environmental Statutes by Place-Based Environmental Organizations

Karen Sweeting, University of Rhode Island
Del Bharath, independent scholar
Bureaucratic and Institutional Failures: Examining Organizational Impediments in Public Administration through Netflix's "The Trials of Gabriel Fernandez."

PANEL CHAIR: **Aaron Ley, University of Rhode Island**
DISCUSSANT: **Aaron Ley, University of Rhode Island**

7-D (BALLROOM D) Nevertheless, She Persisted: The Power of Female Solidarity in Political Institutions
sponsored by the Race, Gender, and Intersectionality section

Kristen Essel, Brown University
Karra McCray Gibson, Brown University
Advocating for #MeToo: Forming Legislative Networks in Congressional Women's Caucuses

Madeline Hossler, Merrimack College
Gendered Order, Gendered Violence: White Christian Nationalism and the Anti-Transgender Panic in the 2024 Republican Primary

Shannon McQueen, West Chester University
Why Republican Women Fail to Garner Support from Women's Organizations: Sexism, Ambivalence, and Party Culture

Dante Scala, University of New Hampshire
J. Mitchell Scacchi, Josiah Bartlett Center for Public Policy
Female Ambition in the New Hampshire House of Representatives: A Study of Legislative Leadership

PANEL CHAIR: **Guillermo Caballero, Salisbury University**
DISCUSSANT: **Nicholas Kapoor, Fairfield University**

7-E (WATCH HILL): Exploring Dynamics in Global Politics
sponsored by the International Relations section

Shahin Berenji, United States Naval War College
From Small Steps to Bold Gestures: Revisiting Sadat's Attempts to Reassure Israel between 1975 and 1977

David Plazek, Vermont State University
Realist or Liberal? Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2009

Jay Rumas, University of Rhode Island
An Illiberal Populist Coalition? Perhaps Not: The Obstacles To a Slovak-Hungarian Alliance.

PANEL CHAIR: Christopher LaMonica, United States Coast Guard Academy
DISCUSSANT: Christopher LaMonica, United States Coast Guard Academy

7-F (ROSE ISLAND 1): Past Presidents Reflect on NEPSA's 75th Anniversary
sponsored by the New England Political Science Association

1980's   **Garrison Nelson, University of Vermont**
1990's   **Maureen Moakley, University of Rhode Island**
2000's   **James Morone, Brown University**
2010's   **John Berg, Suffolk University**
2020's   **Anne Marie Cammisa, Georgetown University**

PANEL CHAIR: Scott McLean, Quinnipiac University

7-G (ROSE ISLAND 1): Virtue, the State, and Metaphysics: the Modern Break from Ancient Political Thought
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Ian MacFarlane, University of Texas - Austin
The State as an Organism is Hegel's Philosophy of Right

Mary Jane Porzenheim, Boston College
Is Resolution a Good Basis for Social Life? On a Few Minor Issues in Descartes's Thought, Including Generosity, Wonder, Freedom, Virtue, the Sovereign Good, Love, Friendship, Respect, Pity, Gratitude, Etc.

Eryn Rozonoyer, Boston College
How the Artificial Man Thinks

Christopher Sanfilippo, University of Texas
The Revival of Ancient Philosophy: Leo Strauss' Restatement

PANEL CHAIR: Linda Rabieh, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
DISCUSSANT: Linda Rabieh, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

7-H (POINT JUDITH): The Philosophy (Not Theory) of International Relations
sponsored by the International Relations section

Eric Fleury, Connecticut College
Tocqueville as a Philosopher of International Reactionism

Joshua King, United States Military Academy
The International Politics of Amour Propre

Nathan Orlando, Benedictine College
Consistency in the Art of Political Education

Stephen Sims, Rochester Institute of Technology
The Problem of International Justice: A Classical Approach

PANEL CHAIR: Eric Fleury, Connecticut College
DISCUSSANT: Daniel Lang, University of Lynchburg

7-I (SANDY POINT): Piety, Tragedy and Happiness
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Leland Stange, Yale University
The Role of Filial Piety in Plato's Republic

Thomas West, Hillsdale College
Hobbes on Happiness and Politics

Carol McNamara, Great Hearts Institute for Classical Education
Banning Shylock

PANEL CHAIR: Kenneth Leonardo, Hamilton College
DISCUSSANT: Kenneth Leonardo, Hamilton College

PLEASE JOIN US FOR AFTERNOON SNACKS
Ballroom Foyer

8-A (BALLROOM A): Public Policy in State and Local Government
sponsored by the Public Policy section

Meghan Peterson, University of Connecticut
Vaughn Crichlow, University of Connecticut
Andrew Clark, University of Connecticut
Connecticut's 911/211/988 Systems: Assessing and Improving Crisis Response Infrastructure Pursuant to CT Public Act 22-64

June Speakman, Roger Williams University
Not in my backyard: The composition of local planning boards and decisions about affordable housing

José Tavares, Nova School of Business and Economics
Henrique Alpalhão, Bocconi University
Marta Lopes, independent scholar
João Pereira dos Santos, University of Lisbon
Public Expenditure and Private Firm Performance: Using Religious Denominations for Causal Inference

PANEL CHAIR: **Daniel Carrigg, University of Rhode Island**
DISCUSSANT: **Daniel Carrigg, University of Rhode Island**

8-B (BALLROOM B): Politics in the Northeast
sponsored by the American Politics section

Timothy Bristol, Southern Connecticut State University
How Clean Elections Change Spending

Emily Lynch, University of Rhode Island
Ying Xiong, University of Rhode Island
Julie Keller, University of Rhode Island
David Rudolph, University of Rhode Island
Partisan Polarization and Public Opinion on Education in Rhode Island

Luke Perry, Utica University
Why New York is Unlikely to Deliver for House Democrats in 2024

PANEL CHAIR: **Rich Clark, Vermont State University - Castleton**
DISCUSSANT: **Rich Clark, Vermont State University - Castleton**

8-C (BALLROOM C): The Judiciary in a Polarized Era
sponsored by the Public Law section

Kimberly Bergendahl, University of Connecticut
Christopher Truedson, University of Connecticut
Party-Poopers? Assessing Senate Judiciary Committee Members' Lines of Questioning of Supreme Court Nominees in an Era of Party Polarization

Lisa Holmes, University of Vermont
The Judiciary as an Issue in Recent U.S. Presidential Elections

Natalie Rogol, Rhode Island College
Anna McCaghren Fleming, Mercer University
Matthew Montgomery, Texas Christian University
Going Public on Court Reform

Thomas Schmeling, Rhode Island College
Reframing Constitutional Outliers

PANEL CHAIR: **Paul Herron, Providence College**
DISCUSSANT: **Sam Hayes, Trinity College**

8-D (BALLROOM D): Topics in Undergraduate Research 5: Comparative Politics / International Relations
sponsored by the Undergraduate Research Committee

Dillon Nitz, United States Coast Guard Academy
William O'Leary, United States Coast Guard Academy
Nicholas Torres, United States Coast Guard Academy
Dawson Willis, United States Coast Guard Academy
Analyzing Capacity Building to Combat East Africa Drug Trafficking

Estela Raya-Fouts, Simmons University
The Consequences of Coloniality: Searching for a Queer Decolonial Feminism in Latin America

Isabella Santos, Simmons University
Painting, Photography and Populism: An Integrative Study on the Regimes of Venezuela's Hugo Chávez and Peru's Alberto Fujimori

Viktar Siamionau, Wheaton College
Is Education in Humanities and Social Science a Bulwark Against Authoritarianism

PANEL CHAIR: **Andre Turcotte, Carleton University**
DISCUSSANT: **Andre Turcotte, Carleton University**

8-F (ROSE ISLAND 1): Socrates and the Problems of Politics from Plato to bel hooks
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Matt Dinan, St. Thomas University
Kierkegaard's Socrateses

Derek Duplessie, Assumption University
Socrates' Eros and Socrates' Daimon

Paul Kirkland, Carthage College
Decadence in Philosophical Life: Socrates' Freedom from Ressentiment and Nietzsche's Image of the Tragic Philosopher

Abbie LeBlanc, Harvard University
Plato's Socrates and bell hooks on the Art of Teaching

Mary Townsend, St. John's University
The Nightmares of Socrates: Poetry and Injustice in Plato's Phaedo

PANEL CHAIR: Matt Dinan, St. Thomas University
DISCUSSANT: Matt Dinan, St. Thomas University

8-G (HAMILTON): Groups in Change, Polities in Development
sponsored by the Politics and History section

Greg Collins, Yale University
Toward a Conception of Civil Society in Early Black Political Thought

Clara Downey, Georgetown University
Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women: The Impact of Historical Policy

Michael Gunter, Rollins College
Searching for Sustainability in the Sunshine State

Matthew Ulricksen, Community College of Rhode Island
"Slight signs of sanity and human intelligence": Rhode Island's Rejection of the Eighteenth Amendment, a Case Study in Pluralist Democracy

PANEL CHAIR: Theodore Masthay, DeSales University
DISCUSSANT: Theodore Masthay, DeSales University

8-H (SANDY POINT): Political Theory in the Emerging Republic
sponsored by the Political Theory section

Erin Brooks, College of the Holy Cross
Washington's Newburgh Address and the American Officer Tradition

Aaron Herold, Princeton University / SUNY Geneseo
Between Idealism and Cynicism: Tocqueville's Case for Freedom in The Old Regime and the Revolution

Jason Jividen, Saint Vincent College
Progress, Human Nature, and the Founders' Political Science

PANEL CHAIR: Shawn Driscoll, University of Massachusetts - Lowell
DISCUSSANT: Shawn Driscoll, University of Massachusetts - Lowell

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NEPSA extends its thanks to Joe Amsler Duplicating Supervisor, Shippensburg University for his stellar work in supervising the printing of the conference program.

Bradley Abel, Trinity College
A Comparative Analysis of Redlining's Impact on Household Well-Being in Roxbury and Milton, 1930-1970
This paper assesses the impact of divergent housing policies on household well-being, concentrating on redlining in Roxbury, a predominantly African-American town, and non-redlining in Milton, a predominantly white town in Boston, from 1930 to 1970. The paper examines the historical footing of redlining in Boston, scrutinizing its far-reaching effects on neighborhoods, the persistence of consequences, and the present-day challenges. Through a comparative analysis between Roxbury and Milton, this paper seeks to uncover the multifaceted ways in which historical policies added to markedly different outcomes in household well-being; moreover, this paper adopts John Stuart Mill's "System of Logic" methodology, employing the method of difference model. This analytical approach allows for an in-depth exploration of economic, social, and political dimensions, unraveling the detailed causal relationships between redlining and household well-being disparities. The various literatures utilized add theoretical foundations to comprehending the intricacies of the political landscape and discriminatory practices that shaped these divergent housing policies. The methodology thoroughly examines HOLC maps, utilizing propensity score methods and integrating insights from current studies that highlight the lingering effects and present difficulties. This paper contributes valuable insights to the theoretical discourse on the enduring legacy of discriminatory housing policies. It underscores the need for comprehensive policy solutions to correct historical injustices and foster well-being for all communities.

Mahesh Admankar, University of Massachusetts - Boston
Impact of Climate Change on the Mental Health of Youth in USA.
This paper is aimed at examining the global health issue of mental health problems among the youth due to the impact of the climate change with a global outlook and specific focus on the USA. It examines how youth face and cope up with the mental health challenges in response to climate change in the context of ongoing climate crisis with major issues and current policies. Thus, it explores the mutual impact of climate change, youth, and mental health.

Muhammad Omar Afzaal, Brown University
Picking Your Battles: Brinkmanship and Escalation in the India-Pakistan Conflict
What explains the variation in a state's choice to escalate against an adversary's military actions? Why does a state accommodate some adversarial military actions but retaliates forcefully against other armed actions? Using the primary case of Pakistan and a shadow comparative case of India, my paper argues that escalation holds varying connotations and results in distinct consequences according to where the adversarial provocation is perceived to occur. Showing that escalation along contested territory can be structured and reciprocal, I claim that contrary to conventional wisdom, states engage in rules-based, ordered gamesmanship along disputed territory, which allows them to maximize battlefield brinkmanship and press their territorial claims without escalation. In contrast, escalation is more likely when such ordered gamesmanship is perceived to be absent: in this situation, adversarial armed actions are perceived to be more strategic and threatening, challenging the state's existence. My theory, accompanied by an original empirical dataset capturing the variation in Pakistan's choice to escalate against India, underscores the significance of the nature of territorial disputes and the resulting gamesmanship between two adversarial states. I engage a structured, focused comparison method to compare specific crises, ceasefire violations, and cross-border attacks, some of which spiraled into violent escalation while others did not. My mixed methods approach employs process tracing, longitudinal examination, statistical analysis, and critically, an inductive and qualitative case-study approach to answer the broader puzzle of why enduring rivals experience escalation occasionally but not consistently.

Muhammad Omar Afzaal, Brown University
Caution and Aggression in Enduring Rivalries: Tactical Decision-Making on the Battlefield

Why does a state miss utilizing seemingly obvious opportunities on the battlefield against an adversary? What leads to a state forgoing tactical windows of military opportunity? Using an inductive and qualitative case-study approach with process tracing, my paper focuses on specific decisions undertaken during the India-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971, along with the Israel-Arab Yom Kippur War of 1973 and the Sino-Indian War of 1962. I develop a theory exploring the role of institutional perceptions and norms of escalation to explain the variation in tactical decision-making on the battlefield. To answer the puzzling yet highly consequential battlefield decisions among my cases, I use civil-military relations and organization theory to argue why the interaction of institutional perceptions and escalation norms can induce either restraint or escalation, leading to caution or aggression respectively on the battlefield. My paper further underscores how such perceptions can prevent a state from exploiting opportunistic battlefield positions and success. In doing so, I explain the varying impact of such perceptual biases and normative miscalculations on a state's military strategy across time.

Ashley Aguilera, Southern Connecticut State University
Machine Politics is Not Enough: A Case Study of Public Participation in Bridgeport, Connecticut

The objective of this paper is to create a clear definition of a political machine and measure the extent to which Bridgeport, Connecticut serves as one. Seeing that Bridgeport is Connecticut's largest city and New England's fifth most populous city, it serves as a case study in discussing political machines and how they affect public participation in the city. This city also has a history of absentee ballot abuse and fraud during election season, resulting in a court lawsuit that challenged this year's election results, which gained national attention in recent months. Machine-oriented politics is a continuing issue in Bridgeport, one that creates lower voter turnout compared to other major cities and creates distrust among the voting population. The methodology employed in this paper uses a qualitative analysis of election results, interviews, city records, and general observations of the Democratic Town Committee and the local government to determine the strength of the political machine in Bridgeport. This paper concludes that the city employs political machine tactics to emphasize its political strength in elections and policymaking decisions. Bridgeport's municipal election results have been disputed this year due to allegations of absentee ballot abuse by political operatives, with the mayor's election currently on hold until February. The court ruling from the civil lawsuit received national attention and established a precedent for the use of absentee ballots, strengthening the policy against abuse. Policymakers in the state legislature will examine the future of absentee voting as a result of Bridgeport's election. The findings of this research serve as a case study for state legislators looking to reform and strengthen voting rights in a city where voter turnout is anemic due to the ongoing political machine.

Benjamin Arah, Bowie State University

Nigeria: Post-Independent Challenges of Nation-building, Political Leadership, and Consociation (as a Recipe for Peaceful Co-existence)

This paper provides an interpretive analysis designed to highlight why Nigeria's early post-independent political experiment failed and a discussion of the challenges associated with nation-building, with the recommendation of consociation as the most viable political choice and a recipe for multi-ethnic cooperation and peaceful coexistence in Nigeria. The British colonial agents and administrators created Nigeria in 1914 and ruled it until October 1960, but Nigerians have ruled in Nigeria for more than 63 years with no prospect of ethnic tolerance and peaceful coexistence. There is no doubt that, since 1960 that Nigerians have ruled in Nigeria, Nigerians have killed their fellow citizens and inherited a more ethnically divided post-colonial nation, with intermittent pogroms and sporadic ethnic-religious violence, ongoing para-military killings, and it has unfortunately become a "failed state" in Africa or on the verge of collapsing. This author suggests that consociation is a possible pathway forward anchored on the premiss that Nigerians have no choice to unite forces and pull their rich resources together to address and resolve Nigeria's twin problem of ethnicity and failure of leadership. Consociation, as a political strategy, compels patriotic Nigerians to dialogue with and negotiate among themselves, re-committing themselves and collaborating with other Nigerians to build a united, functional, politically stable, democratic, and prosperous Nigeria for all Nigerians regardless of ethnicity and religious affiliations. This paper is a clarion call that the burden of nation-building is the responsibility of every Nigerian, and the failure of building it is not an option, or Nigerians may opt to participate in their own complete national self-destruction.

Aseel Azab, Brown University

(Extra)Ordinary Muslims, (Extra)Ordinary Possibilities

I explore recent developments in Egyptian Islamism, taking as a turning point the 2013 military coup and massacre of protestors in Raba'a square, by considering the layers of personal and social trauma these events produced as well those it unearths. I argue for an expanded conception of trauma as that which builds as well as breaks narratives, worldviews and subjectivities, and suggest that the constitution and development of the Islamist subject along Egypt's modern history has been intimately tied with both the formation and consolidation of an Egyptian middle class claiming a distinctly modern Islamic political theology, and the development of a 'heroic' sensibility as a response to successive historical episodes of cultural, and political trauma. By considering the discursive practices of two Salafi intellectuals in post 2013 Egypt, their conceptualisation of the notions of the 'ordinary', the Islamist disavowal they are responding to, and their critical revisions to Salafi/Islamist discourses, I critically engage with, and take in new directions, the way scholars have been theorising changes in Islamist (and more recently Salafi) discourses/practices. Unlike the post-Islamism of Asef Bayat, Olivier Roy, etc. I argue that the discursive shift we see in some Egyptian Salafi circles conveys not the epistemic or political failures of Islamism, but the eventual unwinding of the political theology and conception of a vanguardist selfhood that have concomitantly constituted Egyptian Islamism. Far from claiming the end of Islamism, I consider this a moment of critical reflections, spiritual revision, and reconfiguration of the Islamist youth's relation to oneself, society, and God. Finally, I consider how this avenue of investigation allows us to revisit claims about Salafi vs. Muslim Brotherhood religiosity, the role of class in the formation of Muslim subjects, and where we have drawn the fault lines between Islamism, the Brotherhood, and Salafism in Egypt.

Jason Barabas, Dartmouth College, et al.

How Old is Too Old? Public Support for Older Political Leaders and Mandatory Retirement Policies

Increasingly, lawmakers in the United States remain in elected office well into their seventies or beyond. Some of these trends are to be expected with increases in longevity, but increasingly political commentators and members of the public are concerned that candidates are unqualified simply because they are too old rather than due to policy disagreements. Aside from potential ethical dilemmas related to age discrimination, these criticisms raise many practical political questions without clear answers. How old is too old in the minds of American voters and does it depend upon the factors such as the gender of the incumbent, region, or perhaps the level of the political position (e.g., President, Governor, House Representative, or Senator)? More broadly, this project explores (1) how does a political candidate's actual age affect levels of their public support in America, and (2) are Americans willing to enact mandatory retirement policies for older office holders? These questions are of interest because the federal government and most states already have minimum age requirements to hold public elected office, but there are essentially no maximum age limits. Ironically, many less prominent occupations have mandatory retirement ages (e.g., judges, airline pilots), yet the issue of support for mandatory retirement policies has not been explored despite the advanced ages of many leaders. To address these questions, this project employs a series of survey experiments on national adult samples to explore whether candidate age matters and whether it influences electoral support as well as policies that could be enacted to address age-related concerns.

Lawrence Becker, California State University, Northridge, et al.

Constraining Narratives: The Strategic Implications of Interpreting Victory and Loss in Modern Presidential Elections

After each presidential election, strategists and commentators construct narratives regarding why the election turned out as it did. These narratives are often unsupported by evidence but importantly, they are "sticky" and have impacts on subsequent behavior of parties, candidates, and campaigns. Taking account of several cases from modern presidential elections (and their aftermath), this paper explores the processes by which strategists and commentators construct these narratives and how those constructions have ongoing impacts on subsequent party strategy and candidate behavior. With a broad historical range (from the 1950s to now), this paper interrogates dominant narratives as they were constructed after key elections and demonstrates how the "stickiness" of narrative lessons affected the nominating processes and strategic choices made by parties and candidates in subsequent years.

Shahin Berenji, United States Naval War College

From Small Steps to Bold Gestures: Revisiting Sadat's Attempts to Reassure Israel between 1975 and 1977

Recently declassified archival documents reveal that Egyptian-Israeli tensions dramatically increased in July and in October of 1977. The disputants, particularly Israel, misperceived their rivals' military exercises/maneuvers as possible preparation for war and accordingly, either took or considered measures to counter a preemptive attack. From a theoretical standpoint, the fact these war scares even took place is interesting given the disputants' active involvement in the U.S.-led peace process and given Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's conciliatory actions from 1975 to 1977. In that short timeframe, he went to great lengths to communicate his peaceful intentions to Israel; he reopened the Suez Canal, repopulated and redeveloped the Canal Zone cities, concluded the Second Sinai Disengagement Agreement, expressed diplomatic flexibility and ideological moderation, cut off Egypt's armed forces from Soviet weapons and parts, and finally, established a secret, backchannel with Israel. While Sadat embraced a step-by-step approach to reassure Israel, the war scares reveal that his multiple conciliatory signals were not too meaningful. It was not until Sadat later visited Jerusalem in November 1977 that the fears and mistrust of Israeli officials had been greatly allayed and the threat of war had largely, though not totally, dissipated. This paper thus shows how decisionmakers' attitudes, beliefs, and images of their rival are not susceptible to change when conciliatory signals are small or modest and when they are delivered incrementally. Bold, risky gestures are better at reassuring rivals and are needed, as Sadat later noted, to help break through the "psychological barriers" that are at the heart of adversarial relationships.

Kimberly Bergendahl, University of Connecticut, et al.

Party-Poopers? Assessing Senate Judiciary Committee Members' Lines of Questioning of Supreme Court Nominees in an Era of Party Polarization

Poole and Rosenthal (1984) equate "political polarization" in the United States with elected officials being more likely to represent extreme ideological coalitions as opposed to "middle-of-the-road" voters. Applying this definition to the current political landscape, one would expect members of the Senate Judiciary Committee to be more likely to ask Supreme Court nominees questions about their judicial philosophies as opposed to their qualifications, particularly when those senators do not belong to the nominating president's party. Building upon an existing conference presentation (Bergendahl and Kelly, 2021), we employ sophisticated quantitative models to assess whether senators are more likely to break away from focusing on the nominee's judicial philosophy and instead tailor their questions to each individual nominee, even during this era of "party polarization." The findings from this current research project may provide insight into how members of the Senate Judiciary Committee are carrying out their constitutional duty to offer "Advice and Consent" in this process, possibly finding that they are less ideological and partisan in their lines of questioning and instead more attentive to crafting questions specific to the nominee appearing before them.

Emma Bernstein, Baylor University

Eros in Xenophon's Cyropaedia and Memorabilia

Xenophon observes that the "many call strong desire erotic passion," but implies that this understanding of eros is too limited. Xenophon himself describes erotic passion with respect to the begetting and rearing children, labor, excess, and wealth. In this paper, I attempt to clarify what Xenophon means when he refers to erotic desire in contrast to longings and desires simply. I then turn to the question of how we should understand this erotic desire in its strongest form, which the many identify as erotic passion. The primary subjects of this investigation are the instructions Socrates gives to Theodote on the hunting of "friends" in the Memorabilia, which I contrast to Cyrus' and Araspas' experiences with Panthea in the Cyropaedia. Through this comparison, I hope to shed light on both what is common to all erotic experience and what is so distinctive about Socrates' eros.

Mathis Bitton, Harvard University

Self-Creation as a Work of Art: A Defense of Romantic Liberalism

Intellectual historians typically view romanticism as an illiberal movement. From Wordsworth to Chateaubriand to Nietzsche, the most prominent representatives of the romantic sensibility were also ardent critics of the modern project. For them, classical liberalism was the ideology of the merchant, the rationalist, and the bourgeois. Romanticism, by contrast, sided with the artist against the administrator, exalted passion over reason, and did not let moderation stand in the way of self-expression. Yet the romantics share a central concern with liberal thinkers: the search for self-creation. Both liberals and romantics envision a world in which individuality flourishes without impediments, liberated from constraints and conventions. Drawing on the work of Isaiah Berlin, this paper gestures at a reconciliation between liberalism and romanticism — which, I argue, compensates for the excesses of both. Against the illiberal temptations of the romantics, Berlin shows that the institutions of liberalism (limited government, individual rights, commercial exchange, and so on) best serve the cause of self-expression. Against the rationalism of the Enlightenment, Berlin re-thinks tolerance and self-creation not as attempts to rid ourselves of all prejudices, but as works of art that draw on inherited sources of meaning. Out of this unusual fusion emerges a skeptical defense of classical liberalism. Against those who mistake liberalism for a managerial project, the romantic sensibility breathes new life into what L.T. Hobhouse calls the "heart of liberalism," that is, the daunting task of self-creation.

Robert Boatright, Clark University, et al.
What a National Primary Day Would Look Like, and How we Might get There
Some primary election reform advocates have argued in favor of consolidating all nonpresidential primaries on the same day, or among a small number of days. A National Primary Day could, among other things, focus the attention of interest groups, parties, the media, and the general public on the national issues at stake in the election, and could result in substantially increased turnout. This reform has never been attempted, however, so it is difficult to know how it would work in practice. In this paper we evaluate arguments in favor of establishing a National Primary Day, we explore evidence about the effects of consolidating election dates in the U.S. and other countries, and we discuss the potential consequences of increased primary turnout for representation and candidate behavior. Finally, we discuss the ways in which such a reform could be established.

Stephon Boatwright, CUNY Graduate Center
Reading Through the Myths: The Styles and Techniques of Far Right Propagandists - Abstract
The present study seeks to uncover the discursive and emotional techniques within far right propaganda used to explain social events, fictionalize causes of crises, and politically mobilize against out-groups. Drawing on the categories of psychological manipulation developed by Theodor Adorno's work on fascist agitator Martin Luther Thomas, the study puts his work in conversation with Reinhard Wolf's conclusions on political resentment to create a framework for discourse analysis. Working within the findings of Norbert Guterman and Leo Lowenthal, the study asserts that modernity itself, rife with unfulfilled aspirations, produces a social malaise which populist and authoritarian agitators exploit through fear embedded in language. The proposed method seeks to connect Frankfurt School theories to the new techniques of 21st century radicals, while demonstrating the discursive continuity between political agitators of years past and their contemporary heirs.

Quinn Bornstein, Georgetown University, et al.
Flyover Voters: Rural American Political Satisfaction
When deTocqueville traveled from France to survey cultural and political life in the newly independent United States, he marveled at the political participation in small-town New England, a place where the political system seemed to mirror the needs of its rural residents. However, in a modern time of increased urbanization and polarization, how well do current Americans living in rural communities trust that they have an influence in government, or trust in government institutions at all? Building off prior research on public opinion and rural resentment, this paper utilizes the 2020 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS) to understand how being from rural versus urban America influences trust in government. The CMPS over-samples Black, Latino, and Asian American respondents, allowing this paper to illuminate the diversity within rural America and add nuance to the perception of these voters as a homogenous white or conservative demographic group. Building off previous work on trust in government, we expect that levels of trust will manifest differently for white respondents compared to people of color. We also hypothesize that, due to the variation in public services offered, or perceived levels of government attention paid to rural versus urban areas, trust in government will look different depending on population density -- holding race, socioeconomic status, or other demographic factors constant. Therefore, a Black woman living in rural America will have a different perception of trust and relationship to government compared to a Black woman living in a city. The addition of place-based identity markers allows for an additional level of complexity when seeking to understand how intersectional identities, particularly for marginalized groups -- which are often overlooked in the popular perception of rural America -- contribute to political behavior and public opinion.

MaryAnne Borrelli, Connecticut College
Advocating for a Democratic Church? Editorial Themes and Assertions Throughout the Papacies of Benedict XVI and Francis I

A vastly understudied journalistic genre, editorials present unequivocal judgments, seeking to persuade and mobilize readers. In this coverage, media outlets leverage their institutional reputations to effect change, to inform, or to support the status quo. This paper examines these functions and qualities in editorials about Popes Benedict and the Roman Catholic church, published in The New York Times (the newspaper of record in the United States), The Los Angeles Times (the leading national paper of the West Coast), The Wall Street Journal (highly respected as a moderately conservative business daily), and The Washington Post (focused on "inside the Beltway" national and international politics). These outlets have insistently advocated for the church to be more accountable, transparent, and responsive. Yet these are changes that the church has firmly rejected. So are the editorials purely – perhaps even merely – oppositional? Or is there a more nuanced and complex relationship among the newspapers, the church, and the pope? To answer these questions, quantitative and qualitative content analysis is utilized to determine which topics the editorials most frequently or routinely address; who, across the church hierarchy, the editorials hold accountable for scandals or successes; how the editorials define the pope, whether as chief of state, church leader, or diplomatic sovereign; and the extent to which editorial coverage is critical or affirming. This research demonstrates that editorials of the four major U.S. national newspapers are portraying a transnational church and its charismatic leader in terms that are complex, compelling, and often problematic.

