# **CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY**

ORGANIZED RESEARCH UNIT (ORU) UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE FALL 2008



Ed Rollins fields a question on the presidential primary campaign

### ED ROLLINS: A CAMPAIGN MANAGER'S INSIGHT INTO THE 2008 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

The 2007-08 academic year saw the beginning of a campaign season that culminates with the presidential election of 2008. In light of this, the Center invited guest speakers to share their insights into the campaign process. Taking time from a busy schedule, on February 13, Ed Rollins visited the campus to deliver a lecture to a primarily undergraduate audience. In addition, he offered additional remarks during dinner with Center supporters and participated in a panel on the 2008 United States presidential primary campaigns moderated by Political Science Department Chair, and CSD member, Mark Petracca. At the time of his visit, Mr. Rollins was serving as the chief primary campaign consultant to Republican presidential hopeful Mike Huckabee. When Mr. Rollins spoke, John McCain had not yet achieved his delegate majority, but the handwriting was perhaps already on the wall.

Ed Rollins is the unquestioned dean of U.S. campaign consultants and is recognized as such by knowledgable political observers of both parties. His career is in many ways a story book. He is responsible for running one of the most successful reelection campaigns in U.S. history: Ronald Reagan in 1984, which prove to be the first of many successes. His notable former clients include Ross Perot in 1992; Christine Whitman, who ran successfully for Governor of New Jersey in 1993 in a come-frombehind victory in which Rollins is given considerable credit; and George Nethercutt, who defeated Speaker of the House Tom Foley in 1994. In addition to his campaign work, Mr. Rollins is a staple on CNN and other networks, drawing on both common sense and insider knowledge over a long history in politics to add liveliness and insight to the discussion of current political issues. Mr. Rollins' afternoon lecture was graced by many, often selfdeprecating stories of the campaigns in which he participated. These conveyed a feel for the nitty-gritty of campaigning and the



Philip Bennett on the challenges of media coverage

### ISLAM AND THE AMERICAN MEDIA A Washington Post Editor's Inside View

On March 3rd, Philip Bennett, managing editor of the Washington Post visited UC Irvine as Chancellor's Distinguished Fellow to discuss the challenge American journalists face in covering events in the Muslim world. On one hand, journalists seek to report events as they unfold, objectively and dispassionately. On the other hand, the topics that are covered, the manner in which they are presented and the language that is used

intentional or not. Mr. Bennett notes that at the heart of coverage is a debate that "encompasses two important questions of identity. The first involves the historic and monumental process to determine the nature and roles of Islam, a faith practiced by 1.3 billion people in virtually every country on the planet. The second involves the mission of the US press, and particularly its coverage of Islam."

may come under scrutiny for subtleties in shading or bias whether

He continues, "As an editor...I'm responsible for the fairness, accuracy and depth of our coverage. I try to be guided by the facts, and to absorb different points of view..... It's my job to ensure that our stories are as close to the truth as is possible, given the limitations of our medium, and of ourselves."

"In my experience, the best journalists inhabit the border between what's inside and what's outside of a situation, roaming across the space that joins and separates the parties to a conflict. I believe this is as good a vantage point as any for observing, reporting on, and understanding what is occurring within Islam, and in the relationship between Islam and the West."

The challenge is to provide informative coverage that shows awareness of all the facts. Mr. Bennett avers that "At a critical time, the US news media has failed to produce sustained coverage of Islam to challenge the easy assumptions, gross generalizations



# UCIRVINE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY 2008

### Calendar of Events

### 2007-08

Fall Welcome Reception 4 October

Pippa Norris Harvard University Democracy Dinner 8 November

Peltason Chair and CSD Director's Reception 11 November

Keith Morrison NBC News Lecture 15 November

CSD Staff Appreciation Lunch 4 December

Gideon Rahat Hebrew University Lunch Seminar 5 December

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**Rollins** (continued from page 1)

Troy Duster New York University Democracy Dinner 24 January

Dostie-Goulet, Ishibashi, Tronconi Brown Bag Lunch 31 January

Urban Economy Conference 8 February

Mathematics, Political Economy, and Democratic Institutions Conference 9 February

Ed Rollins Campaign Strategy Consultant "Lovers of Politics" Lecture & Dinner 13 February

O'Leary and Mueller Brown Bag Lunch 19 February Russell Dalton U.C. Irvine Political Culture and Development Workshop 23 February

