

# The Western



Newsletter of the Western Political Science Association

Volume 9, Issue 1, Spring 2017

Lots of things have changed since our last issue of *The Western*. The United States has a new President, some new members of Congress, and we are talking about fake news, real news, professor watch lists, and political echo chambers. We will discuss the election and political climate for decades to come in our classrooms, journals, over coffee, and at our conferences. We want to welcome you to this issue of *The Western*. In this newsletter, we report some of the upcoming highlights of the 2017 Annual Meeting of the [Western Political Science Association](#), share some excerpts from Larry Sabato's Crystal Ball, new books from members, and what it means for one colleague to be an AmericaCanadian. We look forward to seeing you in Vancouver, where the Association will be celebrating its 70th anniversary!

Will this be your first WPSA conference? Please check out the [Question and Answer Guide](#).

Best,

Janni Aragon, University of Victoria  
Danielle Lemi, University of California, Riverside  
Editors



**A view of Vancouver, the host city for the Association's 2017 Annual Meeting.**

## Keep In Touch with the WPSA

Twitter @TheWPSA

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The New West blog <https://thewpsa.wordpress.com/>

# A Few Selected Highlights from the Upcoming Vancouver Meeting

April 13-15, 2017, Hyatt Regency, Vancouver, British Columbia

Conference Theme: “The Politics of Identity, Intergroup Bias, and Conflict and Cooperation”

<b>Wednesday, April 12, 2017</b>	
8:30-5:00 PM	<u><b>Environmental Political Theory Preconference Workshop</b></u> Location: Plaza B, Second Floor
1:00-6:00 PM	<u><b>Feminist Theory Preconference Workshop</b></u> Location: Georgia A and B, Second Floor
1:00-6:00 PM	<u><b>Latina/o Politics Preconference Workshop</b></u> Location: Plaza A, Second Floor
2:15 - 5:00 PM	<u><b>Interpretation and Methods Seminar</b></u> Ethnography in the Context of Transparency Angst: Reading Matthew Desmond’s <i>Evicted</i> Location: Windsor, Third Floor
<b>Thursday, April 13, 2017</b>	
12:00 – 1:00 PM	Caucus for Women and Gender Justice Meeting Location: English Bay, 34th Floor
3:15-5:00 PM	<u><b>Roundtable: Engaging with the Public about Race and Ethnicity in Contemporary America, American Political Science Association</b></u> Location: Windsor, Third Floor
<b>Friday, April 14, 2017</b>	
10:00- 11:45 AM	<b>Roundtable: Now What? The Impact of the Trump Presidency on Higher Education and Political Science (A Discussion with WPSA Presidents)</b> Location: Grouse, 34th Floor
12:00 - 1:00 PM	<b>Pi Sigma Alpha Speaker:</b> Kennedy Stewart, Member of the Canadian Parliament and the Opposition Science Critic for the New Democratic Party Location: Stanley, 34th Floor
6:00 - 7:45 PM	WPSA Reception Cosponsored by Simon Fraser University Location: 34th Floor
<b>Saturday, April 15, 2017</b>	
10:00- 11:45 AM	Roundtable: Collaborating for Advancement of Women Location: Queen Charlotte, Third Floor

See the full meeting schedule and list of special events on the [WPSA website](#).

## Some Scenes from Vancouver



Vancouver from [Grouse Mountain](#) at dusk

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c6/Vancouver from Grouse Mountain at dusk.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c6/Vancouver_from_Grouse_Mountain_at_dusk.jpg)

WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE  
ASSOCIATION  
2017 WPSA MEETING:

The Politics of Identity,  
Intergroup Bias, and Conflict  
and Cooperation  
April 13 – 15, 2017  
Hyatt Regency, Vancouver,  
British Columbia

President Julie Novkov  
welcomes your participation  
and attendance to the 2017  
WPSA Meetings at the Hyatt  
Regency Hotel in Vancouver,  
British Columbia. Get your  
passports ready! The  
conference is coming up soon!



[95\\_bcc8ef4635\\_b.jpg](#)



[Stanley Park Seawall](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2b/Stanley_Seawall.jpg)

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2b/Stanley\\_Seawall.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2b/Stanley_Seawall.jpg)



[Science World at Telus World of Science](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d8/The_Telus_World_of_Science_%28282666520215%29.jpg)

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d8/The\\_Telus\\_World\\_of\\_Science\\_%28282666520215%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d8/The_Telus_World_of_Science_%28282666520215%29.jpg)

# AmeriCanadian Perspective: The Politics of Dual Citizenship

by Heather Ross

[Editor's note: I first met Heather via our shared work of helping faculty, students, and staff with educational technology. She and I have teaching and learning, technology, and privacy issues. Then, we moved to politics and I approached her to speak to her experience as another American living in Canada.—Janni]

I grew up in Southern California, and immigrated to Saskatoon in January of 1997. I hold undergraduate degrees in Journalism and Education, as well as a graduate degree in Curriculum Studies, specializing in educational technology. I see the written word as a powerful tool to affect change - to transmit information; to share ideas; and to persuade others.



Like many of you, the U.S. election this fall left me frustrated, fearful, and with a deep desire to work toward protecting the legacy of President Obama. I envision a country that strives to have a more equal, more just society. The U.S. can be a world leader in promoting environmental policies that protect the planet and can establish sound foreign policy built around partnerships with democracies around the world. With these goals in mind, I volunteered to be the Chapter Chair for the Saskatchewan chapter of [Democrats Abroad Canada](#) and have been working hard to revitalize this passionate group of people. I have called my representatives to express my concern about a variety of issues, including some recent cabinet nominations. Locally, I have taken part in the Women's March and the vigil in solidarity with the Muslim community, both here in Saskatoon.

I have an excellent grasp of the issues facing Canadians living abroad including ex-pat taxation and maximizing the likelihood that our voices are heard and taken seriously by U.S. policy makers. I recognize that Democrats must focus on retaking the state legislatures in order to address the gerrymandering that has taken place and to stop the GOP from imposing voting restrictions aimed at reducing voter turnout among African-American, Hispanic, and other minority voters.

Representation from across Canada will allow us to have a coherent message that the majority agrees with. For too long, too many voices have been silenced. Let's let our voices rise in unison against the messages we are currently hearing south of our shared border.

