



THE PUNDIT

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE NEWSLETTER
MUHLENBERG COLLEGE

Spring 2011

Cairo, January 28, "Day of Rage", by Jen Melis, Class of 2012



Tahrir Square

I joined a group of my friends and had informal plans to try to go downtown to see what was up. At this point, the Internet was completely shut down and so were phone lines. ... We walked down towards the bridge that crosses the Nile and walked up toward Tahrir

Square. I only started to get nervous when I saw how many heavily-armed police were out. Once we would cross a certain point, police would move in and barricade the path back to where we came from...

After walking through Tahrir and talking to several undercover police about the expected situation, we determined that it was probably best to find a safe location — like the roof of a hotel, ideally. Some of my friends stayed on the bridge crossing into Tahrir because they wanted to be close to the action once it began. The

rest of us continued across the bridge and entered Novotel, a hotel just on the opposite side of the bridge from Tahrir Square. On the roof of Novotel is a nice restaurant where we ordered lunch. As we waited for food, we could see large crowds gathering further down the road from the bridge that crosses directly into Tahrir. It was not long before we saw tear gas being shot into the latter crowd. I took lots of videos and pictures of this happening. The pictures show it all, but if you could only see it firsthand — the insane amounts of tear gas used on peaceful protestors just trying to march towards the bridge. *(continued on page 8)*

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A Word from the Chair, Dr. Jack Gambino

Greetings from Muhlenberg's Political Science Department. This year's edition of *The Pundit* highlights some of the ways in which the Political Science Department has gone global. Our cover story features Jen Melis' dramatic account of the January Revolution in Egypt. Jen, who is a member of the Class of '12 and a double-major in International Studies and Philosophy/Political Thought, was studying at the American University in Cairo when the pro-democracy street demonstrations erupted. Her experiences show just how powerful international study can be in a rapidly changing world. We are also highlighting Chris Herrick's new MILA (Muhlenberg Integrated Learning Abroad) course on sustainable development in China's Pearl River Delta region. After completing the on-campus portion of the course last fall, Herrick led sixteen students on a study trip to investigate how China is developing sustainable development policies in order to mitigate the environmental costs of its rapidly growing economy. Herrick's course joins two other MILA short term study courses offered through the Department: *Sustainability and Climate Change in Bangladesh* (taught by Mohsin Hashim and Jack Gambino) and *The Making of Modern Turkey* (taught by Brian Mello). All three courses will be regularly offered by the Department. In addition to these courses, Lanethea Mathews traveled to Jordan last year to examine women and development issues in order to provide a more global dimension to her course on gender and politics. The Department is very excited about each of these contributions to global education at Muhlenberg. Finally, on behalf of the Department, I would like to thank Ms. Maureen Bayraktar for all of her hard work in making this year's *Pundit* possible.

Sustainable Development in China's Pearl River Delta—MILA course

Sixteen students accompanied Dr. Herrick on a short term study trip to China's Pearl River Delta Region in a new offering in Muhlenberg's Integrated Learning Abroad (MILA) program. The trip followed a semester-long course examining sustainable development issues in Pearl River Delta region, one of the most rapidly evolving regions of China.

Students visited a number of sites that reflect differing degrees of sustainable development. In Hong Kong, for instance, students visited Lantau Island where a Buddhist monastery and former fishing village had grown into a municipality of high rises and a population of 50,000 within a fifteen year period. They also toured Hong Kong harbor where ships with hundreds of trailer loads of goods bound for Costco and Walmart crossed paths with smoking barges filled with trashed electronics components arriving from the US and Europe

The home base for Dr. Herrick and his students was at United International College (UIC) an institution of 6000 located in Zhuhai, one of the original Special Economic Zones and recently voted China's most livable city. In Zhuhai students visited historic sites reflecting the rapid change of this former fishing village into a city promoting enlightened environmental planning such as a fish farming cooperative and a nature preserve. Students also witnessed some of the negative aspects of rapid development and poor planning, most notably, the Zhuhai airport, a very modern facility which is essentially unused due to bureaucratic disputes and poor planning.

