

Caleb H. Schmutter

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EDUCATION

<i>George Washington University</i> , Columbian College of Arts & Sciences	Washington, DC
Ph.D. in Political Science (Comparative Politics & Research Methods)	2025
Dissertation: Boundaries of Belonging – The Structure and Stability of Ethnic Identity	
Committee: Henry Hale (Chair), Eric Kramon, Janet I. Lewis	
M.Phil. in Political Science	2022
<i>American University</i> , School of International Service	Washington, DC
M.A. in International Peace & Conflict Resolution	2018
<i>Drake University</i> , College of Arts & Sciences	Des Moines, IA
B.A. in International Relations; Politics (Double Major)	2013
B.S. in Biochemistry, Cell, Molecular Biology (with Chemistry minor)	2013

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

ST. OLAF COLLEGE, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

- Visiting Assistant Professor, 2025-present

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

- Instructor of Record, 2023-2025

GUANGXI NORMAL UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE OF INTERNATIONAL CULTURE AND EDUCATION

- Foreign Teacher, 2013-2015

TEACHING & CURRICULAR DEVELOPMENT

Courses Taught as Instructor of Record

“Analyzing Politics,” St. Olaf College, Fall 2025, Spring 2026, Fall 2026. This required sophomore-level course for political science undergraduate majors introduces students to a wide swath of methodological approaches used in political science research, including case studies, ethnography, archival research, content analysis, surveys, experiments, statistical modeling and inference, and an introduction to the mechanics of working with the statistical software program R.

“World Politics,” St. Olaf College, Fall 2025, Fall 2026. Sophomore-level course for undergraduate concentration in international relations. This course focuses on the strategies, dynamics, and dilemmas of international negotiation, building students’ own negotiation skills through in-class simulations and developing their ability to analyze the successes and failures of international diplomacy across a variety of policy areas.

“Tyrants, Demagogues, and Democrats: Athens & India at Critical Junctures,” St. Olaf College, Spring 2026; George Washington University, Fall 2023. Taught as an open elective and as a first-year seminar for incoming undergraduate students. This course explores the tensions between majority rule and minority rights, democracy and empire, and competing visions of the nation by comparing the experience of Athens in 403 BCE and India in 1945.

“Blood Runs Thicker: Descent-Based Identities in Global Perspective,” St. Olaf College, January Term 2026. This seminar explores how scholars and laypeople alike conceptualize and measure descent-based identities such as ethnicity, race, nationality, caste, and indigeneity, as well as how these identities shape social and political life.

“Maladroit Monarchs: Tradition vs Reform in China and England,” George Washington University, Spring 2025. Capstone course for political science undergraduate majors. This course draws on simulations of England under Henry VIII during the Reformation Parliament (1529-1536) and China during the succession crisis of the Wanli Emperor (1587) to explore the role of absolute monarchs, the influence of major philosophical texts, and the successes and failures of reform movements.

“Scope and Methods of Political Science,” George Washington University, Summer 2023, Summer 2024, Summer 2025. This required course for all political science majors introduces students to the basics of data visualization, statistical modeling and inference, and the mechanics of working with the popular statistical software program R.

“The Threshold of Democracy: Athens in 403 B.C.,” Guangxi Normal University, Spring 2015. Elective course open to all undergraduate and graduate students. Course developed by Josiah Ober, Naomi J. Norman, and Mark C. Carnes as a part of the Reacting to the Past initiative started at Barnard College. This course centers on the tensions between elitism, democracy, Socratic thought, empire, and political evolution.

“English Speaking 4,” Guangxi Normal University, Spring 2015. Second semester sophomore course. This course is designed to address common English pronunciation issues for native Mandarin Chinese speakers. Introduces students to dialectic differences through English music and art.

“Women’s Choir,” Guangxi Normal University, Spring 2015. Elective course open to all undergraduate and graduate students. Students rehearsed three popular English songs over the course of the semester, culminating with a performance at the Welcome Ceremony for first-year students.

“English Speaking 3,” Guangxi Normal University, Fall 2014, Fall 2013. First semester sophomore course. Course is designed to help students increase their comfort with spoken English in a variety of settings. Heavy emphasis on in-class presentations and role-play scenarios.

“English Writing 1,” Guangxi Normal University, Spring 2014. Second semester freshman course. Focuses on English grammar including parts of speech, sentence structure, and English logic. Heavy emphasis on sentence diagramming as a tool for understanding meaning and the construction of sentences.

