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Notes From The Chairman:

Greetings from all of us in the Department of Political Science at the University of Maine. This Newsletter is to inform you of our ongoing activities as a department and to maintain a vibrant connection between our alumni and our current students, faculty, and staff. Numerous initiatives are underway to further strengthen the scholastic vitality of the Department. Under the leadership, guidance, and support of Dean Hecker of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, the Department of Political Science has crafted a developmental plan through 2017 that includes expanding the number of our faculty members, revamping and expanding the International Affairs Program, cultivating a closer connection between POS and The University of Maine’s School of Policy and International Affairs (SPIA), and playing a central and vital role in the development of the Institute for Leadership and Democracy currently being planned by the University Administration. The Institute is a critical part of the Blue Sky Plan, launched in Fall 2012 by President Ferguson for developing the University through 2017 and beyond. (https://umaine.edu/blueskyplan/). We invite readers of this Newsletter to explore the Blue Sky Plan.

In addition to these programmatic developments, the POS faculty continues to produce high quality scholarship and engage in numerous activities with the aim of engaging the larger society, beyond our campus, with our academic expertise. Examples include Professor Robert Glover, who is leading a number of initiatives to link our students’ academic work to practical policy issues in the larger community beyond the University; Professor Amy Fried, who writes regularly for the Bangor Daily News and is active in the Scholars Strategy Network (http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org); and Professor Mark Brewer, who is frequently called upon to offer learned commentary on state and national public affairs.

The Department continues to expand both its course offerings and programs. New courses include Politics and Film (Dr. Richard Powell), The Politics of Sport in America and Religious Thought, the American Identity, and U.S. Public Policy (Dr. Mark Brewer), and Practicum in Engaged Policy Studies I and II: two semester sequence (Dr. Robert W. Glover). Also, two new Minors in POS were added as of Fall 2012, Political Theory, and The Constitution and American Law. These courses and new minors further augment the programmatic strength of our unit, and represent fine examples of the excellence of all of our faculty members and
their devotion to our students’ continued academic progress. They will also offer further evidence of the outstanding nature of our students!

As always, all of us in the Department of Political Science and in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences owe a major debt of gratitude to Ms. Deborah Grant, our very able departmental administrative specialist. Our entire operation functions as effectively as it does largely due to her efforts and dedication.

Finally, we note with deep sadness the death of U.S. Army Captain John “Jay” Brainard III (B.A. in POS, 2008), who died while in military service in Afghanistan on Memorial Day, May 28, 2012. Captain Brainard was an excellent student, Magna Cum Laude graduate of our department, and faithful alumnus. This issue of the POS Newsletter is devoted to him and to his memory. Thank you for taking the time to read our newsletter.

James W. Warhola
Professor and Chairman

Faculty News:
Mark Brewer serves as Editor-in-Chief of the New England Journal of Political Science.
Howard Cody serves as Secretary of the regional Canadian Studies association, the Middle Atlantic and New England Council for Canadian Studies (MANECCS). On the University of Maine campus, he serves as Director of the International Affairs program, and as Editor of the Canadian-American Public Policy quarterly series, which is published by the Canadian-American Center.
Timothy Cole was appointed Associate Dean for Academic and Student Services, University of Maine College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, July 2012.
Amy Fried has been part of a team that won a $3.3 million grant from the National Science Foundation for institutional transformation to recruit, retain and advance women science and social science faculty members at the University of Maine and is currently working on this grant-funded project to improve and implement internal policies and processes. She became co-director of the Maine chapter of the Scholars Strategy Network; she visited Montenegro to lecture, participate in panel discussions and meet pollsters and political leaders, during the U.S. election week on behalf of the U.S. State Department. She also writes a biweekly column for the Bangor Daily News, and also writes a blog (Pollways.com), hosted by the Bangor Daily News.
Robert Glover was invited to participate in the international research workshop “Citizenship in an Era of Human Rights” held by the Whitlam Institute at the University of Western Sydney in Australia. The three-day workshop was a gathering of a range of scholars who study various dimensions of human rights along with policy practitioners and government officials. Rob presented a paper entitled, “Neither Here nor There: The Conceptual Paradoxes of Immigrant and Asylee Resistance.” Rob’s paper will be part of a forthcoming edited volume comprised of selected papers from the workshop.
Paul Holman lectured at local libraries in the Camden area on the topic of “The Internet and Revolution”; he also serves on the Board of Directors for the Camden Conference.
Michael Palmer continues to teach his array of courses in the history of political philosophy and in the Honors College, this year teaching a Senior Honors Tutorial on the Political Thought of Shakespeare. He also continues as Director of the Program in Western Civilization and American Liberty, which was founded by a continuing grant he won in 2007. From 2010-2012 he served as the federally appointed Chair of the Maine Action Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.
Richard Powell presented research on campaign strategies and candidate constituency appeals in the 2012 presidential elections (with Mark Brewer) at conferences in Israel, Ohio, and New Hampshire. All three papers are slated for upcoming publication in edited volumes. Powell’s current research projects focus on White House appeals to U.S. Catholics, as well as factors associated with levels of bipartisanship in congressional voting.
Seth Singleton serves on the Board of Directors for the Camden Conference. He gave four presentations on US policy in the Middle East, in Belfast, Ellsworth, Castine and Bar Harbor, and taught a four week Belfast Senior College course on revolution and the Middle East. These are keyed to this year’s Camden Conference in late February. James W. Warhola attended the Istanbul World Forum in Istanbul, Turkey, October 13-14, 2012. The gathering was opened by Turkish Prime Minister Recip Tayyip Erdoğan and other regional leaders. He also presented a paper “The Global Financial Crisis of 2008 and the Current Political and Social Unrest” at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, November 26, 2012.