## Notes from *Political Research Quarterly*



Over the past year, the *PRQ* editorial team has continued to focus on broadening the journal’s range of publications, while maintaining its high standards of excellence. In particular, we have worked to expand our presence in political theory, comparative politics, and international relations, and we have prioritized manuscripts that either articulate exceptional contributions to specialized fields or tackle big questions that are of interest to scholars from multiple fields within the discipline.

Among the most widely accessed of the articles *PRQ* published in 2016 are:

**Jessica Forten Rittberger’s “Cross-National Gender Gaps in Political Knowledge: How Much is Due to Context?”** a comparative study of differences in political knowledge between men and women that finds that the size of the difference is, to a large degree, a function of differences in survey instruments (for example, when researchers code “don’t know” responses as incorrect, the gap is larger);

**Bram Spruyt, Gil Keppens, and Filip Van Droogenbroeck’s “Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It?”** which examines support for populism in Western Europe and finds it strongest among voters who perceive themselves to be vulnerable along multiple dimensions: not just economically, but also socially and culturally;

**Bruce Hunt’s “Locke on Equality,”** which, through a close reading of Lockean texts distinguishes between two understandings of the core political concept equality: “natural” equality, the source of universal rights to life, liberty, and property, and “law-abiding equality,” which, on Locke’s view, grants only those people who conform to natural law the authority to create and enforce positive law.

Most read article for Jan 2017:

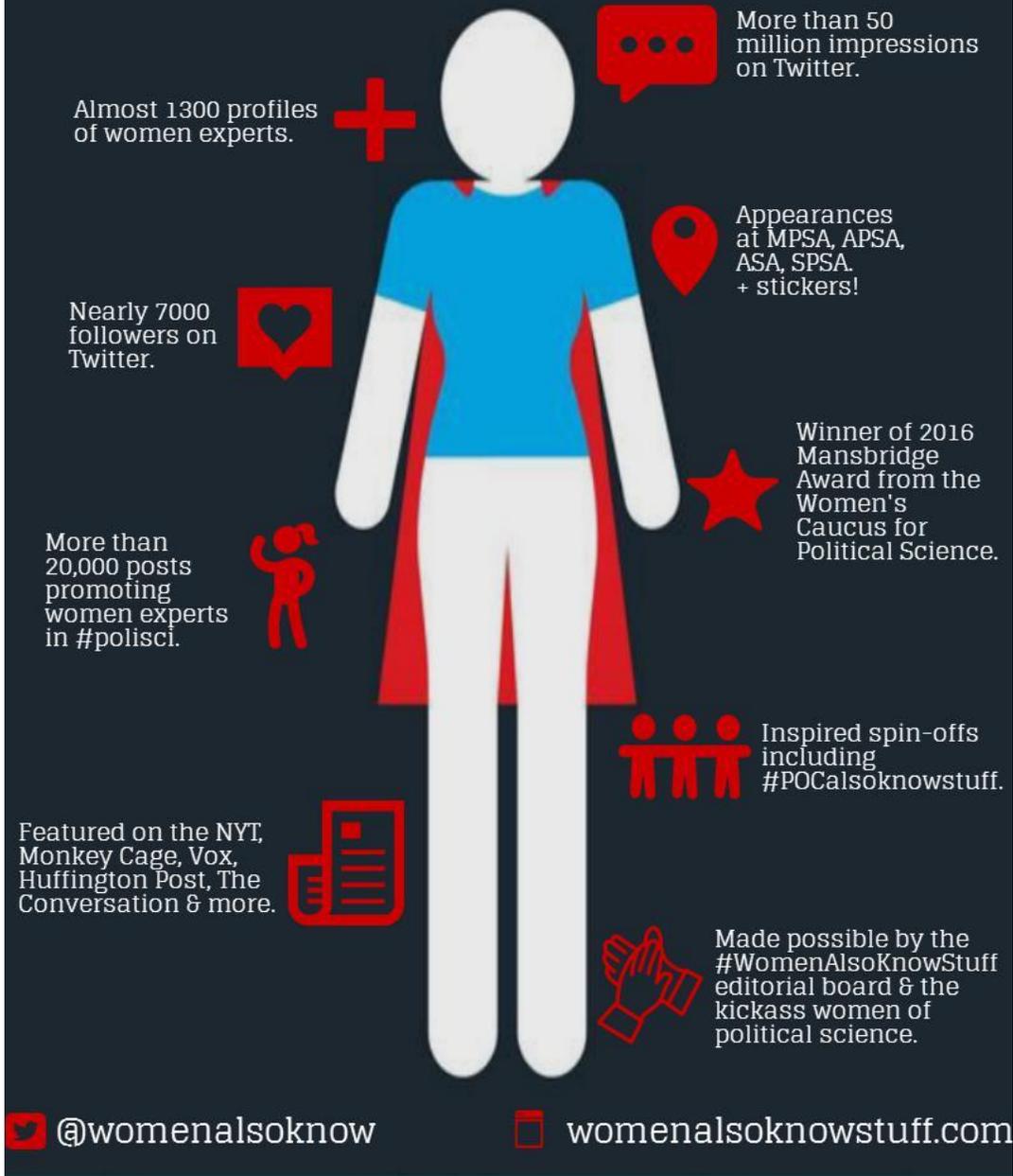
**Kevin Wallsten, Tatishe M. Nteta, Lauren A. McCarthy, and Melinda R. Tarsi’s “Prejudice or Principled Conservatism? Racial Resentment and White Opinion toward Paying College Athletes,”** which examines alleged racial resentment of college athletes.

We are grateful to the scholars who have submitted their work to *PRQ* and to those who have served as manuscript reviewers.

Clarissa Hayward, Jeanette Mendez, and James Scott  
Editors, [Political Research Quarterly](#)

# #WomenAlsoKnowStuff

This #InternationalWomensDay we're celebrating a Year of #WomenAlsoKnowStuff.



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Excerpt with permission from [Sabato's Crystal Ball](#) (1)



<http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball>

**[2018 HOUSE: The GROUND MOVING UNDER THEIR FEET](#)**

**Where the presidential vote changed the most in 2016 and what it might mean for 2018**

*By Kyle Kondik*

*Managing Editor, Sabato's Crystal Ball*

Election years are separate but also connected. Assuming he is confirmed by the Senate to be the next secretary of Health and Human Services, **Rep. Tom Price (R, GA-6)** will be vacating his suburban Atlanta seat sometime soon. He would be replaced by the winner of a special election, which could be held as soon as this spring. All candidates from all parties will compete in a single “jungle primary,” and barring anyone winning a majority of the vote, the top two finishers will advance to a runoff election.