Megean Bourgeois, Brown University
In the Wake of Hurricane Harvey: What Texas Can Teach Us About the Future of Disaster Response

The following paper is a discussion disaster response politics as they have manifested in the wake of Hurricane Harvey. It is drawn from the third chapter of my completed dissertation. The chapter reflects on interviews conducted with disaster response workers and community leaders in the Coastal Bend area of Texas. In the chapter I identify three concerning phenomena in the world of disaster response. First I note that piecemeal approaches to disaster response through nonprofit organizations can dissipate the solidarity that arises in communities after natural disasters, resulting in decreasing faith in public institutions. Second, I observe that disaster recovery can, and in this case does, operate as a mode of recolonization. Third, I show the ways that the language of disaster response can be militarized and depends on in group-out group language that reinforces existing xenophobia—a troubling phenomenon in the context of a state that connects the infrastructures of recovery and border control. This paper takes a mixed methods approach to understanding the implications of the Coastal Bend recovery case for the future of disaster response in the United States.

Zachary Bowen, Alfred State College (SUNY)
Abdicating the Moment: Coalition, Consensus, and Chaos within the Democratic Party (1968-1972)

In the brief period of time from 1968 to 1972, the Democratic Party experienced a critical series of factional feuds and contested national election cycles. The political history of this charged moment can be analyzed through the lenses of three major and identifiable sociopolitical trends: coalition, consensus, and chaos. A deep excavation of the historiography chronicling this time indicates, in hindsight, that the Democratic Party's coalition-building efforts of the 1960s were coming unraveled by the '68 election; both in the face of constituency pressure across a uniquely diverse array of voting blocks and in conjunction with LBJ's decision not to seek a second presidential term. The chaos created by 1968's Democratic ideological turf war between Humphrey, RFK, and McCarthy led to an unfortunate desire by the national leadership of the party to posture George McGovern as a consensus candidate under the broad banner of progressive liberalism in the 1972 election. This flawed campaign strategy, combined with the lack of meaningful coalition around McGovern's domestic agenda, resulted in one of the most profound electoral thrashings in 20th century American political history. The complex variety of political challenges faced by the Democratic Party in their attempts to produce viable presidential candidates in the wake of McGovern's resounding failure in 1972 (which lingered for a full generation) will also be explored in detail.

Janet Box-Steffensmeier, Ohio State University, et al.
Congressional Speech Networks: A Measure of Membership in the House of Representatives

Legislators speak at the floor Congress to express policy preferences, advocate on behalf of their constituents, or signal their position to other political actors. Regardless of their aim, these speeches contain valuable information about their relationships with other members of Congress. In this paper, we investigate the overtime similarity in rhetorical style adopted by members of Congress during official speeches. Applying well known natural language processing methods to the Congressional Record from 1981 to 2017, we develop relational networks between members of Congress using statements given on the House floor. Based on these networks, we provide a measure of membership based on the speech similarities of individual members over time. These networks provide an additional relational measure between members of Congress similar to bill cosponsorship, and caucuses, which ultimately uncovers another dimension of legislative partisanship and effectiveness.

Michelle Bozzi, Simmons University
"Problematizing Punctuated Equilibrium: A Comparative Analysis of the Post-Regulation Tobacco Policy Landscape"

Punctuated equilibrium theory (PET) has been taken up widely by political science scholarship as a framework to understand recent changes in the federal regulation of tobacco products. Given the consistent laissez-faire treatment of cigarette smoking in American society prior to the rapid embrace of public health-based interventions and excise taxation of tobacco products in the 1990s and 2000s, the general trajectory of popular opinion and policy change in this area maps intuitively onto many of PET's key assumptions and prescriptions. A growing body of empirical research has sought to test the applicability of punctuated equilibrium to this policy domain. However, some literature suggests that the punctuation of anti-smoking laws at the turn of the century did not materially disrupt the monopoly of tobacco industry lobbyists, who soon began to utilize narrative strategies emphasizing 'corporate social responsibility' and working class sympathies to reclaim credibility and dominance over the policy arena. As such, this article pursues a comparative analysis of both punctuated equilibrium and narrative policy frameworks to understand the factors driving material change in tobacco policy, underscoring the limitations of PET to forecast causal relationships between policy change and policy effects.

Jonathan Bradley, University of Vermont
Even unto the Environment: Study of Christian Denominations' Attitudes on Environmental Issues as a Measure of Social Identity Theory.

Social Identity Theory posits that when ideologically dissimilar groups align over a single issue, or a small group of issues, if that alignment is successful, it pulls the two dissimilar groups together so as to eventually align on most issues. This can be seen most clearly in the alignment between conservative politics with evangelical and fundamentalist Christians' interests, beginning with the issues of Abortion & states' rights till now where there is almost total alignment on all issues. This paper seeks to test Social Identity Theory by measuring official statements made by Christian denominations in the US with over 100,000 members on environmental and climate change issues in comparison to those denominations' statements on abortion, taxes, civil liberties, and other hot-button issues which the two US political parties cleave on. It is hypothesized that these denominations will adopt environmental policies aligned with other social issues according to political party cleavages.

Niel Brasher, Shippensburg University
Ukraine War Trade Sanctions on Russia: Smaller Country Behavior
Abstract: The proposed paper examines trade flows to Russia following sanctions due to the Ukraine War. Russian overall imports, Russian overall exports, Russia energy exports, Russian sensitive electronic equipment imports and other important imports for conducting war are examined over the eight quarters since the war begun. A major focus is on smaller non-sanctioning countries and how their trade behavior might be impacted by USA /EU despite having no formal sanctions on Russia.

Timothy Bristol, Southern Connecticut State University
How Clean Elections Change Spending
This paper will study how the Citizens Election Program (CEP) in Connecticut has affected campaign spending in state level elections. It will study elections from 2004 to 2020. I will study campaign spending trends through campaign filings from state record and determine if campaign spending has had significant change over the years. The CEP became law in 2008 so I can get data from before the program was law and data on how spending has changed since the program was made law. I will focus on state representative and state senate campaigns.

Erin Brooks, College of the Holy Cross
Washington's Newburgh Address and the American Officer Tradition
Among the many challenges George Washington faced during the Revolutionary War, one of his greatest was building a capable fighting force in the Continental Army. Chief among these objectives was the formation of a professional officer class. The only models for a professional officer class were those of European aristocracies, but in egalitarian America, Washington lacked the preexisting social institutions that developed professional officers from elite families. In short, there was no nobility to populate the officer corps. As a result, Washington strove to set a standard for "gentlemanly" character, to make ordinary patriots into an American officer class. This paper looks at Washington's Newburgh Address as the strongest example of his efforts to set the standards that would come to define American leadership. While other scholars and historians have focused on Washington's actions surrounding the event, such as the strategic use of his glasses, this paper addresses the moral teachings of the address itself. This paper ultimately concludes that the address is the fullest articulation of Washington's efforts to establish a culture of honor, accountability, good judgment, and responsibility, thus making it central to understanding Washington's project and its continuing impact on American officer culture.

James Buthman, Hartwick College
Public Policy Across the Landscape: Examining public policy through experiential learning
This paper analyzes environmental policy through the issues of energy, land use, and transportation based upon an experiential/interpretive study of Public Policy and Nature through 2020 and 2021. The paper explores the development over time of conservation of public lands, the promotion of alternative forms of adventure travel, and the development of policy for energy sources over time. The author traveled the country via bicycle between 2020-2021, during the height of the Covid pandemic, to explore the relationship between people and nature and to evaluate the state of environmental policies around the United States from the perspective of a slow and deliberative pace. This paper, resulting from the research looks at key areas of environmental policy and seeks to explain how these vital areas affect the relationship between people and the land and how policies developed over time.

Marc Julien Camanag, Georgetown University

Pachamama or Death: Identity Salience and Environmental Attitudes within Bolivia's Indigenous Population

In the Bolivian context, sociopolitical attitudes among Indigenous peoples dynamically fluctuate as they move between expressions of racial identity and class identity. From this competing framework of Indigeneity and perceived class status, I discuss the different political preferences surrounding the natural world that emerge when one identity is salient over the other. Drawing from this subgroup of the Bolivian population, I argue that a salient Indigenous identity produces a favorable and protective stance of the environment, whereas a salient class identity — that of the middle class, specifically — produces an unfavorable and exploitative one. Owing to the shifting impermanence of such attitudes, I examine significant manifestations of each stance within the last three decades; in particular, I explore and delineate instances of competing identities through the praxes of the Indigenous middle class and former president Evo Morales. Regarding Indigeneity, I propose that the deeply valued concepts of territory and Pachamama engender a preference for environmental preservation, and explore this argument through studies of two critical instances of Indigenous mobilization. Additionally, I briefly discuss the co- opting of such attitudes and preferences by Evo Morales and the Movimiento al Socialismo, particularly as a means of performance. In terms of the adopted socioeconomic identity of the "middle class," I contend that government policy and community attitudes indicate a preference for environmental exploitation, and examine this notion in the context of wealth redistribution and decolonization. I suggest that such a preference is rooted in the new potential for upward mobility that emerged under Morales, and that this development in turn causes the environment to be situated second to self-preservation.

Blake Cameron, Carleton University, et al.

An Authentic Test: Measuring the "Authentic" in Canadian Politics

In 2023, Merriam-Webster named "authentic" their word of the year, defined as "worthy of acceptance or belief as conforming to or based on fact" (Merriam-Webster, 2023). The announcement noted that the term was among the most searched for, as it is "something we're thinking about, writing about, aspiring to, and judging more than ever" (Merriam-Webster, 2023). The concept of authenticity has a longstanding relationship to political leadership (Ceccobelli and Di Gregorio 2022; Weinberg 2023) communication (Cornejo 2008; Serazio 2017; Luebke 2021), voting behavior (Stiers et al. 2021; Caduhada 2023; Maffly-Kipp et al. 2023), and campaigning (Birks 2011; Grow and Ward 2013; Gaden and Dumitrica 2015). However, when surmising recent political discourse and media coverage, one wonders whether "authenticity" is still grounded in fact or has become a construction for media or political use. Considering growing public and scholarly attention, we aim to examine the use of "authentic" in Canadian politics from two different perspectives. First, we look at political news coverage and examine various ways in which the term is framed. Using a sample derived from two digital publications—The Globe and Mail and The National Post—over the course of the last three federal elections, we uncover a steady increase in the term's appearance and several common narrative attachments. Second, relying on survey data from the same three Canadian federal elections, we track the recent evolution and public understanding of "authenticity" as it relates to voting behaviour. This dual approach to examining "authenticity" will help to develop an understanding of both the use and development of the term in Canadian political discourse. Further, this works to empirically ground much of the theoretical literature in this area and offers the possibility for similar explorations in other political environments.

Daniel Carrigg, University of Rhode Island
Crossing the Streams: Public Administrators as Policy Entrepreneurs in the War on Poverty.
President Lyndon Baines Johnson's administration created a flurry of over 200 pieces of legislation that established over 500 programs that would become known collectively as The Great Society. But only a small number of these laws and programs were dedicated to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). The OEO, led by Sargent Shriver, was the principle vehicle by which a "War on Poverty" was to be waged. Shriver staffed this office with a group of young and ambitious bureaucrats who came to be called "Shriver's young radicals." These young radicals drew power from connections in the Executive Office of the President (EOP) and the Ford Foundation. Their views were ideologically diverse, but due to the broad and vague nature of their authorizing legislation – The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 – these public administrators were afforded a rare opportunity to operate as entrepreneurs within the policy stream in some incredibly creative ways. Their efforts have major ramifications to this day.

Bruce Caswell, Rowan University
Wilson Carey McWilliams, The Idea of Fraternity (1973), at 50.
McWilliams' The Idea of Fraternity in America (1973, U. of California Press), which received the 1974 National Historical Society prize, appeared at a time when many American youth were alienated from strictly empirical political science as well as the political theory of "dead white males." McWilliams argued the motto "liberty, equality, and fraternity" in contemporary America had devolved into controversies strictly over individual freedom (liberty) or equality of outcomes (equality). McWilliams argued for the overlooked tradition of fraternity in American political thought. McWilliams, or "Carey" as his friends called him," convinced many young scholars of the continued relevance of political theory. McWilliams traces the idea of fraternity through the thought of the Puritans, the Anti-federalists, and various major and minor literary figures such as Hawthorne, Melville, Twain and Ellison. He argued that this tradition also drew philosophical inspiration from ancient Greek and Christian sources as well. Fraternity, McWilliams argues, is the only means to achieving civic liberty and proper equality. That McWilliams's legacy as a teacher includes a large number of students. This paper attempts to understand the his influence on the body of American political thought.

Stephen Ceccoli, Rhodes College, et al.
Diffusion and Policy Transfer: The Ebb and Flow of State Higher Education Funding Policies
In the current climate of partisan polarization and limited budgetary resources, state legislatures play an increasingly important role in funding public colleges and universities. In contrast to funding formulas tied to enrollment or incremental change, roughly four in five states now rely on performance-based funding (PBF) in linking state resources with specific metrics (e.g., course completion, degree completion) in efforts to increase higher education accountability. The extent of PBF reliance varies both spatially (e.g., Arkansas – 3%; Ohio – 100%) and temporally (e.g., Ohio's PBF was 5% in 2012) across U.S. states. This paper applies insights from policy diffusion and policy transfer to examine spatial and temporal variation in both the usage and extent of PBF across U.S. states. While diffusion offers insights on broader patterns in the spread of PBF policies across states, policy transfer allows for a case-specific analysis of the transfer process to better identify specific mechanisms associated with PBF adoption and abandonment.

Daniel Chand, Kent State University

ICE's IMAGE Problem: Ethics and Impacts of PPPs in Immigration Policy

While public-private partnerships (PPPs) have long sparked ethical concerns among administrators and scholars (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff 2011), this study examines a novel form of PPPs in immigration policy. Specifically, it examines Immigration and Customs Enforcement's (ICE) little-known IMAGE program. Under IMAGE, employers sign agreements to assist ICE in screening a business's employees for immigration violations. In exchange, ICE waves potential fines for the business employing undocumented workers. Using time-series analysis and a list of IMAGE-participating organizations from 2008 through 2018 obtained through Freedom of Information Act, this study examines the impact of IMAGE. Unlike most PPPs, where private businesses assist with delivering public services, IMAGE leverages private employers to deliver a harm, i.e., arrest and potential deportation. Here, I explore the impact of the program by determining whether local IMAGE agreements lead to an increase in "community arrests," when ICE detains immigrants without local law enforcement assistance. There are serious privacy implications to IMAGE. Further, given the punitive impact the program has on immigrants and their families, it merits a level of scrutiny it has yet to receive.

Amy Chandran, Harvard University

Finding a 'Civil' Solution: Unity, Sociability and the Emergence of 'Religion' in Late-Sixteenth Century France

The Wars of Religion revealed deep fissures in the theoretical edifice of French patriots and partisans. Politiques, Leaguers and Huguenots alike agreed upon France's sacred origins; but with religious uniformity in disarray, the particular role religion might play in securing, unifying and binding the polity came under new scrutiny. In this paper, I investigate the increasingly well-defined category of "religion" and its complex role in securing peace amidst civil unrest. I focus on the analysis offered by Adam Blackwood, René Choppin, Pierre D'Epinac, Pierre De l'Estoile, and other Politiques and Leaguers. The authors employed religion as a category that elided distinctive appeals to Aristotelian naturalism and the Divine Right of Kings, in theoretical explanations of political obligation. Yet, France's unrest also occasioned a fascinating, indirect analysis of "civil" or political peace. If peace was traditionally held to connote both a lack of commotion, as well as the rightful, hierarchical ordering of goods to their proper end—France's circumstances suggested the possibility that these aims might be incompatible. If religious toleration is the well-known response to emerging tensions between stability and order, it has often been viewed to inaugurate a privatized, individualistic view of religion. By contrast, this analysis suggests that the distinctive understanding of religion and its communal importance foreclosed the possibility of a "privatized" religious belief.

Christina Charie, Providence College

Aesthetics of Populism: The Impact of Hairstyles and Makeup on the Electoral Success of Populist Women in Europe

Does populist presentation matter? Populist politicians curate a particular public persona which becomes tied to their political positions. This study seeks to understand the presentation and impact of these populist outcomes with a focus on populist women politicians. This study will examine if the hairstyles and makeup choices of populist women politicians influence their vote share. Answering this question is imperative for academic debates regarding how female candidates present themselves to the public. In addition, it is a crucial part of understanding the appeal of new populist right-wing leaders in Europe, many of whom are women like Marine Le Pen and Giorgia Meloni. This paper will conduct a visual analysis of populist women politicians in Europe to identify key patterns of appearance, with a focus on hair and makeup. It will then use a survey experiment to assess whether these aesthetic choices can influence the willingness of people to support the politician. The results of this research will contribute to understanding the appeal of female candidates within an ideology that historically discourages their participation in politics. This study will illuminate the ways that gender, appearance, and populist politics interact to appeal to voters across multiple European nations.

Min Hyun Cho, New York University

The Effect of Constitutional Provisions on Gender Equality

Throughout history, men and women have gone on different paths in terms of their political rights. In the early 20th century, the movement for women's suffrage laid the groundwork for women's political representation. After World War I, many countries in Europe and North America extended voting rights to women. Women were elected to national parliaments in Ireland and the United States for the first time. There was a significant increase in countries allowing women to vote and be elected after World War II ended. The new generation has continuously taken the initiative to enhance women's representation through gender quotas and legislative reforms. Countries like Rwanda, Bolivia, and Sweden have achieved remarkable success, with women taking up a significant proportion of their parliaments. Despite progress, women remain underrepresented in most countries' parliaments. Barriers include societal norms, gender discrimination, and structural challenges within political systems. International organizations like the United Nations and the Inter-Parliamentary Union have actively encouraged women's political participation to overcome these obstacles. As a part of the effort, the UN has set the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 5, targeting gender equality and empowerment for all women and girls, including their participation in governance.   The study compares the level of women's representation in legislatures across countries with and without constitutional provisions for gender equality. In order to facilitate gender equality in political representation, countries have tried to promote women's participation through various measures. Due to the multifaceted nature of political systems and external influences, it is difficult to identify all causal effects between the governmental effort and the increase of women's political representation in parliaments. Therefore, this paper focuses on the effect of constitutional provisions in promoting gender equality.

Min Hyun Cho, New York University

Loopholes in the Global Public Health Regime: A comparative analysis of the TRIPs in the case of HIV/AIDS and COVID-19

A global regime is a set of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and standards that international actors gather around. As the international community has expanded, the meaning of international actors has also changed. There have been many infectious diseases that severely impacted civilians' lives. Despite the worldwide impact of infectious diseases, international efforts have produced only disparate elements of a global regime, which do not necessarily function effectively either individually or together. In 2019, COVID-19, a new infectious disease, killed about 6 million deaths among 450 million contracted people. Even though it is not the first infectious disease that has had a global effect, the response to COVID-19 is often evaluated as a failure. The coronavirus has impacted the world in politics, economics, the environment, and human development such as exports and imports of goods, including vaccines. Global regimes, including the World Trade Organization, have tried to address this challenge, but the failure to respond effectively to COVID-19 shows the weaknesses of the system. This research will examine the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights and its implications for global health. First, it will investigate the issues within the original. Then, it will assess changes made to TRIPS in response to the challenges posed first by the HIV/AIDS pandemic and then the COVID-19 pandemic, noting how reforms came up short in meeting the needs of developing and least developed countries. Finally, based on lessons learned from the inadequate TRIPS reforms, it suggests the modifications to improve TRIPS and its implementation that would provide an appropriate and adequate amount of medicines to protect people in developing and least developed countries. A key finding of this study is that the international community cannot wait to respond to the next pandemic but must institute effective reforms in advance.

Greg Collins, Yale University
Toward a Conception of Civil Society in Early Black Political Thought

The idea of civil society as a zone of social interaction between the individual and the state that grants men and women moral purpose, spiritual fulfillment, and material welfare has served as a source of rich commentary in the traditional canon of political and social thought, and is most closely associated in the United States with Alexis de Tocqueville's Democracy in America. Nevertheless, a book-length study on its intellectual origins and development from the perspective of African-American thinkers has yet to be written. My paper, which is based off my current book project on this subject, is an attempt to offer a provisional account of the guiding themes of early black thinkers' conceptions of civil society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with specific focus on Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. Du Bois. Among the lessons that emerge from their thought are: society is best understood as men and women embedded in social groups rather than as a collection of aggregated individuals removed from their social contexts; civil society was a crucial touchstone to gauge the condition of black progress; civil society could inhibit racial progress, since white-run civil society institutions often restricted black membership; civil society was necessary to counteract the weakness of the individual not only because of the atomizing effects of democracy, as Tocqueville observed, but also because of the atomizing effects of slavery; and civil society, even given its limitations, contains transcendent dimensions of meaning, belonging, and purpose that penetrated the deepest recesses of the human soul.

Kylie Collins, Simmons University
The Development of the Inflation Reduction Act of 2022: How the Multiple Streams Framework can be utilized to understand each stage of the Policy Process

There are multiple theories that compliment or expand on the Stages model to further explain how policies are created, including the Multiple Streams Framework. The Multiple Streams Framework was originally developed for the analysis of the agenda setting process outlined in the Stages Model, however, the guiding assumptions and frameworks originally proposed can be applied to every level of the Stages Model. In analyzing the passage and implementation of the Inflation Reduction Act of 2022, this paper demonstrates how the problem, policy, and political streams were converging to affect the decision-making process throughout the Stages Model. This combined analysis serves as a case study for the influence of the three streams at every stage of the model. The Inflation Reduction Act demonstrates how the decision-making process was impacted when the three streams converged and "coupled" together. Thus, when looking to analyze the passage of any policy using the Stages Model, it may also be useful for policy theorists to consider how the Multiple Streams Framework of policy making could be impacting the policy outcome beyond just the policy window. Identifying which stream appears to be centered can give advocacy groups leverage or give a policy entrepreneur insight into who they should bring their proposed solution before to be considered for adoption.

Brian Conley, Suffolk University
The Challenges of Implementing a National Party Message: A Comparative Analysis of Midterm US Senate Elections.

It is widely accepted by party scholars that US congressional elections have become increasingly "nationalized." The primary evidence scholars cite when supporting the nationalization claim is voting behavior. Curiously, what has not been as closely examined is how parties, or candidates, in the otherwise highly federated US party system have been able to coordinate their activities at a national level. It is an oversight that follows largely from the tendency in the political science literature to overlook the internal, institutional workings of political parties, specifically the work unique to the political practitioner — candidates, party leaders and elected officials — who manage and direct campaigns, parties, and public offices. The goal of this chapter is to examine the political management challenges that confronted both the Democratic and Republican Parties as they have sought in the last three midterm elections to organize around a shared national party message.

Katherine Costello, Quinnipiac University
Untouchable: International Criminal Court Jurisdiction for Alleged War Crimes in Afghanistan and How to Approach and Resolve U.S. Impunity

This article examines the United States' complicated history and future prospects with the International Criminal Court. It will briefly review alleged war crimes committed by U.S. nationals leading up to the ICC's investigation into the situation in Afghanistan. It will then address whether the ICC could exert jurisdiction over a U.S. national and what roadblocks the ICC might approach in its attempt to investigate a U.S. national. Lastly, it will explore the benefits of U.S. cooperation with the ICC and what other avenues the ICC might follow if the U.S. continues to deny jurisdiction and cooperation.

Ken Courtney, University of New England
"Alas; Time to Talk about 'Terrorism' All Over Again"

For theorists, regardless of their political orientation or their beliefs regarding acceptable measures for national security, more than two decades of obscure references to 'terrorism' and problematic policies enacted upon this obscure basis should give us pause. This persistent lack of conceptual clarity regarding 'terrorism' has real-world consequences; one would think that if mere suspicion of particular activities and associations might be enough to prevent immigration to the US and to deprive citizens of the rights of due process and their lives, we would require a clear understanding of what those activities and associations were. Alas, even for agencies and departments within a single government—the U.S. State Department, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Department of Defense collectively being a case in point—there "…is no one…accepted or agreed upon definition of terrorism." Political theorists and philosophers have long grappled with an adequate account, but current US legislation and geopolitical circumstances more widely considered underscore the urgent and enduring importance of giving a clear sense of what we mean by 'terrorism,' or alternatively, acknowledging that we are unable to do so. This paper will take up the analytical task of evaluating proposed definitions, while also emphasizing historical shifts in meaning and examples of tendentious definitions. To be clear, the approach is intended to be non-partisan, and non-excusing for the kinds of violence many have in mind when the term 'terrorism' is invoked; I will nonetheless argue that the current ambiguity of 'terrorism' creates ambiguous categories of persons, whose vulnerability because of being so-categorized often cannot be justified.

Audrey DellaBarba, Saint Anselm College
Influence of Daughters on Parent's Attitudes Towards Abortion

One of the most pivotal experiences an individual goes through is becoming a parent -- a decision that irreversibly changes one's life and their outlook on life, which can then have an influence on their political opinions. The question this project will be examining relates to these highly personal experiences for parents – how does the gender of one's child influence a parent's attitudes towards abortion? This project performed multiple cross tab analysis by testing the relationships between the gender of the respondent, the gender of their child, and measurements of the respondent's attitudes towards abortion. The research also controlled for political party affiliation and Evangelism. Through the data analysis, a significantly strong relationship was found between fathers with daughters only and supporting the legalization of abortion under all circumstances. Fathers with only daughters being significantly more likely to support the legalization of abortion under all circumstances was even found to be true when controlling for variables like identifying as a Republican and/or an Evangelical -- both factors typically associated with being less likely to support legalization of abortion. The project used data from the ANES 2020 Time Series Study.

Daniel DiLeo, Penn State Altoona
Liberating the best from dependence on the many: Undermining Philotimia in Aristotle's "Rhetoric"

Aristotle's Rhetoric is ambivalent about the love of honor (philotimia). This is noteworthy because in the Athenian democracy of Aristotle's day, philotimia was widely accepted as the appropriate motivation for those aspiring to advise and lead the city.   The Rhetoric's countercultural ambivalence about honor served the purpose of freeing Aristotle's students from control by the dēmos, a step that was necessary if they were to be leaders rather than flatterers of the dēmos. Aristotle found this necessary since, in his view, the desires of the dēmos were at odds with the preservation of lawful governance. I will begin by showing that by Aristotle's time popular opinion as indicated by a sampling speeches by Demosthenes and Aeschines was favorably disposed toward philotimia. For the rise of democracy had placed honor's allocation into the hands of the citizenry. Next, I provide the theoretical context of The Rhetoric's treatment of honor by surveying the references to philotimia in the ethico-political treatises toward which The Rhetoric gestures. Then I will survey the references to philotimia in Aristotle's Rhetoric. While not as strongly and uniformly negative as those in the ethico-political treatises, they are considerably less positive than those found in the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines. The treatment of philotimia in The Rhetoric indicates a break with the endoxic assumption of democratic Athens that the craving for honor doled out by the dēmos was a healthy feature of political life. It is consistent with what I maintain to be Aristotle's overarching support for the preservation of even moderately lawful governance, including democratic governance, through undemocratic means. It is a strategy that is worthy of consideration whenever the level of dysfunction in a democracy threatens the preservation of lawful governance.

Matt Dinan, St. Thomas University
Kierkegaard's Socrateses

n/a

Nhat-Dang Do, Trinity College
Racial Minority Interest Groups as Reliable Representatives: Evidence from Lobbying

Previous research has shown that the work of advocacy organizations representing marginalized communities is biased in ways that fail to represent the interests of the disadvantaged. Rather than being equal representatives of their group, these internal biases lead to disproportionately higher levels of attention to the privileged members within their groups. Are organizations specifically and explicitly representing racial groups also subject to such biases? I conceptualize these groups as a separate category of advocacy organizations called racial minority interest groups (RMIGs), which aim to lobby for racial minorities. RMIGs' behavior differs from traditional lobbying or advocacy organizations because race is central to group goals and shapes resources. Using part of an original dataset of over 250,000 Californian legislative bill analyses over twenty years, I show that RMIGs have actively lobbied across diverse issues and are generally reliable representatives of their racial groups. They represent the interests of marginalized people more than the interests of the elites within their groups. After estimating the ideal points or ideological leanings of RMIGs and their respective racial minority communities, I find that the distribution of RMIGs' policy preferences aligns with those they purport to represent. There is also evidence that the distribution RMIG ideal points overlapping closely to the marginalized parts of the racial group at same levels to the elite parts.These findings suggest a more nuanced and optimistic view of racial minority representations in lobbying than previously considered.

Clara Downey, Georgetown University

Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women: The Impact of Historical Policy

This project considers and examines the distinct ways in which the historical documents and policies that have shaped the United States, and more specifically, Native-Government relations, have contributed to the epidemic that has become Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW). The author explores how documents such as the Doctrine of Discovery have strengthened the impact of colonization and violence on Indigenous women in particular, and how such documents continue to shape the legal foundation of United States Federal Indian policies. The project utilizes documentation, government files, pertinent case law, personal tribal testimony, and various sources of data to identify and connect conclusions to the growing epidemic. The United States government has identified and acknowledged that Indigenous women and girls are at significantly higher risk of violence and victimization, and this research will evaluate the shortcomings of the federal government in reforming policies that continue to subvert action in the protection of Indigenous women.