Faculty Publications:

Books/monographs:


Robert W. Glover, *Teaching Politics Beyond the Book: Film, Texts, and New Media in the Classroom* (co-edited with Daniel Tagliarina), was published by Continuum/Bloomsbury in November 2012. This interdisciplin ary collection examines the use of a variety of non-traditional “texts” in the classroom such as film, music, theatre, literature, art, and social media. In addition, to assembling and editing the volume, Rob contributes a chapter on the use of utopian socialist fiction to teach students about contemporary economic crisis.


Journal Articles, Book Chapters:


Michael J. Palmer, “Political History as Political Theory” in *The European Mind*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (Valletta, University of Malta Press, 2011); “An Introduction to Martin Heidegger: ‘Radical-Committed’ Anti-cosmopolitanism” in Lee Trepanier and Khalil M. Habib (eds.) *Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Globalization: Citizens Without States* (University Press of Kentucky, 2011); and “Regime Change in Ancient Sparta,” which was published simultaneously in the *Selected Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Foundation for Greek Language and Culture* (University of Southern Florida Press, Spring 2011) and in the *Archives of the*
The biggest factor in Barack Obama's reelection was his overwhelming support among non-white voters. Non-whites made up 28% (up from 26% in 2008) of the electorate in 2012, and Obama won this group 80% to 18%.\(^1\) The high level of African American support for the president (93% voted for Obama) was expected and important, but it was perhaps Obama's margin among Latino voters that proved most crucial in propelling him to victory. Obama bested Mitt Romney among Latinos 71%-27%.\(^2\)

Obama also won Asian voters 73%-26%. One simply cannot lose a little over a quarter of American voters by better than a 3 to 1 margin and expect to win an election.

Young voters were also crucial to Obama's reelection. Voters age 18-29 made up 19% of the electorate in 2012, up a point from 2008, and Obama won this group 60%-36%. This actually represents a drop in support for Obama among this group from his 2008 showing (he beat John McCain among these voters 66%-32%), but is still a very large margin of victory with a group that represents almost one fifth of voters. By contrast, John Kerry bested George W. Bush among 18-29 year olds by a much slimmer 54%-45% margin in 2004.

Obama also owes a good bit of thanks for his reelection to female voters. Women made up 53% of the electorate in 2012 (the same as in 2008) and favored Obama over Romney 55%-44%. This too is actually down from Obama's margin of victory among women in 2008 (13 points in that election), but still represents a significant edge within a group that makes up over half of the electorate. Again, a comparison here to 2004 is useful. In that contest, Kerry bested Bush among women by a slim count of 51%-48%.

Focusing on these demographic divisions is not to say that they are the only ones that mattered. Clearly Obama's strong support among voters with post-graduate education (55%-42%), those with 2011 family incomes under $50,000 (60%-38%), moderate voters (56%-41%), voters with no religious affiliation (70%-26%), voters in union households (58%-40%), and GLBT voters (76%-22%) was critical to Obama's success as well. It is also necessary to remember that a large element of Obama's victory on 2012 (as it was in 2008) was the ability of his campaign to successfully wed 19th century boots on the ground, grassroots, retail politics to 21st century communications technology.

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Here the Obama team has established the gold standard.