Prior to 2016, there would have been no reason to think that both parties could compete for GA-6. Since being elected in 2004, Price has never won less than 60% in a general election, and Republican presidential candidates routinely won by lopsided margins there - - John McCain carried the district by 19 points in 2008, and Mitt Romney followed that up with a 23-point victory in 2012.

But Donald Trump only carried it by a point and a half -- 48.3% to 46.8% -- in November. Of all 241 Republican-held districts, Hillary Clinton improved on Barack Obama's 2012 performance more in GA-6 than she did in any other except for **TX-7**, held by **Rep. John Culberson (R)**.

Big swings in the presidential results in congressional districts were common across the country. According to [figures compiled by Daily Kos Elections](#), a left-leaning website that produces outstanding nonpartisan information on down-ballot races, close to half of the nation's House seats (200 of the 435) saw at least a five-percentage point change from 2012 to 2016 in Democratic or Republican presidential performance (or both).

Last week in the *Crystal Ball*, Rhodes Cook [analyzed](#) how the presidential vote changed in different kinds of counties across the country. This week, as we look ahead to the 2018 midterm, we're going to look at two different kinds of House districts that saw noteworthy changes in their presidential results:

- The first are ones like GA-6, the seat that Tom Price is likely to vacate soon. These are seats with Republican incumbents where Hillary Clinton performed at least five percentage points better than Obama in 2012, Donald Trump underperformed Mitt Romney's 2012 share by at five points, or both. In other words, these are Republican-held seats that became significantly more Democratic at the presidential level in 2016.
- The second group includes seats where the opposite happened: These are seats held by Democrats that got significantly more Republican in 2016. In all of these seats, Clinton performed at least five points worse than Obama, Trump performed at least five points better than Romney, or both.

While these seats saw big changes at the presidential level, that doesn't necessarily mean they will be competitive in 2018. Many of these seats are simply very blue seats that got a little less blue or very red ones that got a little less red. And some of the districts that would appear to be the best targets for takeover by the other party feature strong incumbents who have considerable crossover appeal. But it's also possible that some of these seats will be competitive in 2018 and that the big changes in the presidential results in them represent a warning to the incumbent party that the ground underneath their feet is moving away from them.

One reason to think that the changes we saw at the congressional district level in the presidential race may change these districts down the ballot is that in some ways 2016 reinforced differences that had already materialized. In an excellent analysis of the House landscape, *The Atlantic's* Ron Brownstein and Leah Askarinam [found](#) that the two party's bases in both presidential and House races are coming into alignment:

From the presidency through lower-ballot races, Republicans rely on a preponderantly white coalition that is strongest among whites without a college degree and those living outside of major metropolitan areas. Democrats depend on a heavily urbanized (and often post-industrial) upstairs-downstairs coalition of minorities, many of them clustered in lower-income inner-city districts. They also rely on more affluent college-educated whites both in cities and inner suburbs.

Specifically, they found that Democrats control 87 of 108 districts that have higher-than-average percentages of white college graduates and racial minorities, while Republicans control 152 of 176 districts that have lower-than-average percentages of white college graduates and minorities. And as shown in Tables 1 and 2, the Republican-held districts where Clinton improved the most on Obama's margin tended to have higher percentages of minorities and college graduates, while the Democratic-held ones where Trump improved the most on Romney's tended to have lower percentages of those groups.

**Table 1: Republican-held House seats that became significantly bluer in the 2016 presidential race**

District	R incumbent	2016		2012		D gain	R loss
		Clinton	Trump	Obama	Romney		
TX-07	J. Culberson	<b>48.5</b>	47.1	38.6	<b>59.9</b>	9.9	-12.8
GA-06	Tom Price	46.8	<b>48.3</b>	37.5	<b>60.8</b>	9.3	-12.5
TX-02	Ted Poe	43.1	<b>52.4</b>	35.6	<b>62.9</b>	7.5	-10.5
TX-22	Pete Olson	44.2	<b>52.1</b>	36.7	<b>62.1</b>	7.5	-10.0
TX-32	Pete Sessions	<b>48.5</b>	46.6	41.5	<b>57.0</b>	7.0	-10.4
CA-45	Mimi Walters	<b>49.8</b>	44.4	43.0	<b>54.8</b>	6.8	-10.4
GA-07	Rob Woodall	44.8	<b>51.1</b>	38.3	<b>60.2</b>	6.5	-9.1
TX-24	K. Marchant	44.5	<b>50.7</b>	38.0	<b>60.4</b>	6.5	-9.7
TX-03	Sam Johnson	40.6	<b>54.8</b>	34.2	<b>64.3</b>	6.4	-9.5
FL-27	I. Ros-Lehtinen	<b>58.6</b>	38.9	<b>53.0</b>	46.3	5.6	-7.4
IL-06	Peter Roskam	<b>50.2</b>	43.2	45.1	<b>53.3</b>	5.1	-10.1
CA-49	Darrell Issa	<b>50.7</b>	43.2	45.7	<b>52.4</b>	5.0	-9.2
CA-48	D. Rohrabacher	<b>47.9</b>	46.2	43.0	<b>54.7</b>	4.9	-8.5
TX-21	Lamar Smith	42.5	<b>52.5</b>	37.9	<b>59.8</b>	4.6	-7.3
TX-10	M. McCaul	43.2	<b>52.3</b>	38.8	<b>59.1</b>	4.4	-6.8
CA-39	Ed Royce	<b>51.5</b>	42.9	47.1	<b>50.8</b>	4.4	-7.9
UT-03	Jason Chaffetz	23.3	<b>47.2</b>	19.5	<b>78.3</b>	3.8	-31.1
GA-11	B. Loudermilk	35.3	<b>60.3</b>	31.5	<b>66.9</b>	3.8	-6.6
TX-26	M. Burgess	34.4	<b>60.9</b>	30.7	<b>67.6</b>	3.7	-6.7
AZ-06	D. Schweikert	42.4	<b>52.4</b>	38.8	<b>59.5</b>	3.6	-7.1
VA-10	B. Comstock	<b>52.2</b>	42.2	49.2	<b>50.8</b>	3.0	-8.6
KS-03	Kevin Yoder	<b>47.2</b>	46.0	44.3	<b>53.8</b>	2.9	-7.8
UT-02	Chris Stewart	32.0	<b>46.0</b>	29.2	<b>68.0</b>	2.8	-22.0
CA-25	Steve Knight	<b>50.3</b>	43.6	47.8	<b>49.7</b>	2.5	-6.1
TX-31	John Carter	40.8	<b>53.5</b>	38.3	<b>59.6</b>	2.5	-6.1
NJ-07	Leonard Lance	<b>48.6</b>	47.5	46.3	<b>52.5</b>	2.3	-5.0
UT-04	Mia Love	32.4	<b>39.1</b>	30.2	<b>67.2</b>	2.2	-28.1
CA-50	Duncan Hunter	39.6	<b>54.6</b>	37.6	<b>60.4</b>	2.0	-5.8
UT-01	Rob Bishop	22.4	<b>49.7</b>	20.4	<b>77.4</b>	2.0	-27.7
AZ-05	Andy Biggs	36.5	<b>57.6</b>	34.6	<b>63.8</b>	1.9	-6.2
AZ-02	M. McSally	<b>49.6</b>	44.7	48.4	<b>49.9</b>	1.2	-5.2
MN-03	Erik Paulsen	<b>50.8</b>	41.4	<b>49.6</b>	48.8	1.2	-7.4
IL-14	Randy Hultgren	44.8	<b>48.7</b>	44.2	<b>54.2</b>	0.6	-5.5
VA-07	Dave Brat	44.0	<b>50.5</b>	44.4	<b>55.6</b>	-0.4	-5.1
OK-05	Steve Russell	39.8	<b>53.2</b>	40.8	<b>59.2</b>	-1.0	-6.0
CO-06	Mike Coffman	<b>50.2</b>	41.3	<b>51.6</b>	46.5	-1.4	-5.2
ID-02	Mike Simpson	29.8	<b>54.5</b>	33.1	<b>64.1</b>	-3.3	-9.6