In Shenzhen Dr. Herrick's group visited two factories, one that supplies aquatic attire for Speedo, and another that manufactures components for specialized batteries for world wide distribution. In addition, they visited a primary school that is working with the Institute for Sustainable Communities to implement a model program to develop environmental consciousness in China.

Guangzhou (originally called Canton and opened to international trade for centuries) was another destination. On their approach to Guangzhou, the pollution was so heavy that students could taste it in the air. Speakers from the Institute for Sustainable Cities informed the group on cooperative efforts of the government and private citizens to address the high levels of both air and water pollution.

Finally, through a day-long walking tour of Macau (the former Portuguese colony that has become a Mecca for the world's high rolling gamblers) students were able to personally examine and reflect upon other aspects of the economic disparities that are emerging in the context of rampant capitalism and growth that is emerging within China's

program of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Dr. Herrick will be leading other study groups to China in the near future.



Muhlenberg College's Eta Upsilon Chapter of Pi Sigma Alpha is proud to announce that the following students have been invited to join our chapter. Pi Sigma Alpha is the national Political Science Honor Society. Membership represents the highest academic achievement in political science and dedication to studying government and politics.

Pi Sigma Alpha Announces New Members

FROM THE CLASS OF 2011

GENNA GOLDNER '11

KELLY MCKEON '11

AMANDA SAVILLE '11

ADAM YU '11

FROM THE CLASS OF 2012

COREY AFERIAT '12

MICHELLE BAYER '12

JOSHUA BOHN '12

ALEXANDRA CHILI '12

MELISSA FELD '12

RENEE GARRICK '12

MICHAEL HAMORY '12

KHADIJEH JABER '12

ASHLEY KERA '12

LUKE LISCHIN '12

HEATHER MALACARIA '12

KARISSA MCCARTHY '12

JENNIFER MELIS '12

JORDAN RUTT '12

KYLA WONDER '12

ELYSE ZWANGER '12



Congratulations to the following seniors on their law school acceptances!

- Mike Feinberg will attend Albany Law
- Dan Feldman will attend either Albany or Drexel Law
- Genna Goldner will attend Quinnipiac University school of law as a Dean's Fellow.
- Kelly McKeon will attend Syracuse Law
- Joe Mulvihill will attend Widener Law in Wilmington
- Bill Sholly will attend Widener Law in Harrisburg
- Deniz Uzel will attend Widener Law in Wilmington



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Lehigh Valley Research Consortium Update....

In January the LVRC presented our *State of the Lehigh Valley 2010* report at an event cosponsored with RenewLV. The event drew an audience of over 250 community members interested in learning how the recession impacted life in the region. Dr. Deegan and Dr. Borick provided analysis for the report, along with faculty from other LVAIC institutions.

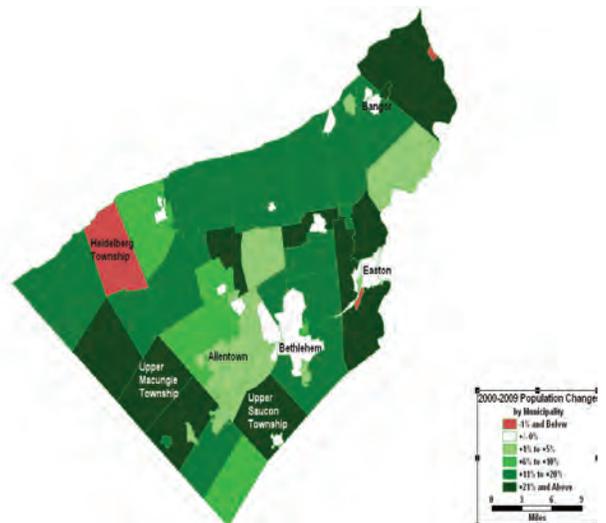
Some of the findings of the report include:

- The economic recovery in the Lehigh Valley has been slower compared to the mid-Atlantic region and the U.S. By the mid part of the decade population estimates suggest that growth slowed affecting new housing construction. **New housing permits**, which helped to boost our economy in the earlier part of the decade, **fell from over 3,700 in 2005 to under 1,000 by 2009.**
- **The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009** has contributed to our local economy. From February 2009 through the end of September 2010, it appears that 1,253 contracts, 6,349 grants, and 43 loans were awarded to PA. **The Lehigh Valley was the prime recipient of 259 projects.**
- **The level of poverty is rising in our 17 school districts.** All experienced an increase in the percentage of students eligible for free/reduced price lunch. School districts with the largest gains in eligibility are those with the lowest levels of poverty AND school districts with the smallest gains are those with already high levels of poverty.
- There appears to be a **greater increase in math PSSA test results** from 2004-10 than reading results. All school districts met the adequate yearly progress in 2010 for math but not reading.
- Regarding health care, working adults, age 18-64, tend to be the hardest hit by an economic downturn. Compared to the U.S. (20.6%), **the Lehigh Valley has a lower percentage of uninsured adults than the state average.** From 2007 to 2009 the percentage of uninsured in Lehigh County increased to 14.6% while the percentage in Northampton County stayed same (<13%).
- Air quality measures suggest **that the period from 2003 through 2009 saw a decline in the number of unhealthy air quality days**; however, people with **asthma, older adults and children continued to experience unhealthy air quality**, particularly in Northampton County.
- It appears that there was not as large of a change registered Democratic voters to Republicans as expected

during the **2010 Midterm election.** It was expected that Democrats might change party to express their dissatisfaction with the federal government's handling of the economy. However, there were about **the same number of party changers for Democrats AND Republicans.**

- We expect that as the economy worsens, crime will increase. But, in the **Lehigh Valley, and the U.S., crime has declined, even during the recession.**

The LVRC also released a report in February on gambling in the Lehigh Valley. This report was funded by Northampton County and focused on problem gambling awareness and intervention. The report was prepared by Dr. Deegan and included a community survey administered through Muhlenberg's Institute of Public Opinion. Currently, Dr. Mathews is completing a community health study for St. Luke's Hospital and Health Network. This study utilizes a survey to a random sample of Lehigh Valley residents, focus groups, and secondary data analysis. The report is expected to be completed in late summer.



FACULTY NOTES

Dr. Chris Borick was engaged during the last year in a number of projects and initiatives. During the Fall of 2010 he was actively engaged in directing the Institute of Public Opinion's "Election 2010" polling efforts and providing commentary on the election to numerous media outlets from around the nation. In October of 2010 his latest book with longtime collaborator Jay Shafritz, "Cases in Public Policy and Administration," was published. Borick and his colleague Barry Rabe from the University of Michigan published three articles together during the last year, "A Reason to Believe: Examining the Factors that Determine Individual Views on Global Warming," in *Social Science Quarterly*; "American Federalism and Climate Change: Policy Options and Public Opinion" in *The Environment, Climate Change and Land Policies*; and "Climate Compared: Public Opinion on Climate Change in the United States and Canada," in *The Brookings Institution's Issues in Governance Studies*." Dr. Borick also published a chapter entitled "American public Opinion and Climate Change" in Rabe's *Greenhouse Governance*. Finally, Borick was recently awarded the Class of 1932 Professorship at the college and will be on a year long sabbatical while he works on a book which examines American public opinion regarding climate change.

Dr. Michele Moser Deegan continues to direct the Lehigh Valley Research Consortium. In this capacity she made a public presentation of the Lehigh Valley community on January 13th 2011 that addressed how the Lehigh Valley was affected by the recession. She also prepared a report on problem gambling in the Lehigh Valley for Northampton County and presented the results of this study at the PA Political Science Association meeting this Spring.

She is currently working with Dr. Roland Kushner on a study of non profit organizations in the Lehigh Valley.

Dr. Jack Gambino will travel to Bangladesh with Dr. Hashim and 16 students in May to examine climate change and sustainable development strategies. The study trip will be the culmination of a semester-long course that is included in the Muhlenberg Integrated Learning Abroad (MILA) program. He delivered a conference paper entitled "Which Orwell? Which Liberalism?" in April at the Midwest Political Science Association meetings in Chicago. He also served as a member of the Visiting Committee reviewing the political science department at McDaniel College. This summer he will be developing a new First Year Seminar examining representations of Italian Americans in film, which

will be taught next fall.