One last matter in making sense of the 2012 presidential election. Perhaps the most interesting and significant question in the 2012 Exit Poll asked voters: "Which ONE of these four candidate qualities mattered most in deciding how you voted for president?" The first three choices were "shares my values" (selected by 27% of respondents, who favored Romney 55%-42%), "is a strong leader" (selected by 18% of respondents, who favored Romney 61%-38%), and "has a vision for the future" (selected by 29% of voters, who favored Romney 54%-45%). All of these are clearly very favorable to Romney. The final choice was "cares about people like me." Twenty one percent of respondents selected this option, and they favored Obama 81%-18%. Successful presidential candidates must convince Americans that they understand and care about them. Obama was able to do that; Romney never was. Game over.

“The Latino Effect: What it might mean for a Second Term Policy Agenda and GOP Strategy in the Future”3 Robert W. Glover, Ph.D. Assistant Professor of Political Science / Honors College Preceptor

Mark Brewer’s analysis above is thoughtful and insightful. I’d like to zero in on one factor that he mentions and map out its potential implications in terms of policy for Obama’s second term and future GOP strategy: the growing (and changing) Latino demographic in the United States. As Brewer notes, Latinos overwhelmingly favored the President in 2012. In addition, Latinos likely played a key role in shifting the balance in favor of Obama in at least three key swing states: Florida, Ohio, and Colorado.

What will the Latino effect mean for policy in Obama’s second term? First, we’ll see an effort to pass a piece of legislation called the DREAM Act. This legislation would create pathways to citizenship for qualifying young undocumented immigrants who commit to higher education or military service. In June 2012, the President actually integrated parts of the DREAM Act into the federal government’s immigration approach via an executive order, an important move to shore up Latino electoral support. However, the ultimate goal remains passage of the legislation.

It’s a bill that is well poised for bipartisan cooperation. Prominent Congressional Republicans such as John McCain (R-AZ) and Lindsey Graham (R-SC) have supported the legislation in the past, only withdrawing their support as Congressional Republicans tried to hamstring Obama’s policy agenda. Republicans should rethink this if they don’t wish to further alienate Latinos.

Second, it’s likely that we will see significant movement on a larger comprehensive immigration reform package. Obama had pledged to address the issue within the first year of his first term but became bogged down by the financial crisis, passing the Affordable Care Act, and a Congress determined to block his agenda. Expect to see a more cooperative Republican response this time around.

The frequent Republican claim that Obama is soft on immigration enforcement is factually misleading and Latinos know it. Obama’s rate of deportations vastly outstrips that of President George W. Bush. As of July 2012, Obama had deported 1.4 million individuals, compared to the 2 million Bush deported over his full, two-term presidency.4 Latinos will not stand for reform that favors harsh enforcement over pathways to citizenship, as the massive 2006 pro-immigration protests showed us.

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3 This article pulls liberally from a larger analysis I wrote on GOP strategy with Latinos in the 2012 Election available here: http://www.policymic.com/articles/19848/ immigration - reform-the-gop-must-take-these-steps-on-immigration-to-win-over-latino

If Republicans want to have any hopes of making inroads with Latino voters they have to favor a balanced approach. Lastly, on the larger question of GOP strategy moving forward, Republicans will have to amend the idea that they share some natural affinity with Latinos on religion and values issues. This idea informed Republican electoral strategy in 2012. However, while it may have been true 20 years ago, it’s significantly less the case today. Numerous reports have suggested that these trends our changing and larger numbers of Latinos are both less devout and less socially conservative. We see this in studies showing that Latinos support access to abortion, favor gay rights, and are increasingly willing to disagree with religious leaders on contentious issues.5

The population of Latino voters is expected to double by 2030.6 If Republicans want to have any hope of gaining those votes, they’ll need to do a better job understanding the constituency they’re trying to win over. In addition, they’ll need to engage in bipartisan cooperation to make progress on immigration reform, a key issue of concern to the Latino community. If the Republicans fail to do this, they will have undercut their own influence in American politics in the decades to come.

“The Supreme Court’s Same-Sex Cases: The Boring Issue” by Solomon Goldman, J.D. Assistant Professor of Political Science

The Supreme Court has accepted two very interesting cases for this term, potentially answering constitutional equal protection questions about same-sex marriage. But when the Supreme Court accepted these two cases, it also told the parties to address another issue, raising the possibility that the Court won’t even get to the equal protection issues. This other issue is the right of the parties who are appealing the lower court rulings to defend the laws in question - their “standing” to appeal.

One case (Windsor v. U.S.) challenges the constitutionality of the federal law (the Defense of Marriage Act—DOMA) that refuses to recognize same-sex marriages that already are recognized by the states. Edith Windsor sued the U.S. government because the I.R.S. wouldn’t allow her the estate tax marital exemption, even though her state, New York, recognized her marriage to another woman.