*Note: District presidential winner is in bold. Source: [Daily Kos Elections](#)*

These 37 seats are mostly located in suburban areas that either have higher percentages of residents over 25 with at least a four-year college degree than the national average (which is about 30%), or are more diverse than the nation as a whole (the nation is a little over 60% non-Hispanic white) or both.

The only exceptions are ID-2, UT-1, and UT-4, which Trump won comfortably but by far smaller margins than Mitt Romney did in 2012. This was mostly due to Trump bleeding votes to third-party candidates, particularly conservative Evan McMullin, who is Mormon (Utah is the most Mormon state in the country by far, and Idaho is second). That also helps explain Trump's massive loss of vote share from Mitt Romney's 2012 showing in all four Utah congressional districts: Trump still won the state handily, but his percentage of the vote dropped by at least 20 points in all four districts, by far his biggest fall-off from Romney of any districts in the country. Clinton, meanwhile, only improved marginally on Obama in the Utah districts. This makes sense, as these Republican districts went from arguably their ideal version of a GOP presidential candidate (Romney, who was Mormon himself) to their worst possible GOP candidate (the non-Mormon, rough-around-the-edges Trump). But, again, Trump still won all these districts, and the only one of these that might be a Democratic target is **UT-4**, where **Rep. Mia Love (R)** won reelection by 12.5 points, improving on her 2014 showing when she won her first election.

Still, in 2012 Obama only won three of these 37 districts. Clinton won 15 of them. If there's a backlash against Trump next year, some of these districts may be open to voting Democratic, but Democrats are also going to have to find credible candidates to run in these places: The party isn't really used to running competitive campaigns in places like California's Orange County, big-city Texas suburbs, and Greater Atlanta, but those are some of the places where opportunities might exist based on the changes we saw in last year's election. Other members on this list have faced challenges before, but long ago: **Rep. Peter Roskam (R, IL-6)** defeated Tammy Duckworth (D) in a high-profile race in 2006, and he hasn't had much trouble since. (Duckworth got elected to the House in her own right in 2012 and won a Senate seat in 2016.)

**Table 2: Democratic-held House seats that became significantly redder in 2016**

District	D incumbent	2016		2012		D loss	R gain
		Clinton	Trump	Obama	Romney		
PA-17	M. Cartwright	43.3	<b>53.4</b>	<b>55.4</b>	<b>43.3</b>	-12.1	10.1
OH-13	Tim Ryan	<b>51.1</b>	<b>44.6</b>	<b>62.9</b>	<b>35.4</b>	-11.8	9.2
MN-08	Rick Nolan	38.6	<b>54.2</b>	<b>51.7</b>	<b>46.2</b>	-13.1	8.0
MN-07	C. Peterson	31.0	<b>61.8</b>	44.1	<b>53.9</b>	-13.1	7.9
MI-05	Dan Kildee	<b>49.7</b>	<b>45.5</b>	<b>60.7</b>	<b>38.3</b>	-11.0	7.2
IL-17	Cheri Bustos	46.7	<b>47.4</b>	<b>57.6</b>	<b>40.6</b>	-10.9	6.8
IA-02	D. Loebsack	45.0	<b>49.1</b>	<b>55.8</b>	<b>42.7</b>	-10.8	6.4
RI-02	Jim Langevin	<b>51.1</b>	<b>44.0</b>	<b>59.8</b>	<b>38.3</b>	-8.7	5.7
OH-09	Marcy Kaptur	<b>58.7</b>	<b>36.5</b>	<b>67.6</b>	<b>30.9</b>	-8.9	5.6
WI-03	Ron Kind	44.8	<b>49.3</b>	<b>54.8</b>	<b>43.8</b>	-10.0	5.5
MN-01	Tim Walz	38.4	<b>53.3</b>	<b>49.6</b>	<b>48.2</b>	-11.2	5.1
CT-03	Rosa DeLauro	<b>55.9</b>	<b>40.4</b>	<b>62.6</b>	<b>36.3</b>	-6.7	4.1
IN-01	P. Visclosky	<b>54.1</b>	<b>41.5</b>	<b>61.2</b>	<b>37.4</b>	-7.1	4.1
MI-13	John Conyers	<b>78.8</b>	<b>18.1</b>	<b>85.2</b>	<b>14.3</b>	-6.4	3.8
NY-26	Brian Higgins	<b>57.6</b>	<b>38.0</b>	<b>63.9</b>	<b>34.3</b>	-6.3	3.7
NJ-06	Frank Pallone	<b>56.2</b>	<b>40.6</b>	<b>61.4</b>	<b>37.4</b>	-5.2	3.2
CT-02	Joe Courtney	<b>48.7</b>	<b>45.8</b>	<b>55.9</b>	<b>42.6</b>	-7.2	3.2
HI-02	T. Gabbard	<b>61.4</b>	<b>29.6</b>	<b>71.4</b>	<b>26.7</b>	-10.0	2.9
RI-01	David Cicilline	<b>60.5</b>	<b>34.9</b>	<b>66.2</b>	<b>32.2</b>	-5.7	2.7
FL-13	Charlie Crist	<b>49.6</b>	<b>46.4</b>	<b>54.6</b>	<b>43.9</b>	-5.0	2.5
MA-01	Richard Neal	<b>57.2</b>	<b>36.5</b>	<b>64.0</b>	<b>34.3</b>	-6.8	2.2
DE-AL	L.B. Rochester	<b>53.4</b>	<b>41.9</b>	<b>58.6</b>	<b>40.0</b>	-5.2	1.9
MI-09	Sander Levin	<b>51.5</b>	<b>43.7</b>	<b>57.2</b>	<b>41.9</b>	-5.7	1.8
NH-02	Annie Kuster	<b>48.7</b>	<b>46.3</b>	<b>54.2</b>	<b>44.5</b>	-5.5	1.8
MI-12	D. Dingell	<b>60.8</b>	<b>34.5</b>	<b>66.2</b>	<b>32.8</b>	-5.4	1.7
NY-20	Paul Tonko	<b>54.0</b>	<b>40.5</b>	<b>59.2</b>	<b>38.8</b>	-5.2	1.7
HI-01	C. Hanabusa	<b>63.1</b>	<b>30.5</b>	<b>69.7</b>	<b>29.0</b>	-6.6	1.5
ME-01	C. Pingree	<b>54.1</b>	<b>39.3</b>	<b>59.6</b>	<b>38.2</b>	-5.5	1.1
OR-04	P. DeFazio	<b>46.1</b>	<b>46.0</b>	<b>51.7</b>	<b>45.0</b>	-5.6	1.0
VT-AL	Peter Welch	<b>56.7</b>	<b>30.3</b>	<b>67.0</b>	<b>31.2</b>	-10.3	-0.9
WA-10	Denny Heck	<b>51.3</b>	<b>39.9</b>	<b>56.3</b>	<b>41.1</b>	-5.0	-1.2
NM-03	Ben Lujan	<b>51.8</b>	<b>36.7</b>	<b>57.5</b>	<b>38.7</b>	-5.7	-2.0