“Western Culture,” Guangxi Normal University, Fall 2013. First semester freshman course. Covers the unique culture and history, as well as shared history, values, and systems of government, of six countries where English is spoken as a first language: Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Courses Taught as Teaching Assistant

“Introduction to Comparative Politics,” Teaching Assistant for Prof. Eric Kramon at the Columbian College of Arts & Sciences, Fall 2022, George Washington University. This required course for all political science and international relations students is broken into six segments: the state and its origins; regimes; regime change; political identity; political violence; and the political economy of development. Teaching Assistant responsibilities include leading three weekly discussion sections of approximately 20 students each as well as all performing all grading duties for the students in those sections.

“Introduction to International Affairs,” Teaching Assistant for Prof. Alexander Downes and Prof. Michael Brown at the Elliott School of International Affairs, Fall 2020, Spring 2021, Fall 2021, Spring 2022, Spring 2023, George Washington University. This required course for all Elliott School students is broken into four segments: the major theoretical paradigms in IR; causes of war; the international economy; and current challenges to the international system. Teaching Assistant responsibilities include leading two weekly discussion sections of approximately 30 students each as well as all performing all grading duties for the students in those sections.

“Henry VIII and the Reformation Parliament,” Teaching Assistant for Prof. Elizabeth Robertson at Drake University, Fall 2012. First-year seminar for incoming undergraduate students. Course developed by J. Patrick Coby as a part of the Reacting to the Past initiative started at Barnard College. This course introduces students to four

major strands of the English Reformation, including traditionalist Christianity, reformist Protestantism, Renaissance humanism, and Machiavellian statecraft.

“The Threshold of Democracy: Athens in 403 B.C.,” Teaching Assistant for Prof. Elizabeth Robertson at Drake University, Fall 2012. First-year seminar for incoming undergraduate students. Course developed by Josiah Ober, Naomi J. Norman, and Mark C. Carnes as a part of the Reacting to the Past initiative started at Barnard College. This course centers on the tensions between elitism, democracy, Socratic thought, empire, and political evolution.

“Defining a Nation: India on the Eve of Independence, 1945,” Teaching Assistant for Prof. Elizabeth Robertson at Drake University, Fall 2011, Fall 2010. First-year seminar for incoming undergraduate students. Course developed by Ainslie T. Embree and Mark C. Carnes as a part of the Reacting to the Past initiative started at Barnard College. This course explores religious identity, nation-building, and non-violent movements as they pertained to India during decolonization.

“Confucianism and the Succession Crisis of the Wanli Emperor, 1587,” Teaching Assistant for Prof. Elizabeth Robertson at Drake University, Fall 2011, Fall 2010. First-year seminar for incoming undergraduate students. Course developed by Daniel K. Gardner and Mark C. Carnes as a part of the Reacting to the Past initiative started at Barnard College. This course delves into debates within Confucian thought during the Ming dynasty.

AWARDS & HONORS

Political Science Department Best Instructor of Record, George Washington University | Spring 2025

Best TA Award for an Introductory Course, George Washington University | Fall 2022

Staff Performance Award for Inclusive Excellence, American University | May 2019

Outstanding Team Player, School of International Service | Spring 2018

Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society Inductee | Spring 2013

[C. Walter Clark Award](#), Drake University | April 2013

[E. A. Sheslow Prize for Distinguished Leadership](#), Drake University | April 2012

Pi Sigma Alpha Honor Society Inductee | Spring 2012

Alpha Lambda Delta Honor Society Inductee | Spring 2010

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

“The Dimensions of Ethnicity: Understanding the Cognitive Architecture of Ethnic Group Membership,” *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, 2026, 1-34. <https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2026.10070>

“The Myth of Ethnicity: Understanding the Relationship Between Genotype, Phenotype, and Ethnotype.” *Ethnopolitics*, 2025, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2025.2464506>

WORKING PAPERS

“Can Public Support Insulate High Courts from Court-Curbing? Testing a Comparative Theory with a New Global Dataset,” (invited to revise & resubmit at *Comparative Political Studies*), co-authored with Brandon Bartels and Eric Kramon

“Public Support for the Judiciary around the World: A New Cross-National Measure, 1981-2024,” (invited to revise & resubmit at *Political Science Research and Methods*), co-authored with Brandon Bartels and Eric Kramon

“Fixed or Fluid? Testing the Effects of Institutional Classification on Ethnic Boundaries”

“Defining the Beneficiary: Group Boundaries and the Politics of Affirmative Action Support”

Democratic Erosion Evidence Brief on Court Curbing (report for the [Democratic Erosion Consortium](#))