Ronald Inglehart University of Michigan Harry Eckstein Lecture and, Democracy Dinner 26 Feburary

Jacob Dayan Consul General of Israel Coffee Discussion 28 February

Mueller, Pehl and Welzel Brown Bag Lunch 28 February

Fourth Annual CSD Graduate Student Conference 1 March

Philip Bennett Washington Post UCI Chancellor's Distinguished Lecture "Covering Islam: A Challenge for Ameircan Journalism" and, Dinner Panel with Bennett, Read, Burgard and Kelly 3 March

CSD Planning Conference Comparisons of Election Law Reform Changes in Italy and Japan 14-15 March

Philippe Larrieu Consul General of France Coffee Discussion 9 April

William Robinson University of Michigan Democracy Dinner 10 April

Paul Burstein University of Washington Democracy Dinner 7 May

problems of making difficult choices with limited information and then looking wise (or foolish) after the fact. Mr. Rollins eloquently illuminated the policy positions of Governor Huckabee, and presented the Governor's views on church and state in a very appealing light even for those who might support other candidates or parties. Mr. Rollins was adept at revealing the nuances in decision-making that occur behind-the-scenes in political campaigns. He also conveyed a clear sense of what it meant to be a key player or witness to some of the most important political decisions of the last thirty years inside the Republican party, such as the selection of the vice-presidential nominees of the party. With a lively style

and trenchant commentary, Mr. Rollins kept the audience rapt. The evening panel, attended by a number of prominent members of the Orange County business and political communities, as well as UCI faculty and graduate students from CSD, featured responses to Mr. Rollins' remarks by Michael Capaldi, a prominent Orange County attorney, and a leader of the Lincoln Club and Brett Williamson, Managing Partner of the law offices of O'Melveny and Myers, a UCI alumnus and member of the CSD Community Leadership Council. The evening remarks focused more specifically on the 2008 election and what we might expect to see in the general election and in future party competition in the U.S.

### CENTER PUBLICATIONS IN 2007-08

**Terry Karl** (July 7, 2008) *Democracy Over a Barrel: Oil, Regime Change and War* 

Philip Bennett (June 12, 2008) Covering Islam: A Challenge for American Journalism

Miki Caul Kittilson and Russell J. Dalton (April 16, 2008) The Internet and Virtual Civil Society: The New Frontier of Social Capital

Edurne Bartolomé Peral (April 16, 2008) *Support for the Democratic Process in Europe* 

Christian Welzel and Ronald Inglehart (March 19, 2008) Democracy as Human Empowerment: The Role of Ordinary People in the Emergence and Survival of Democracy

**Gideon Rahat** (January 30, 2008) Which Candidate Selection Method Is More Democratic?

Marek M. Kaminski and Monika Nalepa (January 30, 2008) Suffer a Scratch to Avoid a Blow? Why Postcommunist Parties in Eastern Europe Introduce Lustration

Amy C. Alexander (October 31, 2007) Empowering Women: The Role of Economic Development, Political Culture and Institutional Design in the World's Societies

Yuliya V. Tverdova (October 16, 2007) Economic Perceptions and Economic Voting in Post Communist Countries of East Central Europe

**Feng Wang** (October 16, 2007) Boundaries of Inequality: Perceptions of Distributive Justice among Urbanities, Migrants, and Peasants

## CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY 2008

### **Bennett** (continued from page 1)

or untested rhetoric that shape perceptions of Muslims. There continues to be a shortage of two main staples of quality journalism: long-term, probing investigations and immersion journalism, on the one hand; and, on the other, well-informed, nuanced reporting in the routine daily stories that make up most of what we call 'the news."

Public policy in a democratic system is shaped in part by public opinion. Informed citizens are critical to oversight of the government. Where information is lacking or ignored, the people suffer. Mr. Bennett cites an ABC-Washington Post poll in 2006 in which "46 percent of Americans have an unfavorable view of Islam, double what the percentage was in early 2002. People's views became more favorable the more familiar they were with Islam. But six out of ten Americans confessed to lacking a basic understanding of the religion." He adds that "there is a wealth of statistics, studies and other data available to alleviate this ignorance, or color between the bold lines of our basic knowledge. Even among those of us who consider ourselves fairly well informed, some of these figures challenge what we think we know."