The second case (Hollingsworth v. Perry) challenges the action of California voters when they amended their constitution (through Proposition 8) to reject same-sex marriage. Kristin Perry sued California public officials because they wouldn’t grant her a license to marry another woman.

Both of these plaintiffs had “standing” to sue: they asserted an injury that was 1) particularized to them, 2) caused by the government rule that they were attacking, and 3) fixable by a favorable court ruling. Those are the elements that the Supreme Court has ruled are necessary for a party to have standing.

The standing problem in the two cases arises because the respective executive branch, the defendants, agreed with the plaintiffs that the laws were unconstitutional. In both cases, the executive branch refused to defend in court the laws in question (even though they continued to enforce the laws). In both cases the plaintiffs prevailed in the lower courts. So the standing question is this: if the executive branch isn’t going to defend the constitutionality of the law, does anyone else have standing to do so?

In Windsor, a group of House leadership representatives is defending DOMA. The Bipartisan Legal Advisory Group (BLAG) made up of three Republicans and two Democrats, voted 3-2 to
defend DOMA. Do they have standing to do so? The Supreme Court, in the 1983 case of INS v. Chadha, had allowed Congress as a whole to defend (unsuccessfully) a law that allowed either House of Congress to override decisions of the INS. BLAG argues that Chadha should be followed. There are three arguments against applying Chadha: 1) Chadha is limited to defense of a special institutional interest, like the one-house veto. There is no such special interest at stake here. Only the executive has a generalized interest in seeing that laws are enforced. Individuals, members of Congress, and even Congress itself have no standing. 2) Even if Congress did have standing, it’s not Congress that’s defending DOMA, but only one House of Congress, the House of Representatives. 3) Even if the House by itself did have standing, BLAG is not the House, and it lacked the authority to speak for the House at relevant times during the litigation.

In Hollingsworth, it is the original proponents of Proposition 8 who are defending it. They argue that the Supreme Court has previously held, in the 1987 case of Karcher v. May, that a state can authorize someone other than the executive to defend a law, and that California officials did in fact authorize the proponents to represent the state here. The likely argument against allowing standing here is that standing is a requirement of the U.S. Constitution (Article III) and even if California has authorized the proponents to defend Proposition 8, private citizens who have no individualized stake in the litigation do not satisfy the federal requirements for standing. In the 1997 case of Arizonans for Official English v. Arizona, the Court, while not fully deciding the issue, expressed “grave doubts” about the standing of private initiative proponents to defend the constitutionality of the law that they had proposed.

If you are interested in these standing issues, (or the merits question of the reach of the equal protection clause) oral arguments are scheduled for March 26 and 27, (transcripts are posted in the afternoon) with a likely decision date sometime near the end of June.

### Alumni News

**Eegemen B. Bezcı**, visiting student ’09-10, serves as Senior Editor and co-founder of The Jerusalem Review of Near East Affairs, an online journal devoted to political affairs in Turkey, the Middle East, and surrounding areas ([http://thejerusalemreview.com/](http://thejerusalemreview.com/)).

**Karen G. Carberry**, ’11 was appointed Director of the Maine Film Office in July 2012.

**Benjamin A. Fox**, ’11 recently completed an internship at the House Armed Services Committee and joined Senator Snowe’s staff as a Legislative Correspondent working primarily on national security/intelligence/veterans affairs related policy research and constituent relations/services.

**Benjamin D. Goodman**, ’12 is now working for Representative Michaud as a staff assistant in Washington, D.C.

**Christopher A. Harmon**, ’10 is currently attending the UMaine Law School and is a staff member of The Law Review and President of the SBA. He is working at Terry Garmey & Associates. He created Race Judicata 5k to benefit the Cumberland Legal Aid Clinic.

**Matthew T. Hunter**, ’06 and J.D. Boston University, ’11, is an associate in the Litigation Department of Goodwin Procter in Boston. He served as Article Editor of the Boston University Law Review while at Boston University Law School.

**Colin S. Kolmar**, ’12 Timothy S. Robbins, ’12, along with Clifford D.P. McCarthy, exp. ’13, presented their research at the annual Northeastern Political Science Association Conference in Boston, MA in November 2012. The papers presented were originally prepared for Rob Glover’s Senior Seminar on “Globalization and Political Change” in Spring 2012; Rob served as the chair for their panel.

**Stephanie A. Littlahale**, ’12 is the Aspiration Lab Coordinator at Oxford Hills Comprehensive High School and is planning to attend Law School this fall.

