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JMU students live in a rapidly changing world and are presented with a complex set of employment decisions. POSC Career Peer Advisers, nominated by the faculty, work with departmental administrators, faculty and alumni to help their fellow students navigate the maze of information surrounding career opportunities. They profile alumni success, host departmental events and do research projects on the employment options for our majors. Their work keeps current students in touch with alumni who have become agents of change and models across professions, throughout the Commonwealth and around the world

'The CPAs contributed to the overall success of the College of Arts and Letters Career Conference held in March.'

— ELAINE CHISEK, political science adviser

SPRING 2017

Department of Political Science

JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY.



Understanding Trump's victory

Religious voters, the media and political party dynamics in 2016

hree political science professors analyze the turbulent presidential campaign to explain how Donald Trump won the Republican nomination and the 2016 election. Marty Cohen examines the role that white evangelical voters played in Trump's victory, David Jones explores how Trump was able to exploit media coverage to fuel his campaign and Valerie Sulfaro investigates the partisan dynamics of the 2016 Electoral College map.

Trump: a curious choice for

born-again Christians by MARTY COHEN

On Nov. 8, 2016, roughly 81 percent of white born-again Christians voted for Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton. This is not surprising considering these voters are almost all uniformly strong Republicans who would have voted for anyone over the Democratic candidate. The intense partisanship shown by most Americans is no less relevant for born-again Christians and they were understandably very concerned about who would fill Antonin Scalia's seat on the Supreme Court as well as moved by other highly salient issues and concerns. What is surprising is that when they had other

'Trump was a perfect news story: a celebrity who created conflict and controversy.

- DAVID A. JONES

Republicans to choose frommen and women who displayed moral and religious attributes more in line with evangelical Christianity-many bornagain Christians still decided to pull the lever for Trump. Of the 27 primary states for which I could find exit poll data, Trump

won white evangelicals in 18 of them. More apropos, in 11 states, including important Trump wins in South Carolina, Virginia and Florida, the thrice-married, once pro-choice candidate did better among white born-again Christians than among those who did not identify as such.

There were other seemingly better options for these pious voters. Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio both had significantly better moral and Continued on Page 6





(Top): A crowd of enthusiastic supporters greet Donald Trump at a rally of more than 30,000 people in Mobile, Alabama, in August 2015. (Above, L-R): Understanding Trump's victory feature story contributers Marty Cohen, Valerie Sulfaro and David Jones.

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Political Currents

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MIX From responsible sources

Actively engaged with real-world isssues BY JON KELLER

t has been a very eventful year for the Department of Political Science. I am excited to introduce this issue of Political Currents and to share news regarding our outstanding students, faculty and alumni. Last July I stepped into the role of department chair, succeeding Chris Blake, who had served as chair for the previous seven years. I would like to thank Chris for his able leadership of the department during this period. Under his stewardship the department has seen tremendous growth in alumni engagement, community and civic engagement, fundraising and visibility. I am grateful that Chris will continue to play a vital role in these areas moving forward.

This issue of *Political Currents* illustrates the myriad ways in which our department is leading the way in JMU's effort to become the national model of the engaged university. Our faculty, through their teaching, research and service activities are engaged with real-world policy questions at the local, state, national and international levels. In this issue's cover story, David Jones, Marty Cohen and Valerie Sulfaro offer insight into the fascinating 2016 presidential election. Jen Taylor reports on her research into the factors that influence the success of viral fundraising efforts and Manal Jamal reflects on the lessons presented by an expert panel at the JMU Washington Center on the Syrian crisis. Our students are also involved in a range of exciting, hands-on activities that extend beyond the classroom and prepare them for careers while allowing them to make a difference in their communities, including internships with Habitat for Humanity, Usher's New Look Foundation and the House of Representatives Speaker's Office. And two distinguished JMU alumni—House of Delegates Majority Leader Kirk Cox ('79) and Richmond Mayor Levar Stoney ('04)—reflect on their time at JMU and the importance of civic engagement and civil discourse in an era of polarization.

Our faculty continue to be very active in research with 20 publications, 20 conference papers and over 70 additional external presentations during the 2015–16 academic year. In spring 2017 Tim LaPira launched the Government Relations Certificate Program targeted

toward policy professionals in and out of government. The program focuses on how lobbyists, strategic policy consultants and other policy advocates interact with the government on behalf of their clients and employers. In fall 2016 Ji Park joined our faculty as a tenure-track assistant professor (see his profile in this issue). He will be teaching courses in public budgeting, urban policy and research methods. We also welcomed Lynn Trice, our Preparing Future Faculty Fellow from Howard University, who is completing her dissertation research and teaching U.S. Government courses in spring 2017.

Finally, our alumni have set a new highwater mark for engagement during the past year. Many of you have volunteered your time and expertise to support current JMU students in a series of networking and career preparation events held in Washington, D.C., in Richmond and at JMU. Perhaps most notably, last November our third annual Alumni Day, that featured more than two-dozen alumni, included panels on career opportunities and skills along with a career networking reception. In order to better organize its efforts, the department's Alumni Board created three committees to focus on alumni engagement, fundraising and student outreach. As noted in Tom Culligan's ('05) feature, one of the board's priorities was the creation of Washington Semester program scholarship, which attracted great donor support that allowed us to award the first two scholarships in fall 2016 and spring 2017. Giving Day 2016 was a resounding success, with political science finishing first in donations among all academic departments. The endowment for a scholarship honoring Professor Paul Cline also reached over \$20,000 in donations.

In my new role I have had the opportunity to work closely with many of you over the past year and to gain a deeper appreciation for all of the ways that you support our students and the work of our department. Thank you for your generosity and dedication, and please know that if your travels bring you back to the Shenandoah Valley, you are always welcome here in Miller Hall.

