

Carolyn E. Holmes
Curriculum Vita

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Academic Positions

Fall 2023-Pres.	Assistant Professor of Political Science University of Tennessee, Knoxville
Fall 2016-Spring 2023	Assistant Professor of Political Science and Public Administration, Affiliated Faculty in the African American Studies Program Mississippi State University, Starkville, Mississippi
2015-2016	Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania
Summer 2015	Visiting Assistant Professor of International Relations Webster University, Accra, Ghana

Education:

Ph.D., Indiana University, Bloomington Department of Political Science Primary Field: Comparative Politics Secondary Field: Political Philosophy Minor: African Studies Dissertation Title: <i>The Black and White Rainbow: Reconciliation, Opposition and Nation Building in Democratic South Africa</i>	2007-2015
B.A., Honors, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana Political Science and African History Honors Thesis: <i>Exploring the Disconnect: AIDS in South Africa in an Age of Information</i>	2002-2006

Research Interests:

State Legitimacy; Southern Africa; Post-Conflict Reconciliation; Nationalism; Gender and Race Theories; Political Ethnography and Qualitative Methods; Nation Building

Book:

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2020. *The Black and White Rainbow: Reconciliation, Opposition, and Nation-Building in Democratic South Africa*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Abstract:

Nation-building imperatives compel citizens to focus on what makes them similar and what binds them together, forgetting what makes them different. Democratic institution building, on the other hand, requires fostering opposition through conducting multi-

party elections and encouraging debate. Leaders of democratic factions, like parties or interest groups, can consolidate their power by emphasizing difference. But when held in tension, these two impulses—toward remembering difference and forgetting it, between focusing on unity and encouraging division—are mutually constitutive of sustainable democracy. Based on ethnographic and interview-based fieldwork conducted in 2012-2013, the book explores various themes of nation- and democracy-building, including the emotional and banal content of symbols of the post-apartheid state, the ways that gender and race condition nascent nationalism, the public performance of nationalism and other group-based identities, integration and sharing of space, language diversity, and the role of democratic functioning including party politics and modes of opposition. Each of these thematic chapters aims to explicate a feature of the multifaceted nature of identity-building, and link the South African case to broader literatures on both nationalism and democracy.

Reviewed By:

- The Monkey Cage African Politics Summer Reading Spectacular
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/07/16/announcing-8th-annual-tmc-african-politics-summer-reading-spectacular/>
- Perspectives on Politics
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/perspectives-on-politics/article/abs/black-and-white-rainbow-reconciliation-opposition-and-nationbuilding-in-democratic-south-africa-by-carolyn-e-holmes-ann-arbor-university-of-michigan-press-2020-264p-7500-cloth-29>
- New Books Network:
<https://newbooksnetwork.com/the-black-and-white-rainbow>
- Choice Reviews from the Association of College and Research Libraries
https://www.press.umich.edu/11518321/black_and_white_rainbow

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles:

- Broache, M. P., Carolyn E. Holmes, and Sherry Zaks. Forthcoming. "Political Science after the Insurrection: Teaching about Democratic Backsliding in US Classrooms." *Journal of Political Science Education*.
- Rigney, Maeve, and Carolyn E Holmes. 2023. "Is 'White Nationalism', Nationalism?" *Nations and Nationalism* 29 (2): 512–27.
- Holmes, Carolyn E. 2022. "Victimhood Gone Viral: Portrayals of Extra-Lethal Violence and the Solidarity of Victims in the Case of South African Farm Violence Activists." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 10 (3): 367–87.
- Holmes, Carolyn E. 2021. "Standing Out and Blending In: Contact-Based Research, Ethics, and Positionality." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 54 (3): 443–47.
- Banerjee, Vasabjit, and Carolyn E. Holmes. 2020. "Checking Trust: Observing Social Capital at the Individual Level." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 58 (2): 213–34.
- Holmes, Carolyn E. 2019. "The Politics of 'Non-Political' Activism in Democratic South Africa." *Comparative Politics* 51 (4): 561–80.

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2019. "Conventions, Courts, and Communities: Gender Equity, CEDAW and Religious Personal Law in India." *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 54(7): 965–979.

Rich, Timothy S., and Carolyn E. Holmes. 2016. "Winning Is Not Everything: Public Perceptions of Losers and Non-Voters in South Africa." *Acta Politica* 51 (3): 328–45.

Holmes, Carolyn E., and Melanie Loehwing. 2016. "Icons of the Old Regime: Challenging South African Public Memory Strategies in #RhodesMustFall." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42 (6): 1207–23.

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2015. "Marikana in Translation: Print Nationalism in South Africa's Multilingual Press." *African Affairs* 114 (455): 271–94.

Shoup, Brian D., and Carolyn E. Holmes. 2013. "Recrafting the National Imaginary and the New 'Vanguardism.'" *Democratization* 21 (5): 1–21.

Holmes, Carolyn E., and Brian D. Shoup. 2013. "Framing the Democratic Narrative: Local and National Voting Patterns in South Africa." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 51 (1): 56–75.

