

Center for the Study of Democracy



Organized Research Unit (ORU)
University of California, Irvine
Fall 2003



Willie Brown and James Brulte Celebrate Democracy

The Leadership Council for the Center proudly hosted Mayor Willie Brown of San Francisco and Sen. James Brulte, Republican leader in the CA Senate, to examine California's political future. Brown and Brulte discussed the budgetary problems facing California, the impact of term limits, and the state's future prospects. Curt Pringle, Anaheim Mayor and former Speaker of the California Assembly, served as the moderator.

The event brought together several hundred political and social leaders of Orange County. Rep. Christopher Cox and Rep. Loretta Sanchez served as honorary chairs for the event. Marian Bergeson and JoEllen Allen chaired the event committee.

The event proceeds are funding the Willie Brown and James Brulte fellowships for students studying democracy at the University of California, Irvine.

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY

When the Center's research program began in the early 1990s, the democratic challenge facing the world involved the post-communist transitions in Eastern Europe. The end of the Soviet empire brought freedom and new political opportunities to the region, which have been only partially realized.

Over the next decade, our vision of the democratic challenge has broadened. How far can democracy reach? Can any nation become democratic? Can the whole world become democratic? This was the title of Larry Diamond's Eckstein Lecture in 2003. It reflects the question of the day as the United States is engaged in democracy and nation-building in Iraq.

At the same time, the challenges to democracy at home have become more apparent over the past decade. Political reforms are transforming the democratic process in the United States and other Western democracies, but it is unclear whether these reforms are improving the quality of the democratic process. How can democracy be improved?

These are some of the research themes addressed by the faculty in UCI's Center for the Study of Democracy. The Center sponsors research and education aimed at improving the democratic process in the United States and expanding democracy around the world.

Russell J. Dalton
Director

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Jeane J. Kirkpatrick
Human Rights and Democracy:
The 2002-03 Peltason Lecture

Jeane Kirkpatrick, one of the nation's leading voices on international politics, delivered the 2002-03 Peltason Lecture on Democracy.

Kirkpatrick spoke about the challenges of making foreign policy within a democracy. Democracy requires that decisions be made by representatives of the people to reflect public policy preferences. But that is not easy to achieve in foreign affairs, because foreign policy involves subject matter that is generally remote and less well understood by the average citizen.

She then noted that America now realizes how foreign policy and actions in other parts of the world can directly affect our nation. From Afghanistan to Iraq, we are facing new issues. So the need for an informed public—and government—on international affairs has increased.

Kirkpatrick served as U.S. Ambassador to the UN from 1981-85, and was a member of Ronald Reagan's cabinet and the National Security Council. In 2003, President Bush selected her as head of the U.S. delegation to the UN Human Rights Commission. Kirkpatrick also holds the Leavey University Professorship at Georgetown University, and is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

Kirkpatrick's address is available as part of the the CSD paper series: repositories.cdlib.org/csd

Discussing Democracy

The Center has hosted the following speakers and lectures during the 2002-03 academic year:

Giorgi Arbatov, Former Director, ISKAN, Moscow;
Democracy in Russia Today

Nina Bandelj, Princeton University; Embedded Economies: Foreign Direct Investment in Central and Eastern Europe

Kathleen Blee, University of Pittsburgh; Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement

The Role of the Media in Shaping Public Policy in America; Hamilton Fish, President, The Nation Institute; Erik Alterman, The Nation; Jonathan Schell, The Nation

Lakshmi Iyer, MIT; The Long-term Impact of Colonial Rule: Evidence from India

Marek Kaminski, UC Irvine and Monika Nalepa, Columbia University; A Paradox of Democratization: When Ex-Communists Punish Themselves

Arend Lijphart, UC San Diego; Patterns of Democracy Revisited

John Mollenkopf, CUNY Graduate Center; The Immigrant Second Generation in Metropolitan New York... and How it Might Differ in Los Angeles

Norm Ornstein, American Enterprise Institute; Continuity of Government

Janusz Reykowski, Warsaw University; The Transition from Socialism to Democracy in Poland

Hon. Ed Royce, U.S. House of Representatives; Post 9/11 and Enron: Congress's Priorities for America

David Samuels, University of Minnesota; Democratization in Latin America

Gene Sperling, Democratic Leadership Council and Council on Foreign Relations; Post Mid-Term Elections: What Comes Next in Economic Policy?