*Note: District presidential winner is in bold. Source: [Daily Kos Elections](#)*

For years, **Rep. Tim Ryan (D, OH-13)** has been the candidate of the Democrats' future in Ohio -- and perhaps he always will be. The long-serving (first elected in 2002) but still young (he's just 43) congressman has long been mentioned as a potential statewide candidate in Ohio, but so far he's always taken a pass. But Ryan appears to be considering a gubernatorial run in 2018; if anything, he's raised his profile in recent months by unsuccessfully challenging House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi for the leadership of the Democratic caucus (about a third of the caucus supported him -- not bad for a longshot challenge). He also might decide to go statewide because his safe Democratic district, which stretches from Youngstown to Akron, is suddenly not quite as safe as it used to be.

While Hillary Clinton still won OH-13, her 6.5-point margin was more than 20 points weaker than Barack Obama's 27.5-point edge just four years prior. Ryan still won easily, as he always does, but if the major shifts we saw across the white, blue collar small cities and rural areas of the Frost Belt -- an area stretching from Minnesota to western New York that one could rename the "Trump Belt" based on the past election results -- persist and bleed down the ballot, Democratic House members like Ryan could increasingly be an endangered species.

Of the 32 House districts held by Democrats where Clinton either declined by five points or more from Obama 2012, or where Trump did at least five points better than Mitt Romney 2012, Obama carried all but one of them in 2012. The exception was **Rep. Collin Peterson's (D) MN-7**, which was and still is the most Republican district held by any Democrat. However, MN-7 went from a district Romney won by about 10 points to one Trump carried by more than 30. All told, Trump flipped several of these districts, with the biggest change coming in **Rep. Matt Cartwright's (D) PA-17**: Obama's 12-point win turned into a sizable 10-point victory for Trump. Two other Minnesota districts with Democratic incumbents, **MN-8 (Rick Nolan)** and **MN-1 (Tim Walz)**, also swung heavily to Trump, and both Nolan and Walz only barely won reelection. In Nolan's case, that wasn't a shock -- both parties heavily targeted his seat -- but Walz's close call was surprising. Nolan and Walz are both reportedly considering entering the already-crowded Democratic primary for governor. If either of them jump, or if Peterson retires after flirting with the idea the past few cycles, their districts very well could be relatively easy pickups for the Republicans. **Rep. Cheri Bustos (D, IL-17)** is also a possible gubernatorial candidate, and her district would be another tantalizing option for Republicans if it was open. Former Rep. Bobby Schilling (R) used to hold the seat, but Bustos, with an assist from redistricting, beat him in both 2012 and 2014. But when Illinois Democrats drew the seat at the start of the decade, they probably didn't think a GOP presidential candidate would be able to win it in 2016, but that's exactly what happened, even though Bustos won reelection easily.

Overall, demographics help explain why these districts moved toward Trump in 2016: All but two of the districts on this list either have lower-than-average minority populations or lower-than-average numbers of college graduates -- the exceptions were **HI-1 (Colleen Hanabusa)** and **NJ-6 (Frank Pallone)**. The absence of favorite son Barack Obama from the Democratic ticket probably explains Clinton's big drop-offs in both Hawaii districts (she still easily won both districts and the state as a whole). Trump's improvement on Romney in Pallone's affluent, diverse, and highly-educated district is a little harder to

explain -- Democratic performance there might have been overinflated in 2012 because some of the district's Republican areas were hit hard by Hurricane Sandy just prior to that election -- although Clinton's overall 16-point win doesn't indicate the district really is in play. Another fluky "district" on this list is Vermont's statewide at-large seat, held by **Rep. Peter Welch (D)**. Clinton ran 10 points behind Obama in lily white and highly-educated Vermont, but Trump also did slightly worse than Romney -- the rest of the votes went to third-party candidates, including home-state Sen. Bernie Sanders, [who won 6% of the state's votes as a write-in](#).

Ultimately, Republicans might pick a handful of these districts to run well-funded challenges in 2018, particularly the ones in the Trump Belt that the president carried last year. If they could pick off one or more of them -- and if any of the incumbents retire from a Trump-won district, that becomes a very real possibility -- it would insulate them from potential losses elsewhere.