"Although in American popular culture a Muslim is likely to be portrayed as an Arab, only a little more than a third of foreignborn Muslims in the United States are from Arab countries. Almost a third are from South Asia. The third largest source of Muslim immigrants is Europe. African Americans make up between 20-40 percent of Muslims in this country."

As citizens we need to know the facts before passing summary judgment. Here we must be aware of what is available as well as what may be missing. We should not leap to conclusions but instead demand more from our information sources. As a journalist, editor and concerned citizen, Mr. Bennett wonders " why aren't these pieces of the puzzle more widely known?" The answer has to do partly with the framing of the conflict between Islam and

### A Year of Transition

2007<sup>5</sup>-08 has been a year of major transition: William Schonfeld, former Dean of the School of Social Sciences, stepped down from his position as Director. Willie sucessfully grew the Center's faculty size, now at forty, the number of Democracy Fellows, now over thirty, and integrated Sociology as a full partner in CSD. Under his regime, CSD saw a number of highly successful and highly visible public outreach events including President Jimmy Carter's well-attended talk about "Peace Prospects in the Middle East." The new Director is another long-tenured UCI scholar- Professor Bernard Grofman.

In conjunction with the Directorship, Professor Grofman was named the inaugural Jack Peltason (Bren Foundation) Chair. Named in honor of a leading legal scholar, and a marvelous human being, Jack was not only President of the University of California system and Chancellor of UCI, but also a founding member of CSD. Jack still serves as Emeritus Chair of the Community Leadership Council. The creation of the Peltason Chair is one of Willie's many lasting contributions to the social sciences at UCI. His competence, good humor and unflappability will be much missed. However, we are glad to note that he left his desk and stuffed chairs behind.

Professor Judy Stepan-Norris, Associate Director for the past three years, and Acting Director during Spring 2008, has be-

the West after the horrifying attacks of September 11 and the US invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. For most of the last six and a half years, the best journalism on this subject has fought against the tide of public perception. It has also overcome reduced resources in most newsrooms. Accomplishing this has required courage and ingenuity not only from individual journalists but also from news organizations.

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Here lies another challenge; when perception clashes with reality such that the expectations of the reader shape the coverage that will be provided. The credibility and essential quality of the press in a democratic system is to provide objective coverage even when what is reported collides with what the information consumer wants. The same is true of the press and government and other instruments of power.

Recall that Americans follow many faiths. Ostensibly each is welcome and yet in the political and social climate since Septemer 2001, Muslim Americans have professed to being under seige in the media and in their daily lives.

Yet keeping score is not the role of the journalist. Mr. Bennett argues that "good journalism cannot be measured by comparing the number of positive stories versus the number of negative stories, as some critics of the press insist. The accuracy and value of journalism is measured not by whether it delivers good news or bad news, but by how close it brings you to the truth."

"One way for Muslims to have greater influence on the mainstream news media and on society at large is for more to come work in newsrooms....My view is that Muslims in the US are on the march from being 'them' to being 'us.' Journalism plays a role in transforming 'others' into us. This is not necessarily a happy story; it does not mean papering over conflicts or uncomfortable truths. It does mean crossing boundaries, sometimes on a map, sometimes in your head, to engage honestly with how we are all influencing each other's lives."

come the Chair-Elect of the UCI Academic Senate. We wish Judy the best in her new job and congratulate her on the superb job she did for CSD. We are pleased that another leading member of the Sociology Department, Professor David Meyer, will be replacing Judy as Associate Director of CSD beginning Fall 2008.

Carole Nightengale, our very able Center Adminstrator these past three years has left to rejoin the Dean's Office. Like Willie, she was highly competent, good humored and unflappable. Unlike Willie, however, she did not bequeath CSD any furniture. In Carole's place, CSD is fortunate to hire Sheila Hayden from the School of Engineering where she was a highly experienced staff member and events planner. We are delighted that Sheila is game enough to take on the demanding and intellectually challenging, not to mention thankless, job of Center Administrator. Please welcome Sheila when next you visit CSD.

Finally, the close of 2008 will see the departure of former State Senator Marian Bergeson and former Orange County Supervisor Bill Steiner from positions they have long held with distinction, co-Chairs of the CSD Community Leadership Council. Luckily, they will remain active on the Council. Marian and Bill's assistance and strong social networks have been instrumental in both bringing to UCI many of the high quality lecturers and helping the Center develop Graduate Fellow funding.