Rein Taagepera, UC Irvine; Democratization in Estonia: 10 Years After

CSD Joins Global Democracy Network

The Center for the Study of Democracy has joined The Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI) coordinated by the National Endowment for Democracy.

NDRI is a global association of public and private organizations that conduct research on democracy, democratization, and related topics in comparative government and international affairs. Included in the Network are independent institutions, university-based study centers, research programs affiliated with political parties, labor unions, democracy and human rights movements, and other relevant organizations.

The Network was established to facilitate contacts among democracy scholars and activists and to promote a greater awareness of the diversity and vitality of democracy studies today. Through its Web site, a newsletter, and other means, the Network provides information about the work of its member institutes, including their research, conferences, publications, and other activities.

Membership in this network will enable the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy to participate in research and exchange programs that will strengthen the development of democracy around the globe. CSD's membership—one of only four university-based centers in the United States—also indicates its leadership role in providing research and training on the democratic process.

Three dozen institutes are members of the network, and the membership spans the globe. NDRI is part of the World Movement for Democracy.

More information on NDRI is available at: (www.wmd.org/ndri/ndri.html)

Can the Whole World Become Democratic?



Can any state become democratic? Can the whole world become democratic? In delivering the 2002-03 Eckstein Lecture, Larry Diamond argued that the answers to both questions are yes, and that neither culture nor history nor poverty are insurmountable obstacles.

Indeed, for much of the world that remains trapped in poverty, a growing body of evidence and policy analysis suggests that democratic, accountable, transparent governance is a fundamental condition for sustainable development. There are no preconditions for democracy, other than a willingness on the part of a nation's elite to attempt to govern by democratic means. But that, in itself, will require strong pressure from below, in civil society, and from outside, in the international community, to generate the political will for democratic reform.

Diamond maintained that sustaining democracy in the context of unfavorable cultural, social, and economic conditions requires institutions to foster effective, accountable governance as well as robust international engagement and support. Democracy can emerge anywhere, he claimed, but it can only take root if it brings about, however gradually, a more prosperous, just, and decent society.

Larry Diamond is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, and professor of political science and sociology at Stanford University. He has written extensively on the factors that facilitate and obstruct democracy in developing countries and on problems of democracy, development, and corruption in Africa.

The Eckstein Lecture is a memorial to the co-founder of the Center, Harry Eckstein, whose research and publications focused on understanding the conditions fostering democracy.

Diamond's Eckstein Lecture is available online at the CSD paper website: repositories.cdlib.org/csd.

The Capitol Institute & UC Irvine

California enacted term limits legislation in 1990, and one consequence has been an increased turnover in state legislators and their staffs. Rather than learning on the job, new legislators now must be at full speed when their first term begins. The California Assembly took an innovative, proactive step to address these changes by creating the Capitol Institute that provides training for Assembly members and their staffs.

The Center, the School of Social Sciences, and UC Irvine have worked together with the Capitol Institute over this past year. A large proportion of the Assembly members and their staffs have district offices within a short drive of Irvine. And the need for training about government policies, administrative processes and other state procedures is unending. Thus the Irvine campus is providing a southern site for training of California's political leaders and their staffs.

The Center Welcomes New Faculty

The Center includes approximately three dozen faculty at four University of California campuses and several international affiliates.

During the past year the Center expanded to include three additional faculty affiliates who will add to the research on economics of governance and democratic transitions/consolidation:

Nina Bandelj, Department of Sociology
Economic sociology
East European studies

Kai Konrad, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin
Political economy
Public finance and economic policy

Michael McBride, Department of Economics
Microeconomics
Game Theory, Political Economy

The Podlich Fellowships

For nearly a decade, the William F. Podlich Fellows have come to UC Irvine to study politics and democracy. The Podlich Fellows have expanded the Center's graduate training program on democracy, and enabled the Center faculty to recruit some of the best young minds in the social sciences to Irvine.

California business leader, William Podlich, supports this fellowship as an extension of his personal interest in American politics and the strengthening of the democratic process. Podlich is the Managing Director of PIMCO, a long-time member of the UC Irvine Foundation, and a founding member of the Center's Community Leadership Council.