### Conclusion

Just because the presidential results swung so wildly in so many congressional districts does not necessarily mean that the incumbents in those seats will truly be vulnerable in 2018 or beyond. Incumbency is still quite helpful in winning elections, and the 2016 election -- which featured two unpopular presidential candidates and a Republican, in President Trump, who was massively different, at least in terms of style, from previous GOP nominees -- might be something of an outlier that doesn't truly translate down the ballot.

But as the two parties sort out their targets for 2018, they'll be intently studying many of the districts on the two lists above, and also the districts where their party's presidential candidate won but the other party holds the seat.

We're a long way away from knowing which districts will get the most attention in 2018, but if the DCCC's early list is any indication, the changes in the presidential results are prompting Democrats to consider new places to play offense. And we suspect the National Republican Congressional Committee will be targeting some new turf in 2018, too, spurred on by the shifting politics in many districts across the country.

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### Read the fine print

Learn more about the *Crystal Ball* and find out how to contact them [here](#).

[Sign up](#) to receive *Crystal Ball* e-mails like this one delivered straight to your inbox.

Use caution with Sabato's *Crystal Ball*, and remember: "He who lives by the Crystal Ball ends up eating ground glass!" Reprinted with permission.

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<http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball>

**OUT NOW: TRUMPED: POLLING IN THE 2016 ELECTION AND WHAT IT MEANS GOING FORWARD**

**The UVA Center for Politics' book on the wild 2016 election**

In 2016, Donald Trump broke almost all the rules of politics to win the Republican nomination and to edge out heavily favored Hillary Clinton in the general election. In *Trumped: The 2016 Election That Broke All the Rules*, respected journalists, analysts, and scholars examine every facet of the stunning 2016 election. Each contributor offers insight that goes beyond the headlines and dives into the underlying forces that drove the election from its earliest developments to its dramatic conclusion.

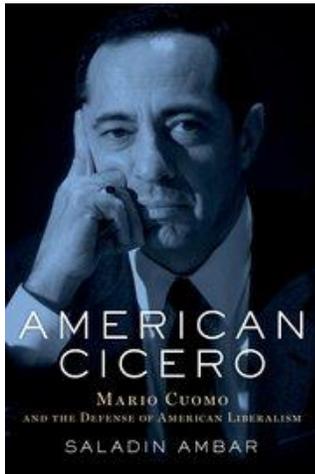
Chapters from the following contributors include:

1. Larry J. Sabato, Director of the UVA Center for Politics, provides an overview of the election;
2. David Byler of *RealClearPolitics* explores the 2016 demographic electoral coalitions;
3. Geoffrey Skelley, Associate Editor of *Sabato's Crystal Ball*, looks at the Senate and gubernatorial elections;
4. Kyle Kondik, Managing Editor of *Sabato's Crystal Ball*, reviews the 2016 House race;
5. Rhodes Cook, a former political writer for *CQ Weekly*, delves into the 2016 presidential primary data;
6. Robert Costa of the *Washington Post* examines the Republican Party and its primary contest;
7. Greg Sargent of the *Washington Post* ponders the Democratic Party and its primary race;
8. Matt A. Barreto, Thomas F. Schaller, and Gary Segura of Latino Decisions scrutinize the Latino vote;
9. Ronald B. Rapoport of the College of William & Mary and Walter J. Stone of UC Davis investigate the sources of Trump's support;
10. Ariel Edwards-Levy, Natalie Jackson, and Janie Velencia of *Huffington Post* review the polls and what went wrong;
11. Diana Owen of Georgetown University examines the role of the media in the election;
12. Michael Toner, a former FEC chair, and Karen Trainer, a former FEC analyst, look at campaign finance in 2016;
13. Alan I. Abramowitz of Emory University looks at racial resentment and the election;
14. Sean Trende of *RealClearPolitics* explores how the "emerging Democratic majority" didn't emerge;
15. Susan A. MacManus of the University of South Florida and Anthony A. Cilluffo of the Pew Research Center offer 10 takeaways from the election and look beyond 2016.

## Books Published by WPSA Members, 2015-2017

The WPSA brings together academics from a wide range of scholarly interests. To honor the work of our members, we regularly present a list of recently published books. Taking a look through this list gives a small hint at the broad scholarly diversity of our membership. If you have had a book recently published, or one that is about to be released, we would like to know. Please send a complete citation to Richard Clucas at [hprc@pdx.edu](mailto:hprc@pdx.edu).

Ambar, Saladin. *American Cicero: Mario Cuomo and the Defense of American Liberalism*. Oxford University Press, 2017.



Armoudian, Maria. *Reporting from the Danger Zone: Frontline Journalists, Their Jobs, and an Increasingly Perilous Future*. Routledge/Taylor & Francis, 2017.

Ascher, Ivan. *Portfolio Society: On the Capitalist Mode of Prediction*. Zone Books, 2016.

Aslam, Ali. *Ordinary Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Ayoub, Phillip M. *When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility*. New York Cambridge Press, 2016.

Carlisle, Juliet E., Jessica T. Feezell, Kristy E. H. Michaud, and Eric R. A. N Smith. *The Politics of Energy Crises*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Comella, Lynn, and Shira Tarrant, eds. *New Views on Pornography: Sexuality, Politics, and the Law*. Praeger, 2015.

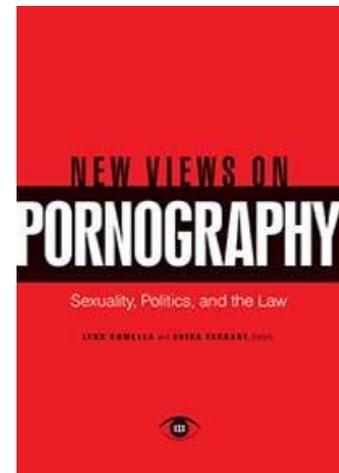
Cramer, Renee Ann. *Pregnant with the Stars: Watching and Wanting the Celebrity Baby Bump*. Stanford University Press, 2015.

Ellis, Richard J. *Development of the American Presidency*, 2nd ed. Routledge, 2015.