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Two speakers, one semester: experiences working on Capitol Hill

BY EMILY KEARNEY AND ALEXANDRA MOORE

'Within a few days, our normal

duties and tasks had shifted

from a focus on day-to-day

office operations, to a focus

on preparing the office for the

new Speaker's team and doc-

umenting Speaker Boehner's

career and legacy.'

eptember 2015 was a whirlwind of a month for us. As Congress was back in session after their August break, we were busy adjusting to our roles within Speaker John Boehner's staff while also trying to keep up with the quick pace of the office. Throughout the month we experienced many unique opportunities, most notably assisting with all the preparations that went into making the Papal visit such a success. Dozens of meetings, errands and late nights went into planning the arrival of Pope Francis and his joint address to Congress. The

Pope's visit was an historic event, which Speaker Boehner had been working towards for the majority of his political career. The visit proved not only to be extremely hectic and stressful, but nonetheless life changing and rewarding. As we left the office that Thursday evening, it seemed as though we would be able to enjoy a calm Friday in the office and maybe take a breather for a moment. We should have known that there's no such thing in Washington, D.C.!

The next morning, Sept. 25, Speaker Boehner announced to the Members of Congress that he would be resigning his congressional seat by the end of October. After finally feeling settled, we were suddenly uprooted by the news of the Speaker's resignation. The news completely blindsided his staff, especially us, and we were concerned about how this would affect our remaining time in the Washington Semester Program. However, the transitional period began the moment Speaker



Boehner made his announcement. Within a few days our normal duties and tasks had shifted from a focus on day-to-day office operations to a focus on preparing the office for the new Speaker's team and documenting Speaker Boehner's career and legacy.

Although it was challenging for us to watch some of our mentors and role models leave the staff throughout the month of October, it brought many new learning opportunities and exciting challenges our way. One of the most defining moments in October was when House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy decided to withdraw his candidacy

to be Speaker. After this news, House

to be Speaker. After this news, House Budget Committee Chairman Paul Ryan's name was thrown into the mix as a possible candidate. Once Chairman Ryan was voted to be the new Speaker of the House in late October we were lucky to join his staff to help facilitate a smooth transition. With a shift in our everyday responsibilities it became obvious how important the "behind the scenes" tasks truly are in helping ease a new team into such a demanding posi-

tion. Although it took Speaker Ryan a couple of tries to differentiate the two of us, we loved working for him and his staff! We will always remember the craziness that came with the transition. More importantly we will always remember the opportunity we were given to witness so many historic events. This led to a very unique Washington Semester, not only for us but also our classmates, as they lived vicariously through our first hand experiences working for both Speaker Boehner and Speaker Ryan.

About the authors: Emily Kearney and Alexandra Moore interned in the Office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives in fall 2015—originally for John Boehner, then for Paul Ryan when Boehner resigned.

(Left): Emily Kearney greets new Speaker Paul Ryan. (Below, L-R): Speaker John Boehner with Alexandra Moore and her parents, Rud and Linda Moore.





My internship at Usher's New Look Foundation

n the summer of 2016, I had the pleasure of interning in the development department at Usher's New Look in Atlanta, Georgia. Usher Raymond IV and his mother founded the organization in 1999, hoping to provide underserved youth with a "new look" on life. The 501(c)(3) organization aims to develop youth global leaders by equipping them with the tools to mold their futures, solve their challenges and build stronger communities. While I joined the UNL family in 2007, programming began in 2005 with Usher's Camp New

Look, where 150 campers nationwide were empowered to become future global leaders and entrepreneurs. With backing from Emory University's Goizueta Business School, a three-phase certification was created to spotlight four leadership pillars (talent, education, career and service) for three core programs. The peer-to-peer training model focuses on developing well-rounded, forward-thinking, socially conscious leaders throughout Powered By Service, Leadership Academy and Mogul In Training. Within the PBS leadership trainings, middle and high school youth identify their passion or "spark," recognize the importance of personal branding, and are equipped with networking and leadership skills. Leadership Academy high school students are exposed to tools and skill sets necessary to achieve success in their post-secondary education option and career industry of choice. The college-aged MITs garner essential life and business skills and practice leadership through mentoring youth. One hundred percent of these students graduate high school and 98 percent go on to college. Eighty-six percent of UNL youth are first generation college students. New Look provides many students with their first plane ride, professional attire and even dining in a restaurant.

I was involved in a large and diverse set of projects during my internship at UNL. For example, I oversaw the grant-making process and served as a liaison between the chief development officer and grant writer. After learning the infrastructure of grant research and how to uti-



(Left): JMU graduate student Shani Moore at the Spark Lab pop-up event. (Above, L-R): Gavin McGuire (COO, UNL), Yvette Cook (President/CEO, UNL), Shani Moore, Desirae Gibson (Alabama State University senior), Dr. Jylla Moore-Tearte (COO, Tearte Family Foundation) and Curtis Tearte (CEO, Tearte Family Foundation).

lize the Foundation Center website, I made calls to seek eligibility requirements and updated the foundation calendar. Later, I wrote an in-kind mini grant proposal to Home Depot. During my internship I attended and participated in staff meetings, event planning, program eval-

uation and sponsor/partnership meetings. At the PBS training I acted as a guide through the orientation process for my new supervisor, assisting her with learning the curriculum, culture and function of the program. I served on the alumni panel at the MIT retreat and attended a Spark Lab pop-up event at Morehouse College. While working with the Digital & Creative Marketing Strategist, I was introduced to editing and cutting videos using Premier Pro system, and I wrote a narrative for a newsletter sent to the board and advisory council.

The most enjoyable aspects of my internship were being surrounded by an office culture where employees exemplified their love for what they do on a daily basis, gaining the UNL family members and applying development skills outside of the organization. The most beneficial experiences for me were learning the essential tools to communicate and network, being aware of with whom I was speaking both inside and outside of the organization, and recognizing and applying knowledge learned from each public policy and administration course I had taken. Especially in light of JMU's motto of "be the change," I am grateful for the opportunities my internship provided and the impact I was able to have on the clients and communities my work affected.

About the author: Shani Moore will receive her master's degree in public administration in May 2017.

FACULTYRESEARCHCORNER

Is viral fundraising the new panacea for nonprofits?

Social media intensity and social pressure drive viral charitable giving

BY JENNIFER TAYLOR

the newest frontier

in fundraising."

s a frequent adviser on strategic planning and resource development to nonprofits, the most common phrase I hear from resource strapped board members is, "we should apply for some more grants." Each time I hear this echoed refrain, I'm stunned. My practical experience in the field tells me that if an organization has a compelling case, focuses on the impact of their good work—and tells their story—that the funding will follow and, most likely, it will come from individual donors. In fact, 2015 was America's most generous year ever.

