US Congresswomen Loretta Sanchez provides Insider Perspective on American Politics

Undergrads in political science professor Mathew Beckmann’s Introduction to Politics class got an insider’s perspective on California politics when Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez (D) addressed the class May 10. Elected to office in 1996, Sanchez holds seats on both the House Armed Services and Homeland Security Committees and represents the state’s 47th district. Invited by the Center for the Study of Democracy (CSD), Sanchez’s visit to campus also included a morning discussion with UCI faculty, graduate students and members of the community.

“UCI is ground zero for research in Orange County,” she said as she went on to stress the importance that innovation in technology, healthcare, infrastructure and communication research will play in the future of California.

She focused on the breakdown of last year’s $800 billion stimulus package as proof, citing funding allocations of $70 billion for energy and environmental program research, $19 billion for healthcare information technology and $7 billion for broadband and wireless expansion. When asked what she thought about recent teacher strikes in San Juan Capistrano sparked by on-going state funding cuts, Sanchez responded that budget cuts for education keep her up at night.

Continued on Page 3

Gubernatorial Candidate Jerry Brown discusses Politics and the Future of California

California Attorney General Jerry Brown delivered the 2009-2010 Center for the Study of Democracy’s annual Peltason Lecture on October 29, 2009 at UC Irvine’s Crystal Cove Auditorium. The former and possible future governor used the lecture to address education, infrastructure, and the criminal system in California. Using his wealth of experience from two terms as California Governor, Secretary of State, Mayor of Oakland, and Attorney General, Jerry Brown identified California’s shortcomings in these areas and offered several solutions.

Acknowledging this long experience as a public official, Brown could not help but note the irony that he once campaigned as a political outsider. “When I was there the first time, I was, ‘Throw them out. Let’s get somebody with hair on their head, now the shoe's on the other foot.'”

Jerry Brown began the lecture with a brief discussion of his biography which detailed his initial interest of becoming a priest to his many years as an elected official. While many expected Brown to focus on his vast political resume, Brown highlighted his four years in a Jesuit Seminary School and his work with Mother Teresa in India at the Home for the Dying as being particularly influential experiences. Brown noted that these spiritual experiences played a large role in his ideology and outlook on human relations and government.

Continued on Page 4
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coffee with Republic Azerbaijan</td>
<td>October 9, 2009</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Consul General Elin Suleymanov</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James L. Gibson, Stanford University Democracy Luncheon</td>
<td>October 21, 2009</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>James L. Gibson, Stanford University</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald Saari Conference on Voting Theory</td>
<td>October 24, 2009</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Donald Saari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deborah Avant, UCI, Touraj Daryae, UCI, Mateo Farzan, UC Santa Barbara, Fariba Taghavi, CSU Long Beach Panel “Iran After the June 12, 2009 Elections”</td>
<td>October 28, 2009</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Deborah Avant, UCI, Touraj Daryae, UCI, Mateo Farzan, UC Santa Barbara, Fariba Taghavi, CSU Long Beach</td>
<td>Panel “Iran After the June 12, 2009 Elections”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malalai Joya “A Woman Among Warlords”</td>
<td>November 5, 2009</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Malalai Joya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CROSS CULTURAL CENTER</td>
<td>November 5, 2009</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>CROSS CULTURAL CENTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Colloquium (PRIEC)</td>
<td>November 6, 2009</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Colloquium (PRIEC)</td>
<td>November 6, 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee with Supervisor Bill Campbell</td>
<td>November 17, 2009</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Coffee with Supervisor Bill Campbell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew Beckmann University of California, Irvine Democracy Lunch</td>
<td>November 18, 2009</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Matthew Beckmann University of California, Irvine Democracy Lunch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giorgio Freddi, University of Bologna, Italy Paul Feldstein, UCI, Carole Uhlman, UCI, Christian Welzel, Jacobs University of Bremen, Germany Comparative Perspectives Health Care Panel</td>
<td>December 1, 2009</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Giorgio Freddi, University of Bologna, Italy Paul Feldstein, UCI, Carole Uhlman, UCI, Christian Welzel, Jacobs University of Bremen, Germany Comparative Perspectives Health Care Panel</td>
<td>December 1, 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali Shakeri Community Advisory Board for the Center for Citizen Peacebuilding in the School of Social Science at UCI Coffee and Informal Discussion</td>
<td>January 13, 2010</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Ali Shakeri Community Advisory Board for the Center for Citizen Peacebuilding in the School of Social Science at UCI Coffee and Informal Discussion</td>
<td>January 13, 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael B. Oren Ambassador of Israel to the United States U.S. Israel Relations from a Political Personal Perspective February 8, 2010</td>
<td>February 8, 2010</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Michael B. Oren Ambassador of Israel to the United States U.S. Israel Relations from a Political Personal Perspective February 8, 2010</td>
<td>February 8, 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Taub Principal Deputy Legal Adviser of Israel’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs Meet the Diplomats</td>
<td>February 10, 2010</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Daniel Taub Principal Deputy Legal Adviser of Israel’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs Meet the Diplomats</td>
<td>February 10, 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Annual Graduate Student Conference</td>
<td>May 8, 2010</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>6th Annual Graduate Student Conference</td>
<td>May 8, 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee with Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez</td>
<td>May 10, 2010</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Coffee with Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez</td>
<td>May 10, 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deana Rohlinger</td>
<td>May 17, 2010</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Deana Rohlinger</td>
<td>May 17, 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susmita Gongule Thomas Consul General of India in San Francisco Meet the Diplomats</td>
<td>May 1, 2010</td>
<td>UC Irvine</td>
<td>Susmita Gongule Thomas Consul General of India in San Francisco Meet the Diplomats</td>
<td>May 1, 2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bowling Alone Author Robert Putnam addresses the Changing Role of Religion in America