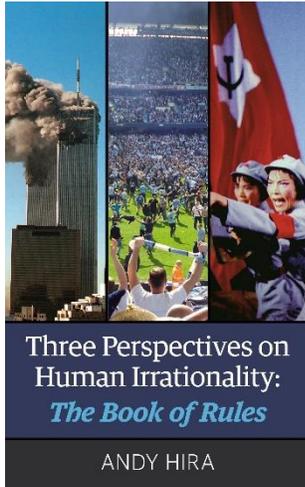
Engster, Daniel, and Maurice Hamington, eds. *Care Ethics and Political Theory*. Oxford University Press, 2015.

Gabrielson, Teena, Cheryl Hall, John M. Meyer, and David Schlosberg, eds. *Oxford Handbook of Environmental Political Theory*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Genovese, Michael A., and David Gray Adler. *The War Power in an Age of Terrorism: Debating Presidential Power*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.



Hira, Anil. [\*The Book of Rules: Three Perspectives on Human Irrationality\*](#). The Book Guild, 2015.



Hooker, Juliet. [\*Theorizing Race in the Americas: Douglass, Sarmiento, DuBois and Vasconcelos\*](#). Oxford University Press, 2017 (forthcoming).

Kotef, Hagar. [\*Movement and the Ordering of Freedom on Liberal Governances of Mobility\*](#). Duke University Press, 2015.

Mello, Joseph. [\*The Courts, the Ballot Box, and Gay Rights: How our Governing Institutions Shape the Same-Sex Marriage Debate\*](#). University Press of Kansas, 2016.

Meyers, John M. [\*Engaging the Everyday: Environmental Social Criticism and the Resonance Dilemma\*](#). MIT Press, 2015.

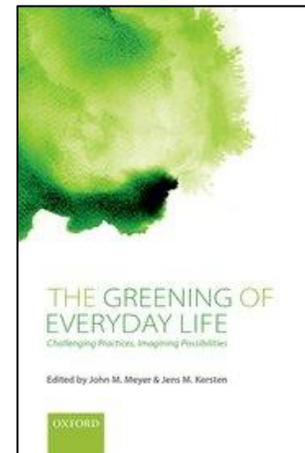
Meyers, John M., and Jens M. Kersten, eds. [\*The Greening of Everyday Life: Challenging Practices, Imagining Possibilities\*](#). Oxford University Press, 2016.

Moore, Matthew J. [\*Buddhism and Political Theory\*](#). Oxford University Press, 2016 (forthcoming).

Schram, Sanford F. [\*The Return of Ordinary Capitalism: Neoliberalism, Precarity, Occupy\*](#). Oxford University Press, 2015.

Spitzer, Robert J. [\*Guns across America: Reconciling Gun Rules and Rights\*](#). Oxford University Press, 2015.

Von Hagel, Alisa and Daniela Mansbauch. [\*Reproductive Rights in the Age of Human Rights: Pro-Life Politics from Roe to Hobby Lobby\*](#). Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.



# Opportunities for Members

## Call for Reviewers: *Vernon Press*

Do you enjoy reading books in economics, social science, humanities? Join our community of book reviewers! To join you must be an expert in one of the areas we publish ( <https://vernonpress.com/> ) and be prepared to review at least one book every two years:

### Benefits of joining

- \* Get to read and keep carefully pre-selected works, including cutting-edge research.
- \* Help fellow scholars develop their work into high-standard, high-impact contributions and be acknowledged for it.
- \* Get advance notice of exciting publication opportunities, occasional competitions and prize draws.
- \* First-time reviewers receive a small honorarium (\$50) and deep discount on other titles.
- \* Experienced scholars may propose new series and receive additional benefits for their role as Editors (subject to publisher approval).
- \* Young scholars receive support from the publisher and fellow community members and gain valuable experience in the process of peer review.

To join please send a brief message expressing interest to: [reviewers.community@vernonpress.com](mailto:reviewers.community@vernonpress.com). In your message please mention your full name, academic affiliation, area(s) of expertise, and provide either a paragraph-long biographical note (and/or) a list of publications.

(More detailed information on this call at:

<https://vernonpress.com/proposal?id=2&uid=a172342947d9d2be39937e1e90524c49> )

***WILPF Women, Peace & Security Research, Monitoring & Communication Fellowships, See full posting here: <http://peacewomen.org/pw-Fellowships>***

The WILPF Women Peace and Security programme is seeking 2017 Fellows/Interns to support our advocacy and contribute to our monitoring, and outreach work on Women Peace and Security. These longer-term Fellowships and shorter-term internships involve working closely with PeaceWomen staff to provide information allowing timely and relevant interventions or advocacy with UN Member States, collecting monitoring information, and engaging with related events and policy discussions through the UN and civil society community.

**DEADLINE:** Rolling, until positions are filled. Please submit your application to: [marina@peacewomen.org](mailto:marina@peacewomen.org). Positions start May or August/September 2017.

**LOCATION:** New York

**MORE INFO:** <http://www.idealists.org/view/internship/hdxhwJWCS7mD/>

**Call for Book Submissions:** *Today's Environmental Issues*, Dr. Teri Walker, Associate Prof, Elmhurst College, IL.

I am honored and excited to be the editor of a new book (scheduled for release in 2017), *Today's Environmental Issues: Democrats and Republicans*. This book will be a part of the Politics, Government, and Contemporary Issues section of the ABC-CLIO publishing company. ABC-CLIO recently launched a new series devoted to exploring prevailing Republican and Democratic positions on the most pressing issues of the day. This particular volume will examine the proposals and positions of the two parties in the realm of environmental policy.

This work will sort through the rhetorical clutter and partisan distortions that typify so many disputes between Republicans and Democrats to provide an accurate, balanced, and evenhanded overview of the parties' respective policy positions and attitudes on the most important environmental issues and challenges facing the United States in the 21st century. It will also document differences of opinion WITHIN the parties where present. Each chapter will feature actual quotes from conservative and liberal party leaders, think tanks, media figures, public opinion poll results, and other valuable information to enhance its coverage of the philosophies and records of the two parties on diverse environmental topics.

The book is composed of approximately 40 entries/essays, each of which will explore an issue of concern in environmental policy, articulating both the profound disagreements and the areas of common ground between the two parties. I am soliciting for several more scholars to write on the following topics:

Indoor Air Pollution | Outdoor Air Pollution | Marine Pollution | Freshwater Pollution (or combination of fresh and marine) | Grazing | Ranging | Off-Road Vehicles/Snowmobiling | Genetically Modified foods and crops | Geothermal Energy | Water Energy | Transportation | Hazardous Waste Disposal | E-waste

I am pleased to invite you to write an essay (3500 words) for inclusion in this volume. Note, that with the approval of the editor, you are welcome to identify the issue(s) of your choice. I have attached a more detailed overview of the project for your review. It includes: (1) and essay requirements; and (2) basic guidelines for each entry. The deadline for your essay would be **May 1, 2017**.