Book Chapters:

Sawyer, Amos, Lauren Maclean, and Carolyn E. Holmes. 2014. "African Politics and the Future of Democracy." In *Africa, Fourth Edition*, edited by John H. Hanson, Patrick O'Meara, and Maria Grosz-Ngate, 250–74. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Book Reviews:

Holmes, Carolyn E. Forthcoming "What Went Right? South African Democracy and the Study of Political Science" *Political Studies Quarterly*.

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2020. "Contradictions of Democracy: Vigilantism and Rights in Post-Apartheid South Africa. By Nicholas Rush Smith. New York: Oxford University Press. 2019. 244p. \$99.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper." *Perspectives on Politics* 18 (1): 305-307.

Popular Media:

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2022. "Two New Books Take Different Roads to Understand South Africa." *Washington Post*, August 26, 2022.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/08/26/south-africa-post-apartheid/>.

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2021. "Analysis | Archbishop Tutu's Radical Commitment to Humanity Led Him to Criticize Parties, People and Institutions." *Washington Post*.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/12/27/archbishop-tutus-radical-commitment-humanity-led-him-criticize-parties-people-institutions/>.

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2021. "Why South Africans Are Protesting the Arrest of Former President Jacob Zuma." *Washington Post, The Monkey Cage*, July 14, 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/07/14/why-south-africans-are-protesting-arrest-former-president-jacob-zuma/>.

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2019. "The Ideology of Xenophobia in South Africa." *Mischiefs of Faction*, September 18, 2019. <https://www.mischiefsoffaction.com/post/the-ideology-of-xenophobia-in-south-africa>.

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2019. "What's behind South Africa's Xenophobic Violence Last Week?" *Washington Post*, 9 September 2019, sec. Monkey Cage. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/09/09/whats-behind-south-africas-xenophobic-violence-last-week/>.

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2019. "Tucker Carlson, Those South African White Rights Activists Aren't Telling You the Whole Truth." *Washington Post*, May 15, 2019, sec. Monkey Cage. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/05/15/tucker-carlson-those-south-african-white-rights-activists-arent-telling-you-whole-truth/>.

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2017. "Should Confederate Monuments Come down? Here's What South Africa Did after Apartheid." *Washington Post*, August 29, 2017, sec. Monkey Cage. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/08/29/should-confederate-monuments-come-down-heres-what-south-africa-did-after-apartheid/>.

Online Publications:

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2021. "Digital Fieldwork, and the Case for Studying Misinformation as Information." *Digital Fieldwork Project*, April 29, 2021. <https://sigla.georgetown.domains/digitalfieldwork/digital-fieldwork-and-the-case-for-studying-misinformation-as-information/>.

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2015 "The Language of Politics in South Africa." *Democracy in Africa*. 18 July. Available: <http://democracyinafrica.org/the-language-of-politics-in-south-africa/>

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2015. "The Qualitative Data Repository: The Opportunities and Challenges of Sharing Qualitative Field Data." *African Politics Conference Group Newsletter* 11(1): 10-11. Available: http://africanpoliticsgroup.org/wp/wpcontent/uploads/2015/03/APCG_Newsletter11_1.pdf

Holmes, Carolyn E. 2012. "United in Diversity or Divided in Difference: Belonging and Opposition in Democratic South Africa." *Southern African Peace and Security Studies* 1(2): 4-19. Available: <http://saccps.org/journal1-2.html>

Grants, Fellowships and Awards:

American Political Science Association Special Projects Grant, to host second descriptive research conference, 2022-2023

American Political Science Association Centennial Center Grant, to host conference “Just Telling it Like it is: Descriptive Work and Social Science Research,” 2021-2022

American Political Science Association Women’s Research Mentoring Workshop Participant, October 2018

Outstanding Undergraduate Teacher of the Year, 2018, Mississippi State University Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Katherine C. Greenough Award for Outstanding Dissertation, Indiana University Department of Political Science, 2016

Carleton T. Hodge Prize for Excellence in African Studies, Indiana University African Studies Program, 2014

Institute for International Education and Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Dissertation Fellowship for Overseas Study, 2012-2013

Institute for Qualitative and Multi-method Research Scholar, IQMR Consortium, June 13-24, 2011

Fulbright-Hays Graduate Program Abroad, Advanced Zulu Language, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, Summer 2008

Dean’s First Year Fellowship, Indiana University, Bloomington, 2007-2008

Selected Invited Talks:

“A White researcher in South Africa: Reflection of Positionality” SPARK Talk, Zoom Talk, McMaster University, 1 April 2022.

“What makes “us?”: Nation Building and Democratization in South Africa after Mandela” Mississippi State University Honors College, 18 October 2021.

“What makes “us?”: Nation Building and Democratization in South Africa after Mandela” Boston University African Studies Center, Zoom Talk, 27 September 2021.

“The Black and White Rainbow” City College of New York, Department of Political Science, Zoom Talk, 4 April 2021.