Putnam began his talk by highlighting the importance of religion and religious institutions in any study of civil society. Putnam notes that about half of all group membership in the United States is in some ways tied to or associated with religion. It was this relationship that inspired Putnam to collect and analyze a large data set on religion and social capital.

Before discussing the results of this survey, Putnam described critical periods in American culture that changed America’s levels of religiosity. While there was a steady increase in the number of young Americans attending church during the 1950’s, the cultural revolution of the 1960’s created a change in young Americans’ attitudes about morality and in particular pre-marital sex. These changes caused conflict between the church and young Americans which led to a small but precipitous decline in church attendance amongst young people.

Almost 40 years later, the growth of evangelical and Christian conservatives during the 1980’s and 1990’s led to a second period of young Americans turning away from religion, this time in record numbers. While 5% to 10% of young Americans a generation ago had no religious affiliation, according to Putnam, this number has grown to a third of young Americans.

Putnam argues that these dramatic declines of religiosity could have adverse effects on civil society and ultimately politics and social relations. Putnam finds that those with strong religious affiliations are generally more altruistic. In particular, Putnam notes, those with religious affiliations are “more likely to volunteer, give money to both secular and non-secular organizations, give up their seat on a bus, and allow someone to cut in line.” Moreover, religious Americans are more likely to vote and join civic organizations. Therefore the decline in religiosity amongst young people could lead to a more selfish society.

What explains the link between religiosity and higher levels of altruism? Putnam argues that those with high levels of religiosity feel more pressure from their peers to live up to positive religious values.

Established in 1999, the Eckstein Lecture recognizes Center for the Study of Democracy co-founder Harry Eckstein for his scholarly contributions to the study of democracy. Eckstein was a faculty member in the UCI political science department from 1980-1999.

CSD Sponsors the Sixth Annual Graduate Student Conference.

On May 10th, the Center for the Study of Democracy held its fifth annual graduate student conference. The conference provides an excellent venue for doctoral students to receive expert guidance on projects covering a range of topics. It also allows graduate students to meet and connect with faculty and other graduate students with similar interests.

The theme of the 2010 Graduate Student Conference was Empirical Democratic Theory. CSD faculty members Evan Schofer (Sociology) and Charles Anthony Smith (Political Science) served as the faculty organizers and Danvy Le, Fatima Rahman, Dana Nakano, and Sharmane Jackson served as graduate student organizers. This year’s participants traveled from all over the state, country, and even the world, from universities including UC Irvine, UC Riverside, UCLA, Cal Tech, SUNY Albany, and Uppsala University in Sweden. The Conference was organized into five different sections that covered everything from Mobilization to Current Issues in Democracy. Continued on Page 4

Sanchez Continued from Page 1

“In principle, my job as a member of Congress is not to fund K-12 education – that’s a state matter. But I still worry, come September, whether or not kids will have schools to attend.” She added that more K-12 education cuts could be expected due to lower than expected state tax revenues.

On the topic of border issues, Arizona’s new immigration law, and the potential for similar legislation in California, Sanchez said “California will not go backward. Border control has less to do with immigration issues than it does with the large amount of money and drugs being pushed through by Mexican cartels.”