If this project is of interest to you, I would be happy to discuss it further or answer any questions you may have. Please contact me via email: [twalker@elmhurst.edu](mailto:twalker@elmhurst.edu).

### ***Signs Special Issue: Gender and the Rise of the Global Right***

As political events across the world have made clear, the right wing is ascendant: from the election of Donald J. Trump in the United States; to the Brexit victory in the United Kingdom; to the rise of rise of rightist, nationalist, anti-immigrant, and neo-Nazi parties across Europe; to the election of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party in India; to the Philippine president's professed admiration for Adolf Hitler; to the impeachment of a democratically elected woman leader in Brazil; to the military coup and gendered crackdown in Egypt; to the virulently antigay legislation in Uganda, in which US-based Christian evangelicals played no small role. Far less studied are the myriad ways in which the global Right represents a particular politics of gender.

Indeed, backlash against perceived shifts in gender and sexual norms may have partly spurred the Right's rise. And right-wing movements have often justified themselves by invoking gender and sexuality—whether through a desire to return to or preserve “tradition” and “shared values” or by stoking anxieties about the sexual threats represented by racial, foreign, or religious others.

Possible areas of focus might include:

- The gender politics of local right-wing resurgences, the transnational linkages among them, and comparative critiques of their cultures, discourses, and modes of organizing, funding, coordination, and transmission.
- Comparisons of the present moment with past historical shifts, such as the colonial encounter, and their gendered implications for the postcolonial present.
- The fault lines within right-wing gender politics, in which racialization determines which women are to be protected and which are threats, to be deported, jailed, or “liberated.”
- The role of religion and religious actors in right-wing politics, and the gendered agendas they advance.
- The Right's use of the language of women's rights, human rights, LGBT rights, or other rights discourses; the role of right-wing women in dignifying, legitimating, and speaking for their movements.
- Right-wing attacks on women's and gender studies; efforts to discredit the field and establish right-wing ideologues in academic settings.
- Gendered life under repressive regimes; the role of networks, undergrounds, and samizdat.
- The media politics and cyberpolitics of the Right; the discursive structures of mainstream and social media; the gendered phenomenon of the internet troll.
- The interrelations between various gender-related crusades (e.g., the transnational antichoice movement, resistance against LGBT rights, the introduction of transphobic policies, efforts to stop anti-violence legislation).
- Right-wing masculinities (e.g., fathers' movements, men's-rights movements, militarist gender ideologies, and constructions of boyhood).
- Links between the gendered effects of global economic crises or structural adjustments and the rise of the Right.
- The representational politics of the global Right, in literature, film, music, art, and popular culture; representations and works of literature that resist, subvert, and push back against the arguments of the new Right and its normalizers.

*Signs* particularly encourages transdisciplinary and transnational essays that address substantive feminist questions, debates, and controversies without employing disciplinary or academic jargon. We welcome essays that make a forceful case for why the global rise of the Right demands a specific and thoughtfully formulated interdisciplinary feminist analysis and why it demands our attention now. We seek essays that are passionate, strongly argued, and willing to take risks. The issue will be co-edited by Agnieszka Graff, associate professor at the Center for American Studies at the University of Warsaw; Ratna Kapur, visiting professor of law at Queen Mary University of London; and Suzanna Danuta Walters, *Signs* editor in chief and professor of sociology and women's, gender, and sexuality studies at Northeastern University.

The deadline for submissions is September 15, 2017. Please submit full manuscripts electronically through [Editorial Manager](#). Manuscripts must conform to the [guidelines for submission](#).

# Upcoming Events

## **Current 21 Conference**

May 4th-6th, Prague

The primary goal of the conference is to create ideal conditions for the exchange, comparison and synthesis of knowledge, information and ideas in the areas of politics and economics.

The intention is to discuss the current expert topics having an impact throughout the entire society. At the conference, the participant will receive international peer-reviewed proceedings containing the papers of all speakers and other authors, which is an exclusive expert deliverable output to be used further in practice. The conference participants will have an opportunity to confront their opinions and views with others and to acquire new contacts. Come and listen to the opinions, be there to discuss and reflect on the topics that are particularly sensitive and up-to-date for the modern society! More information can be found at [current21.com](http://current21.com)

## **In Memoriam**

As some of you might know, we were saddened to learn of [Dr. Mark Sawyer's passing](#). He has impacted many of his peers and students and his scholarly work and tireless advocacy proved germinal in the founding of UCLA's African American Studies. Mark is survived by his wife, Dr. Celia Lacayo and their daughter, Nina. Mark you will be missed!

# Save the Date!

## WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION 2018 ANNUAL MEETING

March 29 - 31, 2018, Hyatt Regency Hotel  
San Francisco, California

The Western Political Science Association will host its 2018 annual meeting at the Hyatt Regency San Francisco. The DEADLINE for submission of paper proposals/program participation forms will be September 15, 2017. If you are interested in shaping the content of the program by serving as a section chair, please contact:

Jane Junn  
2018 WPSA Program Chair  
University of Southern California  
Email: [junn@usc.edu](mailto:junn@usc.edu)

### Theme: Contested Truth

Political scientists are faced with the task of teaching, learning, analyzing, and writing about politics in a new era of contested truth. While politics has always been conducted in the midst of arguments over facts, recent developments in information technology and political leadership in the United States and across the globe highlight the contemporary relevance of contested truth in advanced democracies as well as dictatorships and other authoritarian regimes. From the invention of “alternative facts” to the invocation of unsubstantiated claims among other contested truths, I invite you to participate by presenting a scholarly paper or a work of pedagogical method. What are the analytical and conceptual contours of facts and truth in politics? How and why do political leaders, analysts, and commentators utilize alternative truths and to what ends? Why and how do students and citizens analyze the contestation of fact, and what strategies can they utilize to contribute to political truth?



[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:San\\_Francisco\\_\(Evening\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:San_Francisco_(Evening).jpg)

If you are interested in submitting to *The Western*, please email the co-editors at  
[jaragon@uvic.ca](mailto:jaragon@uvic.ca) or [dlemi001@ucr.edu](mailto:dlemi001@ucr.edu)