The Podlich Fellowship has enabled more than a dozen graduate students to enter the PhD program at UC Irvine. The Fellowship emphasizes the study of American politics, and past Fellows have done dissertation research on American voting behavior, public policy and decision making in local governments. Other Podlich Fellows are studying democratic development in Africa, the International Court of Justice, political involvement of young, and the processes of democratic transition.

The gift of the Podlich Fellowship is one of the most valuable ways to encourage the development of democracy by creating a new generation of students who will devote their careers to examining and understanding the democratic process.

Completed Podlich Fellows

Brian Adams is Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, San Diego State University

Christopher Gianos is Director of Instruction and Research Support at the Marshall School of Business, University of Southern California

Mark M. Gray is Assistant Research Professor at the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, Georgetown University.

THE CENTER'S COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

The Center's Leadership Council is comprised of political and business leaders in Southern California who are deeply concerned about the vitality of democracy in the United States and the expansion of democracy around the world. Council members work with the Center to support education and research aimed at improving the democratic process. As liaisons between the community and the Center, Council members:

- Contribute their own political interest and expertise to the teaching and research missions of the Center
 - Assist the philanthropic activities of the Center in the support of education and research on democracy
 - Help to increase community awareness of the Center and its activities, and identify areas where Center activities can contribute to the understanding of democracy
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MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

Jack W. Peltason
Chair of the Leadership Council,
President emeritus, University of California,
Hank Adler
Partner, Deloitte & Touche
Jo Ellen Allen
Regional Director, Public Affairs, Southern
California Edison
Terry C. Andrus
Partner, Woodruff, Spradlin & Smart
Marian Bergeson
Former CA Senator and OC Supervisor
Linda Cohen
Professor of Economics, UC Irvine
Diane F. Geocarlis
Counsel to the Chancellor, UC Irvine
James A. Geocarlis
Attorney at Law
Walter B. Gerken
Chairman & CEO (retired) Pacific Life
Bernard Grofman
Professor of Political Science, UC Irvine
Lisa Hughes
Attorney, Hughes and Sullivan
Gary Hunt
California Strategies, LLC
Christine Diemer Iger
Manatt, Phelps & Phillips
Meredith J. Khachigian
Former Regent, University of California

J. Fernando Niebla
President, International Technology Partners
William F. Podlich
Managing Director, PIMCO
Tom Powell
Attorney at Law
Curt Pringle
President, Curt Pringle & Associates
Mayor, City of Anaheim
Michael D. Ray
President, Sanderson J Ray Corporation
Thomas Rodgers
Vice President, City National Bank
Donald Saltarelli
Owner, Century 21 Saltarelli Realty
Bernard E. Schneider, Jr.
Attorney at Law
Gary J. Singer
Managing Partner, O'Melveny and Meyers
William G. Steiner
National Program Director, Childhelp USA
Larry Thomas
Senior Vice President, The Irvine Company
Thomas Tucker
Chairman, Jenstar Capital
Hon. Harriett M. Wieder
President, Linkage Consulting
Martin Wattenberg
Professor of Political Science, UC Irvine
Brett J. Williamson
Partner, O'Melveny and Meyers

ELECTORAL CHANGE IN GERMANY

In September 2002, Chancellor Schroeder's SPD and the Greens faced the judgment of voters, and barely won reelection. This conference assembled a team of distinguished experts to explain the reasons for the election results--and the longer term implications for German parties and Germany politics. The conference findings were published as a special issue of *German Politics and Society* (Spring 2003).

The 2002 Bundestagswahl

"Predicting 2002 from the Past," Helmut Norpoth, SUNY Stony Brook

"An Overview of the 2002 Election," Dieter Roth, Forschungsgruppe Wahlen

"Party Programs and the 2002 Election," Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin

Discussants: Dieter Dettke, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung; Peter Merkl, UC Santa Barbara

How German Voters are Changing

"The Wechselwähler: Can't Voters Make up their Minds?" Russell Dalton, UC Irvine and Wilhelm Buerklin, University of Potsdam

"The Influence of Ideological Values and Economic Perceptions on Voting Behavior," Robert Rohrschneider, Indiana University and Dieter Fuchs, University of Stuttgart

"The Influence of Candidate Image on Party Support Christopher Anderson," SUNY Binghamton

Discussant: Samuel Barnes, Georgetown University; Shawn Bowler, UC Riverside

Party Change and Policy Implications

"Paying the Piper: Changes in Party Finance," Susan Scarrow, University of Houston

"Germany and the EU in the 2002 Election," William Chandler, UC San Diego

"Economic Policy before and after the Election," Werner Reutter, University of Minnesota

Discussants: Alexandra Cole, CSU, Northridge and John Leslie, UC Research Fellow

Funding was provided by the German Academic Exchange Service, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and the IGCC at UC San Diego.