When asked what it was like to be in chambers when the national healthcare bill passed – a bill which she supported after amendments dealt with some of her concerns including its impact on potential cuts in Medicare funding for the state and in funding for teaching hospitals – she pointed out that “no bill is ever perfect, but we can make changes as we implement the bill over the next three years.”

In her view: “If it works even half as well as Democrats say it will, it will be the best gift to our nation – ever.”
Stanford Professor David Grusky Discusses Social Mobility in the United States

In accepting the Democratic Nomination for President of the United States, Barack Obama highlighted America’s longstanding belief in the American dream. Obama noted that his parents “weren’t well off or well known, but shared a belief that in America their son could achieve whatever he puts his mind to.” In spite of Obama’s claim, the reality of a growing economic divide between the rich and poor in this country have lead many to doubt the link between hard work and mobility. Stanford Professor David Grusky addressed whether this growing cynicism in the opportunities for social and class mobility were grounded in truth in the 2010 Robin M. Williams Jr Lecture.

Grusky and his co-authors examined mobility across three different categories. First, the authors analyzed inequality based on resources (e.g. higher levels of income, education at elite schools, and strong social/occupational networks). The investigation examined whether people without such advantages could achieve higher socio-economic status. Second, the authors examined “macro” level occupational mobility, examining the likelihood of the child of a laborer, for example, moving into the professional class. Finally, the authors examined “micro” occupational mobility or the probability that children will follow in their parents’ footsteps and join the exact same occupation, for example, the rate in which children of professors also become professors.

In spite of growing economic inequality, Grusky reported that there are higher than expected level of social and class mobility. “Although only one-third of the working male population crosses the manual-nonmanual barrier, about half of the working male population is mobile across macro-class lines, and about nine-tenths is mobile across micro-[occupational] lines.” The results suggest that social mobility and the American dream appear to be alive and well in the United States.

The Williams Lecture honors a great scholar, a past President of the American Sociological Association, who spent much of his last two decades as a visiting Distinguished Professor at UCI. Williams’ academic career spanned almost 60 years, from a first book in 1947 to a last book in 2003, with his final publication a posthumously published review essay.

CSD Graduate Student Conference
Continued from Page 3

The Center for the Study of Democracy fellows played a prominent role in this year’s conference. CSD Fellow Seth Alexander examined judicial empowerment in authoritarian regimes, Amanda Pullum investigated counter movements in states, and Peter Miller analyzed cross national data on opinions toward torture to determine the role that social modernization plays in people’s views towards the use of torture.

A number of CSD faculty members were also involved in the conference as discussants including Katie Bolzendahl, Dorie Solinger, Tony McGann, Sara Goodman, Evan Schofer, and Yang Su.

Brown Visits UCI
Continued from Page 1

Attorney General Brown also used the opportunity to identify several shortcomings in California politics. In particular, Brown noted that partisanship has gotten in the way of pragmatism in Sacramento. Brown warned the partisan fighting in the state’s capital has made California’s government less efficient. He argued that the deadlock between parties has been based on ideology rather than on the principle that the government should work for the interest of the people.

In spite of his grim assessment about politics in California, Brown offered an optimistic view of the future. "Something's got to be done" Brown said. “…it can't be done by one party or the other. There's got to be a coming together of different groups that don't like each other. I'm confident that will happen. We've got to summon up the courage to make the changes."

Jerry Brown also advocated for a more personal approach to education in California. Brown said that a “one size fits all” model and standardized testing is the wrong way to educate students. Brown also argued that California schools were underfunded and that he would like to see education funding increased. In particular, he would like to see more funding allocated to vocational programs for students who aren't interested in college.

Jerry Brown concluded the lecture by taking questions from the audience and students. In the end, Bernie Grofman, the Director of the Center for the study of Democracy presented him with a stuffed Peter the Anteater.
The academic year, 2009-10 continued a period of economic crisis for the world, the nation, the state, and the University of California. Of necessity, CSD’s operating budget from the university took a second substantial cut, and mandatory staff furloughs further complicated our ability to carry on CSD activities. This academic year was also one of transition, with Sheila Hayden, the Center’s superb Administrator, deciding to follow her lifelong dream of becoming a nurse, and leaving UCI for Nursing School in February 2010 (with many a bittersweet farewell). Moreover, the UCI Chancellor’s Distinguished Lecturer Program, which had in the past funded many CSD speakers (including international pollster John Zogby, former President of Mexico Vicente Fox, NYU sociologist and past President of the American Sociological Association, Troy Duster, and Notre Dame political scientist and past President of the American Political Science Association, Dianne Pinderhughes), was cancelled. And our five year funding from the City National Bank for the Economics of Governance Lecture series (joint with the Department of Economics) came to an end.