Donations from America's individuals, estates, foundations and corporations reached an estimated \$373.25 billion in 2015, setting a record for the second year in a row, as reported by *Giving USA 2016: The Annual Report on Philanthropy for the Year 2015*, an annual research report of the IUPUI Lilly School of Philanthropy.

But that's not the only big news about charitable giving in 2015. The findings represent more than numbers—they are also symbolic of the

American spirit. Americans give a lot, and the choice to give is an individual one. While overall giving increased, donations from individuals were at \$264.58 billion or 71 percent of all giving, following the historical pattern seen over more than six decades.

Online giving from individuals represents the newest frontier in fundraising. More than \$115 million was donated to ALS charities worldwide in an eight-week period in 2014 during the ALS Ice Bucket Challenge, an unorchestrated viral fundraising phenomenon when three young men living with ALS inspired their communities, celebrities and the world to dump buckets of ice water on their heads to raise money to fight the disease. Why were they doing it?

Working with M.P.A. graduate students, we conducted a survey of JMU faculty, staff and students about their participation in the ALS Ice Bucket Challenge to learn more about the determinants of success in viral fundraising campaigns. Viral fundraising has supplanted "go get more grants" as the new panacea to heal every distressed nonprofit.

The survey measured the impact of respondents' social media intensity, perceived level of trust in the nonprofit, willingness to promote the cause and level of commitment in relationship to their intention to donate. Interestedly we also asked questions to ascertain respondents' level of knowledge of the disease and their own self-reported awareness of the organization and medical condition.

Almost all the respondents, 97 percent, had watched anywhere between 10 and more than 21 ice bucket challenge videos, 76 percent



Online giving from individuals represents

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reported that social media use is a part of their daily routine, and about 62 percent reported social media use of up to an hour per day.

Nearly 60 percent of respondents reported a high level of awareness with the organization and the disease. It is unclear whether the awareness was a result of the viral fundraising campaign or if the respondents had previous knowledge. When asked about their knowledge of the disease, 90 percent gave the correct name, while 55 percent gave an incorrect number of diagnoses per year, and 51 percent gave an incorrect answer on life expectancy. Primarily, the depth of their knowledge of ALS was limited to the medical condition name.

Curiously, although more than 99 percent of respondents were familiar with the ALS Ice Bucket Challenge and almost as much had watched several ice bucket challenge viral videos, very few respondents reported speaking favorably about the nonprofit in social situations, and less than a third reported promotion of the cause to their friends, families or co-workers.

Respondents showed a high level of trust in the ALS Association: 65 percent trusted the nonprofit to use fundraising techniques that were appropriate and sensitive, 62 percent trusted the nonprofit not to exploit donors, 66 percent trusted the nonprofit to use donated funds appropriately, almost 70 percent trusted the nonprofit to conduct their operations in an ethical manner, and 61 percent trusted the nonprofit to always act in the best interest of the cause.

Of the respondents who self-reported a donation to the ALS Association, about one-third indicated that they had received some emotional utility or "warm glow" from the giving process. Giving was largely influenced by the friends, family or co-workers knowing about their gift: 63 percent were motivated to give because so many others were giving at the same time, 42 percent reported a level of social approval of their giving, and 53 percent indicated that it felt good to know that other people they knew were aware of their giving.

Our early conclusions suggest that viral fundraising success is most significantly influenced by the extent of social media use by participants, social pressure to donate and the desire of respondents to feel good about their giving. On the contrary, viral fundraising does not have a significant impact on donors' intention to give in the future, where less than a third reported their intention to give to the ALS Association in the future.

The challenge here for nonprofits is not whether or not they can get people to give in a viral fundraising campaign; but rather, can they get them to give again?

Understanding Trump's victory

Continued from Page 1

cultural pedigrees than Donald Trump. Yet Trump often bested them among white evangelicals, or at least came close. Lengthy pieces have been written attempting to understand the attraction between Trump and the most morally traditional voters among us. Could it be that for white evangelical Christians it has always been about race and ethnocentrism and they were drawn to Trump's racist and xenophobic message? Could it be that they yearned for a strongman who could protect and appeal to the authoritarian impulses within them? Regardless of why, it is clear that evangelicals remain a key part of the Republican base and can help elevate a presidential candidate to their party's nomination. Without their strong support, Donald Trump's candidacy would likely never have survived the primary and caucus season.

Trump's media advantage by DAVID JONES

Although Donald Trump's general election victory was a shock, his Republican nomination triumph was even more unlikely. Trump's campaign didn't run a single television ad until January 2016. He was obsessed with his strong position in the polls, but did almost no polling of his own. His staff combined youth with inexperience. His ground game was minimal. He made shameful statements that offended many voters, including members of his own party.

How did he win the Republican nomination? Part of the explanation lies in his overwhelming advantage in the news media. Trump was a perfect news story: a celebrity who created conflict and controversy. He did not follow the script of a typical politician. He inspired extreme reactions, positive and negative. He insulted journalists by name, but he was unusually accessible for informal interviews.

Through March 2016, his "free" coverage in television, print, and online media was valued at \$1.9 billion by mediaQuant, a firm that uses advertising rates

to assess the value

of news coverage—

about twice the value

of his top six GOP

rivals combined. His speeches, rallies and

press conferences gar-

nered live coverage by

'What made 2016 different was the somewhat larger number of battleground states and the smaller margins of victory in those states.'

— VALERIE SULFARO

all three networks. It didn't matter whether what he said was meaningful. Trump's style, approach and ratings made just about any event newsworthy. For example, after winning the Michigan primary in March 2016, he turned his televised victory speech into a surreal, 45-minute infomercial for Trump wine, Trump steaks and Trump water. His remarks were a tasteless mess, but no matter: the cable networks couldn't turn away, and they broadcast the whole event live.

Trump's news coverage was surprisingly balanced in tone. As usual, election news during the primaries was focused on the "game" aspects

of the race—winning and losing. Trump did more of the former than the latter resulting in positive stories analyzing his primary victories and strong poll numbers along with negative stories reporting his frequent gaffes.

The media may have raked Trump over the coals with some of their coverage. But when Politico magazine asked "What have we done?" in the headline for its annual media issue published shortly after Trump clinched the nomination in May 2016, many journalists wondered the same thing.