DEMOCRACY AND THE NEW EU

The Center hosted an international team of distinguished scholars who examined the role of citizens in the democratic processes of the European Union before and after enlargement. The project is directed by Hans-Dieter Klingemann of the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin and UC Irvine.

"Democracy in the New Europe," Hans-Dieter Klingemann, WZB and UC Irvine

Democratic Political Institutions

"Political institutions of the EU before and after enlargement," Cees van der Eijk, University of Amsterdam

"Support of democracy in Europe," Bernt Aardal, University of Oslo, and Ola Listhaug, University of Trondheim, Norway

Elections and Political Participation

"The policy agenda of political parties," Hans-Dieter Klingemann, WZB and UC Irvine

"Citizen participation: Voting and beyond," Michael Marsh, Trinity College, Dublin

"Support for political parties," Soren Holmberg, Goteborg University, Sweden

"Membership in political parties and interest organizations," Bernhard Wessels, WZB

Party Systems, Voting, and Representation

"Party systems," Hans-Dieter Klingemann, WZB

"Election campaigns," Andrea Roemmele, University of Mannheim; Ron Holzhaecker, University of Twente

"Voting behavior," John Curtice, University of Strathclyde

"Political representation," Jacques Thomassen, University of Twente; Soren Holmberg, Goteborg; and Bernhard Wessels, WZB

"Prospects for Representative Democracy in the New Europe," Hans-Dieter Klingemann, WZB



Does More Democracy Improve the Democratic Process?

The popular pressures for reform of the democratic process have mounted across the OECD nations over the past generation. In response, democratic institutions are changing, evolving, expanding in ways that may alter the structure of the democratic process. These changes include reforms of the electoral process, the expansion of

referendums, introduction of open government provisions, and more access points for direct political involvement. Indeed, some observers claim that we are witnessing the most fundamental transformation of the democratic process since the creation of mass democracy in the early 20th Century. An international team of distinguished scholars assembled the evidence of how democratic institutions and processes are changing, and considered the larger implications of these reforms for the nature of democracy. The findings point to a new style of democratic politics that expands the nature of democracy, but also carries challenges for democracies to include all its citizens and govern effectively in an environment of complex governance.

Bruce Cain of the Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies (UCB), Russell Dalton (CSD/UCI) and Susan Scarrow (Houston) assembled this international research team at the Rockefeller Foundation's Villa Serbelloni to assess how contemporary institutional reforms are transforming contemporary political systems, and the implications for the functioning of democracy now and in the future:

Foreword by Austin Ranney

"Expanding the Electoral Marketplace"

Russell Dalton and Mark Gray

"Making Democracy More Direct? Elections that Minimize the Party Role"

Susan Scarrow

"Political Parties and the Rhetoric and Realities of Democratization"

Miki Kittilson and Susan Scarrow

"Changing Party Access to Politics"

Shaun Bowler, Elisabeth Carter, and David Farrell

"Toward More Open Democracies: The Expansion of Freedom of Information Laws"

Bruce Cain, Patrick Egan and Sergio Fabrinini

"The Decentralization of Governance: Regional and Local Delegation"

Chris Ansell and Jane Gingrich

"Reforming the Administrative State"

Chris Ansell and Jane Gingrich

"Participation, Representative Democracy, and the Courts"

Rachel Cichowski and Alec Stone-Sweet

"A Second Transformation of Democracy?"

Mark Warren

"Democratic Publics and Democratic Institutions: New Forms or Adaptation,"

Russell Dalton, Bruce Cain, and Susan Scarrow

The findings are published in: *Democracy Transformed?: Expanding Citizen Access in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

Development, Democracy and the Islamic World

Democracy both improves the lives of a nation's citizens, and lessens the likelihood of international conflict. Thus, there is now widespread interest—and debate—over the prospects for democratic development in the Islamic World.