Yet, with careful management, Sheila’s meticulous advance planning, and with lots of help from other staff, faculty, and graduate students in the School of Social Sciences, especially David Meyer, the Associate Director of the Center, Carolyn Bramlett who was on half-time loan to us from the Center for Research in Immigration and Public Policy from February through May, Janet Phelps, who helped us with J-1 visa forms for the Center’s many overseas visitors, our diligent work study student, Vanessa Maaz, and an excellent temp, Lauren Blakley in May; we were still able to aid the research activities of faculty and students in the School of Social Sciences in many different ways, from bringing in national and international academic visitors at both the senior and junior level to participate in activities of the Center (ten in 2009-10), to mentoring graduate students, to supporting major conferences that will result in book publication, to providing seed grant support and summer research assistantship support to Center faculty, to sponsoring or co-sponsoring numerous public events and research forums.

CSD’s efforts to bring in major public figures and senior academics generated over thirty events over the course of the year, including former Governor and current Attorney General Jerry Brown (who gave the annual Jack W. Peltason Lecture), the Ambassador of Israel, Michael B. Oren, Congress member Loretta Sanchez, Roger Cohen, Foreign Affairs Editor of the New York Times, Leszek Balcerowicz, former head of the Polish Central Bank (who gave the annual Economics of Governance Lecture), and Orange County Supervisor, Bill Campbell, as well as over a dozen nationally and internationally known academics such as David Grusky of Stanford, who gave the annual Robin Williams Lecture that CSD co-sponsors with the Department of Sociology (see list of events elsewhere in this newsletter). In events planning, CSD worked closely with the Center for Research in International and Global Studies (Debbi Avant, Mike Roesler), the Political Science Department (Mark Petracca), the Sociology Department (Wang Feng), the Center for Persian Studies (Nasrin Rahimieh), and the Center for Research in Immigration and Public Policy (Frank Bean), as well as having individual events joint with the Interdisciplinary Center for the Scientific Study of Ethics Morality (Kristi Monroe), and the UCI Cross-Cultural Center. In this time of budgetary stringency, CSD and other units in the university have been doing many more joint events. Indeed, well over half of our events this year were co-sponsored, many with CSD the junior partner. This has the dual purpose of maximizing on budgetary efficiency and promoting valuable collaborations across departments and across Schools. For example, with RIGS, CSD has been sponsoring campus visits from Consul Generals from a variety of countries, most recently those of Azerbaijan and India.

CSD’s mission is to foster faculty research. The programs of Democracy lunches, Democracy dialogues and other public events, and brown bag events are all intended to foster a climate of research innovation and excitement. CSD has also always used a substantial portion of its funds in the form of seed support for grant proposals research leading to book publication, and for conferences that result in edited volumes from leading presses (see list of major 09-10 seed grant funding elsewhere in this newsletter).

I am especially pleased that CSD provided seed funding to Dorie Solinger and Nina Bandelj, that was matched at a close to 3 for 1 rate by external funding, to support a November 2009 conference on “The Fall of the Berlin Wall/Tiananmen Square: 20 Years Later” to be made into a book. This conference brought to UCI nearly two dozen distinguished academic experts for a major stocktaking of the long run repercussions of the tumultuous events of 1989. It was the first in what we hope will be an annual CSD “signature” conference, whose topic area will rotate among the five research foci within CSD.