Derek Duplessie, Assumption University

Socrates' Eros and Socrates' Daimon

n/a

Douglas Edlin, Colorado College

The Undignified First Amendment

The constitutional right of free speech is commonly understood as an individual right of expression. One reason for this is the ascendance of the dignitarian or autonomy theory of free speech, which has supplanted the marketplace and democratic conceptions as the predominant theory of speech rights in the United States. As a result, scholars, judges, and citizens usually focus on the rights of speakers. But the United States Constitution does not describe a right to speak; the First Amendment protects a right to speech. This essay argues that the preoccupation with the dignitarian basis for speech as expression has distorted the doctrinal development of First Amendment case law and distracted from the historical and theoretical bases for protecting speech constitutionally. The essay argues that the primary form of constitutionally protected speech is and was meant to be reciprocal communication between a speaker and a listener. Accordingly, the essay differentiates expression and communication, and then demonstrates that a coherent conception of speech as a relational right of communication exists in certain important judicial opinions of the United States Supreme Court and other federal courts. The essay explains that we should understand these cases as articulating a doctrinal basis for differentiating between communication and expression, and for emphasizing communication over expression when thinking about the speech that is protected by the First Amendment.

Marc Eisner, Wesleyan University

Crisis Planning, American Style

In 2019, John's Hopkins' Global Health Security (GHS) Index ranked the United States as the best of 195 nations with respect to its preparation for a pandemic. By the end of the summer of 2020, the US—a nation with 4 percent of the world's population—suffered 23 percent of global fatalities, raising serious questions about the adequacy of preparedness. As the dismal record became clear, GHS issued a statement on US performance, noting that its "response to the COVID-19 outbreak to date shows that capacity alone is insufficient if that capacity isn't fully leveraged. Strong health systems must be in place to serve all populations, and effective political leadership that instills confidence in the government's response is crucial." There will be several autopsies of the US's poor performance during the pandemic. What is striking is that the last 15 years witnessed two other spectacular disasters: the financial crisis of 2007-08 and the BP Deepwater Horizon incident, respectively the deepest economic crisis since the Great Depression and the greatest oil spill in nation's history. In each case, policies had been designed to prevent these kinds of events and, failing that, to limit their magnitude. In each case, preparations proved inadequate, with tragic consequences. This paper aspires to explore some of the systemic factors that undermine preparedness planning. Although there are unique dimensions to each of these policy domains, there were also some striking commonalities that limited the efficacy of crisis planning more broadly. In each case, planning was embedded in a larger set of policy problems; plans, no matter how well designed, were compromised by a larger political dynamic that resulted in policy drift, a decay of prior commitments, and excessive delegation.

Kristen Essel, Brown University, et al.

Advocating for #MeToo: Forming Legislative Networks in Congressional Women's Caucuses

Following the #MeToo movement, congresswomen were more likely to sponsor legislation to address sexual assault, harassment, and workplace inequality. What role did congresswomen's caucuses have on encouraging sponsorship of #MeToo legislation? In this paper, we analyze the sponsorship networks of legislators that emerged following the #MeToo movement. Using an original typology of anti-assault and harassment legislation from 2015 to 2020 (114th - 116th Congresses), we conduct network analyses to determine the networks of legislative sponsorship that emerged following #MeToo. In this work, we compare the networks that emerged in the Caucus for Black Women and Girls and the Bipartisan Women's Caucus. The results of this comparison reflect the intersectional origin of Tarana Burke's iteration of #MeToo and the potential for bipartisan unity toward the issues of sexual assault, harassment, and workplace inequality.

Jessica Falk, Brown University

Reality Bites Back: Media, Culture and the War on Terror

This paper examines American popular culture and mainstream media's assessment of and relationship to the War on Terror. It is most concerned with the public's role in the information campaign/narrative in favor of the Iraq War. I theorize about rhetoric on Islamist terrorism, references to the Hussein regime, and attempts to connect them in fiction and nonfiction American media from 1992 to 2006. The project traces the gradual promulgation of the Iraq narrative throughout the 90s, sharply accelerated in the wake of 9/11, with key pockets of resistance. Throughout the 2000s, resistance to the war(s) was mainstreamed amid revelations of fabricated WMDs, a brutal insurgency, and state-sponsored torture, but I am most concerned with the temporary spell the Iraq narrative cast, and its long-term political consequences. As my main research method, I content analyze primary texts in historical perspective, including films, books, television, music, and news media. I examine how the 9/11 attacks ballooned long-simmering American exceptionalism and patriotism fueled by fear of terrorism and the other, only to be partially punctured by the revelation of coordinated deception about Iraq. More theoretically, I conceptualize the American public's tendency to narrativize, and in particular cinematize, reality, understanding conflict and identity through our collective fascination with hero myths. The consequences of this ambiguous blurring of story and life have exacerbated our communal distrust—and distrust of reality—throughout the century so far. I argue the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are often underexamined as contributors to the oft-examined mass distrust, partisanship, and animosity in the U.S. today.

Brigid Flaherty, Baylor University
The Full Extent of Sovereignty: Joseph Story's Application of National Popular Sovereignty in Federal Disputes

The Jacksonian Era witnessed major debates concerning the nature of sovereignty in the American Republic. On both state and federal levels, many political commentators challenged whether a coherent understanding of American sovereignty could offer a consistent approach to constitutional interpretation. That is, the question of federalism posed several challenges to the application of American popular sovereignty when confronted by other sovereign nations and individuals outside constitutional protection. Directed by this challenge, this paper will consider the implications of Joseph Story's efforts to articulate a national conception of popular sovereignty. Story offers a synthesis of natural rights philosophy and the common law to undergird a richer understanding of popular sovereignty. Yet, he is keenly aware that the politics of the day failed to materialize the full application of a national conception of popular sovereignty. This paper offers a new interpretation of Story's constitutional thought in two areas—indigenous sovereignty and racial justice—in light of this awareness. As such, the paper will argue that there is much to be gleaned from Story's positions in Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831) and Worcester v. Georgia (1832), and these lessons allow us to better understand the dilemma that confronted the jurist in Prigg v. Pennsylvania (1842). In short, Story recognized the need for a fuller account of American sovereignty to salvage the meaning of consent in the Antebellum period.

Eric Fleury, Connecticut College
Kissinger the Reactionist

n/a

Eric Fleury, Connecticut College
Tocqueville as a Philosopher of International Reactionism

Martin Wight's posthumous book The Three Traditions, which defines the schools of realism, rationalism, and revolutionism, has since its publication stood as the definitive taxonomy of international relations theory. More recently, the rise of many far-right movements, which do not clearly fall within any of the three theories, has prompted an exploration of "reactionary" political theory as a supplement to Wight's work. While valuable, this literature limits itself to self-conscious and largely self-contained advocates of political reaction, whereas the other three schools are sufficiently complex as to overlap with one another and each claim part of a major thinker. My project is to establish Reactionism as the fourth tradition of international politics. Just as Wight names his schools after Machiavelli, Grotius, and Kant, I identify its pivotal figure as Tocqueville. At the heart of Tocqueville's theory is a recognition of historical progression, fierce resistance to the pure logic of such progress, with a desire to harness its forces to the preservation of moral hierarchies within and among nations. After revising Wight's paradigm to accommodate the fourth tradition, I will establish the foreign policy of the United States as the principle case study of that theory in action, beginning with Tocqueville's paradoxical nostalgia for its detached past and eager anticipation of its imperial future. I argue that reactionism does not necessarily dominate U.S. politics, but it is stronger there than anywhere else, because its egalitarian ethos is strong enough to have provoked an equal and opposite reaction.

Diana Flores, New York University

The Women Who Took Up Arms: An Examination of Female Revolutionaries in Latin America

This paper examines women's participation within guerrilla groups of Latin America's revolutionary movements. To better understand women's involvement within insurgency groups, we evaluate the sources of revolutionary mobilization and leadership structures among rebel groups across Colombia and El Salvador. This paper will argue the prominent role of gender and how it's played out across various social revolutions and showcase gender as a subversive tool to challenging political institutions of government. Our research question is as follows: How have patterns of women's involvement in non-state armed groups evolved throughout revolutionary movements? In an attempt to answer this question, this paper will analyze women's influence within two different scopes of revolution behavior: why they are recruited and their possible motives, and how they participate during and after armed conflict. We explore female combatant inclusion in post-conflict peace negotiations and policy reform. Drawing from existing transitional justice literature, we analyze the manner in which gender was introduced in the drafts of peace agreements. We find that the presence of women in Colombia's peace talks, although rare compared to their male commanders, differentiated from female guerilla leaders in the way they articulated their demands. By using an intersectional framework, we suggest that women's participation in revolution and political conflict is not so much a trend but rather an unseen gradual long-term reality.

Jerome Foss, Saint Vincent College

From Institutional Limitations to Individual Rights: How Our View of the Bill of Rights has Changed Over Time

The first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution are commonly referred to today as the Bill of Rights, and nearly everything from civics textbooks to Supreme Court opinions gives the impression that it has always been so. Likewise, the impression most have today is that these amendments were drafted and ratified to provide Americans with certain constitutionally guaranteed individual rights. But the leaders of the early republic spoke with more circumspection of these amendments and often avoided calling them the Bill of Rights. This is true, for example, of James Madison, George Washington, and John Marshall, all of whom understood that the amendments put further limitations upon the institutions of national government. This paper will explore the transition from the early emphasis on institutional limitation to the modern emphasis on individual rights, along with the growth in comfort in referring to the amendments collectively as the Bill of Rights. The paper does so by looking at textbooks and primers, other public documents and speeches, as well as Supreme Court opinions. These sources show an increased tendency to speak of individual rights in the later part of the nineteenth century that then grew rapidly in the first several decades of the twentieth century, particularly under the presidency of Franklin Roosevelt.

Daniel Fram, Middlebury College, et al.

On the Conservative Origins of J.S. Mill's Liberal Nationalism

Recent interpretations of liberalism as compatible with and/or needing a supplemental nationalism for unifying force refer back to J.S. Mill's contributions to this theory. Mill famously defends a right of nationality in Considerations on Representative Government, grounded partly in rights of association and partly in the requirements for the maintenance of liberty. He is also known for defending the right of national self-determination in foreign affairs in a shorter essay. However, the origins of his thinking about nationality are less often studied. These origins lie in Mill's appreciation of Coleridge and the "conservative school" that he represents, whose contributions to political science Mill celebrated in his comparison essays on Coleridge and Bentham, reproduced and expanded later in his System of Logic. In these works, we see Mill developing the idea of liberal nationalism as a corrective to liberalism, based on what he takes to be the conservative critique of Enlightenment liberalism. What was this critique, and how does Mill's reformation of liberalism answer it? And how successful is Mill's novel combination of liberalism and nationalism? The present essay argues that Mill's attempted combination is unstable and in serious tension with his views in On Liberty. In doing so, it contributes to current debates on the viability of liberal nationalism and to a growing literature on the importance of the shift from Enlightenment to Romantic liberalism.

Tess Gellert, New York University

The Revolution Will Be Gossiped: The Role of Leader Health Rumors in Political Participation Outcomes in Autocracies

In political science there has been much study on collective outcomes, revolutions, and protests, while in the field of social psychology there is a rich literature on rumors. However, there is considerably less study which bridges these two topics and asks questions around how rumors might be impacting individuals' political decision-making, especially when it comes to political participation such as protesting. This paper aims to contribute toward the filling of that knowledge gap by examining rumors around leader health in autocracies in order to investigate potential links between circulation of health rumors and the eventual removal of certain autocratic leaders via popular uprising. The paper ultimately argues that rumors around leader health circulating amongst the public signals that the regime is weak, and therefore makes a sick leader more susceptible to removal.

Tobias Gibson, Westminster College

Silver Screen, Superheroes, Science Fiction, and Security

It is perhaps cliché to say that "life imitates art." Yet, there is wisdom in this phrase. This chapter uses the depiction of science fiction and super heroes in movies to illustrate how the screen impacts national security. There are two primary mechanisms that I will discuss. First, fictional depictions can impact the public's understanding of technology—in particular the way that complex, advanced technologies function. Second, the fictional depiction of future technologies can inspire scientists and engineers (and policymakers) to pursue technology that does not yet exist anywhere but the minds of writers, directors, and special effects departments. In particular, this chapter will focus on the impact of technology depictions (roughly) during the Cold War and the Global War on Terror. Both of these eras saw the technology surrounding security advance, and both eras were depicted in film consistently. During the Cold War, the US and USSR raced not only for space superiority, but also in nuclear arms, traditional arms, and technologies of spycraft. Similarly, during the War on Terror, advances in technologies allowed for increased surveillance of suspected terrorists, as well as citizens globally. Many of the technologies of both the Cold War and the War on Terror were impacted by the manner in which the technologies were depicted in fictionalized accounts—both in public opinion, and in technological possibility.

Tobias Gibson, Westminster College, et al.

Constitutional Interpretation and American Democracy

The public's understanding of the U.S. Constitution must include the understanding that the distinct branches have different objectives when interpreting the Constitution. The term "original intent" refers to a specific type of (judicial) interpretation of the Constitution. The Supreme Court has the established power of judicial review—and importantly "… the duty … to say what the law is"—yet, this power may lead to undemocratic outcomes. Indeed, Harvard Law professors Nickolas Bowie and Daphna Renan have recently argued that the Supreme "Court has… sapp[ed] our national representatives of the power to issue national rules."   We argue that both elected branches, the Executive and Legislative, also must interpret and debate (both factually and normatively) the roles the Constitution requires to their actions and conduct. Thus, beyond the judicial interpretations of the Constitution, the constitutional interpretations of the President and Congress also matter. This inherent "invitation to struggle" between the branches of government provide elected and appointed officials incentive to interpret the Constitution in a manner that protects their specific branch—but also protects the representative responsibilities of democratic institutions.

Tobias Gibson, Westminster College, et al.

Adding Education as an Instrument of Power

What role can education, especially national security education play, in creating, supporting, and adding to the security infrastructure of nations? Recent efforts by the Institute for Syracuse Policy and Law, provide support for the idea that (legal) education can help minimize corruption, construct legal foundations, and enforce the rule of law in European nations that are at war—or are currently susceptible to ongoing mis- and dis-information campaigns by Russia or right-wing extremist groups. As security questions abound globally, the United States has released policy of "integrated deterrence" in the most recent (2022) National Defense Strategy (NDS). As envisioned by the USG, integrated deterrence as noted in a recent report from CNAS (a DC area security think tank) "…seeks to integrate all tools of national power across domains, geography, and spectrum of conflict, while working with allies and partners. But what integrated deterrence entails in practical terms remains unclear, particularly to the very allies and partners Washington wants more from." Moreover, recently there has been a purposeful expansion of the understanding of "instruments of power" from the traditional "DIME" (Diplomatic; Information; Military; Economic) to DIMEFIL (to include Financial, Intelligence, and Law Enforcement). This paper argues that education, with a focus on legal education, is an important addition to the instruments of power that the US should employ to improve its allies' domestic security.

Jamie Gillies, St. Thomas University

Make Canada Great Again?: Canada's Populist Shift & The Fracturing Of A Moderate Political Culture

To understand contemporary Canadian populism, it is important to recognize that this is not just a politics of resentment populism on the right. That is only part of the story. Left wing populism can be just as strong in Canada as well. But those different strands of populism have been exacerbated by the twin factors of generational declines in trust in government institutions and faith that these institutions can solve problems, and the COVID-19 pandemic in which the vast majority of Canadians saw their worldview and lives upended culminating in the 2022 trucker convoy protests in Ottawa. Over three election cycles, beginning with Justin Trudeau's personality-centred 2015 election campaign in which the Liberal Party formed a majority government, both provincial and federal elections have become increasingly populist driven. Every major party is focused on harnessing voter anger and resentment with emotional and performative populist messaging. Driving the bulk of this shift is elite resentment and economic factors, in particular, the massive increases in income inequality and cost of living. The politics of positivity is increasingly rare and may soon become a loser as an election strategy. In this paper, I consider an unresolved problem for Canada, in essence, the fundamental challenge of populism: those simple, emotional and performative solutions that politicians champion do not work well as policy mandates and usually end up hurting the very people the message is targeting. Meanwhile, without policy competence as culture wars and populism play out, inequality grows and government programs decline the more populist leaders promise populist solutions. Canada is at an inflection point, in which MAGA-style, albeit distinctly Canadian, populism is mixing with a strong public connection and deference to government institutions. That will likely increase instability within Canada's historically moderate political culture.

Miguel Glatzer, La Salle University

Pope Francis and Women's Role in the Church

Like many religious denominations, the Catholic Church faces cross-cutting pressures on the role of women in its organizational structure. Traditional forms of incorporation of women in the church, such as becoming nuns, have experienced a long and precipitous decline in both numbers and prominence. At the same time, and particularly in the U.S., a growing movement has called for greater roles of women in church functions and decision-making. On the opposing side, defenders of tradition have resisted change. Through an analysis of Pope Francis's statements and organizational changes, this paper examines how he has navigated conflicting calls for the role of women in the church. Although the ordination of women as priests remains off the agenda (despite regionally significant shortages of priests), Pope Francis has nonetheless taken steps to give greater voice and recognition to women in the church.

Carson Goh, Dartmouth College

Competition or Representation? How the Public Views Substantive and Descriptive Effects of Independent Redistricting Commissions

To promote electoral fairness, some states in America have taken the power of redistricting from the hands of their state legislature and given it to independent redistricting commissions (IRCs). However, this practice comes with concerns that IRCs will dilute minority representation. For example, Michigan implemented an independent redistricting commission for both state legislative and congressional districts in the 2020 redistricting cycle. While Michigan's IRC produced maps that fostered political competition, the number of majority-minority districts in the state Senate fell from five to zero. This creates a tension between providing descriptive representation through the maintenance of majority-minority districts versus competitive districts which aim to provide greater substantive representation. My study investigates this dilemma in two empirical investigations. First, through an observational study bracketing the inception of IRCs in some states relative to others (i.e., a difference-in-differences analysis), I explore whether IRCs actually decrease the number of majority-minority districts compared to states without independent redistricting commissions. Second, through a nationwide framing survey experiment, I examine whether support for IRCs decreases when they are framed as a threat to majority-minority districts for minority voters. Subsequent analyses also focus on politically relevant subgroups. For instance, IRCs also present an interesting trade-off for Republican voters who may want to protect majority-minority districts, as a way of retaining gerrymandered maps that currently favor Republican candidates in elections. Overall, then, the results from both studies will help scholars understand whether IRCs ultimately enhance substantive representation through the promotion of competitive districts even if they could potentially weaken descriptive representation in the form of majority-minority districts.

Michael Gonzalez, Princeton University

Diplomatic Practice and Theory's Limits

International relations theory aims at being pragmatic. Utility is the vindication of theory; the hope is that, if it works, then the theory must disclose truth about the causes and conditions of IR. Following this paradigm, IR theorists often strive to approximate in their discipline the relationship between natural and applied science. Observation is supposed to yield effectual truths that policymakers and practitioners can reproduce in the field. This paper questions the broadly accepted academic understanding of the relationship between IR theory and practice. It begins by reassessing the key debate between adherents of the traditional and scientific approaches to IR in the edited volume Contending Approaches to International Politics. The paper then considers how the basic assumptions and desiderata of these two approaches compare with the real necessities of diplomatic practice. Finally, the paper articulates a relationship between theory and practice that respects the limits of practical reason and the needs of practitioners, indicating an alternative to the academic exercise of conventional IR theory.

Audrey Grant, Simmons University

Let Bartlet Be Bartlet: How The West Wing Defined the Policy Process for the 21st Century

Television has long pursued American politics as a site of critique, satire, and response to shifts within popular culture. Over the last 25 years, there has been an increase in media depictions of the government, from comedies such as Parks and Recreation and VEEP to dramas like Designated Survivor and Law and Order. Each of these series portrays a particular caricature of what government is or does. But nothing defined the Executive Branch for a generation like Aaron Sorkin's The West Wing. The West Wing demonstrated to a mass audience the many avenues in which domestic and foreign policies are created and adapted. This paper engages different theories of public policy with plot lines in The West Wing to understand how the show itself engaged concurrently with American policy creation. Further, The West Wing acted as a public policy framework itself by advancing rhetoric and policy narratives that influenced the public's interpretation of policy and perception of government. By analyzing The West Wing through this frame, we can better understand the reciprocal relationship between media and public policy. This article aims to analyze The West Wing through a punctuated equilibrium theory and advocacy coalition framework, and how the show engages its audience as a narrative policy framework, and how it advanced American public policy in the early 21st century.

Finn Gruber, Simmons University

Politics of Translation in Healthcare: Translation Policies and Haitian Linguistic Experiences in Boston Hospitals

Boston is a historically diverse city, with many languages spoken across its many immigrant communities. The city is also famous for its wide array of quality hospitals. Despite these two well-known facts, there is a scarcity of studies on language diversity in Boston's healthcare systems. There is even less research on the socio-political aspects of linguistic translation in hospital settings. Haitians, who currently make up 8.5% of Boston's immigrant population, are a group whose history and Creole language add another layer of complexity to the conversation around translation ethics and the duty of healthcare to provide service to patients in their native language. By focusing on this particular ethnic group, the paper asks the following questions: How do power and identity manifest in language? How does public policy show up in Boston's hospitals and their care toward Haitian immigrants? How does language factor into access, and what are its impacts on our broader communities? This paper explores the dynamics of language politics between Haitian patients and the hospital services they are seeking. Apart from the introduction, the paper includes three sections. In the first section, I briefly describe the Haitian community in Boston. Then, I explore the accessibility of interpreters in three major Boston hospitals, namely Boston Medical Center, Carney Hospital, and Massachusetts General Hospital. Finally, in the last section of the paper, I critically discuss language and identity related to healthcare policy.

John Grummel, Upper Iowa University

An Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) Examination of Assessment of Community Health

This research examines whether COVID-19 and/or the killing of George Floyd impacted current practice regarding assessment of community health needs. Utilizing the advocacy coalition framework to evaluate whether these events led to public health coalitions advocating for a change in how healthcare organizations assess community needs. In particular, this research, examines whether community health needs' evaluative theory/modeling and/or analysis as utilized in Community Health Needs Assessments (CHNA) were impacted by these two events. In particular., was there advocacy for a change and from the Social Determinants of Health (SDOH) to the Social Determinants of Equity (either in part of whole).

Deborah Guber, University of Vermont

Up and Down with Climate: Public Attention and Media Agenda-Setting on Global Warming

This paper uses Google Trends data to explore the relationship between public interest in climate change and the volume of media attention it receives. Results demonstrate that newspapers and television have become far less effective over time in stimulating public interest in climate change, despite a notable increase in coverage. In the face of increasingly dire forecasts, the issue-attention cycle on climate continues to be dictated largely by political events—from Al Gore's "An Inconvenient Truth," to the infamous "climategate" memos and President Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement—in other words, by stories that do little to bridge (and often deepen) the partisan divide.

Michael Gunter, Rollins College

Searching for Sustainability in the Sunshine State

Florida is a profound political and cultural bellwether for the rest of the United States. This was not always the case. As a peninsula, sandwiched between the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico, the state was once more of an afterthought than a national powerbroker. Since the infamous 2000 Presidential election, though, a shift is clear. Any search for a more perfect union, and especially one including a more sustainable society, must start with the sunshine state. With over 137 million visitors in 2022, and 61 percent of adult Americans having set foot in the state at one time or another in their lives, Florida is a perennial leader in US tourism. This uniquely positions the state as one many Americans have direct experience with, including an history fraught with missteps towards unsustainability that can serve as a lens to better understand our nationwide predicament.

Christine Gustafson, Saint Anselm College

Responding to Authoritarian Challenges: Do the Pope and the Catholic Church Really Support Democracy?

In a global context of weakening support for democratic institutions, and authoritarian and populist calls for a return to "traditional" values, Pope Francis and the Catholic Church occupy a complicated space. Taking the case of the Bolsonaro presidency in Brazil as a starting point, this paper explores the support for democratic values globally that Pope Francis has demonstrated (or not) in the face of leaders, like Bolsonaro, who invoke policies consistent with Catholic doctrine while simultaneously undermining democratic institutions. Drawing on the Pope's writings and speeches, as well as the works and actions of the Bishops' Conferences, this paper will explore global Catholicism's currently complicated and often contradictory relationship with democratic governance.

Dennis Haggerty, University of Rhode Island

Realigning Suburbia in Political Time: Presidential Politics from 1980-2020

Did Democratic and Republican policy positions cause a significant realignment in the suburban vote in favor of the Democrats between 1980 and 2022? I hypothesize that suburban Americans leaned far more Democratic in the 2020 presidential election in comparison to the 1980 primarily due to the Republicans' radical positions on pressing social issues. Since former President Trump's upset victory in 2016, Republicans seemed to have taken even more extreme positions on abortion access, LGBTQ rights, critical race theory (CRT), and other divisive culture war issues. I also hypothesize that the Democrats' comparatively center-left positions drew support from moderate, formerly Republican-leaning suburbanites. Furthermore, I argue that the rapidly blue shifting suburbs signals the rise of a potential new political order.   After analyzing data from the American National Election Studies (ANES), I found that in the 1980 election, suburban voters' feelings about both the Republicans and Democrats influenced them to vote in higher numbers for Reagan over Carter and Anderson. In the 2020 election, suburban voters' feelings about the Republicans cause them to vote in higher numbers for Biden over Trump, and their views of the Democrats were unimportant.   These results have implications for Skowronek's theory of political time as well. According to Skowronek, Ronald Reagan was the last reconstructive president. Based on the assertion that "government is the problem," he forged "a wholly new system" and brought about a "wholesale change in governing formulas and political priorities." This evidence suggests that the suburban foundation of the Reagan Era's political order is beginning to crumble.

Jane JaKyung Han, University of Massachusetts - Boston, et al.

The Impact of Fusion Voting on the Gender-Gap in Office: Are Democratic Women Too Liberal to Fuse?

Cross-endorsement by a minor party (i.e., fusion voting) with clear policy signals may indicate a major-party candidate's stance on certain issues or ideological disposition, compelling voters to attribute minor-party policy positions to a major-party candidate and vote according to those attributions (Melusky and Loepp, 2022). Such signaling helped New York Governor Andrew Cuomo when he founded the minor party Women's Equality Party and asked women to vote for him on the minority-party ballot line. The cross-endorsement sought to attract voters sympathetic to women's equality while also hedging another liberal minor party, the Working Families Party, which had fought for paid sick leave and other women-centered causes (Melusky and Loepp, 2022). Though as a Democratic candidate Cuomo was likely perceived by the electorate as being left-of-center on a unidimensional policy space as theorized by Downs (1957), additional endorsements by third parties perceived as being more liberal could have been what helped Cuomo garner the additional votes needed to win.   This case, however, reveals a potentially interesting tension with fusion voting and the gender-gap in office. Research has found that women candidates in both parties are presumed to be more liberal than male candidates because voters often rely on gender-based stereotypes to draw political inferences in the absence of distinguishing information (Saltzer and McGrath, 2022; Mo, 2015; Sonbonmatsu, 2002). Therefore, even without minor-party endorsements, Democratic female candidates are already viewed as being more liberal and therefore closer to the primary-voter median. Being co-nominated by a liberal minor party such as the Working Families Party may shift Democratic female candidates further left, potentially farther away from the primary-voter median. Cross-endorsements may therefore be a disadvantage to Democratic female candidates but an advantage to male candidates. This research seeks to assess whether fusion voting impedes women from winning Democratic primaries and state legislative offices.

M. Aynal Haque, University of Connecticut

Paris Agreement and Climate Change Mitigation — Made in Bangladesh?

Under the Paris Agreement platform, all countries have collectively committed to keep the global temperature rise well below 2 Degree Celsius or more so 1.5 Degree Celsius by the end of 21st century. However, for mitigating climate change, the commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions vary across countries due to the varying circumstances of governance structures, reliance on fossil fuel, vulnerability to climate change, resource capacity, and external supports mechanism. Given the complex interplay of these diverse factors in determining emission reduction targets (ERT), the precise mechanisms underlying the formulation of ERT within each country remain unclear. Thus, an important question emerges; how do these key factors interact to shape the causal mechanism behind the formation of ERT? This paper addresses this query by employing a research design incorporating process-tracing within the case, identifying the causal chains of events, and path dependency analysis within a specific country context, Bangladesh. As an earlier attempt to explore the causal mechanisms surrounding ERT formation, the study finds that several multi-dimensional key factors, including political commitments, long-term development strategies, vulnerability to climate change, priority-based resource allocation, the role of diverse interest groups, and external supports are attributed to the ERT formation in Bangladesh.

Douglas Harris, Loyola University Maryland

US Senate Leadership Selection: Historical Development and Partisan Patterns

This paper charts the rise of US Senate party leadership positions and traces the patterns that have emerged over time (varying by party) in regard to competitiveness for open positions (after death or retirement), challenges to existing leaders, and incidents of unopposed succession. Teasing out patterns of increased or decreased competitiveness as they have emerged over time and varied by party, this paper promises an analytic overview of Senate selection patterns.