As part of the CSD's continuing research program on the development of democracy in the world, the Center hosted a research conference where leading scholars on the region presented the state of social science research on the social, economic and political situation in the Islamic World. Conference participants focused on the delayed social development of the region—rather than Islamic beliefs—as prime factors explaining the absence of democracy. The conference was held at UC Irvine in March 2003.

Economic, Social and Political Development in the Islamic World

Moez Doraid, UN Development Program
Timur Kuran, University of Southern California

Citizen Values and Democracy

Ronald Inglehart, University of Michigan
Mark Tessler, University of Michigan
Mansoor Moaddel, Eastern Michigan University

Education and Social Change in the Islamic World

Safi Qureshey, AVAZ Networks
Shabbir Mansuri, Council on Islamic Education

The Lessons and Perspectives from other Development Experiences

Rein Taagepera, UC Irvine and Tartu University, Estonia
Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin
Shaheen Mozaffar, Bridgewater College

U.S. Relations with the Islamic World

Les Campbell, National Democratic Institute
Amy Hawthorne, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Mark Levin, UC Irvine

Black Faces in the Mirror

This volume examines the significance of race in the U.S. system of representative democracy for African Americans. Presenting important new findings, Tate offers the first empirical study to take up the question of political representation

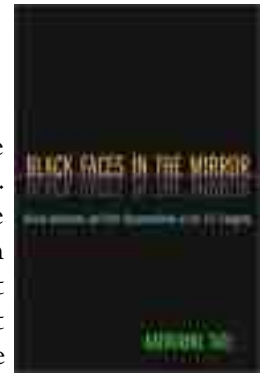
from both sides of the constituent-representative relationship.

The first half of the book examines whether black members of the U.S. Congress legislate and represent their constituents differently than white members do. Representation is broadly conceptualized to include not only legislators' roll call voting behavior and bill sponsorship, but also the symbolic acts in which they engage. The second half looks at the issue of representation from the perspective of ordinary African Americans based on a landmark national survey conducted during the 1996 elections.

Tate's findings are mixed. But, in the main, legislators' race does shape how they represent their constituents and how constituents evaluate them. African Americans view black representatives more positively than they do white representatives, even those who belong to their own political party. Black legislators, however, are just as likely as white representatives to sponsor and gain passage of bills in the House. Tate also concludes that black House members are more liberal as a group than are their black constituents, but that there is considerable divergence in the quality and type of representation that representatives provide.

The findings reported here will generate controversy in the fields of politics, law, and race, particularly as debate commences over renewing the Voting Rights Act, which is set to expire in 2007.

Katherine Tate, *Black Faces in the Mirror: African Americans and Their Representatives in the U.S. Congress* (Princeton University of Press, 2002).



RACE, ETHNICITY AND DEMOCRACY

Although the problems of ethnic and racial conflict, discrimination, and inequality continue to confront the United States, there has been a “gradualist” bias in popular understandings that presumes the race “problem” ultimately will resolve itself through the integration of African Americans, the acculturation of Latinos and Asian Americans, and the disappearance of racism. Research on race, ethnicity, and democracy, however, demonstrates that racism and ethnic discrimination are a continuing feature of modern democracies. The institutional and individual legacies of past exclusion, continued discrimination and inter-group tension, and high-levels of immigration ensure that the dilemma of incorporation will continue for many years to come. One of the CSD research emphases supports faculty engaged in empirical research that focuses on the nexus of race relations and democratic governance. These themes include:

- *Race, Ethnicity, Political Participation, and Civic Inclusion.* The issues of voting rights and representation were a central theme in the Civil Rights Movement, and the issues of minority participation and representation remain central questions in the study of American democracy.
- *Immigrant Incorporation and Inter-group Relations:* Since the 1965 Amendments to the Immigration and Naturalization law, tens of millions of new immigrants have entered the United States. This new immigration forces the nation to again revisit the process of incorporation for new populations. Most of the burden for this incorporation falls on states and localities. In an era of limited state resources, this creates a situation where state encouragement of immigrant incorporation often comes at the expense of programs that serve African Americans.
- *California, and Orange County, as Case Studies in Multiethnic Relations.* Because of their diversity, California and Orange County provide unique natural laboratories to examine comparative race and ethnic relations. Each is a home to large numbers of Blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans, as well as other ethnicities and diversities within these groups. Issues of cultural pluralism and diversity become matters of political debate in California before they are salient elsewhere.