**Kyle A. Parker**, minor in political science ’99, is Policy Advisor for Eurasia with the United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Washington, D.C.; he has served in this capacity since 2006. Prior to joining the Commission, Kyle served as Vice-President of the American Foreign
Policy Council, where he spent eight years managing public diplomacy programs in Russia and Ukraine. He also frequently appeared in U.S. and foreign media and has been a guest lecturer at various policy forums, commented on Eurasia political affairs.

Samantha R. Shulman, ’10 is a first-year student at Harvard Law School.

POS Department Alumni are encouraged to visit our website and add information via our alumni contact form: http://umaine.edu/polisci/alumnia-initiatives/; you may also see what other alumni are up to in our “After UMaine” section, http://umaine.edu/polisci/after-umaine/.

**Departmental News**

The Department welcomes two new Adjunct Faculty members, Patrick Downey, J.D. and Dr. Stefano Tijerina. Professor Downey is offering our course in International Law and Professor Tijerina offers courses in Comparative Politics and International Relations.

The number of majors (POS and IAO with a concentration in POS): 280, as of fall 2012.

The Epsilon Delta chapter of **Pi Sigma Alpha** at the University of Maine has been selected to receive a 2012 Chapter Activity Grant to provide full funding for the Department of Political Science to hold a public forum examining the 2012 election. Dr. Mark Brewer serves as UMaine Chapter Advisor for Pi Sigma Alpha, the national honor society in Political Science.

The Department hosted Professor Dr. Theda Skocpol, Harvard University, on November 8-9, 2012, for a series of presentations including “The Future of Health Care Policy.” The events were co-sponsored by the Margaret Chase Smith Policy Center and the Department of Sociology.

The Camden Conference Course continues to be taught by the Political Science Department. This year’s topic is, “The Middle East: What Next?” Instructors are **Timothy Cole, Paul Holman** and **Seth Singleton**. To publicize the conference, Paul and Seth have been lecturing at local libraries. Paul’s topic is, “Internet and Revolution,” while Seth discusses, “Running on Empty: U.S. Policy in the Middle East.”

**Destin J. Moag**, a senior in political science and Navy ROTC, was selected by the Department to attend The 64th Annual Student Conference on U.S. Affairs (SCUSA) in West Point, NY, November 7-10, 2012. The theme of the conference was “Leading in Lean Times: Assuring Accountability and Assessing American Priorities in an Age of Austerity”.

**Justin J. Lynch**, a senior political science/economics double major is the President of the International Affairs Association. They currently have approximately 20 active members. This year they have attended Model United Nations Conferences in Cornell and Montreal and are planning to attend their third Conference in Harvard this February.

**The Peter T. Madigan Congressional Internship Program at the University of Maine.**

It is with great enthusiasm that the Department of Political Science renamed its long-standing Congressional Internship Program in honor of **Peter Madigan** (Class of 1981). Mr. Madigan participated in the program as an intern during his days as a student at UMaine and has since gone on to a highly successful career in Washington D.C. Among many other things, he served as a high-ranking assistant to Secretary of State James A. Baker III and as Chief of Staff to U.S. Trade Representative Robert B. Zoellick. He is now a partner with the Washington D.C.-based lobbying firm of Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland & Stewart.

This semester we have five interns working full time in Washington DC: **Stephen Monaghan** (Sen. Susan Collins), **Jordan Stolt** (Rep. Mike Michaud), **Gordon Merrick** (Rep. Chellie Pingree), **Jonathan Bennett** (Rep. Bob Goodlatte-VA), and **Mark Brunton** (Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland & Stewart).
The University of Maine’s Annual Fund is a comprehensive fundraising initiative designed to enhance academic, student, faculty and cultural programs.

The main priority for the Department of Political Science this year is to further strengthen our academic program by adding a new faculty member in International Relations, reconfiguring the International Affairs Program, developing a closer relation with the School of Policy and International Affairs, and being centrally involved in the development of the University of Maine’s prospective Institute for Leadership and Democracy.

The objective is to ensure there are funds available to allow us to respond quickly and appropriately to the areas of greatest need within the program.

Your donations, combined with those of others, will make a significant and immediate impact on the quality of the ‘UMaine Experience’ for our students. You can make a gift immediately on behalf of the Department of Political Science by visiting us on-line at www.umaine.edu/give or by calling toll-free at 866-578-2156. Remember, it isn’t just about how much you give, but the fact that you give that makes a real difference.

For more information about The Annual Fund, contact Ullysses Tucker, Jr. (ullysses.tucker@maine.edu), Director of Annual Giving at 207-581-1157.