BOOK PROJECTS

Boundaries of Belonging: The Structure and Stability of Ethnic Identity (in progress)

Develops a comparative account of ethnic boundary formation and state classification, drawing on original survey and conjoint experiments in the United States and fieldwork in progress in India. Chapters draw on “The Dimensions of Ethnicity” (*JREP*, 2026) and “The Myth of Ethnicity” (*Ethnopolitics*, 2025)

Can Courts Count on the Public? [working title] (in progress)

With Brandon Bartels and Eric Kramon, this project develops a Bayesian dynamic latent trait model of public support for high courts in 145 countries, 1981–2024, and tests whether public support insulates courts from political attack. Two papers from this project are under revise-and-resubmit at *Political Science Research and Methods* and *Comparative Political Studies*

ADDITIONAL PUBLICATIONS

“An Inquiry into the Ripple Effect of Coups d’État,” *Journal of International Service*, April 2019 (online)

“Track II Diplomacy: Taking Matters into Your Own Hands,” American University News, 2018. Republished in *Views & News Magazine* with title “A Scholar’s Outreach Through Research and Diplomacy.”

SERVICE & LEADERSHIP

Contributing Member, Working Group on Programming for the 2030 Stiklestad Anniversary

St. Olaf College, Northfield, MN | August 2026 – Present

Reviewer, Social Psychology Quarterly

American Sociological Association, Sage Journals | 2026 – Present

Participant, Non-Tenure Track Faculty Taskforce

St. Olaf College, Northfield, MN | August 2025 – Present

Reviewer, The Journal of Politics

Southern Political Science Association, University of Chicago Press | 2025 – Present

Reviewer, Nationalities Papers

Association for the Study of Nationalities, Cambridge University Press | 2021 – Present

Student Organization Faculty Advisor, Music Appreciation Club

George Washington University, Washington, DC | September 2023 – August 2025

Mentor, Political Science Graduate Student Mentorship Program

George Washington University, Washington, DC | September 2023 – August 2025

Organizing Committee Member, SEIU Local 500

George Washington University, Washington, DC | January 2023 – August 2025

Comparative Politics Representative, Graduate Student Caucus

Columbian College of Arts and Sciences, Washington, DC | July 2020 – July 2021

Member, Dean’s Advisory Council on Diversity & Inclusion

School of International Service, Washington, DC | August 2018 – August 2019

Officer, SIS Staff Council

School of International Service, Washington, DC | July 2018 – August 2019

Member, Harold W. Rosenthal Fellowship in International Relations Nomination Committee

School of International Service, Washington, DC | October 2017 – August 2019

Dialogue Facilitator, AU Connects

School of International Service, Washington, DC | September 2017 – August 2019

Member, DACOR Bacon House Fellowship Selection Committee

School of International Service, Washington, DC | December 2016 – August 2019

Member, World Food Prize Foundation Board of Reviewers

World Food Prize Foundation, Des Moines, IA | May 2016 – January 2018

Member, Dean's Committee on a General MA in Int'l Affairs

School of International Service, Washington, DC | September 2016 – December 2017

CONFERENCES, PRESENTATIONS & INVITED LECTURES

TLC at APSA: Rebuilding Precarious Democracy Through the Classroom (Attendee). 2026 American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Meeting & Exhibition, Boston, MA. September 5th, 2026.

College on the Radio (Interviewee). KYMN Radio, Northfield, MN. February 4th, 2026. <https://kymnradio.net/2026/02/04/st-olaf-college-on-the-radio-week-professor-caleb-schmutter-2-4-26/>

The Thermostatic Effect of Judicial Independence on Public Support for Courts (Presenter). 2025 American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Meeting & Exhibition, Vancouver Convention Centre (VCC), Vancouver, BC. September 13th, 2025.

TLC at APSA: Teaching Politics, Power, and Peoplehood in Crisis Times (Attendee). 2025 American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Meeting & Exhibition, Vancouver Convention Centre (VCC), Vancouver, BC. September 13th, 2025.

Economic Inequality; The Changing Dynamics of Immigration on U.S. Politics (Discussant). Pi Sigma Alpha National Student Research Conference, George Washington University, Washington, DC. February 15th, 2025.

Inducing the Ancient: How Affirmative Action Shapes Ethnic Boundaries (Panelist/Presenter). ISA-Northeast Baltimore 2024 Conference, Hilton Harbor Inn, Baltimore, MD. November 8th, 2024.