### THE COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

Guiding the Center's Future

The 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 play a vital role:

- Contribute political expertise to the teaching and research missions of the Center
- Lead philanthropic activities in support of education and research on democracy
- Develop community awareness of the Center and its activities
- Guide activities towards critical issues that enhance understanding of democratic governance

### Officers

Co-Chair: Hon. Marian Bergeson, Former State Senator and Orange County Supervisor Co-Chair: Hon. William G. Steiner, National Program Director, Childhelp USA

Chair Emeritus: Jack W. Peltason, President Emeritus, University of California; Chancellor Emeritus, University of California, Irvine

### **Community Leaders**

Jo Ellen Allen	Director Public Affairs, Southern California Edison		
Senator Joseph Dunn	CEO, California Medical Association		
Nicholas Franklin	Former Senior Vice President, Public Affairs, PacifiCare		
James A. Geocaris	Attorney at Law		
Walter B. Gerken	Former Chairman & CEO Pacific Life Insurance Co		
Lisa Hughes	Attorney,Hughes and Sullivan		
Gary Hunt	California Strategies, LLC		
Christine Diemer Iger	Christine Iger & Associates		
J. Fernando Niebla	President, International Technology Partners		
William F. Podlich	Consulting Managing Director, Pacific Investment Management Company		
Tom Powell	Attorney at Law		
Safi Qureshey	President, Quatrics, Inc.		
Michael D. Ray	President, Sanderson J. Ray Corporation		
Thomas B. Rogers	Former Senior Vice President and Manager, City National Bank		
Gary J. Singer	Partner, O'Melveny and Myers, LLP		
Larry Thomas	Former Senior Vice President, The Irvine Company		
Hon. Harriett M. Wieder	President, Linkage Consulting, Former Orange County Supervisor		
Brett J. Williamson	Managing Partner, O'Melveny and Myers, LLP		

Director:	Bernard Grofman (2008 - )	Newsletter Editor: William F. Chiu	
	William Schonfeld (2004-08)	Website Editor: Karl Kruse	
		Democracy Paper Series Editor: Amy Alexande	r
Associate Di	rector: Judith Steppan-Norris (2004-08)	Center Administrator: Sheila Hayden	
Associate Di	rector: David Meyer (2008-)	Tel: (949) 824-2904	
		Email: csd@uci.edu	

### **CENTER DIRECTORY**

### CSD Graduate Fellow Achievements

2007-08 proved to be a productive year for graduate fellows. Among the many awards and honors are:

Reuben Kline won a National Science Foundation Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models Fellowship for summer 2007.

Kimberly Shella won the John A. Garcia Award for study at the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, University of Michigan. Elizabeth Sowers published "Mobility, Place, and Globalization: Toward a Sociology of Logistics." in *Logistics Spectrum*.

Christopher Stout published two articles in collaboration: "Cirque du Sacramento and Weary Californians: State and National Coverage of the Recall Campaign" in a Prentice-Hall published book and "Asian American Immigrants as the New Electorate: Exploring Turnout and Registration of a Growing Community" in *Asian American Policy Review*.

Fatima Rahman published "Defamation in the Name of Christ: Evangelical Revision of Islamic Teachings and History to Accommodate the Christian Fundamentalist Agenda" in The Light and Islamic Review.

Amy Alexander won a Regional Business Fellowship at the Center for the Study of Democracy, Leuphana Universitat, Lueneberg as well as the prestigious Alice Paul Award for Best Dissertation Proposal, Women's Caucus of the American Political Science Association, August 2008.

Gregory Ferenstein, worked as an Educator with UC Irvine's Upward Bound program in 2008.

### **Researchers in Residence**

Each year the Center hosts visiting researchers and graduate students from institutions around the world. Bringing scholars from diverse backgrounds, training and experience establishes the foundation for fertile collaboration. The opportunity to gain new perspective by sharing and discussing issues of common concern is essential to innovation in scholarship.