Changing parties, unchanging voters BY VALERIE SULFARO

At the end of the evening on Nov. 8, 2016, many Americans were surprised to find that Republican nominee Donald Trump appeared to be on the path to an Electoral College victory. The results were considered a stunning upset for the Democrats, and post-election, numerous narratives have emerged to explain how the less likely candidate garnered the most electoral votes.

One of the simplest explanations for any election outcome is that most people tend to vote for the candidate of their political party, and that was the case in 2016. And, as was the case with most elections, most states tended to award their electoral votes to the same political party that they usually do. What made 2016 different was the somewhat larger number of battleground states and the smaller margins of victory in those states. Several states Trump won in 2016 were Midwestern states that had long been considered competitive, but had previously been won by the Democrats. The Republican margin of victory in Michigan was extremely slender, at 0.3 percent. Four years earlier, Barack Obama had won Michigan by nine percent. Similarly, Trump eked out a one-point margin of victory in Wisconsin and a 2.2 percent margin in Pennsylvania, states that Obama had won previously by seven and 5.2 percent, respectively, in 2012.

Trump did better in Midwestern states where Obama's margin of victory was lower, like Iowa and Ohio. Also notable is Minnesota, a state Hillary Clinton won by 1.5 percent, but which Obama had won by 7.7 percent in 2012. Taken together, these states appear to indicate a potential change in the partisan dynamics of the upper Midwest. Trump's victories were too slim too suggest a new era of GOP dominance, but they do seem to indicate that the region is no longer a Democratic stronghold.

There were also some indications that the Democrats may be gaining strength in other regions of the country. Trump's margin of victory in North Carolina was low compared to adjacent states. His 1.3 percent margin of victory in Florida suggests that state will remain competitive, and his 5.7 percent lead in Georgia was considerably smaller than his 10 to 20 percentage point margin of victory in most nearby states.

The GOP may be losing some ground over the long term in the Southwest as well. Trump's victories in Arizona and Texas were smaller than Romney's margins over Obama in those states in 2012. As the demographics of those states continue to shift, and Latinos make up a larger portion of the electorate, the gain of states like Texas and Arizona may help the Democrats to offset potential losses in the upper Midwest, keeping presidential politics competitive in the coming decades.

JMU engaging the real world

BY MANAL JAMAL

n April 8, 2016, Professor Manal A. Jamal hosted a panel at the JMU Washington Center entitled "The Syrian Crisis, International Involvement and the Projected Transition." The panel was part of her Washington Semester course on economic crises, upheavals and transitions. It brought together representatives from some of D.C.'s most engaged organizations dealing with the Syrian crisis today. At the panel were Tyler Jess Thompson of United for a Free Syria and Coalition for a Democratic Syria, Erica Hanichak of United for a Free Syria, Evan Barrett of the Syrian Emergency Task Force and Shabnan Mojtahedi of the Syria Justice and Accountability Center.

The panel discussion began with participants discussing his or her career trajectory and how they became involved in work related

'The panel brought together representatives from some of D.C.'s most engaged organizations dealing with the Syrian crisis todav.'

to Syria. They then provided more detailed information about the scope of the work of their organizations. The panel concluded with an engaged discussion about the role that the international community should be playing in Syria today. Thompson, the pol-

icy director for United for a Free Syria and the policy adviser for the Coalition for a Democratic Syria, who also served as a legal and strategic adviser to the Syrian coalition at the Geneva II peace conference, and Mojtahedi, who develops policies and analyses for

(Right, L-R): Panelists Shabnan Mojtahedi, Erica Hanichak and Evan Barrett listen to Tyler Jess Thompson's position on the role of the international community in Syria. (Below): During the serious discussion, students engage the four presenters on what role they can play. SJAC's documentation, data analysis, and transitional justice work, provided compelling accounts of two different positions about the role of the international community. Thompson emphasized the need for greater intervention against the Syrian regime, and Mojtahedi explained why the international community must proceed with caution, that it is necessary to acknowledge that there is wrongdoing on all sides, and that transitional justice will not take place without legal accountability.

The students engaged the presenters about likely scenarios, debates related to the Responsibility to Protect (a global political commitment made by United Nations member states to prevent genocide and war crimes), and what role, if any, they as students can play. Mostly, however, the breadth of experience and expertise of the presenters who took time from their important work to join the class fascinated them.







POLITICAL CURRENTS PHOTOGRAPHS BY HOLLY VEENIS SPRING 2017

BETHECHANGE

An interview with Richmond Mayor Levar Stoney

n Jan. 17, 2017, Political Currents spoke with Levar Stoney ('04), who was elected mayor of Richmond in November 2016.

> Looking back on your career in public service thus far, what would you say have been some of

your greatest successes and toughest challenges?

Stoney: My greatest success in public service has been the restoration of felons' voting rights in Virginia. To stand on the steps of the Capitol with the governor announcing that executive order was a big day. My father was a former offender. I witnessed the effects of doors being slammed in my face and not being able to participate in the civics process, and I took that personal story to the governor's office and we were able to create some change. Looking at the wall in my office, there's a JMU diploma there and a story of when we restored the rights of a gentleman who had gone and fought for our country and had never voted. He had tears of joy. In my current job I have the opportunity to make that same impact on someone's life.

In terms of challenges, being young can be a challenge. You don't get the automatic respect when you're in your 20s or 30s and you're trying to make an impact. I get an opportunity to stand on the shoulders of giants who came before me, who paved the path for young people and African-Americans to do great things.

During your service as Secretary of the Commonwealth and during your mayoral campaign you emphasized issues including civil rights, voting rights, poverty, education, gun violence and infrastructure. How do you plan to work with city council and other partners to address these and other issues?

Stoney: The overarching theme of this administration is one Richmond. That means working toward providing greater opportunity for every citizen in this city, no matter your zip code, how much money in your bank account, what God you pray to, or the color of your skin; this is about everybody having the opportunity to succeed. I'm going to work with the city council, school board, business community and nonprofit sector to ensure every child has a quality education, that we keep our community safe from gun violence, and we're going to work on fixing city hall. We start with yes—how do we get to yes? We do that by working together.

How do you think your vision of government and politics is different now than when you were a college student and President of SGA at JMU? What advice would you give to a young person considering public service?