Aaron Herold, Princeton University / SUNY Geneseo

Between Idealism and Cynicism: Tocqueville's Case for Freedom in The Old Regime and the Revolution

In today's polarized politics, the one thing that all sides agree on is that everything is terrible. While the political center has been largely alienated by the rise of extremists on the left and the right, those extremists themselves are animated by an angry dissatisfaction with the status quo—a dissatisfaction which is, however, almost always bound up with disappointed moral hopes, or with the perception that a particular vision of a just society is being abandoned or its realization prevented. Political life in America and throughout the West today is characterized by a dangerous mixture of cynicism and idealism. In this essay, I seek to understand and address this situation though a study of Tocqueville's The Old Regime and the Revolution, a work which presents this mixture of idealism and cynicism as endemic to democracy itself. To Tocqueville, this mixture is what gave the French Revolution its initial dynamism and nobility, but it is also what allowed for its ultimate descent into despotism. In 1789, the French sought to break entirely with their past, to reject all inherited conventions and institutions and to build the first purely rational society. To Tocqueville, this idealistic attempt at revolutionary change mostly failed; indeed, the Revolution merely continued the progress of pre-Revolutionary France towards individualism, centralization, and an inevitable march towards equality of conditions. But Tocqueville's argument to this effect contains surprising nuances which reveal a role for Enlightenment philosophy in shaping the political world while also suppressing what he regards as a truly political life. In addressing the effects of the Revolution, then, Tocqueville seeks to effect a recovery of authentic political virtues, as well as a conception of human freedom that, because it is rooted in politics, can also judge and assess politics turn.

Alex Hindman, College of the Holy Cross
Necessity Hath No Law: The U.S. Constitution and Presidential Seizures of Private Industry

During the COVID-19 Pandemic, the Trump Administration partially activated the Defense Production Act of 1950 to produce personal protective equipment, respirators, and other medical supplies that were in short supply. Since the 1950s, this statute has enabled every subsequent President of the United States to direct private industry to carry out manufacturing in the public interest. However, the longer lineage of this statute developed from wartime authorities stretching back to the early part of the 20th century. Throughout each phase of its development, these laws raised significant constitutional questions surrounding presidential power and the seizure of private property. When necessities arise, what stops presidents from claiming inherent constitutional powers that these statutes do not authorize? This paper looks closely at the context, statutory authorizations, and constitutional dimensions of executive branch seizures of private industry stretching back to World War I to demonstrate how presidents operated both within the law and sought to act outside of it when they asserted necessities required. I argue that today, while the legacy of the Steel Seizure Case of 1952 may provide a helpful judicial framework for understanding presidential power, its effects are relatively muted if the circumstances are sufficiently grave. Presidents are constitutionally required to meet necessities and thus hazard private property rights when the stakes are highest, regardless of the laws. Further, the unrepentant testimony of former presidents reaffirms that few statutory authorizations can constrain presidential power when they believe emergencies threaten the country.

Jared Hirshfield, Saint Anselm College
Administrative Capacities of the Local Election Official: Effects on Voter Turnout in Maine

Do the administrative capacities of election officials in Maine influence voter turnout? Since the 2020 Presidential election, the role of the local administrator has come under intense partisan scrutiny. These administrators are crucial in implementing policies and practices that ensure the accessibility and ease of voting. There has been much research on the capacities of the local election official and potential implications for voting accessibility. My research gives particular focus to the administrative capacities of municipal election officials in Maine and whether those capacities influence municipal voter turnout levels. To measure administrative capacity, publicly available data on town election policies, budget allocations, and staffing levels were collected. Using means comparisons and OLS regression analyses, I determined that the administrative capacity of the local election official plays a small role in municipal voter turnout levels, particularly in regard to staffing levels. Demographic factors as well as partisan competitiveness of the municipality are found to have a more significant role in municipal voter turnout levels than administrative capacity.

Matthew Hodgetts, Case Western Reserve University, et al.
Denial and Discourse: A Story of Fear and Misinformation

This paper surveys the history of the climate denial literature paying particular attention to the ways in which it has variously conceptualized the problem as one of a lack of information and as a fear of change. This emphasis on a fear of a change in the way we live our lives parallels the fear of communism and the 20th century pre-Brandenburg jurisprudence on speech. We trace this historical element as it is the same people - the cold warriors - who beget denial and the consistency of the same problem behind denialism: the maintenance of monied interest. This fear is being funded and promoted by vested interests and a robust and growing literature has clearly demonstrated as much. And thus emerged the politicization of the issue and the use of free speech claims to paper over this influence. This paper, part of a larger project, argues that denialism, rooted in the fear being sustained by monied interests, is strengthened by the ability of bad-faith actors to protect their actions with free speech claims and that this necessitates that the state actively counter this narrative and challenge such claims jurisprudentially.

Tim Hoheneder, University of New Hampshire
Cultivating Stability: Spatial Trends in Conflict and Agriculture to Inform State Capacity in Ukraine

The Ukrainian agricultural sector, often hailed as "Europe's Breadbasket" due to the prominent role Ukraine maintains in domestic grain production and as an influential stakeholder in the global agricultural commodities trade. However, on 24 February 2022, Russian military forces initiated a special military operation to invade Ukrainian sovereignty. Major fronts of Russia's invasion were launched into Southern and Eastern Ukraine, coinciding with crucial crop production areas. This study investigates spatial trends in Ukrainian agriculture prior to and following the first year of the war related to the proximity of agriculture to major conflict zones. In doing so, this work addresses the inquiry of how Ukrainian agriculture has been impacted across space by the ongoing war and how can these spatial trends inform us about the geographic considerations of broader Ukrainian state capacity dialogues. Cartographic and statistical findings reveal that predominantly, oblasts that have endured the highest magnitude of damage and conflict-attributed events strongly correlate to oblasts experiencing the sharpest declines in total crop production and decreases in national crop production shares. Consequently, agricultural impacts in each oblast and strategies for subsequent agricultural recovery can be broadly classified as exhibiting acute, chronic, or adjacent symptoms of the conflict. Agricultural recovery from the war in Ukraine will inherently require a geographically considerate response meriting discussion regarding how Ukraine's agricultural sector and the spatially disproportionate impacts of the war fit into more extensive conversations surrounding the efficacy of post-war Ukrainian state capacity.

Lisa Holmes, University of Vermont
The Judiciary as an Issue in Recent U.S. Presidential Elections

I propose a paper based on a book-length project on the role of the judiciary as an issue in U.S. presidential election campaigns in recent decades. I analyze the extent and nature of attention to the judiciary across the two main political parties, with particular attention to whether and how the judiciary is connected to other salient issues during an election cycle. Chapters in the book project provide analyses of party platforms (from 1968 through 2020), general election stump speeches (also from 1968 through 2020), and newspaper endorsements (so far, I have collected data from 2000 through 2020). My (still preliminary) findings indicate that the Republican Party gives more attention to the judiciary in most recent election campaigns, in the platform and in speeches, compared to the Democratic Party. In addition, Republicans make more of an effort to connect the courts to a wider array of other issues than is seen on the Democratic side. Disparate attention to the judiciary is also reflected in newspaper endorsements, although the increased Republican attention to the judiciary in their campaigns at times is used in newspaper endorsements to justify support for the Democrat.

Madeline Hossler, Merrimack College

Gendered Order, Gendered Violence: White Christian Nationalism and the Anti-Transgender Panic in the 2024 Republican Primary

The anti-transgender panic has dominated Republican discourse throughout the 2024 primary process. Questions about transgender rights have appeared repeatedly in primary debates. Ron DeSantis has campaigned on his legislative record of restricting gender affirming care in Florida, Vivek Ramaswami made "there are two genders" one of the "ten truths" of his campaign platform, and Nikki Haley has called transgender women in sports the "women's issue of our time." The centrality of the anti-transgender panic within the Republican Primary is demonstrative of the growing influence of white Christian nationalism within the conservative movement. The core narrative of white Christian nationalism asserts that freedoms are reserved for white Christian men, that being a 'real American' requires conformity to specific standards of behavior within a hierarchical social order, and that the 'real Americans' are called to defend that order using authoritarian and even violent tactics. Gender roles within this social order are defined by contraceptive nationalism and the theology of the complementarian marriage: both of which define men as warriors against threats to both the family and the nation, and women as pure, domestic, and in need of the protection of men. This ideology conflates the strength of the gender binary and racial and religious hierarchy with the strength of the nation, framing diversity as an existential threat to American life that must be eliminated. This paper seeks to track the use of the themes of white Christian nationalism, contraceptive nationalism, and the complementarian marriage by candidates in discussion of transgender rights throughout the Republican primary process to situate the anti-transgender panic as a microcosm of a broader project of narrowing the definition of a 'real American' based on race and gender identities to justify the shifts towards authoritarianism that have characterized the current era of Republican politics.

Mohid Iftikhar, Chinese University of Hong Kong

Comparative Policy Responses of Pakistan and Sri Lanka towards Economic Crisis: Explaining International Constraints and Domestic Political Economy

It is puzzling to understand that why developing countries facing an identical economic crisis respond differently in mitigating, addressing and averting it? My theory builds on neoclassical realism and explains that a combination of international factors such as great power and international institutional constraints alongside competing interests at domestic political economy mainly of political and business elites shape the design, timing and execution of a policy response. The study draws on mixed method sources such as expert interviews, statistical data, policy reports, news sources and examines two alike cases Pakistan and Sri Lanka. However, Pakistan employed a hedging strategy towards its economic crises whereas Sri Lanka downplayed it with a sanguine response. This study contributes new knowledge in the literature of comparative politics and international political economy and offers a novel perspective to policy makers about managing a sovereign debt crisis.

Richard Izquierdo, New College of Florida

The Reagan Court in Constitutional Time

The distance in time since the Reagan presidency allows for a more reflective analysis of its constitutional legacy. While many scholars would acknowledge that a shift occurred during and after the Reagan presidency on the Court, it is not clear what that legacy was or how much of an impact it actually had. Moreover, the Reagan presidency's effects on the Court are interesting from a point of view that has been insufficiently addressed: what directions it consciously chose not to follow and the various reasons for it. This paper examines the impact of the Reagan Court by taking these dynamics into consideration. It seeks to provide the type of insights that pervious scholars have provided for other periods such as Reconstruction and the New Deal.

Camille Jackson, Vermont State University - Castleton
I me mine: a feminist critique of the American failure to address climate change.

This paper explores the impact of capitalism, reinforced by radical individualism, on political polarization, economic disparities, and ultimately, the American response to climate change. American politics has been influenced by the following variables of polarization, political philosophy, economic elites, and a capitalist market economy. To elaborate, the growth of polarization in conjunction with the politization of climate change has resulted in gridlock at all levels of politics; the combination of Lockean ideals and frontier expansion informed a philosophy and political identity inconsistent with collective and environmental needs; the proliferation of an oligarchic class contributed to a system of political exploitation; and the saturation of capitalism upon America's market economy sanctioned the artificial separation of interconnected systems of life. In conversation with these evaluations is a feminist critique that disassembles the foundation of Americanism to suggest that tangible efforts to combat climate change are inhibited by systems of thought juxtaposing the reality of an interconnected, interdependent existence with nature. An investigation into the mutually reinforcing pillars of capitalism and individualism towards each variable culminates into a theory regarding the failure of American climate change policy. In doing so, a gap was exposed regarding the assumption that individualism forms the foundation for social, political, intellectual, and economic spheres. Indeed, a feminist critique of these same variables focuses on the distribution of power and assumption of individualism.

Mohsen Jalali, Midwestern State University
Ethnicity as Conspiracy Theory

Based on 15 months of ethnographic fieldwork in Kabul, Afghanistan, I study how everyday people engage with conspiracy theories to form different identities. The conspiratorial political conversations in Afghanistan, I argue, are performative, which means people are 'doing' something rather than 'reporting' about events. Through these performative political conversations, my interlocutors formed identities and established boundaries, at times claiming national unity among all Afghans and, on other occasions, highlighting the deep divide based on ethnic boundaries. This paper contributes to the established tradition that approaches ethnic identity as a construct. Fredrik Barth's formulation of the flexible boundaries of ethnic identity considers ethnicity to be a social organization of cultural differences. For Barth and constructivists after him, ethnicity is a matter of political maneuvering, and the focus should be on the social processes that produce and reproduce boundaries of identification. Roger Brubaker and others later highlighted the discursive processes of group formation, "groupness." In this article, I argue that one of the main ways that groupness based on ethnicity is constructed is through conspiracy theories. I argue that ethnic identity, as a construct, is a conspiracy theory that assumes a collective conspiring together against another collective. In this sense, ethnicity is a conspiracy theory.

Jason Jividen, Saint Vincent College
Progress, Human Nature, and the Founders' Political Science

The framers of the U.S. Constitution focused heavily, but not exclusively, on institutional solutions to many of the problems of politics. This effort was informed, expressly, by a faith in a certain kind of progress. However, the framers did not think that political science, or institutions, could right all wrongs or banish all uncertainty and imperfection from political life. If there is any progress promised by popular enlightenment and political science, it is necessarily limited. Indeed, they soberly argued that all political institutions would remain imperfect because, at bottom, human nature itself is emphatically imperfect. This paper will explore this idea by critically examining several primary sources, most especially the U.S. Constitution and select Federalist Papers.

Myles Johnson, Providence College
"I'se in Town Honey!" Racial Caricatures in Branding and Framing Historical Memory

Mass branding and advertising in the United States draws heavily on stereotypes and biases against minority communities, perpetuating racist notions that have existed since the found of the United States. This research studies the impacts of racist caricatures used in food branding and marketing techniques used to keep these images around for decades. In the wake of the George Floyd murder, a deeper look at these brands shows the deliberate attempts to frame consumers' memories of the past, as well as producers' reluctance to change or remove such branding. The inability to function normally due to the Covid-19 pandemic allowed the country to shed serious light on racial injustices making national headlines during that time, and thus the public had a far larger outcry than seen since the Civil Rights Movement. This research examines the reasons that past calls for the removal of racist caricatures have failed and the modifications that were made to appease consumers. The food industry serves as the lens for a more widespread problem amongst all marketed products. Racist advertising has several layers, but the most blatantly obvious forms of racism come from the food industry. Other sectors of the economy were able to follow the lead of the food industry, specifically after World War II, and continue using caricatures that were long labeled as extremely racist and prejudiced.

Adanna Kalejaye, University of Massachusetts - Boston
Building sustainable and resilient cities (SDG 11) through zero waste policy – A case study of Massachusetts dwindling landfills

55% of the world's population is estimated to be living in urban areas. The UN estimates that by the year 2050, that number will rise to 70%, approximately 2.5 more billion people living in cities. The portion occupied by cities is just 3% of the total Earth space, however, cities account for 70% of the carbon emissions and 60-80% of energy consumption (Climate Emergency, 2020). This rapid growth in population comes with the growing need for solid waste management as vast amounts of resources (construction materials, food, clean-water, gas, oil, electricity) are used up to meet the increasing need. As explained by Awasthi et al. (2021) the inevitable consequence of increased demand and consumption of resources are waste materials, wastewater, and polluted air (Tseng et al., 2020). With the increasing amount of waste being churned out by cities annually, landfills reaching their capacity necessitating some cities and states like Massachusetts to export their waste, solid waste management continues to be a growing concern for government and municipalities. The dilemma for most cities and government is how to balance the inevitable generation of waste with a cost effective, system efficient and sustainable means of disposal. UNEP reports that as it is, many cities are already struggling with environmental degradation, traffic congestion, inadequate urban infrastructure, and a lack of basic services, such as watersupply, sanitation, and waste management (Environment, 2018). This research paper seeks to examine how cities in Massachusetts can be more sustainable and resilient by adopting the policy approach of zero waste management in the light of its dwindling landfills. Research has shown that "landfill waste management is a key challenge for policy makers and planners in the development of smart sustainable cities, due to their use of land and the emissions to the surrounding environment" (Awasthi et al., 2021).

Joshua King, United States Military Academy
Hans Morgenthau's Concept of the Political and the Weimar Roots of American Realism

Hans Morgenthau occupies a preeminent position in the tradition of American realism. An emerging category of scholarship argues that realism is a political theory in its own right, not simply a theory of foreign policy. Morgenthau's Weimar era writings substantiate the claim that the realist tradition seeks to understand and to describe the search for political legitimacy. These objectives permeate Morgenthau's Concept of the Political, an ambitious critique of two reactions to liberalism: Hans Kelsen's legal positivism and Carl Schmitt's authoritarianism. Much remains institutionally unresolved in Morgenthau's ideas, but I argue that this text is foundational to his vision for realism as a political via media. Morgenthau's Concept of the Political outlines his approach to realism as a political theory and constitutes the basis for his rejection of purportedly universal political solutions.

Joshua King, United States Military Academy
The International Politics of Amour Propre

Rousseau's Second Discourse is well-known to students of political theory, and, thanks to Kenneth Waltz, has crept into neorealist IR scholarship. The Second Discourse is essential to Rousseau's international thought, but this text is better understood as a criticism of the irrational and consuming nature of power politics. Developing the interplay between the illustrations that open the text and Rousseau's discussion of amour propre, I argue that the norms of international politics adopt the irrational and competitive dimensions of this status passion. The effect is that both individuals and states learn to perform their political identities in ways that inhibit freedom amplify inequalities. The concept of Amour propre, then, functions as a source for critique: human beings have created irrational and dangerous power structures that can be moderated but cannot be fully rationalized. On this basis, I conclude that Rousseau's approach to international relations has more in common with the critical perspectives found in postcolonial IR theory or constructivism than with neorealism.

Paul Kirkland, Carthage College
Decadence in Philosophical Life: Socrates' Freedom from Ressentiment and Nietzsche's Image of the Tragic Philosopher

Nietzsche declares himself to be the first tragic philosopher in the pages of Ecce Homo. In announcing this status as one that is unprecedented, Nietzsche includes Heraclitus among those worthy of consideration or suspicion as predecessors, but continues to declare his singularity. Tragedians too, exemplars of the affirmation of life, fall short of the unique tragic philosopher, and Nietzsche's work sets up a conflict between tragic affirmation of life and a long train of philosophers' judgment against life. This paper argues that Nietzsche presents the life of tragic philosopher as the play of this conflict, one between decadence and its opposite, and that his view of Socratic decadence plays a vital part in such a life. Decadence, Nietzsche shows, does not necessarily produce the hostility to life that yields ressentiment, revenge against life, or a morality of ressentiment. In Ecce Homo and the Antichrist, Nietzsche finds in Buddhism a religion comparable to Christianity in its nihilism and decadence. Yet, Buddhism stands in contrast to the ressentiment that dominates Christianity and its secular outgrowths. The possibility of such decadence without ressentiment sets the stage for a reconsideration of his assessment of Socratic decadence. Where Nietzsche views Socratic philosophy as a product a decadence in which reason is turned against the instincts and against nobility, it is nonetheless not marred by ressentiment. Through this analysis Nietzsche shows the way in which the decadent can be incorporated into great health and the way in which the decadent and Socratic are key elements of the life of tragic philosophy. He demonstrates a mode of tragic philosophy as a perpetual interplay of these elements rather than a final resolution.

Daniel Klinghard, College of the Holy Cross
Politicizing Science: The Presidential Science Advisory Committee and the Uses of Scientific Expertise, 1945-1974

In the wake of World War II, presidents increasingly turned to scientists for advice on a range of topics. This created a unique opportunity for scientists to not only influence policy, but to craft an idea of scientific expertise. With varying levels of success, science advisors worked to create a space for scientific expertise in democratic politics. The cross-pressures of public views of science in the 1960s and 70s, however, ultimately eroded the possibilities for neutral scientific advice.

Helen Knowles-Gardner, Institute for Free Speech

The First Amendment to the Constitution, Associational Freedom, and the Future of the Country: Alabama's Direct Attack on the Existence of the NAACP

Sixty years ago, on Wednesday April 8, 1964, Professor Harry Kalven, Jr., gave the second of three lectures at the Ohio State University College of Law Forum. These lectures were published two years later in a book entitled The Negro & the 1st Amendment. In the second lecture, in which he discussed threats to the associational freedom of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Kalven distinguished between what, "as far as…[he could] tell from reading cases," were litigious efforts to "directly control" the organization and those that instead used "indirect" tactics. With the benefit of material gleaned from numerous archival sources, this paper argues that Kalven wrongly categorized NAACP v. Alabama ex rel. Patterson (1958) (and the three other U.S. Supreme Court rulings it ultimately took to ensure Alabama's compliance with the 1958 decision) as an "indirect" effort to control the NAACP. Instead, the litigation was designed and intended to put the NAACP out of business (which, in Alabama, it did for eight years).   Part of a book-length project which tells the story of this protracted litigation, this paper is narrowly focused on the two years leading up to, and the first few months following, the June 1, 1956 injunction that Alabama's Attorney General John Patterson secured from Montgomery County Circuit Court Judge Walter B. Jones. Ultimately, that injunction led to a subsequent effort to compel the NAACP to turn over its Alabama membership lists to the Attorney General. To borrow and only slightly change Jason Robards's famous line in All The President's Men, nothing was riding on this litigation except the First Amendment, associational freedom, and the future of the country.

Spencer Krauss, Clemson University

Machiavellian Rhetoric and the Mandragola

In this paper I propose to show that the study of Machiavelli's comedy The Mandragola can help us to understand Machiavelli's rhetorical strategy in his chief political work, The Prince. I will argue that The Mandragola's central character, the "faithless sponger" and former marriage broker Ligurio, succeeds in his effort to secure a happy outcome for himself and his co-conspirators because he employs a strategy that involves first securing his co-conspirators' assent to a radical course of action and then withdrawing the radical course in favor of a more moderate—and less morally repugnant—course. I will then show that Machiavelli makes use of the same strategy in his Prince: he induces his readers to adopt a radical view of morality, not in order that they stay firm in that view, but in order that they be prepared to accept a less radical, but still morally dubious, view.

Thomas Lacourse, Saint Anselm College

Francis in Mongolia: Analyzing 21st Century Papal Diplomacy

Why would the leader of the Roman Catholic Church travel to a country where Catholics are nearly non-existent? In September 2023, Pope Francis traveled to Mongolia. The visit was the first of its kind from a Roman Pontiff. According to the Vatican, the visit allowed the Pope to support and encourage Mongolia's Catholic community. That community numbers less than 1,500 people and has struggled for over 30 years to gain full legal recognition from the Mongolian Government. The broader significance of such a trip cannot be overstated. Less than a century ago, the Pope was a so-called 'prisoner of the Vatican.' He existed and acted in an overwhelmingly, if not entirely, Christian context. Yet, as times and societies have changed, so has the Papacy. Throughout the twentieth century, Popes periodically engaged in non-Christian political affairs. Examples of this include Pope Pius XII's work to aid and protect victims of Nazism and the Holocaust and Pope John Paul II's role in the fall of communism in Eastern Europe. Francis's trip to Mongolia marks another shift in papal diplomacy and engagement with the non-Christian world. This paper will explore that shift and its implications. Using Pope Francis's actions and speeches in Mongolia as a case study, the paper will analyze how papal diplomacy with the non-Christian world has become more open and overt. In becoming more open, papal diplomacy has transformed from an activity focused on Christian evangelization to an engagement between equal partners who respect each other's differences. This engagement is Francis's way of fostering common principles across different societies. The paper will conclude by analyzing how this new form of engagement with non-Christian society and culture is evident in other areas of Francis's pontificate, such as his appointment of cardinals.

Abbie LeBlanc, Harvard University
Plato's Socrates and bell hooks on the Art of Teaching

This paper hinges on an unlikely comparison: Plato and bell hooks. I argue that comparing hooks' "teaching trilogy" with Plato's Symposium and Gorgias highlights similarities in how Plato and hooks depict the relationship between teachers and students, though serious differences remain in the content of their political thought. There are two similarities I intend to draw out. First, through Plato's depiction of Socrates interacting with students and through hooks depiction of herself as an educator, they present the act of teaching as fundamentally democratic. Both highlight that a pedagogy committed to critical thinking and "radical openness"—to use hooks' term—is a demanding project and, moreover, often places students and teachers at odds with the structure of dominant academic and political institutions. In the second instance, Plato and hooks turn to the written text as a way to extend the reach of their approach to democratic education. How ought readers ethically engage with these texts? What does it mean to be taught be them? And can the education they seek to provide respond to the antidemocratic political forces? In the contemporary political moment, while Plato is valorized by far-right educational activists and bell hooks is censured as part of so- called "critical race theory," this paper suggests a surprising convergence. This paper challenges interpretations of Plato that frame him as simply an antidemocrat; however, it highlights that hooks' responses to the problems of democratic politics are not always defenses of democracy. Taking seriously these two writers together challenges us to think about what exactly it is we seek from democracy, education, and above all, the act of engaging with literature and art in a variety of forms.

Joshua Leon, Iona University
World Cities in History: Urban Networks From Mesopotamia to the Dutch Empire

Amidst unprecedented urbanization, the study of intercity relations has mushroomed into a robust research program that tries to understand inequality in the city network managing the global economy. How did being a part of city networks change the politics of cities during high periods of global interaction? Applying global cities theory, this draft chapter looks at the Hanseatic League of cities that monopolized trade in the Baltic and North Seas. In a time and place of weak central authority, German-speaking cities in the northern tier of the Holy Roman Empire were the most powerful force in Northern Europe. They formed social hierarchies, thrived on waterborne trade, managed far-flung resources and forged linkages that recall the "space of flows" in global cities theory. They forged knowledge economies to manage materials and labor. They waged war against territorial states, winning steep concessions from the Danish Empire in 1370 that marked the league's zenith. They came to dominate their rural hinterlands, controlling the flows of people using walls as a tool of confinement rather than protection. Lübeck was the de facto capital. Soon it was an alpha city in a far-flung network that controlled trade from England to Russia and points between. The league led by Lübeck was locked in a zealous, centuries-long struggle to gain and protect trading privileges in the burgeoning financial centers of a new urban age. The Hanse cities formed a network within a network, establishing strongholds in the globally significant nodes of Bergen, Bruges, London, and Novgorod. This paper concludes that knowledge was the source of Hanse power, rather than force, foreshadowing power relations in global cities.

Kenneth Andrew Andres Leonardo, Hamilton College
Injustice and the Intellectual in José Rizal's Noli Me Tángere

José Rizal is not a widely known figure in the academy today and if he is acknowledged, it is for his criticism of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines. The dissemination of his two subversive novels, Noli Me Tángere and El Filibusterismo, helped to galvanize Philippine nationalism. Although he had a considerable depth of knowledge, scholars have not adequately investigated Rizal's works or properly respected Rizal as a political thinker. Most recent Western scholarship is limited to either literary criticism or to perspectives of his historical impact during Spanish colonialism. Moreover, there are issues with the Philippine scholarship on Rizal because many writings approach the category of hagiography (Augenbraum 2006). Although some scholars have acknowledged the influence of French and other European Enlightenment sources on Rizal's work (Claudio 2019; Anderson 2005), he was also influenced by ancient Greek and Latin sources. In this paper, I investigate Rizal's references to ancient and medieval political thought in Noli Me Tángere. This analysis provides a more complete understanding of how Rizal saw the role of the intellectual when confronted with injustice and corruption. I argue that this perspective is revealed through the drama and the separate characters of Ibarra, Tasio, and Elías. Furthermore, I contend that Rizal is confronting classical difficulties regarding the relationship between the educated, the philosopher, and the political community.

Stephanie Lessing, University of Massachusetts - Boston
Body Cameras and Disturbances in Law Enforcement Processes: Explanations from Activity Theory and Nudges

Do body cameras decrease the use of force and biased policing? This study integrates the behavioral economics concept of nudges into activity theory to model how human biases and decision making within organizations could be altered by technology and by the policies that govern that technology. I then apply this theoretical model to police body camera policies using a series of scenarios that commonly occur in police work. The primary intermediating link between body cameras and police conduct is the use of body camera footage for internal investigations and in public complaint resolution with the goal of using the technology to institute behavioral changes in both police and citizens. My goal is to build a theoretical foundation for the link between the presence of body cameras and the footage they collect, on the one hand, and police conduct on the other hand. My theoretical framework suggests that while body cameras may be able to decrease the frequency of some adverse outcomes of police activities, they can also introduce new complications that may decrease body camera effectiveness at preventing police violence. My analysis stresses the importance of developing clear and explicit policies to regulate the use of body cameras and the footage they collect. Without this component, the benefits of fewer instances of police use of force, fewer complaints filed against police, and better and more complete evidence may be minimized. As a result, the costs may climb as new issues within the activity model arise and diminish public trust in police departments.

Aaron Ley, University of Rhode Island
The Enforcement of Environmental Statutes by Place-Based Environmental Organizations

This paper examines how federal statutes like the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1899 can bestow resources upon environmental organizations and watchdogs that alter the political ecology of environmental policymaking arenas by creating enforcement "bounties." These bounties led to a national organization, Waterkeeper, that used its branding power to require local level Riverkeeper, Soundkeeper, and Lakekeeper organizations seeking its accreditation to develop legal and technical resources to take on Brayton Point Station and other big polluters around the world, in effect creating a private international pollution enforcement network. The regulation of Brayton Point Station's cooling water intake is a story of that enforcement network successfully working with federal and state officials to minimize ecological harm.