### Prof. Stephen Burgard

Northeastern University American politics, mass media, religion

**Prof. Shoichiro Ishibashi** Kansai University, Japan Legislative studies, public policy, political participation

### Prof. Dennis Mueller

University of Vienna Constitutional design, political economy, public choice

### Dr. Kevin O'Leary

American politics, democratic theory and practice, political reform, politics and the press

**Dr. Gideon Rahat** Hebrew University of Jerusalem Comparative politics and Israeli politics

### Prof. Filipo Tronconi

University of Bologna Political parties, legislatures, Italian politics

**Prof. Christian Welzel** Jacobs University Bremen, Germany Comparative values, public opinion

**Prof. Giorgio Freddi** University of Bologna Public administration, health and environmental policies, European union, Italian politics

**Prof. Daniela Giannetti** University of Bologna

### The Fourth Annual Graduate Conference on Democracy and its Development

**On March 1** the Center held its fourth annual graduate student conference. The series serves as a training tool for graduate students to present work. The conference invites graduate students from southern California to present their work. Center faculty play an essential role in organizing the conference, participating as discussants and mentoring students in the sometimes daunting process of preparing works for public presentation. CSD faculty who played leading roles in this year's conference included Yuliya Tverdova and Matthew Beckman from political science and Nina Bandelj and David Meyer from sociology.

The conference was organized into six panels covering a broad spectrum of social and political issues. These included democratization, public policy, conceptual modeling, measurement, public opinion and elite political behavior.

Students traveled to present from around the state. Institutions represented included UC Berkeley, UC San Diego, UCLA, USC, UC Santa Barbara and UC Santa Cruz.

Graduate fellows played an active role, contributing six of the twenty papers presented. UC Irvine contributors included John Ensch, with a paper on public policy and transportation financing; Reuben Kline, who analyzed measurement issues as they relate to the number of political parties and Vimal Kumar, who examined property rights. Katie Cooper examined political participation rates in new and old democracies, Kris Coulter studied different conceptions of citizenship as they pertain to abortion rights.

Political parties, public choice, legislatures, coalitions, Italian politics

**Prof. David Farrell** University of Manchester Party and electoral systems

### Prof. Ian McAllister

Australian National University Australian politics, comparative electoral studies

Eugenie Dostie-Goulet

University of Montreal, graduate student Canadian politics

### Malte Pehl

University of Heidelberg, graduate student Democratization, representation, European and South Asian politics, conflict analysis

#### Stefania Milan

European University Institute, graduate student Social Movements, community media, public policy, participatory governance

### FACULTY RESEARCH PROJECTS 2007-08

"Newspaper Coverage of Social Movement Organizations"

#### Edwin Amenta

Grant will be used to create an understanding of social movements and political advocacy organizations, in order to better understand the politics of the disadvantaged.

"Economy and State: A Sociological Perspective"

#### Nina Bandelj

Grant will be used to finish a book project, under contract with Polity Press (expected publication 2010). The aim of the book is to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the state/economy nexus from a sociological perspective.

"Citizenship Norms, Citizenship Behavior and Gender Cross-National Patterns and Pathways of Citizenship among Men and Women Applicants"

#### Catherine Bolzendahl

Project examines the meaning (norms) and practice (behavior) of citizenship among men and women cross-nationally. Given the central importance of political and social participation for full citizenship, more research is needed to determining whether women and men formulate citizenship differently, unequally, or both.

### "Deliberative Democracy in Action"

## Martha S. Feldman, Francesca Polletta and Shawn Rosenberg

Seed grant will support the development of a new course on Deliberative Democracy and Collaborative Governance. The course will be team taught by Martha Feldman (Planning, Policy and Design in the School of Social Ecology), Francesca Polletta (Sociology in the School of Social Sciences) and Shawn Rosenberg (Political Science in the School of Social Sciences) and offered for the1st time in the Spring term 2008. The funding will be used to fund guest visitors.

"A Study of the Implementation of Rape-Law Reform"

#### David John Frank

Grant support used to merge new cross-national data on rape-law reforms between 1954-2005 with existing data on the numbers of rapes reported to the police. This will find that reform outcomes have both country and world level correlates and those outcomes are positively associated with exposure to world society and global institutionalizations.

"A Collaboration Between Departments of Political Science at the University of California, Irvine and the University of Bologna"

#### Bernard Grofman

Seed grant is funds long-term agreement for faculty interchange and research collaboration between the Center (and two other University of California research centers) and the Department of Political Science at the University of Bologna. A planning meeting at UCI March 14-15, 2008 for a conference on "The Consequences of 1990s Electoral Reform in Japan and Italy," and support for UC participants to attend the December 2008 conference in Bologna.