Stoney: I don't believe my vision has deviated from when I was at James Madison. I've always believed public service, leadership and government should be about right and wrong and giving a voice to the voiceless. That's why I pursued the student government office back then and why I got involved in politics at school. My advice to those who want to pursue a career in public service is this: it's not something that can be done halfway; you've got to be all in. I chose to get involved behind the scenes in campaigns—you have to learn it, breathe it, see it and earn it—none



Governor Terry McAuliffe and Dorothy McAuliffe congratulate Levar Stoney ('04), the new mayor of Richmond, Virginia.

of this was given to me. But by earning it you'll see so much, learn so much, meet so many people. You've got to throw your entire self into it.

You have described yourself as someone who looks for common ground and who brings people together. How do you hope to accomplish this goal in Richmond? More generally, in light of the divisiveness of last year's presidential election, how do you think politicians and citizens with very different worldviews can work together to solve public problems?

Stoney: You have to begin with what we agree on first. There might be folks on the other side ideologically. I think we believe in the same map; we just use different compasses to get there. I have a number of friends who have widely different political ideologies than I do, but there's a whole lot more we agree on than what divides us, and that's what I want to focus on. Common ground and cooperation and collaboration are all great words and catch phrases, but you have to live and breathe and work at it—it can't just be a talking point. As mayor there are going to be folks who disagree with some of our ideas but there's going to be a whole lot more that we can work together on and create those victories for our residents. I'm open to listening to anyone. What I dislike about politics is the unwillingness to listen to those who have opposing ideas.

What's one thing most people don't know about you?

Stoney: Even though I went to James Madison and had a lot of snowy winters, I've never sledded before, until about three weeks ago, when I had my first snowstorm and I sledded downhill for the first time, headfirst. I'd never done it before and a resident said, hey, let's do it right now! I didn't plan to do that walking over there, but sometimes the moments choose you.

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE CITY OF RICHMOND

An interview with House of Delegates Majority Leader Kirk Cox

BY KATHLEEN FERRALOLO

On Feb. 3, 2017, Political Currents conducted a Q&A with Kirk Cox ('79), who was elected in December 2010 to serve as Majority Leader in the Virginia House of Delegates, where he represents the 66th District.

Looking back on your career in public service thus far, what would you say have been some of your greatest successes or accomplishments and toughest challenges?

Cox: Without a doubt my greatest accomplishment is my wonderful family, especially my wife Julie. Being first elected in 1989 before my youngest three sons were born, I tried to make it a priority to spend time with my children. I enjoyed being able to coach each of them in basketball and baseball.

Certainly my greatest challenge was getting elected. As a young government teacher who had never run for office before, my first campaign was arduous. My staff often jokes that I had to grow a moustache to look old enough to even vote when I first ran for office. Balancing my job as a teacher with the campaign and elective office had its own challenges. Many days I'd arrive at school at 6:30 a.m. and close out the day with a speaking engagement at 8 p.m.

We'd be interested in hearing your reflections on your experiences as majority leader since 2010. In what ways has serving in a leadership role offered new challenges or opportunities?

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF KIRK COX ('79)

Cox: Serving as majority leader of the 66-member House Republican Caucus is a true honor. Leading our caucus is both a challenge and a great opportunity. As majority leader I work to organize floor debates, create a unified caucus message and chair our House Republican Policy Committee.

As chair of the House Republican Policy Committee I work with the caucus to craft our legislative priorities for the session. Our goal is simple: reduce burdensome government regulations so that our economy can grow. We seek to be responsible stewards of taxpayer dollars. This year, our policy developed a breadth of bills that will curb the ongoing opioid and heroin epidemic, increase access and affordability of higher education and grow our economy.

As a member of the House of Delegates representing the 66th district you have emphasized issues including economic development, education and veterans' services. How have you been able to work with other lawmakers - including governors



Delegate Kirk Cox ('79) and his wife Julie.

'Serving as a legislator is a world's difference than teaching about the legislature.... I worked hard to take what I learned in the **General Assembly into** the classroom.'

from your own party and from the Democratic Party - to address these and other issues?

Cox: Both parties have a genuine desire to improve the lives of Virginians. Our methods, of course, differ to varying degrees. During the 2015 and 2016 sessions, I worked with Republicans and Democrats in the General Assembly to secure funding for two new state veterans care centers—one in Northern Virginia and one in Hampton Roads. I have also sponsored legislation that created the state's Wounded Warrior program (now known as Virginia Veterans and Family Support program) and provided tax relief for military personnel.

A major cornerstone of the House job growth agenda in 2016 was my HB834 that establishes the Growth and Opportunity Board, the centerpiece of "GO Virginia." This business-driven initiative facilitates greater collaboration between the business community, higher education and local governments. By aligning the needs of the three segments, we will encourage the creation of good paying jobs in high demand fields, and make economic development dollars go further.

How do you think your vision of government and politics is different now than when you were a college student, or from when you were a government teacher? What advice would you give to a young person considering public service?

Cox: Serving as a legislator is a world's difference than teaching about the legislature. As a delegate I was afforded a firsthand look at our Commonwealth's government. I worked hard to take what I learned in the General Assembly into the classroom. Each year I invited my students to the Capitol to see government in action. I followed that up with a mock General Assembly in the classroom allowing them to put their observations into practice.

No matter how good your teacher is, how many books you read or how many classes you take, witnessing the real thing is the best method of education. I strongly encourage anyone considering a career in public service to do an internship at some point during his or her college years. Whether you intern on the state, federal, or local level, you will gain a new understanding of "government of the people, by the people [and] for the people."

What's one thing most people don't know about you? **Cox:** I played shortstop for the 1985 class C state softball champions. **P**

POLITICAL CURRENTS SPRING 2017



Fostering a liberal arts education abroad

world of new perspectives opens for JMU sophomores during the General Education Semester in Scotland Program, providing firsthand experiences into the rich culture of another country.

The program takes JMU students on an experiential learning trip through two of the oldest and most prestigious universities in the United Kingdom—Edinburgh and St. Andrews, Scotland. The Semester in Scotland began with the first cohort in Summer 2013. Approximately two dozen rising sophomores attend the semester program every summer, giving many students an University of St. Andrews, where they complete a global politics course

upfront and personal experience into another culture abroad.