Nuria List, George Mason University

Considering International / Local Peacebuilding Partnerships: The Stoplight Analysis System

This paper presents the Stoplight Analysis System of Partnering Organizations Readiness, offering a structured framework to evaluate conflict resolution collaboration feasibility, especially crucial in conflict areas, employing a colour-coded approach and specific assessment points, with implications for more informed decision-making and improved outcomes in peacebuilding initiatives. Derived from a total of 40 years of practical peacebuilding experience from the project's two researchers as well as interviews of various other peacebuilding actors, this paper introduces the Stoplight Analysis System of Partnering Organizations Readiness, a comprehensive framework designed to facilitate effective collaboration in international/local peacebuilding partnerships by evaluating the readiness of both potential partner organisations and the location of the proposed project. The system employs a colour-coded approach, categorising potential partnerships into three indicators. Within each category, specific points are identified for assessment, guiding decision-makers in evaluating the feasibility and potential success of collaboration. The Red category signals significant barriers, prompting an immediate stoppage in the consideration of partnership. The Yellow category encourages deeper investigation to determine whether potential issues can be mitigated, while the Green category signifies organisations deemed ready for collaboration. This systematic and structured approach empowers decision-makers to make informed choices, enhancing the likelihood of successful and mutually beneficial partnerships. Methodologically, this paper utilised interviews from peacebuilders from around the globe, scholarly research of extant strategies, and a collaborative review of programming from the project's two authors from their own time in the field. This method as a formalised model has been employed for the past two years across a litany of partnership considerations. This research holds significant importance in the field of conflict resolution in conflict-affected regions, where the dynamics are complex and challenging. This tool ensures that resources are directed towards partnerships with a higher likelihood of success, ultimately contributing to more effective and sustainable peacebuilding outcomes.

Haidun Liu, Harvard University

Supererogation and the Freedom to Reject the Ideal

Supererogation—going beyond one's moral duties—is a seemingly intuitive concept that presents a paradox: if we can exceed moral obligations, we are not bound to the highest moral standard. It permits selecting a lesser moral choice without fault. Though contemporary philosophy wrestles with this concept, its fascinating history and its implications for political theory remain largely unexplored. The concept originated with the Latin Church Fathers in the fourth century and was integral to medieval moral theology. The Protestant Reformers in the sixteenth century unanimously rejected it, leading to its almost complete exclusion from moral and political philosophy for about four centuries. Interestingly, this concept was absent in Greek and Roman philosophy, which raises questions about the unique conceptual conditions that fostered its development in Christian thought. I argue that supererogation required the synthesis of two fundamentally different approaches to ethics: "attractive" ethics, which revolves around a good to be pursued, and was exemplified by Plato and Aristotle; and "legalist" ethics, which relies on legal analogies, and was exemplified by Jewish divine law. For the idea of going beyond duty to be intelligible, an idea of moral duty or a minimally acceptable standard of behavior is required (legalist ethics), along with a moral axiology that is not reducible to duty (attractive ethics). Latin Christianity featured precisely an attempt to synthesize the legalist and attractive approaches to ethics. Moreover, the Protestant rejection of supererogation coincided with the breakdown of this legalist–attractive synthesis. This analysis highlights a political significance of supererogation: it offers a way to limit our duties without limiting our conception of the good. Putting limits on duties resonates with an important strain of liberal political thought, which seeks to protect the personal sphere from totalizing civic demands. Supererogation provides a way to do so without lowering our moral ideals.

Thornton Lockwood, Quinnipiac University
Politics 3.6-18: Aristotle's (long lost?) dialogue on justice

Going back at least to Aristotle scholars such as David Keyt and Fred Miller, scholars have ascribed a theory of distributive justice to Aristotle based on the purported agreement about theories of justice in Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics (EN) 5.3 and Politics 3.6-18. But I argue that the account of that which is just in distribution in EN 5.3 concerns the civic excellence of a citizen exercising his virtues in a deliberative body (like a 4th C. assembly) and such assemblies historically were primarily concerned with the distribution of honors to individuals by decree rather than debates about the principles of justice. The sort of debate about principles of distributive justice (in our sense of the term) that play out in Politics 3 most certainly are NOT the debates that one would have heard in such a 4th C. assembly. Rather, the debates in the second half of Politics 3 concern idealized philosophical positions, put in dialogue not unlike a Platonic dialogue. My paper argues that from a contextualist framework of political theory the "theory of distributive justice" that plays out in Politics 3 has only surface resemblance to justice in distribution as it is described in EN 5.3. Instead, I claim that Politics 3.6–18 presents an extended analysis—really a debate or philosophical dialogue—of the different claims made by different segments within a political community (for instance, the wealthy, the poor, and the virtuous, all of whom need to co-exist in most political communities). Such a dialogue is a far more nuanced and complicated account of distributive justice than one could imagine based solely on Nicomachean Ethics 5.3—and indeed is more sophisticated than other 4th C. dialogues on justice that we find in Aristotle's contemporaries, such as Xenophon, Plato, and Isocrates.

Emily Lynch, University of Rhode Island, et al.
Partisan Polarization and Public Opinion on Education in Rhode Island

Partisan polarization has become the backdrop of the American political landscape in many public policy areas. Despite the pervasiveness of divisive politics, recent literature suggests that education policy and opinion remain somewhat insulated from this polarization (e.g., Shapiro et al., 2021). We seek to examine the extent to which political polarization has had an impact on public opinion in the ideologically moderate state of Rhode Island in the context of education policy. We will conduct quantitative analyses of an original survey of 500 Rhode Island residents that was administered by YouGov in August and September 2023. Our survey includes questions related to recent education policy proposals from Rhode Island General Assembly members, as well as questions about teachers unions, school boards, topics covered in the curriculum, the most important problem facing public school leaders, the quality of schools, school funding, and the expansion of charter schools. Our results have implications for our general understanding of political polarization, education policy, and public opinion in a New England state.

Alynna Lyon, University of New Hampshire
A "Dialogue of Diplomacy:" Moral Authority and the Francis Factor

In 2015 Pope Francis remarked to journalists that the world is in "a third world war in stages" and "wars, migrants, and the wave of people that are fleeing wars and fleeing death." During that same visit, he described the "world is thirsty for peace" and heralded the need for a "victory for the culture of encounter and dialogue." Within the last 2 years war rages in Ukraine with the shadow of Buchra, with close to 10,000 civilians killed and 500,000 military casualties. In late 2023 devastating violence erupted in Gaza and Israel with mass civilian deaths, terrorism, and mass atrocities. The world appears consumed with suffering, anger and a culture of retraction and vengeance. There are few moral voices at the global level to help both world leaders and humanity navigate the most challenging of tensions. Pope's have engaged in global diplomacy for centuries. While the papacy has little formal power, Popes are called upon to navigate the global community away from war, genocide, poverty, and famine. At times, some are activists and seek a more public role with independent initiatives, and their actions (and inactions) have considerable moral consequences. Pope Francis is active in global issues and has made several attempts at "Vatican Diplomacy." This project explores how Pope Francis views the global conflicts of the day, with a focus on his thoughts, words and deeds in global diplomacy through a case study on his 2023 initiative to mediate a cease-fire between Russia and Ukraine.

Ian MacFarlane, University of Texas at Austin
The State as an Organism is Hegel's Philosophy of Right

In the Philosophy of Right, Hegel provocatively claims that the rational modern state is to be understood as an organism, that is, as an organized collection of parts that work together towards a common aim and gain their meaning and purpose through their participation in that common activity. In this paper I propose to explore the complications that arise out of this account of modern political life.   On one hand, in presenting the modern state as an organism, Hegel would seem in a sense to be returning to a certain picture of classical political philosophy, namely Aristotle's discussion in the Politics of the state as an organic whole. Yet Hegel understands modern political life to constitute a decisive advance over the ancient polis, and indeed his focus on the individual, the free will, conscience, and freedom constitute distinctive aspects of his political philosophy in contrast to ancient thought.   On the other hand, while focusing on individual freedom, Hegel claims that the citizen finds his fulfillment and freedom precisely in becoming a member of the organism that is the modern state by contributing to its common project. Though Hegel focus on the individual, the individual is fulfilled by being a part of the whole. In this way Hegel departs from other modern political philosophers who focus on the individual over the collective.   In this paper I will explore these tensions in Hegel's thought and try to explain how he understands himself to have united the ancient focus on the collective with the modern focus on the individual.

Tim Magdziak, Georgetown University
What Determines Social Media Success for US Members Of Congress?

With the rise of social media over the last decades, politicians have come to utilize the various platforms in an attempt to communicate with their constituency and various audiences. The use of this new technology however, reveals vast differences in the success members of Congress have on social media: while some members amass millions of followers, others have only a few thousand followers. At the same time, social media success is desirable for all members of Congress. It enables them to engage in actions, that congressional reserach has long considered desirable, like advertising, credit-claiming and position-talking. So what is it, that makes some members of Congress much more successful than other? This paper considers two competing theories: on the one hand, it could be skill, with which a member of Congress or their office employ social media. On the other hand, success could be caused by external factors, like the party, the ideology or the sociodemographic factors of a legislator. Utilizing a regression analysis based on more than 2,000 tweets by members of the House of Representatives, the paper finds that skilled social media use, and specifically attacking the opposing party, are correlated with social media success. In addition, some other factors, like being in a leadership position, are also correlated with success.

Kenneth Manning, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth
Gender and Judicial Replacement in the U.S. Federal Courts

This research examines whether women judges who depart from positions on the U.S. District Courts and U.S. Courts of Appeals are likely to be replaced by other women. That is to say, whether gender is a predictor of judicial replacement. I will analyze approximately 2,254 judicial confirmations in the lower federal courts between the years 1970 and 2021. Because broad structural forces have resulted in the diversification of many professions over time, including the judiciary, this study seeks to understand how frequently judicial selectors choose or promote women judges to replace other women judges on the federal bench.

Daniela Melo, Boston University, et al.
April 25 and its Consequences: The Emergence of Social Movements in Democratic Portugal
The late Harvard University government professor Samuel P. Huntington once noted in his 1991 work "The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century" (University of Oklahoma Press, pp 3-5), that the April 25, 1974 military operation in Lisbon, orchestrated by the "April Captains" against the 48-year-old Salazar-Caetano dictatorship, and the subsequent transition to democracy, was the first step in the third wave of democratic transition around the world. This useful characterization of the events certainly helps to situate the Portuguese experience in a global context. Within Portugal, April 25 unleashed a tremendous tsunami of jumbled political activism over the subsequent two years, a time known in Portugal as the "Processo Revolucionário em Curso" or PREC (Ongoing Revolutionary Process). In the immediate aftermath of the overthrow of the 48-year long Salazar-Caetano regime, the pent-up frustrations of left-wing politicians and workers, who had been exiled or imprisoned, took center stage. As a group, they called for dramatic change. At first, most of the new national leadership agreed on the immediate need for decolonization. However, this general agreement on regime change and decolonization is where their consensus ended—and there were also opposing views on what decolonization should look like. Politics in Portugal was a mess for two years until things settled down into a Western-European-style democracy. Portugal will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the April 25th revolution in 2024. This paper will take a look at the consequences of the April 25 revolution for Portugal, 50 years on, asking what difference it made.

Paul Manuel, Georgetown University
Of war and Global Pandemic: How the Theological Priorities of Pope Francis Inform His Policy Goals
n/a

Robert Maranto, University of Arkansas
Better Ways to Teach, and Do Multiculturalism
Exogenous shocks including the decisive defeat of California Proposition 16 (in a California election presidential candidate Biden won in a landslide), the popular U.S. Supreme Court decision in Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard, and moves in state legislatures to limit or defund diversity training, critical theory inspired curricula, required DEI statements, and the bureaucracies supporting them, indicate that the longtime U.S. race-related institutional regime lacks public legitimacy. Further, as works in Frisby and Maranto (forthcoming, 2024) show, many specific practices do not accord with scientifically vetted knowledge regarding how to improve intergroup relations and diversify organizational leadership. They instead reflect "best practices" developed in relatively nontransparent bureaucracies, with little empirical backing. Here, I outline alternative policies and practices for k-12 schooling, higher education, and public and corporate personnel systems. These alternatives, many of which fit under the race and equity savvy paradigm developed by Moskos and Butler (1997) and the Merit-Fairness-Equality paradigm outlined by Abbot (forthcoming, 2024), are sometimes more resource intensive than current approaches, particularly regarding k-12 educational equity. Yet these policy and practice alternatives better reflect empirical findings regarding managing diversity, better accord with practices in other countries, and seem more likely to hold public and legal legitimacy. However, these alternatives may lack elite support since they will increase transparency and class mobility, potentially weakening elites.   References   Abbot, D. (forthcoming 2024). Merit, Equity, and Fairness, in R. Maranto, C. Salmon, J. Jussim & S. Satel edited The Free Inquiry Papers. Frisby, C.L. & R. Maranto, edited. (forthcoming 2024). Social Justice Verses Social Science: White Fragility, Implicit Bias, and Diversity Training. New York: National Association of Scholars. Moskos, C. & J.S. Butler. (1996). All That We Can Be: Black leadership and racial integration the Army Way. New York: Basic Books.

Theresa Marchant-Shapiro, Southern Connecticut State University, et al.
Finding Common Ground: The Community Foundation and Collaboration among Diverse Interests

The concept of community is at the heart of discussions about democracy and political efficacy. The question for this research project is how to prompt cooperation among group members with potentially conflicting interests. Tönnies ([1887] 2002) identified intolerance as a negative feature of gemeinschaft, but his findings were based on looking at historically and geographically limited examples of communities. Looking at modern urban communities, are they capable of being tolerant? Might they even support and promote diversity? This paper takes a qualitative case study approach to analyzing a community organization in an urban setting. The Community Foundation for Greater New Haven promotes equity within a diverse community by coordinating philanthropic support for local non-profit organizations. By interviewing the leaders and members of the Community Foundation, I address the techniques this organization has used to strengthen its own and the surrounding community and to empower its members. In the face of increasing conflict at the local, national, and international levels, understanding how communities come together has the potential to establish a foundation to bridge divides.

Emma Mariano, University of Missouri, et al.
"Unintended Consequences of Intervention: Understanding Gender-Based Violence After Withdrawal."

Many international interventions in conflict zones aim to address gender disparities by empowering young girls and women through educational enrollment, workforce integration, and advocating for equal legal protection. While numerous studies have highlighted significant achievements in these areas, there is a critical oversight: the sustainability of progress and the consequences when interventions cease. This article delves into this issue, shedding light on its profound policy implications and prompting a reevaluation of the context surrounding intervention cessation.   We posit that the abrupt withdrawal of intervention forces, exemplified by United Nations (UN) peacekeepers, leads to a severe reduction in security. This diminished security environment poses a grave threat to the safety and well-being of young girls and women. To comprehend the gravity of this issue, we employ backlash theory to elucidate how this security vacuum creates an opening for traditionally conservative societies to target women through acts of violence as a retaliatory response to the advancements in gender equality. Backlash theory suggests when there is progress or perceived progress towards equality, bolstered by UN peacekeeping in our argument, conservative actors will move towards regression of rights for women when peacekeepers are no longer there to protect those rights.   We test this theory using cross-national and geo-referenced data on UN peacekeeping missions and deployments. We find a significant upsurge in sexual violence specifically targeting women, particularly in regions where women had witnessed the most substantial gains in education and workforce participation. These findings underscore the urgent need for nuanced policy discussions surrounding the phasing out of interventions, not limited to UN peacekeeping. Lasting security measures must be put in place to safeguard the progress achieved in empowering women and securing their hard-won rights and safety.

Kyle Mashia-Thaxton, Southern Connecticut State University
The Paradox of Freedom: The 13th Amendment and the Chains of Prison Slavery

Since the ratification of the 13th Amendment in 1865, a loophole has existed in the amendment's structure allowing for the systemic enslavement of those who are convicted of a crime. This paper answers the question: Why have some states in the United States constitutionally abolished prison slavery in their respective state constitutions, while other states have not? Critical Race Theory scholarship has been incorporated to explore how American penal institutions have interacted with race, specifically African Americans. Derrick Bell's interest convergence theory, which argues that black advancement is most likely to occur when white interests align with black interests, is particularly relevant for an analysis concerning contemporary prison slavery. This research question is crucial for furthering our understanding of what role race plays in American policy decision-making on the state level. The methodology relies on a mixed-methods and content-analysis approach to study a sample of eight states that have previously conducted state-wide referenda on whether to abolish or maintain the practice. Supporting Bell's theory, I find that American states with higher levels of white incarceration rates are more likely to abolish prison slavery practices from their state constitutions than states with higher levels of black incarceration. This research is significant because it suggests that prison reform work would be most effective if the issue of prison slavery is framed in the paralleling interests of whites and blacks.

Theodore Masthay, DeSales University
Legislative Reorganization and Congressional Career Arcs

The capacity of Congress to perform its constitutional lawmaking duties has changed dramatically over time. As the United States has grown both in population and relative power globally, the effective charge of Congress has grown in scope as well. This shift in America's position has required our main legislative institution to reimagine itself and its job as a form of necessary maintenance at various junctures. The chief avenue through which Congress has done so is self-directed legislative reorganization. In an effort to compete with an ever more powerful executive branch and public demands for competence and transparency in the post WWII era, Congress has initiated largescale reorganization on a few occasions; and successfully passed the Legislative Reorganization Acts of 1946 and 1970. I argue that one of the main outcomes of these laws is that they increased the professionalization of the institution, thereby fundamentally altering the career strategies of federally elected legislators. The tools given to members of Congress increased their capacity to impact public policy and win reelection to their seats on a regular basis. I demonstrate that the rise of superincumbency in Congress begins with the LRA of 1946. This is particularly true of the Senate, which saw retirement become the primary mode of exit from the chamber among its members after 1946; standing in contrast to the high rates of electoral loss senators suffered before its passage, somewhat ironically signaling that the job had become more attractive. Overall, I demonstrate that internal, institutional factors historically drive job satisfaction and impact congressional career arcs as much as any external factors do. Which has clear implications for the modern Congress if it wants to maintain its institutional prestige.

Jim McHugh, University of Akron
Pope Francis, Modernism, and Liberal Democracy

This paper will address Pope Francis' attitudes toward liberal democracy (or, more accurately, polyarchy as Robert Dahl famously described it) and contrast it with the Anti-Modernist attitudes towards liberal democracy of 19th and early 20th century popes such as Leo XIII and Pius X ~ attitudes that can be discerned among many current Traditionalist Catholics. The chapter also will address Pope Francis' current political struggles with rebellious clergy such as Raymond Burke and Joseph Strickland and their own apparent skepticism regarding modern liberal democracy, including Strickland's embracing of the Trump rejection of the 2020 presidential election result. The thesis will be that Pope Francis' attitudes and approach are a complete departure from the previous Anti-Modernist position of the Church, especially in terms of its rejection of Humanism and the Enlightenment as opposed to Francis' embracing of diversity, inclusion, and human rights in general.

Carol McNamara, Great Hearts Institute for Classical Education
Banning Shylock

The Merchant of Venice is among Shakespeare's most controversial plays because many believe the theme of the play is antisemitic. But is the Merchant of Venice simply a pro-Christian, anti-Jewish play? Is the portrayal of Shylock, the Jewish money lender in Shakespeare's Venice less flattering than that of Antonio, the eponymic Christian merchant in the play? My contention in this paper will be that The Merchant of Venice is neither antisemitic, nor pro-Christian. To the contrary, Shakespeare's portrayal of Shylock is painfully sympathetic, and his rendering of the relationship between Shylock and Antonio is a searing indictment of the Medieval Christian caricature of Judaism, which produces the injustice that provokes Shylock's desire for vengeance. Furthermore, I will argue that the true focus of the play is the city of Venice. Why was Venice, an aristocratic, commercial republic, of such great interest to Shakespeare? Certainly, the Venetian regime was very different than the hereditary monarchy of Shakespeare's England. Shakespeare's presentation of the British monarchy suggests his concern with the instability of one-man rule. His interest in Venice may reflect his curiosity about the availability of an alternative regime form: an open society, governed not by men but by law, enforced impartially among citizens and non-citizens, doing business in Venice. This paper will explore Shakespeare's consideration of whether the commercial republic was able, as it claimed, to balance consistently the business interests of merchants and traders from near and far justly under the impartial rule of law? And if Venice itself is the true focus of the play, then, his presentation of the tension between Antonio, and Shylock might be a vehicle for that investigation. Perhaps Shakespeare is testing the capacity of the commercial republic to adjudicate the serious differences of belief under the law without favoring one over the other?

Peter McNamara, Arizona State University
Defending Liberalism

Defending Liberalism Today Peter McNamara Today liberalism is under attack and showing very little fight-back in response. Facts and figures about wealth, health, and happiness seem to not register with its critics. This paper begins with Steven Pinker's contemporary defense of liberalism but then takes a long step back to one of the original and critical offensive moves on behalf of liberalism, Locke's First Treatise of Government in the hope of suggesting a better and contemporary defense of liberalism.

Shannon McQueen, West Chester University
Why Republican Women Fail to Garner Support from Women's Organizations: Sexism, Ambivalence, and Party Culture

Why do Republican women candidates fail to garner exclusive support from Republican women's groups? Women's organizations play a significant role in recruiting, training, and funding women candidates. Despite the increased presence of Republican women's groups, Republican women continue to lag behind their Democratic counterparts in gaining elected positions Scholars and pundits may suppose this lack of support is due to Republican women's groups embodiment of sexist values, assuming these organizations do not truly desire to support women candidates. In contrast, I argue that partisan culture plays a role in these support patterns, resulting in Republican women's organizations using a gender-neutral approach to candidate support. To investigate, I conducted a novel survey of state women's organizations and interviews with national women's organizations and find that Democratic women's groups and Republican women's groups have the same desire to support women candidates. However, Republican women's groups have a strong desire to reflect partisan values and avoid conflict with the party. These results have normative implications for Republican women's mobilization into elected positions and suggest the importance of accounting for partisan culture when considering candidate mobilization.

Shannon McQueen, West Chester University, et al.
Let's Talk About It: Understanding Student's Fears and Comforts around Discussion

What are students' fears and comforts around dialogue in the classroom? As the United States' political and social climate is rife with tribalism and polarization, it is increasingly important to equip students with skills to navigate difficult conversations with those who have diverse views as part of developing an informed citizenry. A growing body of research suggests the value of intergroup dialogue (Schoem and Hurtado 2001) in helping students to build relationships across diverse groups, promote social justice causes (Gurin et al. 1999; Mildred and Zúñiga 2004), and reduce affective polarization (Levendusky and Stecula 2021). Yet, college students across the United States appear reluctant to discuss controversial topics in and out of the classroom (Zhou and Zhou 2022; Zhou and Barbaro 2023). Using a novel survey and focus groups of students in a 'Politics of Diversity' class, we investigate how comfortable students feel navigating tough conversations with those who have differing views and what fears or perceptions surround discussion with those of different views. Results highlight that the majority of students value open discussions and political tolerance and recognize importance of a sense of belonging within classroom discussions. Optimistically, the findings highlight the ability and desire for students to engage in discussion across difference, and emphasize the role educators have in cultivating sense of belonging in the classroom.

Martin Mendoza-Botelho, Eastern Connecticut State University
Severe democratic crises and parliamentary response in Latin America. The limits of legislative powers bridging constitutional breaches

Democracy relies on stable and efficient political institutions to function. A pivotal institution is parliament. Its strength, vis-à-vis other powers such as executives, provides much needed checks-and-balances. But what happens when severe political crises erupt, either by serious constitutional breaches/challenges or attempts by the executives to exert absolute control? Do parliaments have the strength and legitimacy to withstand extreme challenges? In times of crises, can parliaments become those much-needed democratic bastions? Exploring Bolivia's 2019 constitutional crisis, this paper studies the important role of parliament sustaining democracy in times of peril. A key element is the perceived legitimacy and efficiency of this legislative body. This aspect is closely related to the high level of political polarization existing, which certainly had an effect in the efficacy of parliament to prevent and/or ameliorate the political crisis. Interestingly, despite the destitution of democratically elected officials in the executive, that virtually paralyzed the central government, parliaments in this country remained functional and became the epicenter of political negotiations. Even with low levels of popular support and trust, this body was able to remain active. Moreover, even with high violence and civil unrest during the most difficult days of the crisis, Bolivia's parliament was able to regain certain control and became a legitimate instrument for political dialogue between competing factions. Although the actions of parliament in this case did not solve the problems that lead to the crisis, at least it was able to sustain democracy, despite its precariousness, during a time of need.

Michael Moltz, Shippensburg University, et al.
Work-Life Balance and Organizational Commitment in the Public Sector

Simply wanting to serve the public likely is not enough to ensure that a government worker is willing to exert effort on the job. Instead, an organization must provide employees with opportunities to fulfill their public service needs or the result may be a frustrated and disillusioned worker. Additionally, public employees are driven by other work motives that must be addressed by public managers. Significant scholarly attention has been given to the study of public service motivation and its influence on several characteristics of the public sector workforce, such as job satisfaction and organizational performance. To a limited extent scholars have identified relationships between PSM and organizational commitment as well. However, there is scant research about the relationship between work-life balance and organizational commitment. For this reason, the research questions addressed by this paper are: Are workers who value work-life balance more likely than others to be committed to their organization? What other facets of the job influence a public employee's level of organizational commitment?   The data used in the analysis come from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) 2015 "Work Orientations IV" module that contains data from surveys administered across more than 30 countries. Willingness to expend effort for their organization and pride of their organization will serve as the dependent variables in the estimated models. In terms of independent factors, variables will be created from items that ask respondents about work-life balance related job characteristics as well as the importance that they assign to intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.

John Moriarty, Hillsdale College
Xenophon and the Rational Ground of the Best Way of Life

This paper examines what is the best way of life according to Xenophon. The two fundamental alternatives that are examined are the philosophic life of Socrates and the political rule of Cyrus. Examining Cyrus' political rule as a serious alternative to Socratic political philosophy requires taking seriously Leo Strauss' suggestion that Cyrus may be the "perfect king." It also requires understanding how Socrates' way of life as depicted by Xenophon culminates in a confirmation of Leo Strauss' characterization of the classical teaching on the best regime "possible on earth" but "very difficult, hence improbable, even extremely improbable." To establish this, the paper begins with Xenophon's Socrates as depicted in the Memorabilia and the Apology of Socrates to the Jury. It then turns to Xenophon's Cyrus, concluding that although Cyrus was not a philosopher, and thus not a philosopher-king, his rule nonetheless points to Socrates in some ways and presents a powerful alternative to the philosophic way of life, chiefly in its capacity to bring about a strong semblance of order and to harm enemies. The paper concludes that Xenophon, in fully developing and thinking through the alternative to philosophy that is presented by Cyrus' political rule, rationally grounds his own philosophic quest for knowledge in the forceful comparison of the philosophic way of life with one of its chief rivals. Thus, in drawing our attention to the limitations of philosophy as compared with the perfect kingship of Cyrus, Xenophon, in his own life, repeated and reenacted the rational grounding of the philosophic quest for wisdom inaugurated by his teacher, Socrates.

James Morone, Brown University
The long racial roots of political hyper-partisanship: past, present, and possible futures

In 1928, a trickle of black voters in the north did something that seemed crazy: They voted Democratic. Within a decade, a black majority had switched parties. At the time, the press coverage was withering. Didn't "these people" understand, asked the editorial writers, that they were joining a party deeply committed to white supremacy? But black voters slowly transformed the Democrats. By 1948, the national Democratic convention revolted against its leadership and narrowly supported a civil rights plank.   That story was the start of a long trend that eventually resulted in something unprecedented: One political party, the Democrats, became the party of both black voters and of recent immigrants. The other party became the party of white natives. That had never happened in American history.   But, of course, politics never stands still. Every election introduces something new. That political coalition –a white party versus a party of all the so called minorities-- peaked in the Obama years and now appears to be fraying. It may be that black voters are once again on the move – and, in the process, hearing the same skeptical comments about joining a party that harbors racists.   This paper shows how an unprecedented racial alignment undergirded our partisan era. The most powerful culture wars running through American history were, for the first time, mobilized by the political parties. I examine how the party coalitions developed in the 20th century, how the parties mobilize the culture wars, and how past changes may help us understand the alternate futures that lie before us.

Anoosha Murtaza, Georgetown University
Partisan Polarities & Proximity Appeals: Examining the Differences in How Proximity Appeals are Employed Between Political Parties

Proximity appeals are a tool commonly utilized by politicians in order to better connect with their electorate and gain their support. Proximity appeals refer to when messages within political communication media employ visual and linguistic cues to provoke the notion of closeness and relatability between the politician and their constituent, such as specific personal experiences and family life. Proximity appeals are most prominent in political campaign advertisements released by politicians during their respective campaigns to broaden their electoral chances by implying connections with the voter pool. These types of appeals are often employed by both democrats and republicans, but this study aims to ascertain the exact similarities and differences between party affiliation and the usage of proximity appeals in campaign advertisements. Using archival presidential campaign advertisements from the 1980 to 2016 general elections, this paper conducts a content analysis and code for proximity appeals in advertisements and their partisan prevalence, along with other variables, such as emotional appeal and symbolism.The research supports the notion that candidates from the two parties employ appeals to proximity in unique ways, while prompting other aspects such as enthusiasm, fear, and other emotions from audiences. The advertisements from both parties implement both implicit and explicit imagery and text to foster connections and promote relatability between candidates and the electorate. This paper prompts further research in how democrats and republicans exercise appeals to proximity and how increasing polarization affects how these appeals are utilized by candidates in various types of elections.

Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College
The Racialized History of Day Care in American Political Development
Working families struggle to find affordable day care. Biden proposed funding to continue and expand the pandemic-era Child Care Stabilization Program; Congress let it expire. The federal child tax credit fails families who do not make enough to pay income tax. Congress passed an act (1971) establishing a network of nationally funded, locally administered comprehensive childcare centers, available to all on a sliding scale; despite early support, Nixon vetoed it. When work requirements were imposed on welfare recipients, childcare was provided for mothers, but Head Start programs serving low-income families are not always full-time programs. During World War II, when women were needed to work in areas of "war impact", the federal government provided group care for these women's children; the program expired. This is the short history of federal government support for childcare. By 1900, some white female reformers embraced the day nursery movement; by the end of World War I, most turned away. White reformers embraced mothers' pensions to help deserving mothers remain in the home. With passage of the SSA mothers' pensions became federalized, but Black women were poorly served by the program; after 1938, matters became worse. Black working women needed safe options for their children, and Black female activists at the turn of the 20th century began promoting and finding funds for their own day care facilities. They organized and provided a variety of services for their communities that elsewhere were often supported by the state. In this legacy of romanticized notions of true womanhood and racialized understandings of motherhood, race is central to explaining why the U.S. lacks federally supported childcare facilities in the 21st century.

Julie Novkov, University at Albany, SUNY
Military Service and Civic Membership: Fighting America's Wars while Fighting for Change
When studying the advancement of people of color in US history, scholars of American political development have focused on activism that has provoked change, understood as durable shifts in governing authority. Reading American policy history to include military history, the period between the American Civil War and World War I exhibits some change, but change followed by regression, resulting in ambiguous or minimal positive effects for people of color, particularly African Americans, despite their incorporation in the American military. Tracing durable shifts leaves the impression that little progress was made, presenting the struggle as repeated iterations of individuals and groups seeking with minimal success to parlay military service into fuller civic membership and citizenship. Reading this history through intercurrence and focusing on military service as a potential open door for engagement with the state when others were closed or closing tells a different story. Individuals and groups continued to serve, pressing for rights and recognition related to their service by using the frameworks afforded by military service and reiterating memories of honorable service and the anticipated bargain of civic belonging in exchange for service. These efforts illustrated the tensions between the American nation's development into a world power with accompanying military force and a particular democratic and civic vision to spread on the one hand and its increasing commitment to allowing white supremacy to flourish in a variety of forms on the other. This period of American history when very little appeared to be happening developmentally from the top down featured significant cross-cutting pressures. While these pressures did not themselves create positive durable shifts in racial policy for the most part, they encouraged continued engagement and persistence by individuals and activists, helping to explain why this avenue remained attractive and solidifying the narrative around military service and its broader benefits.

Masako Okura, Columbus State University

Digital Echoes in Tokyo: Naomi Osaka's Olympic Saga and the Complex Web of Japanese Online Discourse

This study utilizes a netnographical approach to decode embedded messages in abusive tweets directed at Naomi Osaka, a Black Haitian-Japanese Grand Slam champion in tennis, who lit the Olympic cauldron at the Tokyo Olympic Games held in "her country." For progressives, Osaka's selection symbolizes a new, multicultural Japan where a Black woman "who does not look Japanese" can represent the nation. Conversely, conservatives questioned the Tokyo Organizing On the other hand, noting that Osaka moved to the U.S. at the age of three and has lived there since. They argued that merely possessing a Japanese passport does not equate to being Japanese, especially for someone who cannot speak the language. Additionally, they labeled her as racist for participating in the Black Lives Matter movement, which has had minimal impact on Japanese politics. Focusing on Osaka's race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, and politics, she was deemed "less Japanese" or outright "non-Japanese." However, the most intriguing aspect of this controversy is that Twitter users continued to respond to her tweets, retweeting with quotes and using hashtags in Japanese, a language she would likely never be able to read or comprehend. This raises the question: Why do these netizens engage in such seemingly unfruitful activities, knowing that Osaka would not understand their messages? If hurting her feelings is their ultimate objective, their strategy does not seem to make sense. In addition to a cyberpsychological interpretation of the motives behind online abuse, including dissociative anonymity and solipsistic introjection, and a physiological interpretation emphasizing dopaminergic rewards, there must be other motives behind such irrational behavior. This study decodes over 5,800 tweets about her to uncover embedded messages and analyze what netizens truly intended to convey by targeting her during the Olympic Games.

William O'Leary, United States Coast Guard Academy

Analyzing Capacity Building to Combat East African Drug Trafficking

The global illicit substance trade is rapidly growing to meet the demands of criminal syndicates around the world, threatening US national security. The eastern coast of Africa is now known as the "Heroin Coast" due to the volume of illicit trafficking through the region, which has grown exponentially since 1998. To stem the flow of illicit substances from Pakistan and Iran into Eastern Africa, the United States Coast Guard now works with area stakeholders to assist in the training of local maritime law enforcement (MLE). Recently, the US has assisted with the establishment of the Kenyan Coast Guard Service in an overarching effort to enhance local MLE norms and capacity. Based on an analysis of existing challenges to local MLE, including field interviews with MLE stakeholders and trends in the available data, our research focuses on three main communities of stakeholder engagement: local leadership, local communities, and international partnerships. We conclude that 1) local "buy-in" from political and military leadership remains challenging yet crucial to enhancing MLE norms and capacity, 2) improved local collaboration and communication with indigenous maritime leadership is crucial yet remains underdeveloped, and 3) as MLE enhancements and successes in history have demonstrated, the international community, to include the International Maritime Organization and the International Port Security Liaison Office, can make a difference. Finally, we also apply lessons learned by the existing Kenyan Coast Guard to MLE challenges faced along the coastlines of neighboring East African states, including Tanzania and Mozambique, and contemplate the ongoing challenges to obtaining accurate data on illicit trafficking in the region.

Nathan Orlando, Benedictine College
Consistency in the Art of Political Education

In his 1932 essay "Consistency in Politics", Winston Churchill foreshadows the difficulties to come in his steering of the ship of state. He makes the argument that the statesman must navigate between, to one side, the obstinacy of holding firm to a given platform despite the shifting circumstances and, to the other, the ephemeral flittering of accommodating all new conditions indiscriminately, between the Scylla of blindly principle and the Charybdis of rudderless circumstance. In doing so, Churchill offers a vision of not only how the practitioner of politics ought to conduct himself but also how the teacher ought to direct the student's studies: by the selection of appropriate exemplars, by thinking along with their decision-making, and by grappling with the underlying consistency that these leaders saw in themselves. In no dimension of political life is this investigation more necessary than the consistently inconsistent realm of international politics.   Taking Churchill's essay as inspiration, this essay will explore the pedagogy appropriate to the study of international life. By intermingling the investigation of specific nations and conflicts with that of political philosophy, history, economics, etc., students come to understand international relations as the architectonic study within Aristotle's architectonic art. By focusing upon historical decisions and actors alongside universal laws, students come to appreciate international politics as a discipline always just beyond complete apprehension but nonetheless not beyond intelligibility. Ultimately, teachers of international life must lead their students to prudence, a virtue Aristotle deems outside the grasp of the young yet Aron refers to as "the god of the world below". How to cultivate this virtue at a time of life at which students are predisposed against it is the big question for the discipline.

Clay Parham, Baylor University
The Geist of Napoleon's War: Bülow, Clausewitz, and Jomini on Offensive War in Modern Europe

On Sunday, June 18th, 1815, Napoleon Bonaparte was defeated by a combined British and Prussian force under the Duke of Willington and Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher. This ended Napoleon's second attempt to conquer Europe and was emblematic of a new form of warfare. Three military theorists attempted to explain the success of Napoleon and this new form of warfare: Heinrich von Bülow, Carl von Clausewitz, and Antoine-Henri Jomini. While Bülow died before Napoleon's defeat, Clausewitz and Jomini fought directly both against and for Napoleon respectively. Despite similar circumstances, these three thinkers disagreed, sometimes even explicitly referencing each other in their work. While Clausewitz and Jomini both have received some scholarly attention, Bülow's work is largely relegated to history. This paper seeks to add to the scholarship around these Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic military thinkers by examining Bülow, Clausewitz, and Jomini's different thoughts on offensive warfare and its relationship to international relations in a post-Napoleon world. Since these three thinkers are largely in dialogue, this paper suggests comparisons exist that, when examined through the lens by which each thinker views war, explains their different conclusions regarding offensive warfare. This paper is organized chronologically by each thinker's most prominent work. First, Bülow's section examines a mathematical approach to war which stems from Enlightenment ideals of scientific progress and perpetual peace. Second, the paper shows Clausewitz's ideas of military genius and offensive warfare show the need for Prussian balance against France. Third, the paper investigates Jomini's combination of a scientific approach and military genius. For Jomini, this culminates in a discussion of popular rule in powerful states.

Girma Parris, Case Western Reserve University

Race, Bilingual Education and American Political Development: How Political Development in Black-White Racial Cleavage Played Out in Bilingual Education Policy in California and Texas, 1965-2015

Since 1965, bilingual education (BE) policy trajectories in California and Texas have been counterintuitive considering the partisan histories of these states. After a period of policy expansion in both states from 1965 through 1975, the two experienced policy rollback from approximately 1978 through the first decade of the 21st century. However, policy rollback proceeded differently in the two states. In Texas, policy rollback begins in the late 1970s and continues incrementally through the 1990s, plateauing in the 2000s. In California, policy rollback also begins in the late 1970s, continues incrementally through the late 1990s until BE is statutorily eliminated via Proposition 227 in 1998. In 2016, BE is then statutorily reinstated via Proposition 58. Partisan shifts in power do not completely explain these varying policy trajectories. This paper will provide a more comprehensive argument: BE policy trajectories since the 1960s are a function of the interaction of racial political development and subnational policymaking mechanisms. Racial political development provides a new set of political opportunity structures for BE policy development from the 1960s forward. Subnational policymaking further determines these opportunity structures, providing the various forums for policymaking and political development at the subnational level – where the most directly impactful BE policies are passed and implemented. Subsequently, BE provides a window into the role of racial political development and subnational policymaking processes in subnational immigrant political incorporation as well as the impact of subnational policymaking processes on racial political development.

Naw Moo Moo Paw, University of Massachusetts Lowell

Impacts of Military Involvement in Government on Violence Against Civilians

What impact does the military's involvement in a national cabinet have on civilians? Although we know a lot about how the type of regime affects human rights, there is a great deal of variation in violence against civilians when military officers are involved in government. We know little about how this variance influences the State's penchant for conflict. In this paper, I investigate how military involvement in the government affects civilians' security. According to civil-military competition theory, when military officials and civilians share political authority and may be in a political rivalry, specific pathologies in national security debate and decision-making occur. This increases the likelihood of violence and impacts civilians. I use a new dataset of the military service in national cabinets and state councils and existing data on violence against civilians caused by State and civil- military relationship scores to test this proposition across countries. The argument for civil-military competition has little support in my findings. Militarization of the cabinet and both sectors of cabinet and security is more likely to reduce violence against civilians when civil-military relations are good.

Luke Perry, Utica University

Why New York is Unlikely to Deliver for House Democrats in 2024

Redistricting in New York received significant attention over the last several years amidst a nationwide gerrymandering battle and a close House election. Many political observers are looking to this state as a pivotal piece to Democratic prospects of retaking the House in 2024. This paper examines in-state institutional constraints and electoral dynamics that will make it difficult for New York to fulfill liberal hopes of adding several Democratic seats and delivering their party control of the House.

Justin Perry, Oxford University

How Utilitarian Methods Prompt Unjustified Public Decision-Making

This paper argues that there exists an institutionalized utilitarianism (IU) among major institutions which requires the use of utilitarian methods but abdicates utilitarian ends. This effects an incoherent and problematic decision-making process that often fails to achieve moral outcomes. Popular decision-making tools and concepts like the cost-benefit analysis, a deferral to the market mechanism to set values, rational choice theory, et cetera, embed a pseudo-utilitarian economic calculus into the decision-making process. This paper will argue that the outcomes of institutionalized decision-making processes often conflict with individuals' moral sentiments. I contend that utilitarian tools, along with institutional pressures, alienate decision makers in institutions such that they are not psychologically disposed to conceive of their work as ethically relevant. I further contend that alienated staffs risk developing anti-utilitarian dispositions with respect to their work. The outcomes of IU decision-making processes are unjustified, or at least self-defeating, because they paradoxically fail to achieve utilitarian goals due to conflicts between utilitarian and institutional pressures, alienation, and the development of anti-utilitarian dispositions.

Joseph Peschek, Hamline University

The Trump Presidency and the American Power Structure

The Trump presidency (2017-2021), and the bid for its restoration in 2024, provide opportunities for research and analysis at both the "mass" and "elite" levels of American politics. In this paper I focus on the elite level by showing how "power structure analysis" might illuminate the distinctive character of Trumpism. Power structure analysis examines how the wealthy and corporate managers work together to maintain themselves as the core of the dominant corporate-conservative power group, often in competition from a labor-liberal alliance. More recently, the traditional corporate-conservative alliance has faced opposition from far-right ultra-conservatives who object to the positions of mainstream corporate leaders on gun control, gay marriage, abortion, and voting rights. Does this emergent ultra-conservative network represent a distinct bloc in the American power structure? How might this approach be applied to the Trump presidency? What does power structure research and network analysis show about the think tank and corporate connections of key leaders and appointees in the Trump administration (the "Who Governs" power indicator)? In what ways did corporate elites benefit from policies of the Trump administration (the "Who Benefits" power indicator)? This paper draws on wide range of information and research to suggest possible answers to questions such as these.

Paul Peterson, Harvard University

Religion in Charter schools: The Hawaiian immersion school experience

The Texas legislature is considering legislation that would allow local districts to recruit chaplains to "provide support, services, and programs for students" in public schools. A charter authorizer in Oklahoma has given the go-ahead for the opening of an online Catholic charter school in 2024, invoking the 2022 U.S. Supreme Court ruling, in Carson v. Makin, that government funds may not be denied to religious entities if granted to secular ones. The effort may stall out in court, yet even if legal challenges are surmounted, the Sooner State will not be the soonest to offer religious instruction at a charter school. That honor belongs to Hawaii, where charter schools are already seeking the help of gods to address earthly challenges. For more than two decades, students at Hawaiian-focused schools have offered chants and prayers to the pantheon of gods who rule over skies, seas, and earth, including to the volcanic god, Pelehonuamea. Sustaining tradition need not mean excessive attention to its ugly side. In Hawaii, many traditional practices are surrounded by multiple question marks. Careful historians and anthropologists tell us that the indigenous caste system was so rigid no commoner could become a member of the nobility (aliʻi), that kapu (traditional norms and rules of conduct) required prostration by commoners before aliʻi, and that incest within the ruling elite was as pervasive on the Pacific islands as in ancient Egypt. We heard no such stories during our visit. Instead, Hawaiian-focused schools concentrate on the ancestral crossing of the Pacific Ocean in small boats with only stars for guidance, the Hawaiian practice of "talking story" as a tool for tolerating differences and reaching compromises, and the beauty of traditional chants and dances. Mainland American schools might also recognize that children thrive on knowing the best, not just the worst, about their past.

Meghan Peterson, University of Connecticut, et al.

Connecticut's 911/211/988 Systems: Assessing and Improving Crisis Response Infrastructure   Pursuant to CT Public Act 22-64

The reason for this study is to collect information and analyze data at the intersection between 911 and 211* calls made in Connecticut. The purpose is to improve understanding about which emergency and crisis calls may be more appropriately directed to 911 and 211. Certain emergency and crisis calls (e.g., suicide ideation and/or attempts, serious mental illness [SMI] scenarios, behavioral health situations) may be more effectively and safely addressed (i.e., "diverted" through alternative emergency/public safety responder approaches) via 211 and 988 crisis telecommunication lines within the broader first responder context in Connecticut.   Five questions have guided the goals for the interim study published in April 2023 and this study, which will be completed in early 2024.   First, when and how do civilians initiate points of contact with emergency and crisis responders? CT residents call all three lines: 911, 211 and 988.   Second, when is it more effective and safer for police to respond to emergency and crisis calls? The next phase of this study will focus on this question via a systematic collection and analysis of survey responses as well as focus group discussions.   Third, when is it more effective and safer for other trained responders to answer certain calls, such as mental and/or behavioral health crisis calls – either alongside police in some way or exclusively? As the mental health crisis persists both nationally and in CT across all demographics, mental health calls will continue to be a part of 911 and 211/988 call volume.   Fourth, what are current best practices (if any) governing dispatch and response processes to 911, 211, 988 calls? Together, training/education, adequate staffing/retention, budgetary considerations, mental health/wellbeing resources accessibility for all first responders are key.   Fifth, what potential best practices do we identify on the bases of data collection and analysis in areas for recommended improvement and reform?

Paul Petterson, Central Connecticut State University

Has MAGA Trumped Domestic Politics In Canada? The Cross-Border Impacts Of American Political Ideology

The current Liberal Party government has founded itself increasingly confronting MAGA - inspired political issues in the Canadian electorate, in good measure through the recent positions taken by the Conservative Party. What forces have fueled this cross-border influence of MAGA ideology? How has the Conservative Party and its leader worked to channel those ideas? Is this a momentary influence or a longer term evolution of Canadian public attitudes? This paper will explore the nature and depth of the MAGA influence on Canadian political parties and public attitudes.

David Plazek, Vermont State University

Realist or Liberal? Canadian Foreign Policy, 2006-2009

The realist/liberal internationalist debate in international relations has been on-going in the modern era dating back to Carr and existed in earlier eras in less explicit terms. This research contributes to the long-standing debate by examining Canadian foreign policy in the years 2006-2009. Canada's behavior is often associated with liberal internationalism. Two sets of hypotheses based on realism and liberalism are developed to test if the standard appraisal of Canadian foreign policy is accurate. The results indicate both theories can offer insights into Canadian foreign policy during these years. Moreover, when comparing this time period with other iterations of this approach applied to earlier periods, the election of Stephen Harper represented as shift towards a more realist-oriented foreign policy.

Mary Jane Porzenheim, Boston College

Is Resolution a Good Basis for Social Life? On a Few Minor Issues in Descartes's Thought, Including Generosity, Wonder, Freedom, Virtue, the Sovereign Good, Love, Friendship, Respect, Pity, Gratitude, Etc.

Does a focus on self-mastery erode our connection to other human beings? Descartes is often criticized for his individualism: how does this relate to his peak moral type, the generous person? How does this type compare to the magnanimous man, as described by Aristotle and reimagined by Thomas Aquinas? Descartes claims that generosity is the key to all other virtues, including virtues that relate to other people, such as respect, pity, and gratitude. Currently most scholarship on Cartesian generosity either focuses on the question of generosity's egalitarianism to the exclusion of Descartes's presentation of generosity as a social virtue, or fails to compare Descartes's boldest claims about generosity with his specific descriptions of how generosity functions in practice. This paper is an attempt to take seriously Descartes's presentation of generosity as a virtue with social implications while remaining attentive to the possibility that Descartes might exaggerate the social aspects of generosity. Through a close reading of key passages in Descartes's "The Passions of the Soul" and his correspondence related to that work, I argue that Descartes presents generosity as a remedy to irresolution and give an account of how generosity might be in principle available to everyone on the basis of perpetual wonder at our own free will (with special attention to how generosity compares to Aristotelian and Thomistic conceptions of magnanimity). On the basis of this account of generosity as a remedy for irresolution available to everyone, I argue that generosity does have modestly prosocial implications, especially insofar as it encourages gratitude.

Thomas Powers, Carthage College

American Multiculturalism and the Anti-Discrimination Regime

How, generally, has anti-discrimination politics changed American democratic politics? That is a large question but also one that political science cannot but at some point attempt to address. I approach that question by reference to several different overlapping strategies. Most generally, I examine the ways that anti-discrimination (or "civil rights") politics differs from (breaks with or challenges) the liberal democratic tradition in America. That broad question informs all of the more specific avenues of approach I take to thinking about anti-discrimination. First is an examination of civil rights law, focusing on Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Second is an historical inquiry into the origins and political development of multicultural education in the United States, as an example of civil rights institution-building by citizen activists. Third, I examine the substance of multicultural education as an account of civic education on the one hand and "pluralism" on the other. Finally, making use of my examination of both multicultural education and civil rights law, I provide an analysis of the substance of the moral claims of the emerging civil rights regime that has such a powerful hold on the American mind and soul today. Again and again, we see that the civil rights revolution has wrought significant changes to the very character of democratic life. To speak of an "anti-discrimination regime" or "anti-discrimination democracy" may be an exaggeration (it might not) but if so, it is a useful one.

Emily Pucino, Rhode Island College, et al.
The Relationship of College Internships, Student Empowerment, Civic Learning, and Sense of Belonging - An Exploratory Study of Rhode Island College's Washington Week/Congressional Internship Program

The paper explores three research areas based on the 2023 Rhode Island College (RIC) Washington Week/Congressional Internship, where students participated in a 1-week high-impact experience volunteering in the Rhode Island Congressional offices in Washington, D.C. The first research area was about the relationship between RIC's Washington Week/Congressional Internship program and a college student's empowerment, civic engagement, and their sense of belonging. The study also examined this internship in relationship to other similar political science internships across institutions of higher education to identify areas of similarities and differences. Finally, the study investigated the relationship between microinternships (DEFINE) and marginalized student populations to identify ways in which the use of these short, high-impact educational experiences may present unique and accessible opportunities for students at state colleges and/or community colleges. The study used a validated survey, focus groups, and narrative analysis. Our preliminary findings from the mixed-methods study demonstrate that students gained new experiences and skills from this internship as well as learned new skills they would not have learned in other spaces (e.g., experiencing congressional meetings and writing memorandums). There were several unique characteristics of the RIC Congressional Internship that impact the effectiveness of the program including, being shorter than most congressional internships, students' lives not being uprooted, and being located out of their comfort zone were impactful program components. Based on the literature review, the RIC Washington Week/Congressional Internship can be defined as a micro-internship, being shorter than one month and consisting of 40 hours of work. The shortness of this internship was also important as RIC is a Hispanic Serving Institution and with a student population predominantly comprised of low-income and first-generation college students, microinternships are more accessible to marginalized students than longer full-time internships.

Raza Raja, Syracuse University
State Nationalism and Political Islam

This paper analyzes the impact of state nationalism on the electoral performance and behavior of the Islamist parties. Using Pakistan, Turkey and Tunisia as case studies, paper suggests that the key variable in explaining variation in the performance of Islamist parties, is the way state has tried to cultivate ideology and nationalism in a top down manner. In many Muslim majority countries, this ideological exercise was conducted during an authoritarian phase following the independence. In countries where the state tried to cultivate a nationalist/secularist ideology, the Islamist parties have done well, after liberalization and opening of electoral space. The secularization drive of the past led towards mass scale Islamist movements- when the political opportunity arose -as Islamists were able to successfully frame their message in terms of "return to Islam". They were able to do as the religiously minded Muslims felt that secularization was targeting their faith, and they were discriminated against. On the other hand, in a country like Pakistan where, the state has actively used Islam as a way of state building, Islamist parties have done relatively poorly, even though the society due to that ideological project may have become even more religious. In such countries, the ideological distinction between Islamist parties and other parties, particularly the Muslim democratic parties has blurred somewhat resulting in the entire political landscape shifting to the right. This has ended up diminishing Islamist advantage and moreover has forced them to stay on the ideological fringe as they don't find moderation strategically attractive. In other words, Islamist parties in Pakistan, despite their unique organizational structure, don't get votes as they don't have something to sell.

Estela Raya-Fouts, Simmons University

The Consequences of Coloniality: Searching for a Queer Decolonial Feminism in Latin America

The period of European colonialism that lasted from the 15th to 18th century laid the foundation for modern Latin America, a region that has suffered politically and economically due to the lasting effects of Europe's capitalist system of power and subsequent exploitation of indigenous bodies and cultures. This article insists that an intersectional analysis is necessary to examine the gender hierarchy imposed during colonialism that persists in post colonial Latin America. Analyzing the interactions between power, gender and knowledge in coloniality exposes the construction of 'womanhood,' a concept that has placed indigenous and enslaved women at the bottom of the hierarchy and continues to oppress women of color through Eurocentric global capitalism. I look at the ways decolonial feminism has been used to challenge this hierarchy in Latin America, investigating the movements against femicide and studies on Chicano identities at the border between the US and Mexico. Taking into consideration the intersections of decolonial and queer theory, I assert that one cannot be queer without also being decolonial. Using the third worldism movement in the 1980s and 90s, I posit that decolonial queer thought opens up to new possibilities and theories that could pave the way to a more inclusive resistance to colonial structures. This article presents queer decolonial feminism as an integrated approach to decolonial praxis by assessing the potential of both feminist and queer thought to move toward knowledges of liberation and decolonial resistance.

Lawrence Reardon, University of New Hampshire

"Pope Francis' Dream of Unifying Chinese Catholic Church"

In 2023, General Secretary Xi Jinping stated that China's top priority was to strengthen the rule of law in international affairs and increase its leadership in international legal institutions and international rule-making. While pessimists argue that Xi Jinping wants to establish a new Sino-centric world order, optimists argue that Xi Jinping recognizes the limitations of Chinese Communist Party power and the importance of global cooperation. In the domestic case of Chinese religion, the Party similarly has acknowledged since the 1980s its inability to eliminate religious beliefs and has accepted its positive contributions to Chinese society. The 2018 bishopric agreement between Pope Francis and Xi Jinping thus was the first time the CCP agreed that a foreign religious organization had the ultimate decision over key internal governance issues. Despite his disappointment with the agreement implementation, Pope Francis has adopted an optimistic long-term goal of unifying the official and unofficial Chinese Churches, persuading the Chinese Communist Party to adapt its religious restrictions, and preserving the Hong Kong Church, so that they all can be brought into full communion with the Vatican.

Nolan Reisen, Baylor University

The Two Logoi of Plato's Crito

Plato's Crito stands somewhat apart from his other dialogues. Most notably, this dialogue does not concern a "what is…?" inquiry that we see as the central question in other notable dialogues. That is to say, this dialogue may not even try to earnestly attempt such an inquiry—indeed, we do not see Socrates here inquiring along with his interlocutor, but rather trying (rather explicitly) to lead his interlocutor to an opinion that Socrates himself has already accepted long ago. Even the subtitle of this dialogue ("On What is to Be Done") indicates a political decision to be made rather than a theoretical subject to be studied. In other words, this dialogue does not seek to merely increase the understanding of Socrates or his interlocutor; rather, this dialogue depicts Socrates firmly rooted in an opinion and trying to win over his interlocutor to his side (seemingly no matter what it may take). Indeed, Socrates even explicitly says that Crito's eagerness in his attempt to break Socrates out of prison makes it all the more difficult to reason with him. Taken in this light, this dialogue does not purport to seek knowledge as such, and we as readers would be wise to keep this in mind. Of course, this being a written dialogue indicates that it has something to teach to the reader—but Crito himself stands apart from the reader on this account. That is, if Socrates in this dialogue has a political objective of persuading an interlocutor (and, importantly here, a friend) to a particular opinion, he may very well have to deceive to some extent in order to bring about the desired result.

Jesse Rhodes, University of Massachusetts - Amherst, et al.
Know It When You See It? Authoritarianism, Normative Threat, and Public Opinion Toward "Unworthy" Political Leaders

In recent years, numerous scholars have investigated the nature, origins, and consequences of authoritarianism in the mass public (Osborne et al 2023). In her influential work, Stenner (2005) posits that the authoritarian predisposition and the expression of intolerance are activated by a "normative threat", defined as "any event that challenges "some system of oneness and sameness that makes 'us' an 'us'" (17). Stenner proposes that one such normative threat is the emergence of "authorities unworthy of respect" (17). In an era in which more candidates exhibiting diversity across race, sexual orientation, and gender identity are winning office, it is imperative that we investigate how authoritarianism is manifesting in the public's evaluations of elected officials. Using two original representative surveys of Massachusetts residents, we test the hypothesis that the emergence of a leader that defies normative expectations activates the authoritarian predisposition in the manner outlined by Stenner. We exploit the case study of Massachusetts which experienced a recent change in gubernatorial leadership from Charlie Baker, a straight white male, to Maura Healey, an openly lesbian white woman. We argue that the election of Healey represents a normative threat encompassed in Stenner's definition due to her membership in a marginalized and historically vilified identity group (lesbian women) which had never previously been elected to the governorship of a state in the United States. We expect that authoritarianism will influence support for Healey's candidacy, evaluations of Healey's job performance, and relative assessments of the leadership of Baker and Healey. Our paper provides clarity about whether and how "authorities unworthy of respect" activate the authoritarian predisposition. Osborne, Danny, Thomas H. Costello, John Duckitt, and Chris G. Sibley. "The Psychological Causes and Societal Consequences of Authoritarianism." Nature Reviews Psychology 2, no. 4 (2023): 220-232. Stenner, Karen. The Authoritarian Dynamic. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Sasha Rickard, Boston College
The Pleasure of Courage: Sophistry and Popular Opinion in Plato's Protagoras

In Plato's Protagoras, Socrates takes up the challenge of hedonism posed by Protagoras and, as Socrates suggests, also held by the majority of ordinary Athenians. The refutation takes on a familiar form, an investigation of the nature of virtue, particularly courage, culminating in Protagoras's concession that it cannot be reduced simply to pleasure. The focus of this paper will be less on spelling out the Socratic refutation of Protagoras and more on articulating the particular character of Protagoras's hedonism and the connection between his hedonism and his sophistry. In particular, I would like to suggest that Protagoras's hedonism is a necessary extrapolation from his critique of the naturalness of justice and of the city. As such, Socrates' refutation of Protagoras's hedonism also points in the direction of a Socratic defense of the naturalness of the city and of man's concern with justice.