#### "Electoral Engineering in New Democracies" Marek Kaminski

Funding for research will lead to a book that will develop both theory and methodology for working with electoral manipulation as well as describe selected empirical cases of electoral manipulation as evidenced in various Polish elections.

"Conflict and the Shadow of the Future: Continuing Experimental Studies"

#### Michael McBride and Stergios Skaperdas

Project examines how the future, and individuals' and groups' perspective of the future, impact present-day conflict. Funds will pay for human subjects and lab fees, and the findings of the experiments will be used to write an external grant.

"Gender Dynamics in Public Deliberative Forums"

#### Francesca Polletta

Does the abstract discourse of reason-giving that is privileged in normative accounts of deliberative democracy disadvantage women? In this study of gender dynamics in an online forum convened to deliberate about the future of the World Trade Center site in the wake of the September 11 attack, we focus on men and women's styles of participation and seek to measure the authoritativeness of those distinctive styles.

"Prometheus Bound: The Judicialization of State Ballot Initiatives"

#### **Charles Anthony Smith**

Seed Grant funds for this project will be used to propose the construction of preliminary database of selected state ballots, which will draw conclusions about the role of state ballot initiatives as well as the judiciary. This will allow the construction of a comprehensive database that will lead to a comprehensive study. "Sub-constituency Politics and the Gay and Lesbian Vote"

#### **Charles Anthony Smith**

Project aims to determine the level of elected official responsiveness to gay and lesbian constituencies. Funds will be used to hire an RA, travel and for collaboration in building a preliminary database. The Principal Investigator will also seek external funding.

"A Study of the Appeal of Megachurches: Identifying, Framing, and Solving Personal & Political Problems"

#### David A Snow

An NSF grant proposal team field study that will analyze the growth of megachurches. Team will examine a neglected facet of how such churches go about the business of attracting new members and retaining old ones. Funds will be used to conduct preliminary field work and to develop a sample of megachurches.

"Poverty and Preemptive Political Accountability Without Democratic Politics?"

### Dorothy Solinger

Project examines the factors prompting Chinese decision makers to offer new disbursements to the poor. It also investigates the views that the impoverished urban population hold toward the government. Funds will be used for travel to China and research assistance in China.

### "Union Structure and Democracy"

#### Judy Stepan-Norris

Co-authored project on union structure and democracy. This is a pilot study designed to assess the cost and effort involved in collecting data on all American labor unions, 1900-2005.

"State Channeling of Social Protest in South China"

### Yang Su

Project will turn a case study on state accommodation of social protests into a multiple-location project that documents the variations of the mechanisms involved. Funds will be used for transportation and study in Hong Kong.

"Public Views on Corruption: Where Do They Come From and How Do They Affect Political Behavior?"

### Yuliya V. Tverdova

Project investigates how people's perceptions of corruption are formed in various countries, and in different contexts of democracy. How do perceptions influence individuals' vote choice?

# UCIRVINE

### A MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

It is a great challenge to assume the Directorship. Like Newton, who attributed his success to the fact that "he stood on the shoulders of giants," any success I have will be due to the legacy of achievement and organizational development inherited from my predecessors as well as the help of the faculty and graduate students they recruited. Russ Dalton was instrumental in creating the Center almost ex nihilo, and it was his indefatigable energy and enthusiasm, skill in fundraising, fostering good research, and selecting first rate Fellows, that allowed CSD to achieve its present status as one of UCI's fifteen Organized Research Units. William Schonfeld, our second Director, augmented the Center's size and scope, expanded its research foci and faculty, and strategically guided CSD in its growth. Of particular importance is his role in fully incorporating sociology into CSD and in facilitating the creation of the Peltason Chair.

I see CSD as a "three ring circus." The Center Ring must always be "Research." As an Organized Research Unit research is our primary concern. What CSD can do, in ways that are much harder for individual departments to do, is to create synergy among scholars who cross disciplinary and departmental lines. We bring together scholars from Political Science, Sociology and Economics, but we hope to foster collaboration that reaches beyond these departments, and even beyond the School of Social Sciences by uniting faculty who share common interests. We have identified areas that involve substantial overlap of interests among a core set of faculty, and yet are defined broadly enough that they can sustain a long term research agenda and adapt to changing research questions and external funding priorities.