During the summer program, students complete 13 credit hours toward their General Education requirements, the core academic program at JMU in which they come to understand how distinct disciplines look at the world from different vantage points. They study in the areas of arts and humanities, the natural world, social and cultural processes, and individuals in the human community, while being exposed to the culture of Scotland outside of the classroom over an eight-week period.

At the University of St. Andrews, students may gain geology field experience, explore historic buildings and attend sporting events. The program is helping to enhance and support a liberal arts education abroad while introducing JMU students to Scottish culture.

"The central idea of General Education is to teach all of our students how different disciplines look at the world around us from different perspectives and use different measurements in their respective analyses," says political science professor Bernd Kaussler, director of the Semester in Scotland. "Students are being equipped with an academic toolbox from which they can assess the realities of today's world."

The Semester in Scotland allows students whose major programs may not give them the option to study abroad an opportunity to do so, while also completing a large sum of their GenEd requirements. "The Semester in Scotland takes [students] on a journey of how best to reconcile their own ideas and practices with the cultural, political, legal, economic and geostrategic realities of today's world," says Kaussler.

At the University of Edinburgh, students complete a Scottish literature course and microsociology course over a period of four weeks. Stu-

dents are given the opportunity to explore the locations in Scotland where the literature they are reading took place or was written. "We were able to take field trips to visit the Scottish Writers' Museum and take tours of the Royal Mile in order to see what these writers were actually seeing and talking about in their stories," says Kristina Overholt, an athletic training major who attended the Summer 2016 program. "Without the chance to study abroad, I would have missed out on these wonderful cultural aspects woven deep into these novels."

For the second half of the summer semester, students attend the

and gain field experience through a geology class. Will McCarthy, director of the field academy at St. Andrews, joined the JMU program in 2015. "The module and philosophy at St. Andrews is based around critical thinking skills," he says. "We want students to come into the classroom and challenge their lecturer and ask questions."

Making the transition to learning from another country's academic model can be a culture shock for some students. "The module we offer is challenging for students who arrive," says McCarthy. "But my experience over the

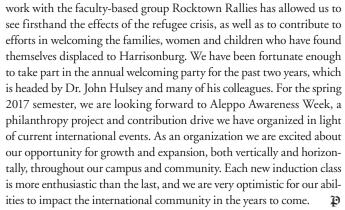
past two years is that Madison students adapt to our style of teaching very quickly and do very well."

Universities in the U.K. do not have a liberal arts or General Education program. Students who attend Edinburgh or St. Andrews are taught only in their chosen discipline. The Semester in Scotland is helping to enhance and support a liberal arts education abroad, where professors are teaching JMU students from all different majors and

"This is an opportunity for our lecturers to interact with the next generation who are not going to be going into science. They have chosen a career path in the arts, for example, and want an insight into how science works," says McCarthy. "It's exciting to deal with students from other departments. Fresh eyes, fresh set of mind is beneficial for us as much as them."

Delta Phi Epsilon foreign service fraternity installed at JMU

elta Phi Epsilon is the nation's only service organization dedicated to aiding and serving those of the international community, both abroad and at home. Here at James Madison we operate as a co-ed society of students who are engaged in and studying the disciplines of international affairs, foreign policy and international business. The opportunity to work closely with peers of similar interests effectively aids our growth both academically and professionally, as much of our free time together is spent in the library with encouragement for each other's success. Outside of the library and beyond campus, our philanthropic efforts for the 2016–2017 academic year have been focused towards the Fostering Abyssinia and Rocktown Rallies projects. Through the former we work in coordination with a fellow campus based organization to provide supplies and funds to the longest standing orphanage in Ethiopia. With regards to the latter our



About the author: J. Kent Livesay serves as the president of Delta Phi Epsilon and expects to graduate in May 2017 with a double major in economics and political science.

'Our work with the faculty-based group Rocktown Rallies has allowed us to see firsthand the effects of the refugee crisis, as well as to contribute to efforts in welcoming the families, women and children who have found themselves displaced to Harrisonburg.



(Above): Delta Phi Epsilon fraternity caption about Rocktown. (Below): Caption about Soup for Syria. (Bottom): Caption about brothers.





POLITICAL CURRENTS PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF J. KENT LIVESAY SPRING 2017 PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF IAN BUCHANAN

Your 2017 checklist to help support political science students

BY TOM CULLIGAN ('05)

ne of the most common comments we hear from fellow political science department alumni is: "I want to help students and other alumni, but I don't know how to help or if I have the time to get involved." I think most people can relate with this sentiment. With each passing year, life gets increasingly busy with our careers and family obligations, and our weekend "to-do" lists get longer. Despite our best intentions, there never seems to be the time to do more.

That's why the department's faculty and Alumni Board—a group of 15 alumni elected to advise the department and lead student and alumni programming—have been working to

make it easier than ever to get involved, no matter how much time you have or where you may be. Here's your 2017 checklist of opportunities to help support students and connect with other alums, based on your time, resources and interests:

- Sign up to be available for informational interviews with current students and young alumni. By sharing a little bit of information about your career, the department can help steer students and recent alums to you for a conversation in person or by phone, based on your availability. To sign up to participate in informational interviews, go to the political science alumni survey at http://bit.ly/2l4AQAA
- Serve as a volunteer for on-campus events with students and recent alumni. Each year, the department and Alumni Board sponsor a range of panels, events and receptions on campus, in Washington, D.C. and in Richmond to help prepare students for internships and career opportunities, as well as to connect alumni and offer career development programming. To volunteer to help with an event or serve on a panel, e-mail me at tmculligan@gmail.com.



■ Contribute to the new Washington Semester Scholarship. The Alumni Board has been instrumental in working with University Advancement to create the department's first-ever schol-Scholarship by going to www.jmu.edu/give and searching for the "Washington Semester" fund.

ment's Alumni Board of Directors. Each year, the Board elects several new alumni representing the political science, international affairs and public policy majors to the Board. This is a great way to help support and create programs to better serve our students and alumni. To apply for the Board, please e-mail me at tmculligan@gmail.com.