Natalie Rogol, Rhode Island College, et al.
Going Public on Court Reform

Recent years have seen a rise in calls to reform the Supreme Court. We conduct a novel survey experiment in which we present framed messages about negative partisan outcomes at the Court in conjunction with executive rhetoric about reforming the Court in light of those outcomes. We predict that co-partisans react to the framed messages and increase their support of executives' threats to support Court packing and term limit legislation and increase their support of the reform policies themselves. Conversely, partisans decrease support of these reforms and executives' threats if they read that the out-party endured unfavorable decisions. We also predict that co-partisans are willing to reward candidates by voting for them at higher rates if executives threaten to support reforming the Supreme Court. Our research sheds light on the evolving relationship between executives, the public, and the Supreme Court and is useful in understanding conceptions of American democracy and institutional reform.

David Rovinsky, U.S. Department of State, et al.
Is Canada's Notwithstanding Clause Reformable?

In April 1982, the First Ministers included Section 33 in the Charter as part of a compromise to make the Charter acceptable to several provincial governments. It draws upon the notion of parliamentary supremacy endemic to Westminster systems, and many considered it a democratic tool to protect the decisions of elected legislatures against absolutist interpretations of Charter rights. There was also a belief that the notwithstanding clause would exist as a last resort for a legislature to overturn a court decision that went against public opinion. Section 33 was not written to reflect that norm, and on paper allowed legislatures to override the Charter at will, and to do so preemptively. Beginning in 2019, provincial governments began to use it more freely, and not in response to court decisions. This marked a shift in the norms surrounding the use of the notwithstanding clause, in which it became less a last resort and a tool that governments would invoke regularly. Use of Section 33 took on a partisan tone, as conservative provincial governments invoked it to challenge the federal Liberal government of Justin Trudeau. Liberals have called on the Trudeau government to defend the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and more specifically, want the use of the notwithstanding clause to be restricted, if not removed from the constitution altogether. This paper will explore the evolution of the way that political actors have interpreted the notwithstanding clause, and in what circumstances it can be used legitimately. It will also consider whether it is realistic to attempt to reform it. Reconsidering the notwithstanding clause will pull at several divisive issues at the heart of Canadian politics, including Quebec's role in Canada, the rights of women and minority groups, and the federal division of powers.

Eryn Rozonoyer, Boston College
How the Artificial Man Thinks

Hobbes' Leviathan is predicated on the claim that the polity is an artificial man. Hobbes finds it necessary to devote the first portion of his book to a study of man, including a study of how man is able to think and understand. This paper will examine Hobbes' explanations for how (and the the extent to which) man is able to know the world. It will then go on to consider how Hobbes' presentation of man's ability to know the world is "writ large" in the artificial man that is the Commonwealth. The way in which the artificial man reflects the natural man's ability to understand will have far reaching implications for the way in which the commonwealth must be constituted, especially vis a vis the powers of the sovereign. I find that Hobbes' materialism and nominalism are directly related to the possibility of the wholeness of the polity.

Marc Rugani, Saint Anselm College
Pope Francis and Synodality as Political Process
n/a

Jay Rumas, Independent Scholar, University of Rhode Island
An Illiberal Populist Coalition? Perhaps Not: The Obstacles To a Slovak-Hungarian Alliance.

After the victory of pro-Russian populist Robert Fico and his Smer-SSD party in the 2023 Slovak elections, many have speculated that he will make common cause with Hungary's Viktor Orbán. Both men are known for their illiberal stances, opposition to EU authority, and western support for Ukraine. However, historical grievances, rival nationalisms, and a recent history of conflict will make cooperation difficult. This presentation analyzes the Slovak-Hungarian relationship in the last thirty years, and attempts to predict under what conditions these historic rivals will put their differences aside and cooperate against a Europe that is increasingly isolating them.

Mark Sachleben, Shippensburg University
Comparative Semiotics: What Walkers Learn While on the Trail

This paper is part of a larger project wherein I explore the politics of walking. Whether called walking, hiking, rambling, or more broadly, enjoying nature and the outdoors, the benefits are substantial. But, as Solnit (2000) points out, to be able to enjoy these benefits people must have a place to do so. Self (2012) argues that in modern societies, walking is a political act for cultural and environmental reasons. To be sure, the reasons for walking vary from transportation, exercise, meditation, to protesting. Each reason has an intersection with politics, which is so commonplace that we rarely examine political considerations. One important way is how people receive messages. As walkers transit different landscapes, they are inevitably bombarded with information, much of which is commercial advertisements. Yet in many cases, signs are designed to inform and educate along trails and pathways. The information provided on waysides and historical markers are most certainly political by what is included and omitted. By examining signs along the trail, we can discern the messages employed to create and the maintenance of identity. Herein, the paper examines the signs accompanying trails and paths in several US states, as well as from Canada, Ireland, the United Kingdom, and Australia to observe these tendencies. I conclude with several observations, including that the past is often romanticized, that uncomfortable or inconvenient incidents are routinely ignored, and that marginalized groups are frequently absent from local history, but increasingly demanding recognition.

Saba Samy, Georgetown University
National Security: Procedural or Racist? The Efficacy of a Racialized Fifth Column

This paper explores the intricate relationship between national security practices in the United States and the historical tendency to discriminate against specific racial and ethnic groups. Through the examination of the conception of national security during World War II, practices implemented during the Cold War, and policies utilized post-9/11, the study traces the evolution of national security from a focus on "military necessity" to encompassing broader threats such as terrorism, espionage, and cyber threats. This paper highlights the tension between national security imperatives and the values of the US as a diverse and inclusive society, raising critical questions about the quick turn towards discrimination in times of conflict. The analysis demonstrates recurrent patterns of discriminatory beliefs and the targeting of minorities, often justified under the concept of the "fifth column", prompting consideration of alternative methods for achieving national security. Ultimately, the paper advocates for a future approach that aligns with the nation's commitment to equality, justice, and the protection of individual liberties.

Jan-Paul Sandmann, Harvard University
A Crisis of Creativity

This paper embarks from a puzzle about the socially rejuvenating forces of art evoked by two influential philosophical novels of the twentieth century: Hermann Hesse's The Glass Bead Game and Thomas Mann's Doctor Faustus. While The Glass Bead Game illustrates how the forces of modern culture impel the art lover to seek refuge in the glory of foregone periods of artistic greatness, Doctor Faustus is sparked by the contrasting frenzy of overcoming creative lethargy at any cost. Either response however – evading or transgressing challenges to lasting creativity – only furthers the inventive difficulties in the present, damaging art's capacity to serve as a building block of social life. I interrogate the presumptions on which the dilemma depends, explain in what way its verdict remains relevant today, and illustrate how the problems of inventiveness seemingly restricted to art turn out to be of a social, moral, and political relevance.

Christopher Sanfilippo, University of Texas
The Revival of Ancient Philosophy: Leo Strauss' Restatement

This paper will examine Leo Strauss' Restatement on Xenophon's Hiero, paying particular attention to its rhetoric. The Restatement is among Strauss' most synoptic accounts on the distinctive character of ancient political philosophy. Its style is uncharacteristically straightforward and, at points, blunt—especially regarding Strauss' unmistakable preference for classical philosophy over modern philosophy in its many forms. While the nominal theme of the work is classical and modern conceptions of tyranny, the essay turns quickly to the deepest themes of philosophy: the place of eros in the human soul, the meaning of education and its relation to politics, and the archetypal human types. Because Strauss is responding to Kojève—whom he regards as an intelligent representative of the modern position—Strauss makes several concrete comparisons between classical and modern thought which help us understand Strauss' grounds for preferring the former. The Restatement, more obviously than other writings of Strauss, illuminates the differences between ancient and modern philosophy and puts them in direct dialogue. The Restatement occupies a unique place in Strauss' corpus in that it is especially approachable. However, it concludes with a cryptic statement: Strauss writes that while he and Kojève disagree about tyranny, a deeper disagreement concerning being—or the criterion for truth—has been lurking below the surface. He suggests in this final paragraph (which was omitted in the original English publication) that to truly enter into the heart of the question—perhaps even to truly understand the difference between the ancients and moderns—one must raise the most basic question, what is being? I will attempt to interpret this challenging passage by drawing from Strauss' disparate statements on ancient metaphysics, including The Problem of Socrates and The City and Man.

Isabella Santos, Simmons University
Painting, Photography and Populism: An Integrative Study on the Regimes of Venezuela's Hugo Chávez and Peru's Alberto Fujimori

Numerous 20th-century Latin American political leaders demonstrated the utility of populism for mustering and maintaining power. Populism in its different forms, spanning various political ideologies, historical contexts, and cultures, has received significant scholarly attention in political science and history. One of the most innovative and underrated methods to examine ideology, history, and culture - the context in which populism sits and the fuel for its fire - is through art history. Over the past few decades, scholars began to deploy art historical visual analysis techniques when studying various political developments, including the strategic usage of populism in the 20th century. Art history can become a roadmap for future populism scholars to explore how governments and their supporters utilize populism through propaganda art, and how opposition forces challenge populist narratives via resistance art. This study applies this cross-disciplinary approach to an old problem, comparing the populist strategies of two prominent Latin American political leaders of the 20th century, Alberto Fujimori and Hugo Chavez, through an art historical visual analysis. Though many have compared the populisms of these two leaders, this paper examines the art and aesthetics of their governments, their opposition, and their supporters. This study found that through this artistic analysis, visual symbols of "the people" were constructed differently depending on the artist's view of their current government. Depending on the creator, anything from national iconography to religious motifs to the façade of a president could visually represent a certain interpretation of the common interest. Furthermore, notable differences emerged in the comparison between artistic representations under the Chavez and Fujimori regimes regarding the types of social groups that involved themselves in the construction of visual languages and how Chavez and Fujimori maintained or lost control of their public image over time.

Dante Scala, University of New Hampshire, et al.
Female Ambition in the New Hampshire House of Representatives: A Study of Legislative Leadership
New Hampshire voters are accustomed to supporting women for political office. Currently, three-quarters of its congressional delegation are women; Senator Jeanne Shaheen was the first woman in the United States to be elected governor and U. S. senator, and she was followed a decade later by Maggie Hassan. In this paper, we will consider how women have advanced in the state's 400-member House of Representatives, the lower house of its citizen legislature. We will examine their paths to leadership in the Democratic and Republican parties, paying special attention to their community service background before attaining legislative office; the length of their tenure in office; legislative productivity; and attainments in committee and party leadership.

David Schaefer, College of the Holy Cross
Culture vs. Multiculturalism
n/a

Marie Schenk, Lehigh University
Toxicity by Design: Affordances, Audience Choice, and Toxicity on Twitter
Since much of Americans' interpersonal relationships have moved to virtual platforms, political scientists have expressed concern that the specific conversational norms of social media sites may be reshaping the way people engage with politics. Specifically, the toxic conversations that proliferated during Twitter's heyday have been targeted for their role in increasing feelings of dislike and distrust between citizens with conflicting political views. As new platforms emerge to fill Twitter's role in users' online diets, what can designers do to make social media sites more amenable to everyday political talk that advances democratic goals? This paper answers that puzzle by looking at four design features commonly used on Twitter: hashtags, mentions, replies, and quotes. I assess the level of toxicity in everyday political talk on Twitter by analyzing a corpus of over 300,000 tweets about face masks collected during the early days of the Covid-19 pandemic. I find that tweets that are replies are significantly less toxic than those that are quotes, despite being equally negative in sentiment. This raises the possibility that people discuss difficult topics with less toxic language when they are engaged in a one-on-one conversation than when they are projecting their thoughts to a wide audience of spectators. My findings suggest further experiments to understand how website designers can incorporate features that encourage everyday talk that is less toxic, and thus more likely to increase citizens' political knowledge and tolerance.

Thomas Schmeling, Rhode Island College, et al.
Reframing Constitutional Outliers
A significant portion of the Regime Politics literature on the Supreme Court has been devoted to explicating and supplementing Robert Dahl's foundational insight that "the policy views dominant on the Court are never for long out of line with the policy views dominant among the lawmaking majorities of the United States." In keeping with Dahl's account, much of this work has focused on the relations between the Court and the other branches of the federal government. To the extent that this literature discusses the Court's review of state laws, it has frequently followed the lead of Michael Klarman and Lucas Powe, arguing that the Court tends to invalidate laws of ideological outlier states whose policies conflict with the preferences of the dominant national political coalition that appointed the Court. However, in much of the subsequent Regime Politics literature, the logic of outlier suppression is only thinly theorized. As Howard Gillman has recently put it, "…the idea that the Court often suppresses outliers...is a good start, even if the actual story must be much richer." This paper uses the Supreme Court's cases identifying "fundamental rights" to argue that the Regime Politics account is, by itself, an inadequate basis for explaining the outlier-suppressing character of many of the Court's decisions. Instead, I argue, the richer story that we seek requires recognizing the influence on the Court of the system of state laws as a politically constituted order which may develop separately from the national political regime. Also contributing to outlier suppression as a prominent mode of operation is the Court's own institutional self-interest in preserving resources and legitimacy, which may transcend or override the interests of the national regime.

Zachary Shirkey, Hunter College and The Graduate Center, CUNY
Why International Organizations are Ill-Suited to Combat Terrorism

Because sustained bilateral and multilateral cooperation is needed to confront terrorism, it seems logical that states would turn to international organizations (IOs) to overcome the free riding and coordination problems inherent in such efforts much as they have in efforts to address issues as diverse as economic crises, interstate and civil wars, refugee flows, and human rights violations. Surprisingly, such a conclusion is wrong. Why are these institutions poorly equipped to bring about cooperation for the specific purpose of combating terrorism? To answer this question, it is necessary to think about what IOs could conceivably do to fight terrorism. First, they could enhance law enforcement efforts by providing a common legal framework, aid in the apprehension of terrorists worldwide, and prosecute suspected terrorists. Second, they could lead international cooperative efforts to stanch the flow of terrorist financing. Third, they could overcome free riding by coordinating interstate cooperation in intelligence gathering and synthesis and by synchronizing states' individual tactical responses to terrorism. In practice, though, each of these three approaches has serious flaws. First, the legal approach is problematic due to a lack of shared definitions, legal authority, and institutional capacity. Second, IOs have had limited success stanching financial flows to terrorists because their member states often lack the capacity or will to carry out the proposed measures. Third, IOs would likely be incapable of facilitating counterterrorism cooperation because, despite the widely shared interest in fighting the phenomenon of terrorism, states often do not share an interest in fighting specific terrorist groups. This essay will delve into these three areas of possible efforts by IOs in fighting terrorism and discuss in detail each of their shortcomings.

Viktar Siamionau, Wheaton College
Is Education in Humanities and Social Science a Bulwark Against Authoritarianism

The paper attempts to reinvestigate established scholarly considerations about authoritarianism. Instead of contrasting authoritarian regimes against the democracies on the existence or absence of free and competitive elections, the paper looks at authoritarianism as any polity in which massess' ability to hold policymakers accountable is diminished by the presence of individual or institutionalized practices. The paper then predicts that one's level of education in humanities and social sciences as well as the competencies fostered in these classes. The paper then uses quantitative survey method in the attempt to confirm the proposed relationships.

Christopher Simon, University of Utah, et al.
Examining Racial Resentment in Public Administration: Insights from a Repeated Cross-Sectional Design General Social Survey Study (2000-2016)

Public administrators hold a responsibility to identify and eliminate racism within administrative agencies. Addressing a critical gap, we pose two key questions: (a) Do public sector employees, committed to equity and fairness through public law and professional ethics, exhibit significantly different levels of racial resentment compared to their private sector counterparts? (b) Are there substantial variations in racial resentment across different public service employment sectors? The study finds that public sector employees do not exhibit significantly higher or lower racial resentment than private sector employees. However, public sector protective services employees and healthcare workers (in both public and private sectors) exhibit notably higher levels of racial resentment compared to private sector individuals. The study highlights the influence of political affiliation and employment sector on racial resentment, shedding light on the challenges faced by politically right-of-center individuals in adhering to principles of politically neutral competence and equitable treatment.

Stephen Sims, Rochester Institute of Technology
The Problem of International Justice: A Classical Approach
The theme of classical thought is the question of justice and its connection to the best society. The best society is thought to be the most just society, one that takes citizens obligations to one another and to the common good of society. Due to the insular character of the societies described by classical political theorists, it is difficult to see how justice among nations could be either achievable or desirable. With no regime that binds them, there can be no clear legal obligations that define justice among political communities, nor could there be a common good that incorporates all political communities. While this might appear to mean that international justice is a fiction from a classical perspective. But there is another sense of justice Aristotle identifies, a justice not at home in a regime of the free and equal. Justice among unequals, especially aristocratic and monarchic regimes, helps us to understand the sort of justice that is possible among states. Aristocracy and monarchy do not face the same difficulties in benefitting noncitizens. It would seem to follow that international justice is particularly difficult for democratic regimes, and that the increase of democratic regimes would increase conflict rather than reduce it.

Sophia Sirois, Providence College
Melting Pot or Multiculturalism: Latina Migrants' Path Towards Assimilation
This paper is part of a larger project exploring the experiences and attitudes of Latina migrants with a focus on Rhode Island. It is investigating the gendered experience of resulting assimilation or acculturation based on expulsion factors from a migrant's home state and receiving factors within the new state. Historically global women face different lived experiences than their other gendered company. This disparity in treatment is known to affect women in their migration journeys and can be often seen in earnings, generalized social attitudes, and sentiments of assimilation and acculturation. For Latinas, expulsion factors such as physical and economic violence are common; a violence that tends to morph and follow them on the migration trail. This paper aims to see how these experiences, connections, and treatment impact Latina migrants as a marginalized population, while also assessing current resources available to the migrant population within the state. The data is based primarily on semi-structured interviews with official staffers from advocacy/service organization and migrants themselves, accompanied by research and analysis of how various expulsion factors, pull factors, and experiences within the U.S. affect migrant attitudes with a focus on the Rhode Island migrant population. Partial results from interviews will be shared in the presentation. Better understanding the interaction between these main expulsion and receival conditions in the case of Latina migrants will help shed light onto the lasting effect on acculturation and assimilation trends of Latina migrants specifically within Rhode Island, and contribute towards theorizing trends within the U.S. more broadly.

Katarina Sousa, Simmons University
The Global Gag Rule: America's Neocolonial Impact on the Ethiopian Reproductive Healthcare System
First established in 1984, the Global Gag Rule has been a policy instated by every Republican President of the United States of America since to prevent foreign NGOs that receive U.S. family planning funding from performing abortions. The policy, especially as it was expanded under President Donald Trump, has significant negative impacts on reproductive health care in Ethiopia, decreasing access to contraceptives, abortion, and family planning services. Not only is the Global Gag Rule restrictive of Ethiopian healthcare, the policy also reveals a neocolonial interaction between the United States and Ethiopia. This paper synthesizes research on advances and existing issues in Ethiopian reproductive healthcare and the impacts of the Global Gag Rule on Ethiopia to argue how the Global Gag Rule serves a neocolonial purpose. Through the Global Gag Rule, America is able to economically and culturally influence Ethiopia for American gain. Permanently repealing the Global Gag Rule and taking steps to improve Ethiopian healthcare systems can be solutions to detaching Ethiopian reproductive care from U.S. dependence and control.

Anthony Spanakos, Montclair State University
Political Realism and Justice in International Relations

Political realism, broadly understood, assumes that the world is a certain way and politicians and scholars seeking to understand political affairs should be prudent recognizing the limits of human nature,and the physical and social world in which humans and human-created organizations act. Efforts to change or resist reality are likely to lead to greater errors or mistakes of other kinds. A recurring critique of realism is its amorality and inability to identify and unwillingness to act on matters of justice. Is there a way around such critiques? If justice is the result of political deliberation, it is part of the world to which one responds and is either completely mutable (and relatively meaningless) or a structural condition that only the revolutionary aims to challenge. If justice precedes and is external to politics, then politics can hardly expect to accomplish justice, the political realist operates in a tragic world. Yet realists from Thucydides to Aron have never abandoned some notion of the just. This essay explores how justice can be a subject that political realists can seek to pursue, even if only in extraordinary circumstances.

June Speakman, Roger Williams University
Not in my backyard: The composition of local planning boards and decisions about affordable housing

This paper will investigate the connection between the composition of municipal planning boards and those boards' receptiveness to proposals about affordable housing in Rhode Island. Recent analysis in several states has revealed that these voluntary citizen boards may demonstrate a resistance to affordable housing developments that comes not from sound analysis of appropriate land use patterns and zoning law, but rather from the desire of board members to preserve existing development patterns and property values.

Ian Spears, University of Guelph
State Formation and Why Conflict Resolution Fails in Africa

This paper is part of a larger project that seeks to explain problems of conflict resolution in Africa and the Middle East in terms of comparative processes of state formation and, in particular, a European ideal of the nation-state. It argues that most analysis of conflict resolution focuses on immediate causes of political violence and ignores important structural causes associated with state formation. The broader research project argues that, over hundreds of years, Europeans engaged in practices that included border gerrymandering, assimilation and political exclusion that are now deemed outside the norms of acceptable state behaviour. Here in this chapter, by contrast, modern African states are presented as the product of colonialism whereby rulers have to contend with ethnic diversity in political environments of territorial stasis, and where there are strong and well-justified prohibitions on assimilation and exclusion. The result is that Africa has had virtually no instances of forceful border change but is otherwise unable to escape the political division, instability, and violence that have characterized internal politics on the continent.

Leland Stange, Yale University
The Role of Filial Piety in Plato's Republic

"Filial piety" (in Chinese: "xiao" 孝) refers to a child's respect or reverence for, and sometimes the obeying of parents, ancestors, and siblings. The term is most often associated with Confucian political thought, which considers "xiao" to be our central means of developing the capacity for all other moral actions within society. While no similar term exists on its own in ancient Greek or Latin, this paper argues, through the example of Plato's Republic, that filial piety acts as a similarly foundational ethical and political unit in ancient Greek thought. It may seem paradoxical to begin such a study with the Republic. Plato, after all, infamously abolishes the traditional family unit in book five. Yet filial piety was popularly seen as the source of other ethical virtues, including trustworthiness and gratitude, within Plato's contemporary Athenian context. With this background in mind, a closer examination of the Republic shows how deeply rooted the idea of filial piety is to the expression of reason in the ideal city. Plato does not intend to destroy filial ethics by abolishing the family; rather, he wants to reconcile traditional family obligations with state order. The Confucian state, likewise, faces the same dilemma. Plato's reckoning with filial piety deeply influenced Aristotle, Christianity, and the history of Western political thought. This paper thus concludes by challenging the potentially ill-wrought dichotomy between 'East' and 'West'. Recent attempts at comparative philosophy, as well as modern ethical and political cross cultural conversations, perhaps distinguish too readily between communal and individual-oriented societies.

Casey Stevens, Providence College
Epistemics of Warfare: The Changing Ideas of Warfare in the 21st Century

When is warfare justified and how should warfare be conducted? Most existing study to these questions in recent years have emphasized the material aspects involved (the technologies of warfare) which focus on the sizes of the forces fighting and the technology they have available. Particular recent debates have reflected around unmanned aerial vehicles or drones, smart missiles, and artificial intelligence. This paper argues that an alternative framework draws attention to the collective answers to these questions in justifying warfare and in dictating how warfare should be conducted. This constructivist framework emphasizes the ideational space of warfare and how these are dynamic parts of the international system. Using this framework, the paper argues that we have witnessed a change in warfare in the 21st century that is more deeply about the ideas of warfare than it is about the technological development. Warfare is increasingly being defined in asymmetrical terms and strategies are changing to shape violence towards intelligence-guided targets. The key case for exploration of this will include the various Saharan region wars since 2000 including those in Sudan, Mali, and Libya. While new technologies have been part of these wars, this paper will argue that the identity of warfare expressed by all sides in the conflict has a larger shaping role in the patterns of violence than do material aspects. The conclusion will extend this framework to major international wars of recent years involving Ukraine and Israel/Gaza.

James Stoner, Louisiana State University

Who Is Aristotle's Legislator, and What Does He Know?

When Rousseau revives the classical figure of the legislator in THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, he carefully distinguishes this solitary figure from the legislative power, which is vested in the people. In Aristotle there is no legislative power per se -- making laws is one of several tasks of what he calls the deliberative part of the regime, typically the assembly -- but there are numerous references to the legislator, sometimes abstractly considered, sometimes with specific individuals named. In book VI of the NICOMACHEAN ETHICS, Aristotle presents legislative science or art as a part of prudence, apparently concerned with universals, while political science or art concerns particulars, but the distinction of justice and equity in the previous book suggests that the universals Aristotle references are things that are true only "for the most part." In the POLITICS, references to the legislator are ubiquitous, so that it might seem that legislative science and political science are identical -- for politics here is for the most part analyzed in terms of kinds of regimes, with only occasion references to particular cities. Is Aristotle's legislator the political scientist or philosopher, or is he, rather, in a reversal of the distinction in the ETHICS, concerned with a particular city, perhaps his own? How does this legislator compare to the legislative power as conceived by the moderns, or in other words, how does he achieve the consent of the people which even the ancients held was essential to law?

Kathleen Sullivan, Ohio University, et al.

Sanitarians and Local Political Development

Municipal garbage collection became widespread in the 1890s, and it continues to operate today much as they did then. Collectors empty cans and whisk away trash. Programs remain at the local level. And they still operate largely as sanitation programs. To accomplish this, cities took on new roles, developed new capacities, channeled resources, required residents to change their own behavior in their homes in order to comply. This has all the hallmarks of a durable shift in governing authority, the definition of political development. This success owes largely to the efforts of 19th century sanitarians, who counted garbage among the numerous health hazards of growing, increasingly crowded cities. Yet these sanitation programs did not achieve the purposes of sanitarians. Sanitarians were beset by conflicts with political machines, businessmen, competition with scavengers, and challenges to their programs from residents. In engaging in politics with these groups, sanitarians made concessions, reached out, or won battles with these groups. This conflict between different groups allowed for intercurrence in the implementation of sanitation programs. Sanitarians relied on ideas in these contests, to claim expertise and commitment to the public good to fend off competition. Those invocations of the public good both shaped the notion of sanitation and closed off challenges from less powerful groups. This paper presents the contributions and challenges of 19th century sanitarians as political development, to identify ideas, multiple orders, and durable shifts in governing authority.

Lucas Swaine, Dartmouth College
Speech Woes on Campus: The Culture of Agreement and Its Discontents

Survey research on students' views of free speech raises concerns about eroding support for freedom of expression in American higher education. Prominent controversies and disruptive incidents with controversial speakers generate similar concerns. The data are suggestive of what one could call a "culture of agreement" on American college and university campuses. While a culture of agreement might sound concordant and beneficial, it is not. It is a culture in which, inter alia, undergraduate students feel pressure not to express unorthodox views on controversial topics. The culture adversely affects students' learning, and it reinforces problematic behavior toward controversial speakers. Pressures and norms associated with the culture of agreement also negatively affect many other members of higher-education communities. I begin by discussing recent empirical studies of undergraduate students' views of free speech on college and university campuses. I draw on those studies, and from related scholarship, to generate a working understanding of the culture of agreement. Building on arguments from John Stuart Mill, I identify a set of serious problems with the culture of agreement in higher education. The problems include needless self-censorship, corrosive effects on students' thinking, and support for wrong-headed approaches to dealing with controversial speech. I then turn to the "heckler's veto," a particular form of dissent deployed against controversial speakers that, according to recent findings, is gaining support among American college and university students. I provide fresh reasons to refrain from employing the heckler's veto. The considerations that I offer complement Mill's points, and they support robust freedom of speech on college and university campuses. I conclude with ideas for forging a workable alternative to the culture of agreement, and with possible avenues for further research.

Karen Sweeting, University of Rhode Island, et al.
Bureaucratic and Institutional Failures: Examining Organizational Impediments in Public Administration through Netflix's "The Trials of Gabriel Fernandez."