“The Black and White Rainbow” Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Zoom Talk, Department of Political Science, Zoom Talk, 18 March 2021.

“Mis/DisInformation and Digital Ethnography” Methods Clinic, Interpretive Methods and Methodologies Section of the American Political Science Association, Zoom Talk, 19 February 2021.

Selected Conference Participation:

Presenter. "Challengers in a Pandemic: COVID-19, States of Exception and Opposition Parties in Southern Africa." Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting 2022.

Presenter. "From Poor White to White Victims: South Africa, the United States, and the Consolidation of White Rule in the 19th-21st Centuries." Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting 2022

Presenter. "Interpretation and the Sciences of Man: A reflection on Charles Taylor's Work" Roundtable. Presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2022.

Presenter. "Fighting Back: Rural Populism and Opposition Parties in the 2019 South African General Election" Presented at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Virtual Format, September 2020.

Presenter. "White Victimhood Gone Viral: South African Farm Violence Activists" Presented at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2019, Washington, DC.

Presenter. "State of the Discipline: Authoritarianism, Back-sliding and Democratic Transitions." American Political Science Association Teaching Symposium on Comparative Politics, Washington, DC, May 2019.

Participant. The Monkey Cage New Contributors Workshop, at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Diego, California, April 2019.

Presenter. "The Currency of Claiming Victimhood: Farm Murders, Activism and the International Alt-Right Narrative of White Genocide." Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 2018.

Presenter. "Purity as Protection: Abstinence-focused discourses of security and contamination in the revival of Umkhosi womHlanga in South Africa." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2018.

Presenter. "Riots and Repercussions: Vernacular language media and coverage of the 2002 violence in Gujarat." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2018.

Discussant. Colonialism and Historical Legacies in Comparative Perspective Panel. Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2018.

Presenter. “Measuring Social Capital at the Intersection of Individuals and Society.” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2017.

Chair and Discussant. Collective Action: Identity and Movement Panel. Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2017.

Discussant. Political Development: African Politics Panel. Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2017.

Presenter. ““We don’t do politics. We are Activists”: The Rejection of the Political and the Culture of South African Democracy” Presented at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2016, Philadelphia, PA.

Presenter. “Competing Visions of Post-Transitional Citizenship: The Quest for Representation in South African Memorialization” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 2016.

Presenter. Roundtable: Opportunities to Design and Teach Introduction to Comparative Politics that Promote Engagement and Deep Understanding. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 2016.

Presenter. “Checking Trust: Observing Social Capital at the Individual Level” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, August 2015.

Presenter. “We don’t do politics. We are Activists”: The Rejection of the Political and the Culture of South African Democracy” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 2015.

Presenter. “Icons of the old regime: Negotiating collective memory through apartheid-era statuary in post-apartheid South Africa.” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 2015.

Discussant. Symbolism and Ideologies Panel, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, 2015.

Teaching Experience

Mississippi State University (Starkville, Mississippi)

African Politics	Undergraduate/Graduate Course
Third World Politics	Undergraduate/Graduate Course
Comparative Government	Undergraduate Course

Bucknell University (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania)

Comparative Politics	Undergraduate Course
Third World Politics	Undergraduate Course
Nationalism: East and West	Undergraduate Course

Webster University (Accra, Ghana)
Nationalism Graduate Course
Research Methods Graduate Course

Indiana University (Bloomington, Indiana)
Pols of Gender & Sexuality Undergraduate Course

Other Academic/Research Experience:

Lateral Coder and Country Expert for Southern Africa, V-Dem: Varieties of Democracy Project, Winter-Spring 2014

Research Assistant to Dr. Jean Robinson, Summer 2010-May 2012, June 2013-May 2015

Comparative Politics Editorial Assistant, Perspectives on Politics, a journal of the American Political Science Association, 2008-2010

Service to the Discipline:

Democracy and Autocracy, APSA Section Secretary, 2022-2024.

Virtual Community Co-Chair, Interpretive Methods, Western Political Science Association, 2021-2022.

Section Chair, Developing Areas in Comparative Politics, Southern Political Science Association, 2021-2022.

Facilitator, Interpretive Methods Virtual Community, Western Political Science Association, 2021

Contributing Editor, Journal for Contemporary History/Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis.

Reviewer, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Acta Politica*, *Politikon*, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *African Affairs*

Research Skills:

Languages:

isiZulu - Advanced Written and Spoken Proficiency 8 semesters of classes and 12+ months of immersion experience

Afrikaans - Intermediate Written and Spoken Proficiency 4 semesters of private tutoring, and 7+ months immersion experience

Spanish - Intermediate Written and Spoken Proficiency 10 semesters of classes

French - Basic Written and Spoken Proficiency 4 semesters of classes

Data Analysis:

Statistical Methods- OLS, MLE

Programs: Stata, Excel

Qualitative Methods and Field Ethics Training

Programs: Atlas.ti

Methodological Expertise: Interview Methods, Ethnography, Open-ended survey,
Ordinary language interviewing, Discourse analysis