Dr. Mohsin Hashim continues to work on Russia, Bangladesh and on a collaborative research project on Turkey and Bangladesh with Dr. Brian Mello. He presented his research with Dr. Mello at a national conference (Midwest Political Science Association). The paper is titled "Political Opportunity Structures and the Dynamics of Islamic Political Mobilization in Bangladesh and Turkey." At the conference, he chaired a panel titled "International Relations and Foreign Policy in Russia and Eastern Europe." Dr. Hashim presented another paper titled "Jamaat-e-Islami and the Politics of Accommodation? A Case-Study of the Role of an Islamist Party in the Democratization Process of Bangladesh" at the Northeastern Political Science Association Annual Conference. At this conference, he also served as chair and discussant of a panel titled "Political Economy of Natural Resources." In addition, Dr. Hashim continues to serve as Section Chair for Comparative Politics for this conference. He will be presenting his research on Russian state incapacity at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. The paper is titled "Putin's "High-Modernism" and its Limits - Assessing the sources of state incapacity in Russia." This summer, Dr. Hashim joins Dr. Gambino in leading students of their class *Climate Change and Sustainable Development in Bangladesh* to a two-week trip to that country. While in Bangladesh, Dr. Hashim will conduct elite interviews for his research. Over summer, he is planning a new course on "Developing Nations."

Dr. Chris Herrick taught a new MILA course, Sustainable Development in China's Pearl River Delta region during the fall 2010 semester. At the conclusion of the on-campus portion of the course, Dr. Herrick led the class, a group of 16 students, on a 2.5 week trip to China's Pearl River Delta region. On the trip, Dr. Herrick and his students visited the Special Administrative Regions (SARs) of Hong Kong and Macau as well as village sites and industrial sites in the cities of Shenzhen, Huizhou, Zhuhai, and Guangzhou in China. Based on that trip, Dr. Herrick has begun to facilitate Muhlenberg's developing a long-term relationship with United International College of Zhuhai, China, the institution that hosted and facilitated the mainland China portions of the trip.

Dr. Herrick continues to pursue his emerging research interests in China's foreign policy. During the fall semester he delivered a paper at the Northeastern Political Science Association on China's People's Liberation Army Navy in the context of China's "Peaceful Rise". He also served as chair and discussant on a panel on terrorism. In the spring se-

mester, he delivered a paper on China's evolving Africa policy in the context of China's "Peaceful Rise" at the national AsiaNetwork conference in Chicago. At that conference, he was pleased to attend a panel presentation by Surain Subramaniam, one of his former students, a Muhlenberg International Studies graduate from the 1990s, who is now an Associate Prof. at University of North Carolina-Asheville, the liberal arts college of the UNC system.

Dr. Lanethea Mathews continues to direct Muhlenberg College's Center for Ethics. Over the 2010-11 academic year, she worked with colleague Bruce Wightman in Biology, on the program: Science +



Sensibility: Studying Nature as a Human Endeavor. She presented a paper, "Do Young Women Have Political Role-Models?" at the Midwest Political Science Association Conference in April 2011 in Chicago. In addition, she helped to secure a major research grant and has begun a community health study in the Lehigh Valley. Lanethea Mathews attended a faculty seminar run by the Council on International Educational Exchange in the Summer of 2010 in Jordan. She received a scholarship from the CIEE and from the Muhlenberg College RJ Fellows Program as part of her effort to internationalize her course on Gender, Politics & Policy, and to begin the groundwork for creating a new course on gender and globalization. Here she is pictured in front of the Roman ruins in Amman, Jordan.

Dr. Mello worked on two research projects—one on Istanbul's year as a European capital of culture, and the other on civil-military relations in Turkey and Bangladesh. Dr. Mello presented versions of both projects at both the Northeastern Political Science Association in Boston, and at the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago. Dr. Mello also delivered invited talks based on his research at Georgetown University and at Fairfield University. This summer, with the support of a faculty research grant, Dr. Mello will be working on completing a book manuscript based on his dissertation research.



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What's New at the Polling Institute?