It has been a privilege for me to serve on the department's Alumni Board, where I have enjoyed working with a dynamic group of alumni leaders who bring a wealth of knowledge and experience from a range of graduation years and career fields. I encourage you to think about applying to serve on the Board if you're interested in helping to shape the future of career programming and resources to students and alumni, as well as helping to grow our fundraising

arship to help provide at least one scholarship for \$4,300 each semester, which covers the additional cost of the program above on-campus tuition, room and board. Thanks to generous alumni participation, we have already awarded the first two scholarships (fall 2016 and spring 2017), and Alumni Board members raised an additional \$6,000 in late 2016 for future scholarships. You can make a gift to the Washington Semester

■ Serve on the political science depart-

opportunities to support students and faculty.

About the author: Tom Culligan ('05) is the president of the political science department's Alumni Board. Please don't hesitate to contact him at tmculligan@gmail.com if you have any questions or ideas about how we can better serve the department's students, faculty and alumni. Go Dukes!

Public service professionals recognized at awards ceremony

The School of Public and International Affairs recognized several public service professionals for their efforts to advance the public interest through active engagement with the community, strengthening social equity, demonstrating personal integrity, promoting ethical standards of performance and stewardship and advancing professional excellence at the annual Public Service Reception in May 2016.

- The Lifelong Achievement in Public Service award was given to Patrick Coffield, retired Augusta County administrator and Larry Shifflett, retired City of Harrisonburg fire chief in recognition of their decades of outstanding public service to the Shenandoah Valley.
- Dan Caprio ('84) was honored with the John B. Noftsinger Alumni Award for Public Service Excellence for his cross-sectoral public service in digital privacy and cybersecurity.
- Melissa Britt, executive director of the Plains Area Daycare Center was recognized with the Excellence in Public Service award for her commitment as a public service professional and to the health of the children

Nominations for the Public Service awards are accepted every spring. For more information, please contact Dr. Jennifer A. Taylor at taylo2ja@jmu.edu.

A rewarding internship at Habitat for Humanity

n the spring of 2016 I had the opportunity to complete my internship at Habitat for Humanity of Greater Charlottesville. As a public policy and administration major I could choose to do a nonprofit internship, which is what I was interested in. The internship I selected allowed me to learn about the many aspects of nonprofit organizations and to combine my passions for helping people and project management. Habitat for Humanity has three different areas of focus (a main office, a store and new construction) that work together to achieve its mission of bringing "people together to build homes, communities and hope." I had the privilege to work behind the scenes in all three areas.

In the office I was able to work in three separate departments. The majority of my time was spent working within the volunteer management department, which

is a huge part of Habitat for Humanity. Without labor provided by volunteers, Habitat wouldn't be able to complete new construction on houses or operate as a nonprofit organization. I also worked in the development department, which has an intense system of tracking individual and business donations and organizational funding. Because other departments such as volunteer management and family services receive donations throughout the year, the development department works especially closely with staff members and volunteers from those parts of the organization. The last department that I worked with was the family services department, which works with fundraising staff and volunteers as well as applicants, current homebuyers and those who already have their Habitat home. Family services makes sure that applicants have all the information they need and that they feel comfortable within the process. Once applicants are accepted, family services ensures that everyone knows their neighbors and that



PPA graduate Melanie Taylor at her internship job site Habitat for Humanity of Greater Charlottesville in spring 2016.

they are able to defuse any serious situation that may arise between neighbors or with their homes.

New home construction is a large part of the good work that Habitat for Humanity performs and it was my favorite part of the experience. I was able to move around and contribute to the big picture while also employing my office skills in the field. The biggest challenge I experienced was with volunteer management at the job site. We had to make sure that volunteers on the site were ready, old enough and informed on what they were doing. Occasionally, we would have to hire subcontractors to perform the work that volunteers could not.

Those who volunteer on site are not the only ones that are contributing to the Habitat organization. The third area that I was able to work with was The Habitat Store, which is a place where people can donate their gently used items so others

can afford to purchase furniture and other household goods. The best part of the store is that all of its profits help to build more houses. In 2015 the store was able to raise enough money to build six homes. I contributed the most in volunteer management, transferring my office experiences to the retail store that utilized many mandated community service volunteers.

The responsibilities that were given to me in the three areas of the Habitat organization allowed me to get a true look inside how things run. Some of the most rewarding experiences were participating in a game night that was thrown by the family services department, serving as the contact for the Habitat Readers Program and helping the development department with the details of planning the organization's 25th anniversary. It truly was an incredible experience with a group of amazing people who worked so well together to make Habitat a successful nonprofit.

Ji Hyung Park received B.A. and M.A. degrees in Public Administration at Chung-Ang University. His master's the-

sis is about the effect of city-county consolidation on economic development. He holds

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a Ph.D. in Public Administration from the University of Nebraska at Omaha. His dissertation examined a democratic fiscal decision-making process composed of the Great Recession, citizen participation, fiscal retrenchment and fiscal recovery. His research areas are public budgeting, finance and urban management; focusing on citizen participation, form of gov-

ernment, fiscal health, performance budgeting, revenue diversification and city-county consolidation. His recent articles are published in Public Finance and Management and Public Performance and Management Review. Park's teaching interests include public budgeting, financial management, research methods and urban policy.

Marty Cohen, Mary McGrath, Peter Aronow ment: The Case of the Korean Financial Reg- Union" with Lauren K. Perez in the Journal of and John Zaller published "Ideologically Extreme Candidates in U.S. Presidential Elections, 1948-2012" in The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 2016. Cohen also participated in a breaking news panel entitled "Did the Party Decide?" at the American Political Science Association's Annual Meeting on Sept. 1, 2016 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

David Jones published U.S. Media and Elections in Flux (Routledge), a concise textbook that analyzes how political campaigns strategically adapt to an ever-changing media environment.

Bernd Kaussler and Glenn Hastedt (Justice Studies) published their book U.S. Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East (Routledge) in 2016.

Ji-Hyung Park and Juseop Shim published "Public Participation and Trust in Governulatory Agency" in Public Performance & European Public Policy. Management Review in 2016.

Under Director Kenneth Rutherford, the Center for International Stabilization and Recovery in FY2016 secured 11 externally funded awards totaling over \$1 million and two internal awards totaling \$3,600 and implemented 13 grant-funded projects for seven different sponsors with a total value of nearly \$3 million. Rutherford also participated in a number of invited talks and paper presentations in the U.S. and around the world.