In this paper we critically analyze the belief that bureaucracy is antithetical to learning organizations through the analysis of the "The Trails of Gabriel Fernandez." Netflix's limited series "The Trials of Gabriel Fernandez" provides a case by which public administration can be examined, and where the consequences of administrative inaction and challenges of bureaucracy resulted in the tragic death of eight-year-old Gabriel Fernandez. "The Trails of Gabriel Fernandez" is a six-episode, limited series documentary produced by Netflix, that tells the story of the death of young Gabriel Fernandez, the abuse he experienced at the hands of his mother and her boyfriend, their subsequent trail, and the systematic failure and lack of administrative assistance that allowed the abuse to continue resulting in the murder of Gabriel. Drawing upon Senge's original seven impediments, the paper examines the role of a rigid internal structure, defensive environments, dysfunctional behavior patterns, and short-term solutions that hinder progressive knowledge growth within public institutions and organizations. The study reveals how these obstacles disrupt the dynamics of organizational change efforts, posing significant challenges to effective public administration.

Daniel Tagliarina, Utica University

Who Deserves to be American?: Deservingness, Dreamers, and Fights Over Immigration Policy

Immigration policy has long been a mechanism for America to quite literally control the makeup of the nation. Immigration policy determines who gets to enter the country, labeling some immigrants as desirable, and others as undesirable. The labeling of some immigrants as deserving of entering the country, and others as undeserving of being in the U.S., is consistent with the broader frame of some groups being seen as deserving of inclusion in the American community more generally, and others as being framed as undeserving. Past fights over the DACA and DAPA policies during the Obama administration, the blanket immigration bans of certain groups under the Trump administration, and current fights in Congress tying border funding and citizenship rules to U.S. aid in Ukraine all fit into this framework. In this paper I discuss research on the frame of deservingness as it is applied to various areas of American politics. Next, I discuss fights over immigration and the treatment of undocumented migrants over the last three presidential administrations. In so doing, I focus on how the frame of "deservingness" is used to bolster arguments for or against various immigration policies. This frame helps us understand not only American immigration policy, but also broader attempts to control who counts as American citizens, and the reasons given for narrowing or expanding that concept.

Nicholas Tampio, Fordham University

Poetry and Democratic Education: The Political Relevance of Charles Taylor's Expressivist Theory

American public schools have seen the triumph of the standards, testing, and accountability paradigm. In this paradigm, students take standardized tests that expect them to analyze passages of informational text. Though state standards sometimes expect students to answer questions about poems, the regnant paradigm rarely gives students to write poetry. In this paper, I explain how Charles Taylor's expressivist theory in books such as The Language Animal and Cosmic Connections provides a reason for public schools to encourage students to give voice to their own thoughts and feelings in poetry. Human beings give voice to the cosmos through language: we are the beings who can speak for the universe. Taylor builds his theory from the ideas of late eighteenth century German philosophers Hamann, Herder, and Humboldt. In this paper, I explore how to translate the expressivist thesis into terms that may convince contemporary American education policymakers to appreciate the value of students writing poetry. I argue that poetry gives students a chance to express their identities and background cultures in public spaces. In this way, teaching students to write poetry is a necessary component of democratic education.

José Tavares, Nova School of Business and Economics, et al.

Public Expenditure and Private Firm Performance: Using Religious Denominations for Causal Inference

We investigate the causal relationship between local government expenditure and private firm performance, using the quantity and naming of civil parishes within each municipality as an instrumental variable. Religious denominations are taken as a proxy for strong local identity, which likely increases competition for resources between neighboring parishes. We explore a dataset on the universe of private firms, local government expenditure categories and socio-economic indicators for all mainland Portuguese municipalities, in a period encompassing both normal and crisis times. The number of parishes per municipality, as exogenously set by the central government, and the number of parishes that display religious denominations are both used as instruments that explain local government spending, indirectly impacting firm performance. We find that both display considerable power in determining total primary and current spending, which then positively impacts private firms' sales and value added. Using religious denominations is found to yield a particularly potent instrument, confirming and expanding the baseline results. In a field that mostly relies on natural experiments for instrumental variable frameworks, our proposed instruments are both easily obtainable and powerful.

José Tavares, Nova School of Business and Economics, Lisbon, Portugal, et al.
Attitudes Towards Immigrants: Evidence from Veterans of Colonial Wars in Africa

We use data from the European Social Survey to identify Portuguese citizens likely to have been drafted, between the years 1961 and 1974, to fight in the former Portuguese colonies in Africa. The draft is estimated to have conscripted around 70 percent of the entire male population in particular age groups, each man serving between 2 and 4 years in what was the widest draft in post-World War II Western Europe. These cohorts, from one of the poorest countries in Western Europe, were catapulted to Africa, to fight against and alongside Africans. We show that men likely to have fought in African wars are more accepting of immigrants than women of their same cohort, as well as than males from younger and older cohorts. The use of corresponding cohorts from Spain as placebo tests confirm our results. Our findings also hold in a regression discontinuity design setting.

Kirin Taylor, Syracuse University
NGO Sources of Power at UN CSocD58: Examining 2020 Written Statements

This study explores the influence of non-state actors on international diplomatic proceedings, focusing on Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) with consultative status at the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Specifically, the analysis centers on the 58th Commission for Social Development's (CSocD58) session, examining 60 NGO written statements accepted by UN DESA in 2020. By employing content analysis, the research aims to uncover the power sources utilized by these NGOs. NGO written statements serve as institutional records, offering diverse non-state perspectives on the session's priority theme. These documents can function as tools for public information, diplomatic influence, issue salience, and power assertion. Simultaneously, they may reveal constraints faced by NGOs in the international system, shedding light on their engagement strategies and sustaining qualities within the bureaucratic organizational framework. The paper draws on the author's practical insights from work and advocacy with UN-based NGOs, combining them with scholarly theories and empirical evidence to formulate hypotheses. The hypotheses will address 1) NGOs' usage of various sources of power within their statements (Social legitimacy; Directives for the allocation of money/resources or power; Moral/Normative arguments; Expertise), and 2) the relation of statement attributes to NGOs' usage of various sources of power within their statements. Codes will be originally generated based on review of statements, in a partially inductive manner. The analysis will be supported by use of QDAMiner software. The article contends that a meticulous analysis of NGO statements accepted by UN DESA for CSocD58 offers valuable insights into NGOs' roles and strategies in international diplomacy, particularly concerning issues of social development.

Stephen Thomas, Baylor University
John Adams: His Foreign Policy and its Consequences

My proposed paper will examine the international thought of John Adams as it emerged in response to the infamous XYZ Affair and subsequent Quasi-War with France. I will first introduce the roots of the tension between Republican France and the United States in the Jay Treaty negotiated under George Washington, which guaranteed American neutrality in the war between France and Great Britain. I will also speak to Washington's influence on his successor through the principles exposited in his Farwell Address. Next, I will proceed to link together the sequence of events during the Adams administration culminating in the XYZ affair and Quasi-War and examine the how accurately Adams abides by the dictates his predecessor set forth for American foreign policy. I will also aim to gauge the adequacy of Adams' policy in response to these controversies: how they were received by the public, and how his critics (particularly the Jeffersonian Republicans who desired France as a principal partner) responded to his actions. I will also examine Adams' motives as they pertain to American national security. Here there are two things I wish to consider: First, to what extent he saw the need for a fledging United States to have a strong trading partner in Great Britain; and second, his buildup of military force, particularly naval force, in response to French privateering off the American coast and the Caribbean. Lastly, I will examine the consequences of Adams' statecraft for his political career; in particular, the difficulties he encountered when trying to put into practice the principles first laid out by Washington and how his management of the French contributed to his defeat in the Presidential election of 1800.

Jacob Tonseth, Johnson & Wales University
The Evolution of Polarized Politics in the United States and its Effect on Public Administration
The evolution of polarization in the United States has a complicated history, particularly from the end of the Civil War to the modern day. This paper takes an empirical approach to the study of Public Administration and attempts to assert that the effect of increasing polarization on a national level is a core cause of the failings observed in the modern public sector. This paper is primarily focused on federal level programs, and by extension how their processes, personnel, and mission focus have been either positively or negatively due to the rise in partisan politics. This paper also seeks to understand the correlation between a rise in partisanship and the potential for public administrators to be forced into partisan roles, against the core belief of Public Administration purist thought.

Edgar Torres, University of Massachusetts - Lowell
Gang Violence Crackdown: The Impact of El Salvador's Iron Fist Policy on Migration
In recent years, President Nayib Bukele of El Salvador has garnered global attention for his forceful and controversial governance, through the implementation of Iron Fist policies targeting gang violence. In this attitude, Bukele's administration has been characterized by an effort to combat corruption and rampant crime, employing a combination of repression by law enforcement, increased military presence and massive incarceration of gang members. His forceful approach using a reduction of judicial guarantees has resulted in a decline in homicide rates and a noticeable disruption in the operations of gangs. This has drawn a mixture of admiration, criticism, and human rights concerns both domestically and internationally. Although some of his opposition argue that statistics are being manipulated, critics recognize a temporary success noted in decreased gang violence, as President Bukele enjoys the highest approval rating in Latin America. Scholars and policy makers studying migration patterns from Central America, have analyzed the factors that have contributed to the migration crisis from this region, using Everett Lee's push and pull factors theory (1966). In the historical context of El Salvador, gang related violence is one of the most significant push factors. To understand the impact of these policies on migration from El Salvador, this paper aims to use times series regression model and regression discontinuity design to analyze the relationship between the Iron Fist policy against gangs and net migration flows from El Salvador between 2010 and 2022. This study seeks to contribute to the understanding of how gang member incarcerations and gang related crime, impacts the number of Salvadorean citizens seeking asylum in the US.

Mary Townsend, St. John's University
The Nightmares of Socrates: Poetry and Injustice in Plato's Phaedo
Mysterious dreams are a frequent occurrence in Plato, and as Socrates notes, some should probably be classified as nightmares: the dreams of unjust men reveal their not-so-hidden desires for murder and rapine, and even the desires of just men are only "more apt" to avoid such tell-tell revelations (Republic 9, 572a). Cephalus recounts that before death, his fear of punishment in Hades comes through his dreams so strongly that he starts out of sleep in fear, like children do.   In Plato' Phaedo, hours before death, Socrates finally admits he may have misinterpreted a recurring dream that exhorts him to "make poetry and work at it." That is, he explains, he used to consider his actions an adequate response to the dream, and that his philosophical activities were a reasonable substitute for poetry. On his deathbed, however, he turns to writing poetry, admitting that his previous activities might not have been adequate to the god's demand. What if Socrates' dream were not a friendly exhortation, "encouraging as runners are encouraged," but a nightmare in the sense that Socrates identifies in the Republic: a dream that reveals the injustices in Socrates' soul against the practice of poetry? If this is so, then both Socrates' arguments and myths in the Phaedo ought to be reconceived as a final attempt to appease the god's demand before death; and Socrates' final words, to request a sacrifice to Asclepius, as part of the Asclepian tradition of dreams that announce the path to healing: perhaps Socrates has been healed not from life, but from injustice against what mimesis, and possibly even perception, are capable of offering the examined life and the political community.

Zachary Tucker, Rhode Island College
The Thrifty Food Plan Shortchanging America

The recent update to the Thrifty Food Plan has increased the adequacy of SNAP benefits, allowing households to better afford a nutritious and more diverse diet. The core challenge of living a full healthy life while relying on benefits is also examined. Regarding delivery of service, the Government is also making changes hopefully yield substantive results to help states verify the income of claimants on the back end of systems more quickly. Despite positivity around the recent SNAP changes to the Thrifty Food Plan, most of that prospective increase in purchasing power was offset by increases in the cost of living as well as increased food prices. Research has indicated no significant effects of the TFP re-evaluation on food insecurity, diet quality, and mental health outcomes among SNAP participants relative to non-participants. While great care is taken to consider the implications of SNAP policy on benefit recipients, greater emphasis on agricultural industry partnership is needed. The Thrifty Food Plan as it currently exists does not provide adequate resources to support positive health outcomes for recipients of SNAP, based on current understandings of dietary health and market forces within each respective individual's experience. The information provided will be structured to highlight the key takeaway points of five major areas of the topic: Government reforms to improve SNAP and the increased investment as well as the observed results, inefficiencies and inequities inherent in the Thrifty Food Plan calculations, affordability of the Thrifty Food Plan in a specific region, statistical results due to the reduction in benefits seen post expiration of Emergency Allotment SNAP funds for COVID, and opportunities for further reform to improve SNAP. Through close examination this paper seeks to extrapolate core findings and illustrate the rising consensus around the program's failure to reach its full potential and the ongoing implications.

Andre Turcotte, Carleton University, et al.
Where Have All the Issues Gone? Analysis of Contemporary Political Appeals in North America

Much has been written about the importance of issues in deciding elections. In The American Voter (1960: 188), it was suggested that "the widespread lack of familiarity with prominent issues of public policy, along with confusion on party position that remains even among individuals familiar with an issue, attests to the frailties of the political translation process." This seminal work put into question the central role of issues in shaping voting behavior. However, dissenting voices have also been heard. According to Harrop and Miller (1987), not only do they allow citizens to choose their government, but they also restrain elected officials who must behave in ways increasing– or at least not jeopardizing – their reelection prospects. This view implies some links between public attitudes and governmental policy and assumes that voters are rationally choosing among the candidates. Writing in the Canadian context, Clarke et al. (1996: 45) suggest that "a key goal of a party's election campaign is the achieve a positive linkage in the public's mind between important election issues and its capacity to take action on them." However, looking at the discourse in both the US and Canadian political contest in recent years, most would be hard-pressed to find a link between issue priorities and electoral choice. This paper takes interest in that question. It examines the role of issues in the current electoral discourse in the US and Canada. Building on polling data from Emerson College (US) and Pollara Strategic Insights (Canada), it suggests that identity and grievance – or more broadly emotional – appeals have overtaken issue positioning as primary drivers of electoral choice in recent elections. The paper offers a discussion of the implications of this current electoral reality.

Matt Ulricksen, Community College of Rhode Island

"Slight signs of sanity and human intelligence": Rhode Island's Rejection of the Eighteenth Amendment, a Case Study in Pluralist Democracy

On March 12, 1918, the Rhode Island Senate voted 20 to 18 to "postpone indefinitely" ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment. Rhode Island thus became the first, and one of only two states, to reject Prohibition. The vote obliterated party lines, and, ironically, the Wet-Dry dichotomy as well, with at least two Dry senators voting for indefinite postponement of the ratification resolution. The Senate's vote came on the heels of mass mobilization campaigns by an array of citizen and economic interest groups, ranging from churches and other religiously affiliated organizations (for ratification) and labor unions (against ratification). When all was said and done, these interest groups had submitted over 300 resolutions for or against ratification, and petitions in support and opposition listing the signatures of tens of thousands of Rhode Islanders. Perhaps most significant was that these resolutions and petitions were overwhelmingly in favor of ratification. Why did the Rhode Island Senate seemingly thumb its nose at public opinion?   This paper will offer a historically rich case study, drawing upon archival material and informed by scholarship on interest groups, especially within the field of American Political Development, that traces the emergence of a complex, Progressive Era pluralist "ecosystem" and its representational consequences.

Simon Vodrey, Carleton University, et al.

The Corrosive Creep of Political Polarization, Anger, & Wedge Politics in Canada & the United States

It is no secret that the political environment in both Canada and the United States of America feels increasingly fractured and polarized. The COVID-19 pandemic, the 2020 United States presidential election, and the 2021 Canadian federal election are just three of the most clear-cut and visceral subjects that served as the backdrop for the crafting and projection of such political polarization both above and below the 49th Parallel. But they are not the sole subjects of such polarization. In fact, a recent poll by Canadian market research and analytics firm Leger notes that, "81 per cent of Canadians feel that in Canada more emphasis is currently being placed on things that divide us as a society as opposed to things that unite us" (National Post, 2023). With that sentiment in mind, this paper examines the connection between political polarization, wedge politics, and anger as a motivating factor in politics. In particular, we argue that political polarization is being fueled by the increasing prevalence of wedge politics and the use of wedge issues to mobilize voters.   We use elite in-depth interviews with Canadian and American commercial marketers, political marketers, political strategists, political consultants, public opinion researchers, lobbyists, and political staffers themselves to investigate how and why both Canadian and American politics feel increasingly polarized. Yet we do so through an unconventional approach. Instead of speaking with voters, we speak with political management practitioners, some of the individuals who are intimately involved in the crafting, communication, and execution of political messaging and campaigning in Canada and the U.S. In essence, we examine political polarization from the perspective of the individuals who, whether rightly or wrongly, are often seen as perpetuating such polarization.

Nathanial Walker, Brandeis University

Confronting Sovereignty at the Final Frontier: Technological Development, Issue Appraisal, and the Birth of Space Law (1957-1967)

In international relations, scholars typically view the state as an independent, spatially-bound entity with no overlapping authority with other states, and little sovereignty beyond their defined borders. This general perspective is complicated by contemporary state behavior in areas beyond traditional sovereignty, such as the oceans, atmosphere, outer space, and Antarctica. In the past century, these domains have become increasingly sovereign as states claim and demonstrate sovereign power over space. While scholars have studied these cases, there is no concrete answer to the question of how and why states build rules around sovereignty beyond their borders. This research comprises one case out of four that examines this question. Using primary source and archival materials, I examine how states worked to build rules around sovereignty in outer space from the 1957 International Geophysical Year to the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. In this investigation, I find support for my theory that the laws around sovereignty and the centralization of related institutions are determined how states view the values of controlling and accessing unsovereign spaces. This chapter uses primary sources to examine the development of outer space law from 1957 to 1967. I find that the design of agreements that govern unsovereign spaces is determined by how states value control and access in those spaces.

Thomas West, Hillsdale College

Hobbes on Happiness and Politics

I will argue in this essay that one of the hidden premises of Hobbes's political teaching is his theory of the human good, in particular his understanding of felicity or happiness. It is true that Hobbes's fundamental juridical principle, the right of nature, is the right to preserve oneself. It is also true that the laws of nature are rules invented by reason for the purpose of self-preservation. But in his thematic discussion of happiness, Hobbes says, "the voluntary actions and inclinations of all men tend" not only toward self-preservation, but also something beyond preservation: "to the procuring, but also to the assuring of a contented life." This he calls felicity. And when men submit themselves to being governed in commonwealths, their "final cause, end, and design" is "the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby." In On Man, felicity "the greatest of goods." In Leviathan, felicity is "continual success in obtaining" our desires – the "contentments of life" that everyone seeks. While "desire of ease and sensual delight" animates many, others aim at "riches, honor, command." A third group is moved by "desire of knowledge and the arts of peace." How should these differences be understood? Are some more reasonable than others? Hobbes has answers, yet many scholars pass them by as if they were obvious or unimportant. My argument will show what happiness is; how the pervasiveness of human error stands in the way of happiness; how intellectual virtue (reason and prudence) can help remedy this problem; and finally, how the laws of nature and the well-constituted political order can provide force in support of reason on behalf of the happiness, if not of everyone, then of Hobbes himself and the great majority.

Aubrey Westfall, Wheaton College
The Character and Political Impact of Muslim Social Capital in Europe and North America

Comparisons of Muslim in Europe and North America provoke questions about what might account for transatlantic differences in their civic engagement. One possible explanation is that Muslims on one side of the Atlantic cultivate a different form of social capital than Muslims on the other. The concept of social capital captures the strength of connections between people and the power of social networks to promote mutual trust and reciprocation. Social capital is critical for the construction and maintenance of a rich democracy, but not all networks support democracy in the same way. "Bonding" social capital is built within homogenous groups, while "bridging" social capital is built across groups. Bridging social capital is expected to yield positive benefits for the individual and democratic society by supporting pluralism and integration. Bonding social capital supports an individual (especially members of minoritized groups) by connecting them with others in a similar situation, but can also result in a greater degree of withdrawal from mainstream society. This paper tests whether European Muslims privilege bonding social capital due to the larger and more concentrated presence of co-ethnic groups. Using original survey data from Canada, France, Germany, the UK, and the US, it finds little evidence for clear transatlantic differences in the construction of social capital, but some support for national trends in social capital formation. Explanatory models then test the relationship between social capital and civic engagement to discover that the mechanisms linking the two function similarly across national and regional contexts.

Megan Winkeler, University of Massachusetts School of Law
Democratic Accountability or Transparency Theater?: The Drawbacks of Public Transparency in Negotiated Rulemaking Deliberations

Transparency laws aim to hold the government accountable to the electorate by making their meetings and records available to the general public. The negotiated rulemaking process, which seeks to innovate agency rulemaking by inviting a diverse set of stakeholders to negotiate with federal agencies about the contents of regulations that will directly affect them, is subject to a bevy of transparency requirements. While these requirements quell fears of regulatory capture by private interests or outright corruption by agency officials, they also create real procedural and substantive barriers for agencies seeking to promulgate timely, effective rules through negotiated rulemaking. This paper challenges the purported benefits of applying broad transparency requirements to the negotiated rulemaking process. Empirical research on negotiation efficacy shows that transparency laws create an environment which promotes inefficient and adversarial negotiation sessions, making it less likely that agencies create timely or effective rules. This negative impact on the rulemaking process cannot be justified by any measurable, meaningful benefit provided by current transparency requirements. Rather, these requirements provide little real insight into the rulemaking process, functioning instead as "transparency theater" meant to build the public's comfort with a process that sparks vague fears of corruption. By amending the Negotiated Rulemaking Act to allow more flexible and meaningful transparency into regulatory negotiations, agencies would provide the public will real accountability for far less cost, allowing agencies to focus on creating effective rules and Congress to focus on addressing more powerful sources of private influence over federal agencies.

Brian Wolfel, Purdue University - Fort Wayne
The Antagonism of Thomas Carlyle and Karl Marx on the Peril of Liberal Political Economy

This article explores the relationship between Thomas Carlyle's and Karl Marx's social criticism on the topic of liberal political economy. Carlyle influenced Marx, as well as Friedrich Engels, in that Marx and Engels published reviews of Carlyle's works and Carlyle is cited in The Communist Manifesto. While Carlyle and Marx each criticized the alienation and inequality that resulted from industrialism, they diverged remarkably with respect to the solutions they offered, as well as with respect to their forecasts of the future. Their economic thought can be constructed in the larger framework of their philosophies of history. This article seeks to coherently construct and synthesize key elements of Carlyle's economic, social, and political thought from multiple sources such as Sartor Resartus, Past and Present, and Latter-Day Pamphlets. In so doing, Carlyle's thought can be contrasted with Marxism and liberalism for the emphasis placed on attaining just wages and the renunciation of insatiable appetites. Marx's embrace of atheistic materialism as a means to achieve economic justice is rejected by Carlyle, who argues that religion and spirituality are essential to countering the insatiability inherent in atheistic materialism.

Katie Zuber, John Jay College, CUNY, et al.
Incomplete Transformations in Issue Understandings: Lessons from Drug Policy

As opioid overdose deaths increased in the past two decades, researchers have shown both dramatic change in how opioid-related media stories and drug policy have shifted from a criminal-justice framework to a medical one and remarkable continuity in the prevalence of stigma surrounding drug use. It is unclear, however, if individual beliefs reflect change or continuity. How do individuals on the frontlines of opioid drug use understand drug use and what are the policy implications of their beliefs? To answer these questions, we draw from a sample of more than 200 spectators of drug policy defined as people on the frontlines of opioid drug use, including local officials, service providers, community leaders, people who use drugs and their families, to depict how they understand drug use. In our analysis we describe the three frameworks that spectators hold: (1) criminal justice, where people who use drugs are the problem and a criminal-justice approach is the solution; (2) medical, where people who use drugs have a disease that needs medical treatment; and (3) structural, where people who use drugs are collateral damage of a system that harms them and the solution is to eliminate inequity and injustice. We find, however, that beliefs are often more complicated than simply choosing the medical approach characterizing the contemporary opioid drug wave over the criminal justice approach of earlier waves. Instead, there are frequent inconsistencies, which we call slippage, between these frameworks. We explore the role that slippage plays in an incomplete transformation between a new issue understanding and an old one, and we discuss the policy implications of our findings. Our research has implications for drug policy, framing/agenda setting, and policy change.

PAST PRESIDENTS OF THE NEW ENGLAND POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

1949 Matthew C. Mitchell, Brown University

1950 C.R. Cherington, Harvard University

1951 Victoria Schuck, Mt. Holyoke College

1952 Dayton D. McKean, Dartmouth College

1953 Robert Dahl, Yale University

1954 Earl Latham, Amherst College

1955 Andrew E. Nyquist, University of Vermont

1956 Robert K. Carr, Dartmouth College

1957 Athern P. Daggett, Bowdoin College

1958 Guy H. Dodge, Brown University

1959 James W. Fesler, Yale University

1960 Gwendolen Carter, Smith College

1961 James M. Burns, Williams College

1962 Norman Padelford, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

1963 Sigmund Neumann, Wesleyan U.; Albert Mavrinac, Colby Coll.

1964 Merle Fainsod, Harvard University

1965 Laurence I. Radway, Dartmouth College

1966 Karl Deutsch, Yale University

1967 Alona E. Evans, Wellesley College

1968 William C. Havard, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

1969 Elmer Cornwell, Brown University

1970 Robert Robbins, Tufts University

1971 G. Lowell Field, University of Connecticut

1972 Josephine F. Milburn, University of Rhode Island

1973 Samuel Beer, Harvard University

1974 George Goodwin, Jr., University of Massachusetts-Boston

1975 Eugene Mawhinney, University of Maine

1976 George Little, University of Vermont

1977 David Lowenthal, Boston College

1978 Clement E. Vose, Wesleyan University

1979 George Kateb, Amherst College

1980 Robert J. Steamer, University of Massachusetts-Boston

1981 Gerald Thumm, Bates College

1982 Newell M. Stultz, Brown University

1983 Everett Carll Ladd, University of Connecticut

1984 John C. Donovan, Bowdoin College

1985 Robert Faulkner, Boston College

1986 Clyde D. McKee, Trinity College

1987 G. Calvin Mackenzie, Colby College

1988 Robert S. Gilmour, University of Connecticut

1989 Richard E. Morgan, Bowdoin College

1990 Robert C. Wood. Wesleyan University

1991 Marion Just, Wellesley College

1992 Garrison Nelson, University of Vermont

1993 Deborah Nutter Miner, Simmons College

1994 Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., Harvard University

1995 L. Sandy Maisel, Colby College

1996 Jerome M. Mileur, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

1997 Barbara H. Craig, Wesleyan University

1998 Gary Jacobsohn, Williams College

1999 Maureen Moakley, University of Rhode Island

2000 Diana Evans, Trinity College

2001 R. Shep Melnick, Boston College

2002 Marc Eisner, Wesleyan University

2003 James A. Morone, Brown University

2004 Matthew C. Moen, Univ. of Maine/Univ. of South Dakota

2005 Jean M. Yarbrough, Bowdoin College

2006 MJ Peterson, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

2007 Susan Shell, Boston College

2008 Christopher Bosso, Northeastern University

2009 Wilbur Rich, Wellesley College

2010 Frederick Lewis, University of Massachusetts-Lowell

2011 Howard Reiter, University of Connecticut

2012 Mark Graber, University of Maryland

2013 Norma Thompson, Yale University

2014 John Berg, Suffolk University

2015 John Brigham, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

2016 Daniel Mahoney, Assumption College

2017 June Speakman, Roger Williams University

2018 Meg Mott, Marlboro College

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	Room Name
1	Beacon Ballroom
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3	Ballroom B
4	Ballroom C
5	Ballroom D
6	Lewis Hall
7	Rose Island
8	Rose Island I
9	Rose Island II
10	Island Pavilion
11	Harborview Deck
12	Watch Hill
13	Hamilton
14	Plum Beach
15	Newport
16	Narragansett
17	Jamestown
18	Point Judith
19	Sandy Point
20	Portsmouth

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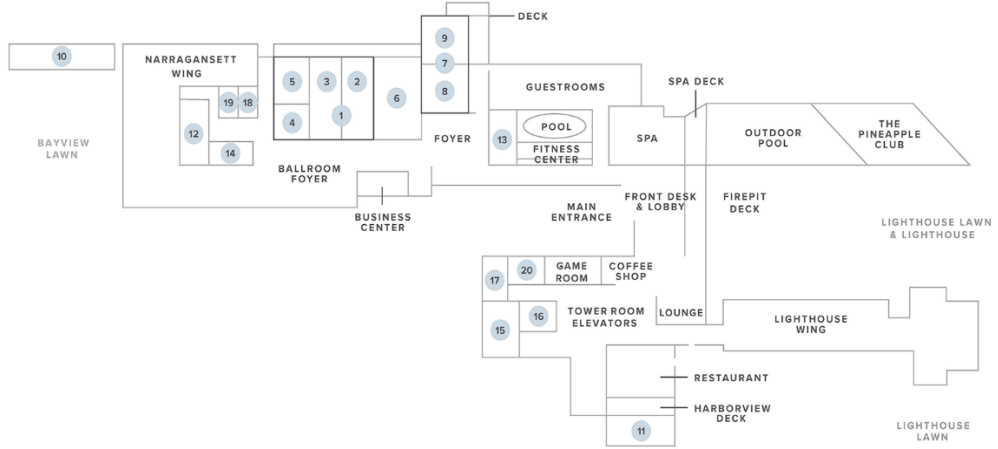
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