Muhlenberg College's Institute of Public Opinion (MCIPO) has spent the past year working with *The Morning Call*, the Lehigh Valley Research Consortium (LVRC), the United States Constitution Center, the University of Michigan and numerous other groups to capture the thoughts and opinions of thousands at local, state, and national levels. Under the direction of Christopher Borick of the Political Science Department the MCIPO has created dozens of surveys on topics such as the midterm elections of 2010, climate change, and the quality of life for those living in the state of Pennsylvania. During the summer and fall months of 2010, there was a major focus on the November elections. Surveys for the gubernatorial, senatorial, and congressional races accurately predicted results at the polls on Election Day. Pessimistic views regarding President Obama's job in office and concerns about the present economic conditions gave way to strong Republican support throughout the state.

After months of political polls, it was time to move on to something different! We started to ask citizens across the country about their views on global warming and climate change. When comparing our 2010 survey with our 2008 survey, we found that only 58% of Americans believe that there is solid evidence for global warming, compared to 72% in 2008. The survey findings indicate 3 out of 4 people believe that their state should require an increased use of renewable

energy, but 41% said they would not pay anything towards this end.

In collaboration with LVRC, we then began to research the effects of the Sands Casino Resort on the Lehigh Valley since its opening in May 2009. 92% of Lehigh Valley residents who have gambled within the past year said that they have made a trip to the Sands Casino! Even though large majorities believe that the opening of the casino has increased crime and traffic congestion in the area, just as many residents feel that it has brought a decent amount of economic development to the Lehigh Valley.

As students started returning to campus for the spring semester, the MCIPO put together its annual survey on the quality of life for Pennsylvania residents. Consistent with our findings from previous years, most people (about 90%) said that they feel Pennsylvania is a good place to live and raise a family. Even though many residents gave the state and national economies negative ratings, the majority said that they are actually satisfied with their jobs and their family income. Large percentages of residents in the Commonwealth gave positive ratings to the quality of the environment, law enforcement, public schools, and health care in the state. Since Pennsylvania is facing some serious budget deficit issues, we decided to ask people across the state about possible solutions. We found a great amount of pub

lic support for proposals such as the sale of state-owned liquor stores and a tax on natural gas extraction.

The most recent survey project, on public health, was designed with input from students in Dr. Borick's public health class! They submitted dozens of questions that we sorted through and molded into a survey that will give us insight into the healthy habits of Pennsylvania residents and their views regarding health care. The students then used the survey results for their own research projects.

This year's staff included Assistant Director Katherine Sharga, Administrative Assistant and web manager Maureen Bayraktar and student supervisors Genna Goldner, Michael Wiener, Sarah Ochoki and Colleen Christian. In addition, over 50 other Muhlenberg students worked at the MCIPO as interviewers during the 2010-2011 academic year.



2010-2011 Political Science Honors Theses

Andrew Chew completed his senior honors thesis on economic development in Northeastern Pennsylvania. In that region, many communities have experienced economic stagnation since the loss of coal mining as the dominant industry. The decline of the manufacturing sector and the current recession have added to this problem. Many policies from all levels of government have been implemented to encourage economic growth. The research project's central research question is: what policies are most effective for economic development in small towns such as those in Northeastern Pennsylvania? To answer this question, Andrew's project explores the root causes of decay in the region and analyses the effects of some past attempts at economic development at all levels of government. His research also explores some alternative policy approaches that have been proposed recently, including those focusing on "Smart

Growth." Finally, Andrew develops policy recommendations for these communities, taking into account the successes and failures of previous policies.

Allyson Margolis has been working on an honors thesis for International Relations. In her thesis she discusses the effect Islam has had (and currently has) on women's rights in post-Saddam Iraq. There are a multitude of interpretations for the religion, with the more patriarchal and extreme notions hindering women's rights and the more progressive definitions promoting such rights. Ultimately, Allyson argues that it is not Islam itself that has suppressed the role of women in Iraq, but rather the context within which Islam has been placed. With the collapse of Saddam's regime, and the rebuilding of a new, democratic regime, the weakened state government and institutions have led tribalist, ethnic, and religious groups to

fill the void. Certain leaders of these groups have governed their societies with strictest interpretations of Islam, using the religion as justification for gender inequality and refusal of women's rights. More progressive leaders like some in the Kurdish-populated North, have promoted a more secular society whereby equality for women is protected (more so than other regions, at least). Overall, Allyson hopes to convey the ways in which various interpretations and interpreters of Islam shape women's rights in the period after Saddam Hussein's rule.