John A. Scherpereel, Jerry Wohlgemuth and Margaret Schmelzinger published their article 'The Adoption and Use of Twitter as a Representational Tool Among Members of the European Parliament" in European Politics and Society in 2016. Scherpereel also published "Vertical Intra-Institutional Effects of Ministerial Turnover in the Council of the European

In the spring of 2016 Jennifer Taylor received a Dolley Award from the JMU Office of Student Activities and Involvement. The Bluestone Award for Outstanding Advising recognizes a JMU adviser of a recognized student organization in good standing who has had a positive influence on an organization by providing support, approachability and encouragement of effective communication within the organization. Taylor was recognized for her work with the Student Veterans Association.

Yi Edward Yang was awarded a Provost Research Grant in 2017. Yang will use the \$4,500 award to conduct interviews with "America Watchers" in China (Chinese scholars and policy analysts) to explore how the U.S. and U.S.-China relations are perceived by these influential thinkers who play a key role in developing Chinese foreign policy.

See what political science emeriti faculty are doing at www.jmu.edu/polisci/emeriti/index.html

Alumni News & Class Notes

Recently elected associate vice president at Stewart in Raleigh, North

as an adjunct in the fall of 2016. * Jessie Williams recently managed the upset campaign Carolina, Cynthia Szwarckop leads the Pre-Development Services and Municipal Services groups, working with property owners, developers and municipalities.

94 James Hogan recently celebrated his 20th wedding anniversary with Jennifer (Moeller) Hogan ('95). * C. Scott Shufflebarger is president/owner of an over 80-year-old commercial and custom residential roofing company and lobbies on behalf of several organizations including a national industry group on procurement issues as well as the state roofing association.

95 David R. Williams recently renewed a three-year contract with the Town of Sherborn, Massachusetts. The first town administrator to ever have a contract renewed there, he oversees general government operations (including police, fire and public works) and administration (including finance and inspections) and supports a five-member Board of Selectmen.

96 Tim Miller successfully defended his dissertation on the decision-making of university presidents and graduated with his doctorate in May 2016. He has joined the faculty of the Organizational Learning and Leadership program at George Washington University

of Andria McClellan to victory in Norfolk for a city council superward seat against a 16-year incumbent. That victory resulted in her receiving a job offer to serve as State Senator Lynwood Lewis's legislative aide.

As communications director for the House Judiciary Committee, Kathryn Rexrode and her team serve as the liaison between the media and the committee chairman and its members. They create all press releases, op-eds and talking points on issues within the committee's jurisdiction, write speeches for Chairman Bob Goodlatte and operate the committee's website and social media accounts.

Bryan Steverson is a sustainability and JI green buildings program adviser for the General Services Administration's Office of Federal High-Performance Green Buildings and is currently managing two research project collaborations with Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and the University of Minnesota.

Ricardo Pineres and his wife, Danielle, welcomed their daughter Cecilia Diane

In her role as digital director, Jane Hughes ran and oversaw online fundraising and

communication for Governor Maggie Hassan's (New Hampshire) successful campaign for U.S. Senate in 2016.

Nicole Evans and Matthew Williams were selected as senior management fellows in the city of Fort Lauderdale, Florida. The International City/County Management Association Local Government Management Fellowship is a competitive career-development opportunity designed to generate interest in local government careers among recent master's degree program graduates. * Megan Hinton was selected for a Fulbright award as an English teaching assistant in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 2016–2017 academic year.

16 Anna Cooperman is program coordinator at Operation Smile, a nonprofit organization that provides free, safe surgery to children and adults with cleft lips or palates in developing countries. She manages the logistics of planning and executing the surgical programs, both from the office and in the various countries. * As development coordinator at the American Legislative Exchange Council, Wes Fisher runs the direct mail fundraising program and individual donor relations, serves as the membership liaison for the western United States and helps the ALEC state chairs recruit members and raise money.

Political Science Class Notes/Gift Card

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Student News & Notes

Student-athletes Claire Adkins and Olivia Lehman were honored at senior day in Godwin Hall's Savage Natatorium in January 2017. Adkins competed individually in the 200, 500, 1000 and 1650 freestyle, 100 breaststroke and 400 IM for the Dukes this season, and is a key member of the 800 freestyle relay that set a new pool record with a time of 7:32.27. In the classroom, Adkins has been awarded the CAA Commissioner's Academic Award the past three seasons and is a staple on JMU's Dean's and President's lists. She has received the JMU Athletic Director Scholar-Athlete award on three occasions and earned the Carole Jan Gorry Memorial Scholarship. Adkins will continue her education in law school after graduation.

Last season, Lehman became the first diver in program history to ever win the NCAA Zone A Qualifier in the 1-meter dive with a score of 585.60, becoming just the second Duke diver to ever advance to the NCAA Championship. Lehman has competed in the NCAA Zone A Qualifier the last three seasons and has posted qualifying scores in both events multiple times her senior season. She has been named CAA Diver of the Week on six separate occasions. Over her career, Lehman has won the 1-meter event nine times and the 3-meter event seven times, including winning the 1-meter event at the 2016 CAA Championship. Academically, Lehman is just as successful. She is a two-time CSCAA Scholar All-American and CAA Commissioner's Academic Award winner. She has been named a JMU Athletics Director Scholar-Athlete three times and has been selected to the Dean's List on

Elizabeth Brannon, a double major in international affairs and economics, was selected as one of the students funded by the National Science Foundation's Research Experience for Undergraduates program in Civil Conflict Management and Peace Science at the University of North Texas. Undergraduate students are selected from across the country for this opportunity to engage in graduate-level research in conflict management and peace science in a senior faculty-mentored, in-residence, eight-week, Summer Research Experience that integrates training in civil conflict management with training in Geographic Information Systems. The summer 2016 REU took place from June 6-July 28, 2016.

Renzo Olivari was selected for one of 20 slots nationwide in the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute sponsored by the American Political Science Association. This marks the fourth time in the past six years that a student in the political science major has been chosen for this program.

ARE YOU CONSIDERING GRADUATE SCHOOL?

The JMU Department of Political Science offers two master's degree programs: Public Administration and Political Science with a concentration in European Union policy studies.

To learn more about these degree programs, go to: www.jmu.edu/mpa or www.jmu.edu/eupolicystudies