CSD pursues research in five areas: Democracy 21 (which examines institutional and policy reforms in developed democracies to improve regime function), Economics of Governance, Political Development/Transitions to Democracy, Race and Ethnicity, and Social Movements and Collective Action. Each area draws on faculty from various disciplines with differing balances depending on issue area and focus. In each area we seek to develop one or more long-term "signature projects," such as the Democracy 21 project on institutional reform that is reflected in four published and one forthcoming edited volumes on the world's major electoral systems – each of which derived from a CSD conference; the book series that has developed around the theme of social movements; or work in Political Development that analyzes implications for transitions to democracy after the breakup of the Soviet empire, in eastern Europe, east Asia and elsewhere.

The second ring is the graduate student Democracy Fellow program. We are committed to bringing to UCI outstanding students who are strongly interested in the empirical study of democracy; we are committed to mentoring them to develop their knowledge and methodological skills and to foster their engagement in the world of research as apprentice scholars. A key component of this is the Democracy Dinner series, which brings distinguished scholars to UCI and allows affiliated graduate students direct interaction. Graduate students are integral to our mission. In the 21st century, collaborative and team research is especially important and first-rate empirical research demands first-rate graduates.We point with pride to our selection criteria and to the achievements of earlier Democracy Fellows who earned their Ph.D.s and taken jobs in academia, government, news media, think tanks, and other NGOs. In particular, many of the very first cohort of CSD Fellows, admitted in 1995 and receiving their Ph.D.s in 2001, have already, or will, this academic year, earn tenure at some excellent universities. Our success notwithstanding, the fact is that public universities, especially in the social sciences, are increasingly unable to offer graduate fellowship packages that can compete with those offered by top private universities endowed with enormous resources. If we are to compete for top students we must supplement university funding with external funds. One of the CSD Director's main tasks is therefore fundraising for graduate fellowship and research support. Like Sisyphus, but carrying a begging bowl rather than a stone, each year the Director seeks to replenish coffers that have been exhausted.

The third, significant, ring is public outreach. The capstone is our series of lectures by "Presidents and Prime Ministers," including the former Prime Minister of Spain, Jose Maria Aznar; the former President of Ireland, Mary Robinson; and the former President of the United States, Jimmy Carter. We have also created new series, such as the "Lovers of Politics" annual lecture, which in 2008 brought the dean of U.S. campaign professionals, Ed Rollins, manager of a Ronald Reagan presidential campaign among many other successful campaigns; and the "Religion, Media and Politics" series whose inaugural event was a talk on Islam and western journalism coverage, given by the Managing Editor of the Washington Post, Philip Bennett and made possible with the collaboration of Steven Burgard, CSD Research Fellow and Director of Northeastern University's School of Journalism. Other CSD lecture series include the Harry Eckstein Lecture, the City National Bank Economics of Governance Lecture, co-sponsored with Economics; and our newest addition, the Robin M. Williams Jr. Lecture, in honor of a long-serving UCI distinguished scholar, co-sponsored with Sociology. Other lecture series focus on particular topics, such as the "Islam and Democracy" dialogues, or the "Coffee with ... " series that brought the Consul Generals of France and Israel to UCI, and that will be bringing other Consul Generals here in the future. CSD's past has been remarkable; its future will be even better.

- Bernie Grofman

**CSD CONFERENCE** (from page 5) women and the welfare state; and Amy Alexander discussed the influence of context on parliamentarian support for reproductive rights.

The success of the graduate conference hinges on the active participation of students with faculty. The annual conference is a training tool that prepares students for professional conferences such as those held by the American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, American Sociological Association or International Studies Association. These professional associations produce the top journals in their field and conference presentation is an essential part of developing one's ability to declaim one's research in an organized, effective manner.

The Center's graduate conference succeeds in no small part because of the active involvement of faculty as discussants and panel chairs. The interplay between younger graduate students and more experienced faculty promotes a robust exchange of ideas. In 2007-08, UC Irvine faculty again played a prominent role. Russell Dalton, Wayne Sandholtz, Anthony Smith, and Rein Taagepera from political science; Amihai Glazer from economics; and visiting researchers in residence, including Filipo Tronconi, Gideon Rahat and Stephen Burgard, all contributed to this enterprise. **Note:** The papers presented in the conference are available on at http://www.democ.uci.edu/ research/conferences/gradconf2008.php



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