Muhlenberg Political Science Students - in the classroom and beyond

Justin Barabander '11 presented a paper, "Party Systems and their Roles in the Development of Hybrid States" at the Pennsylvania Political Science Association conference in April, 2011.

Alexandra Chili '12 and Benjamin Rosen '12 presented a paper, "Voting Behavior of Muhlenberg College Students" at the LVAIC Social Research and Social Justice Conference on April 8, 2011.

Lindsey Doane '13 and Garret Gallinot '13 presented a paper, "Parents Behind the Scenes: The Relationship Between the Political Ideology of Parents and Students at Muhlenberg College" at the Pennsylvania Political Science Association conference in April, 2011.

Andrew Chew '11 will attend Rutgers University Bloustein School for Urban Planning & Public Policy

Laura Eldon '11 will attend Lehigh University to pursue her master's degree; and will be part of the Community Fellows Program

Cameron Hass '11 will attend Villanova University to pursue a master's degree in Political Science

Ian Levine '11 plans to attend an Accelerated Bachelors of Nursing program

Mollie Lieblich '11 will attend the University of Pennsylvania to pursue a master's degree in American History

Kate Mahoney '11 will attend Rutgers University's Library & Information Science program to pursue her master's degree in library science

Allyson Margolis '11 will work for Teach for America for two years in Greater New Orleans

Megan O'Leary '11 will attend Rutgers University Bloustein School for Urban Planning & Public Policy

Joshua Willig '11 will be working for GE Capital in Chicago, IL

Cairo, *continued from page 1*

Just watching this happen made me feel uneasy, emotional. It was hard to watch and know there was nothing much I could do about it... Just seeing the tear gas and smoke in the distance made all of us on the roof upset and appalled. It only got worse from there. After a while of seeing the same scene grow worse in the distance, we saw the police marching down the street towards the bridge (and hotel)...

At this point, it was not long before larger crowds gathered. The tear gas continued to be released into the crowds all the way down the road towards the bridge. As the crowd of protestors grew larger in the square just below where I stood at the top of Novotel, they soon made their way across the bridge. Because I was just above all of the action happening below, I — along with my friends and the other people on the roof — experienced the effects of tear gas... Our eyes were burning, watering. Thankfully the hotel staff was very accommodating to those of us on the roof, providing us with napkins to cover our faces and milk to soothe our burning throats. We could hardly imagine how badly the effects of the tear gas must have been down below us...

Once the protestors started gathering on the bridge and pushing their way across, the lingering tear gas dissipated... It was incredible to see the large numbers of people gathering, coming together to create one strong voice. The protestors were not violent. They were just walking — walking with determination. The police were the ones using various methods of force to try to stop the protestors from accomplishing anything. As tear gas continued to shoot into the crowds, protestors would pick the cans up quickly and toss them off the bridge into the Nile. Perhaps one of the most moving moments I experienced during the demonstrations on the 28th of January was when many of the protestors stopped what they were doing and began praying. I would not say that I am particularly religious, but it was certainly incredible to see that the protestors would take the time to perform their prayers together — there on the bridge with a temporary halt to whatever chaos that had ensued. Once the prayers were completed, the demonstration resumed. At some point, more force was used and the protestors were pushed all the way back off the bridge and barricaded

down side streets off the square below Novotel. It was not long before we saw the Egyptian people gain back their strength, as they were joined by many others in another attempt to cross the bridge into Tahrir. This time they were successful. Hotel employees were running around everywhere, passing out gas masks and trying to accommodate a lot of protestors that were seeking shelter in the hotel lobby. I saw a few people bleeding from the head. It was a shocking scene. It was difficult for me to walk away because I was so disturbed. I think it was particularly surprising for me because everything in the streets below looked so calm from several stories up. I was not expecting to see — up close — the effects of police force on protestors.

The next day I went back to Tahrir with a few friends from the night before to see the aftermath of the protests. Seeing these massive tanks in the streets with soldiers everywhere was at first a very intimidating sight. I was aware that when the military moved in the night before, they were friendly with the protestors and forced the police out. I was not aware at that moment

how familiar the sight of tanks and soldiers would soon become.



Photos by Jen Melis