TLC at APSA: Teaching Democracy: Reflection, Innovation and Imagination (Attendee). 2024 American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Meeting & Exhibition, Philadelphia Marriott Downtown, Philadelphia, PA. September 7th, 2024.

The Myth of Ethnicity: Understanding the Relationship Between Genotype, Phenotype, and Ethnotype (Panelist/Presenter). 28th Annual World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, NY. May 17th, 2024.

Industrialization and Assimilation: Understanding Ethnic Change in the Modern World by Elliott Green (Discussant). Comparative Politics Colloquium, George Washington University, Washington, DC. March 29th, 2024.

Race, Ethnicity, Immigration, and Politics; Countering Racial Inequalities II (Discussant). Pi Sigma Alpha National Student Research Conference, George Washington University, Washington, DC. February 17th, 2024.

The Endogeneity of Identity Expression in Surveys: Experimental Evidence from Ukraine by Henry Hale (Discussant). DC Area Postcommunist Politics Social Science Workshop, George Washington University, Washington, DC. October 11th, 2023.

The Myth of Ethnicity: Understanding the Relationship Between Genotype, Phenotype, and Ethnotype (Panelist/Presenter). Comparative Politics Colloquium, George Washington University, Washington, DC. October 6th, 2023.

Ethnic Identity (Guest Lecturer). PSC 1001: Introduction to Comparative Politics, George Washington University, Washington, DC. November 7th, 2022.

Finding Meaning in Politics: When Victims Become Activists by Regina Bateson (Discussant). Comparative Politics Colloquium, George Washington University, Washington, DC. October 21st, 2022.

The Myth of Ethnicity: Understanding the Relationship Between Genotype, Phenotype, and Ethnotype (Panelist/Presenter). Section 67: Race, Ethnicity and Politics, 79th Annual MPSA Conference, Chicago, IL. April 9th, 2022.

Graduate Student Workshop on Sponsored Research (Presenter). Graduate Student Caucus Workshop Series, George Washington University, Washington, DC. October 21st, 2021.

What's the Matter with Minnesota? An Investigation of U.S. Census Regions (Presenter). Second Year Paper Colloquium, George Washington University, Washington, DC. September 10th, 2021.

Inducing the Ancient: The Commodification of Ethnic Identity (Presenter). Graduate Research In-Progress Workshop, George Washington University, Washington, DC. January 29th, 2021.

Doing Global Fieldwork: A Social Scientist's Guide To Mixed-Methods Research Far From Home by Jesse Driscoll (Discussant). Comparative Politics Colloquium, George Washington University, Washington, DC. November 6th, 2020.

Grants and Fellowships: How to get them, where to find them, and how they can bolster your scholarly success (Course Instructor). ISA 2019 Career Course, 2019 International Studies Association Convention, Toronto, ON. March 26th, 2019.

Breaking into Power: Gender in Peace Processes (Presenter). 2nd Annual Journal of International Service Symposium, American University, Washington DC. April 20th, 2018.

GRANTS & FELLOWSHIPS

Rapoport Family Foundation, *Doctoral Dissertation Grant*, awarded for 2024-2025

George Washington University, *Dean's Graduate Instructorship*, awarded for Fall 2023

Sawtooth Software, *Academic Grant*, awarded October 2022 for survey and data management services

George Washington University, *Columbian Distinguished Fellow Award*, first awarded in 2019 and renewable for five years

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT & TRAINING

- *American Political Science Association*, APSA Mentoring Program, 2023-2024
- *University of Michigan*, ICPSR Summer Program, 2021
- *USIP Global Campus*, Critical Skills Certificate, 2017
- *USIP Global Campus*, Foundations Certificate in Conflict Management and Peacebuilding, 2017
- *George Mason University*, Advanced Training in Facilitating Problem-Solving Workshops, 2016
- *George Mason University*, Introductory Training in Facilitating Problem-Solving Workshops, 2016
- *Chinese Culture Exchange Program*, TEFL Certification, 2013

PRE-DOCTORAL PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- *Assistant Director for Research Promotion* | American University | Washington, DC | 03/2018 – 08/2019
- *Program Coordinator* | American University | Washington, DC | 07/2016 – 03/2018
- *Alumni Outreach Assistant* | American University | Washington, DC | 08/2015 – 07/2016
- *Deputy Director of International Staff* | Guangxi Normal University | Guilin, China | 08/2014 – 07/2015
- *Symposium Planning Intern* | World Food Prize Foundation | Des Moines, IA | 05/2012 – 05/2013
- *Writing Workshop Tutor & Preceptor* | Drake University | Des Moines, IA | 08/ 2010 – 05/2013