ASSOCIATED FACULTY

Frank Bean
Sociology, UC Irvine

Louis DeSipio
Political Science, UC Irvine

Bernard Grofman
Political Science, UC Irvine

Claire Kim
Political Science, UC Irvine

Belinda Robnett
Sociology, UC Irvine

Katherine Tate
Political Science, UC Irvine

Carole Uhlaner
Political Science, UC Irvine

The Center for the Study of Democracy will host a national conference in January 2004 that will examine aspects of each of these themes. The conference will bring together nationally-recognized scholars of immigration and immigrant settlement to assess the process of contemporary immigrant incorporation in the United States.



THE EVOLUTION OF ELECTORAL AND PARTY SYSTEMS IN NORDIC COUNTRIES

Many political scientists in English-speaking nations tend to think of proportional representation in terms of countries that apply it in relative pure form, such as in the Netherlands. But the

world of electoral politics is more complex.

This book results from a CSD conference that assembled evidence on the real world variety and complexities of the PR system by comparing experiences across the five Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. The chapters are written by leading election experts in each nation. Each chapter offers a narration of the history of, and political maneuvering behind, the evolution of electoral laws in these five countries, and the application of PR across time.

The chapters demonstrate the complexities of real PR systems, including the interaction of geographical representation with the principle of proportionality, the practical stakes behind the seemingly technical choice of allocation formulas, the origin of the “modified” St. Laguë divisors, the functioning of various vote-pooling devices, the interaction of strategic advantage and normative principles in the development of the proportional representation systems, and the role of partisan manipulation in PR systems.

This book is part of a on-going research project by Grofman and Lijphart to compare the major electoral systems existing in contemporary democracies. Using an “embedded systems” approach, they have examined electoral laws and their impact in a series of book length studies. Most of these volumes have resulted from conferences at UC Irvine.

Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart, eds. *The Evolution of Electoral and Party Systems in the Nordic Countries* (New York: Agathon Press, 2002).

WHERE HAVE THE VOTERS GONE?

As the confusion over the 2000 presidential ballots in Florida recently demonstrated, American elections are complex and anything but user-friendly. And in the 2002 election, barely half of the electorate cast a vote.

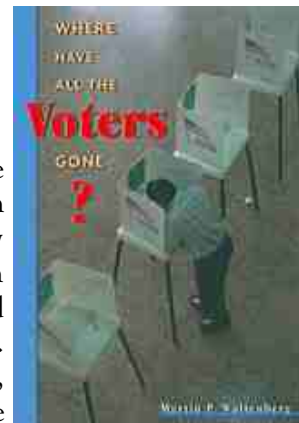
This phenomenon is by no means new, but with the weakening of political parties in recent decades and the rise of candidate-centered politics, the high level of complexity has become ever more difficult for many citizens to navigate. Thus the combination of complex elections and the steady decline of the party system has led to a decline in voter turnout.

In this timely book, developed with an initial seed grant from the Center, Wattenberg confronts the question of why turnout is decreasing in the United States—and in most other Western democracies. He also considers what low participation rates mean for the democratic process. At the individual level, the decline in turnout has been greatest among the types of people who have the most need to have electoral decisions simplified for them—those with the least education, political knowledge, and life experience.

At the same time, Wattenberg argues that rather than lamenting how many Americans fail to exercise their democratic rights, we should be impressed with how many arrive at the polls in spite of a political system that asks more of a typical person than is reasonable in a system of long ballots and frequent elections.

Meanwhile, we must find ways to make the American electoral process more user-friendly. *Where Have All the Voters Gone?* concludes with a set of policy suggestions of how America might bring the voters back to the polls.

Martin Wattenberg, *Where Have All the Voters Gone?* (Harvard University of Press, 2002).



Monitoring Democracy

Elections are a celebration of democracy—and a test. In Mexico in 2000, I was an election observer as Vicente Fox won the presidency, breaking 70 years of PRI rule. In early 2001 I participated in the NDI team when Peruvians reclaimed their democracy in elections that filled the void when Pres. Fujimori fled to exile. Later in 2001, I went to Nicaragua with the Carter Center mission to witness the third free election held since the end of the devastating 1980s civil war.

Monitoring elections is an unusual task. I have never worked so hard and yet hoped so hard to have nothing to show for it. Monitors spend weeks or months trying to anticipate problems and identify potential avenues for fraud. They work longer hours as the election approaches. Election day is a 24-hour marathon—you sit and watch and sit and watch some more, if you are lucky enough to find a place to sit. When the polls close, ballots are counted at each polling site. Observers try to determine whether the vote-counters are applying election rules consistently and without prejudice. The process can go on late into the night; I've never gone to sleep before 4 a.m. for any election I have observed. And here's the irony: if all goes well, election day may be the most boring day you ever spend.

What impresses me most is the efforts people are willing to make in the name of democracy, even in places where the state of democracy is questionable. I've seen hundreds of poll-workers do this job on their one day off. I've talked to citizens as they come to the polls, sometimes from considerable distances, often to stand in line all day just to vote, because “queremos democracia” (we want democracy) or “queremos cambio” (we want change).

When election day arrives here at home, I think about my experiences in Peru, Mexico, and Nicaragua. No matter how busy I am, I pick up my voter guide and I head to the polls. I want democracy, too.

Sharon Lean is a Democracy Fellow at the CSD. She is writing a dissertation on democracy promotion and election monitoring.

Graduate Fellowships to Study Democracy

In the wake of the global democratization wave of the 1990s, the National Science Foundation awarded a five year grant to UC Irvine to develop a graduate training program on democracy. The program's goal is to train a new generation of Ph.D.s with the research and theoretical skills to provide the scholarly knowledge to strengthen the democratic process occurring throughout the world.

With new funds for Democracy Fellows, the training program is continuing to recruit new graduate students who are concerned about the central theoretical and political issues involved in building and strengthening the democratic process. The program's themes include:

- ❖ The expansion of democracy in the United States and other established democracies
- ❖ The consolidation of new democracies in formerly non-democratic regimes

The formal course work and faculty mentorship of the training program draw upon faculty of the CSD and build upon its research and educational activities. The program involves a set of formal courses offered by Center faculty in political science or sociology. Democracy Fellows also participate in the Democracy Research Seminar, which invites leading scholars and political figures to discuss their research on democracy. Fellows also conduct research under direction of a faculty advisor. The program's goal is to educate students to develop careers in researching, teaching, and building democracy.

Fellowship funds are available for new students entering the political science or sociology Ph.D. programs at UC Irvine who have a special interest in the empirical study of democracy. Interested students are encouraged to visit the Center's website for additional information on the program and the available fellowship opportunities. The website lists the past graduate seminars offered by the program, as well as information on the Democracy Fellows and their accomplishments:

www.democ.uci.edu



RECENT CENTER RESEARCH PAPERS ON DEMOCRACY

The Center publishes research papers on democracy ranging from the problems of democratic transitions to the expansion of the democracy in the West. The most recent papers include:

Stergios Skaperdas, Turning "Citizens" into "Consumers": Economic Growth and the Level of Public Discourse, CSD03-07.	David Meyer, Social Movements and Public Policy: Eggs, Chicken, and Theory. CSD01-02.
Yang Su, State Sponsorship or State Failure? Mass Killings in Rural China, 1967-68, CSD03-06	Wang Feng and Tianfu Wang, Bringing Categories Back in: Institutional Factors of Income Inequality in Urban China. CSD01-01.
Larry Diamond, Can the Whole World Become Democratic? Democracy, Development, and International Policies, CSD03-05	David Smith and Michael Timberlake, "Global Cities" and "Globalization" in East Asia. CSD02-09
Russell Dalton, Susan Scarrow, and Bruce Cain, Democracy Transformed?: Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies, CSD03-04	Louis DeSipio, Immigrant Organizing, Civic Outcomes. CSD02-08
Marek Kaminski, The Collective Action Problems of Political Consolidation: Evidence from Poland. CSD03-03	A.J. McGann, The Tyranny of the Super-Majority: How Majority Rule Protects Minorities. CSD02-07
	Carole Uhlaner, The Impact of Perceived Representation on Latino Political Participation. CSD02-06

All these papers are available online at the University of California's eScholarship Repository; the papers can be downloaded and used for instructional and research purposes: repositories.cdlib.org/csd

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