Continued on Page 6
Other very recent international conferences supported by CSD will result in book or special journal issue publication in 2010, including a joint conference with the University of Bologna on the long run consequences of early 1990s electoral reforms in Italy and Japan; and two joint conferences with the Electoral Studies Group of the French Political Science Association: one on field and lab experiments looking toward reform of the French presidential electoral system, and one on the research legacy of the distinguished French political scientist, Maurice Duverger. This year, CSD co-sponsored a conference with the Institute of Mathematical Behavioral Sciences (IMBS) on public goods (co-organized by Don Saari), and co-sponsored with the Economics Department the 6th Annual Irvine-Japan political economy conference (organized by Amihai Glazer). We also co-sponsored a conference at Cornell University (co-organized by Russell Dalton) on “How Institutional Structures Shape Citizen Behavior” that will become a book, and co-sponsoring a conference at the European University Institute, Florence on “Internet and Voting” (co-organized by Bernard Grofman). CSD also ran the 6th annual Graduate Student Conference (co-organized by Tony Smith and Evan Schofer, with further help from Matt Beckmann, Katie Bolzendahl, Sarah Goodman, and Yang Su, and with the able assistance of graduate students Sharmaine Jackson, Danvy Le, Dana Nakano, and Fatima Rahman) that brought in graduate students from seven different universities to give papers on topics related to democracy and democratization that were critiqued by UCI faculty. In addition to the national and international visitors we brought to UCI, most of whom are involved directly with UCI faculty in joint research, I am pleased to report that the program of university-based international cooperation on “Collective Action and Social Movements,” begun last year by David Snow under CSD auspices, involving universities in China, Italy, and the Netherlands, has resulted in one of the CSD graduate students, Lorien Jasny, spending a quarter as a visiting scholar at the University of Trento, working with CSD international affiliate Mario Diani.

Unfortunately, we anticipate further very substantial cuts from our present reduced budget in CSD’s 2010-11 operating budget; moreover, the Chancellor’s Distinguished Lectureship series for 10-11 will almost certainly again be cancelled due to budget cuts. Thus, it will be much harder for CSD to bring big name speakers to UCI, but we expect to persevere nonetheless, looking to find speakers who will not expect a substantial honorarium for a university appearance, such as those on book tours. We also will continue with the Eckstein and the Robin Williams, Jr. lecture series, organized jointly with the Departments of Political Science and Sociology, respectively, and we expect to continue to synergistically co-sponsor with other UCI units small events that have direct research impact. For example we will be continuing the “Law and Latte” series done jointly with political science (co-organized by Tony Smith and Diana Kapiszewski) that started this fall, and we will begin a similar “Economics of Conflict” series jointly with economics (organized by Michael McBride) this coming fall.

The Democracy Fellows program and our new CSD Graduate Affiliates program were created in the belief that first rate graduate students are needed to attract and retain first rate scholars. Economic stringencies continue to affect CSD’s ability to raise money from the community to provide supplemental funding for Democracy Fellowships and other forms of graduate research support. In hard times, necessity forces people to focus the scope of their philanthropy more narrowly, but thanks to the remarkable generosity of CSD Community Leadership Council members William Podlich, for his continuing support of the Podlich Democracy Fellows program, and Jack Peltason, for the endowment that supports the Jack and Suzie Peltason Democracy Fellows Program, we were able to maintain the Democracy Fellows program, and to create a new category of CSD Graduate Affiliates. We were pleased to welcome four new CSD Democracy Fellows in 2009-10, two from political science, two from sociology: Kenneth Chaiprasert, Beth Gardner, Henry Hail, and Danvy Le. In a year when almost no graduate students in the social sciences got academic jobs, and almost none even got job interviews, I am pleased to report that four graduating CSD Fellows got interviews and three of those got jobs or post-doctoral fellowships (Amy Alexander as a five year post-doctoral research fellow at Leuphana University, Lüneburg, Germany; Reuben Kline as one year Max Weber Post-Doctoral Research Fellow at the European University Institute in Fiesole (Florence) Italy, and Christopher Stout as an assistant professor at Wellesley. In addition, graduating CSD Fellow, Nhu-Ngoc Ong will be serving as managing editor of Orange County’s Vietnamese-American community newspaper, the Vien Dong Daily News. I am also pleased to report that for the second year in a row, a CSD student (previously Kathy Rim, this year Christopher Stout) won the UCI Alumni Association award for Outstanding Graduate Student, a campus wide award given to only one student each year.

Continued on Page 8
CSD Graduate Fellows Publications (CSD Graduate Fellows are in Bold):

Peter Miller, "Postmaterialism and Social Movements" in the forthcoming Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political and Social Movements; coauthor Political Science and Politics. (Vol. 43, No. 3), "U.S. Public Opinion on Torture, 2001–2009"


Kristen Monroe, Adam Martin, Bridget Portman and William Chiu, "What is "Political Psychology?" Perspectives on Politics, Volume 7, Issue 04, December 2009;


Christopher Stout and Reuben Kline, “I’m Not Voting for Her: Polling Discrepancies and Female Candidates” Political Behavior (Forthcoming)


CSD Graduate Fellows Awards:

Christopher Stout, 2010 Alumni Association Lauds and Laurels Recipient for "Outstanding Graduate Student"

Rueben Kline, 2010 Max Weber Fellowship at European University Institute

Dana Y. Nakano 2010-11 American Sociological Association Minority Fellow (Cohort 37);

Dana Y. Nakano 2010-11 Center for Organizational Research Small Grant (Project Title - The Power and Pervasiveness of Story: The Merging of Personal, Organizational, and Ethnic Narratives)

Kenneth Chaiprasert, Social Science Merit Award for Graduate Student - UCI, Podlich Fellowship - UCI

Daisy Reyes, UC ACCORD, $20,000, Doctoral Dissertation Grant "Latino Student Politics: Constructing Ethnic Identities in Organizations,” 2010-2011.

Beth Gardner, Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowship in Contentious Politics

Beth Gardner, recipient of Reading Group Award from the Center for Law Society and Culture for our reading group: "How new technologies shape and affect our understanding of culture and spawn new and emergent understandings of law and legal institutions.”
THE COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

Guiding the Center’s Future

The Leadership Council for the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy is a group of political and business leaders of Orange County who are deeply concerned about the vitality of democracy in the United States and the expansion of democracy around the world. The Council embodies the model of citizen participation as the strength of the democratic political process. Council members work with the Center for the Study of Democracy 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; help to increase community awareness of the Center and its activities, and identify areas where Center activities can contribute to the understanding of democracy; assist the philanthropic activities of the Center in the support of education and research on democracy. We believe the democratic process is one of America's most precious resources, and the Community Council is helping to build the leading university-based center devoted explicitly to the study of democracy at home and abroad.

Officers

Thomas B. Rogers, Co-Chair of the CSD Leadership Council, former Executive Vice President - Regional Manager, City National Bank
Larry Thomas, Co-Chair of the CSD Leadership Council, former Senior Vice President, The Irvine Company
Jack W. Peltason, Emeritus Founding Chair of the Leadership Council, President Emeritus, University of California, Chancellor Emeritus, University of California, Irvine

Community Leaders

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Hon. Marian Bergeson, Former Co-Chair of the CSD Leadership Council, Former State Senator
Lisa Hughes, Attorney, Hughes and Sullivan
William F. Podlich, Consulting Managing Director, Pacific Investment Management Company
Hon. William G. Steiner, Former Co-Chair of the CSD Leadership Council, National Program Director, Childhelp USA, Former Orange County Supervisor
Brett J. Williamson, Managing Partner, O'Melveny and Myers, LLP

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Director: Bernard Grofman
Newsletter Editor: Christopher Stout
Democracy Paper Series Editor: Amy Alexander
Associate Director: David Meyer
Website Editor: Evan McCulla
Center Administrator: Shani Brasier

Message from the Director—Continued From Page 6

Since it first began roughly a decade ago, CSD has been aided not only by the generosity of, but also by the immense range of personal contacts of, members of the CSD Community Leadership Council and other leading Orange County figures. This year, we owe special thanks for funding from the law firm of O’Melveny and Myers (through the good auspices of CSD Leadership Council member Brett Williamson) for the visit to UCI under CSD auspices of Professor Bob Putnam of Harvard, well known author of Bowling Alone, who spoke about his new book on religion in America. Putnam gave the annual Harry Eckstein Lecture (co-sponsored by the Political Science department). We owe special thanks, too, to the law firm of Dorsey and Whitney (through the good auspices of Juan Basombrio) for some general purpose events funding. We also owe a very special debt to former Ambassador to Spain, George Argyros, for his invaluable help in bringing former Governor Brown to UCI. In all our endeavors CSD has benefited immeasurably from its community affiliates under the able leadership of co-Chairs of the CSD Community Leadership Council, Tom Rogers (formerly of City National Bank) and Larry Thomas (formerly of the Irvine Company) CSD is truly blessed in having Larry and Tom’s involvement and commitment to us and to UCI.
Major Research Grants Awarded to CSD Faculty 2009-2010

“Political Parties and Democratic Linkage”
Russell Dalton
This grant will support two scholars – David Farrell and Ian McAllister to collaborate on finishing this book which examines the functioning of the party government model for contemporary democracies, beginning with the role of parties in elections campaigns to their impact on government policy outputs.

“Criminal Regulation of Sexual Activity”
David J. Frank
This grant will support the second phase of his research on the criminal regulation of sexual activity.

Impact of Voluntary Associations on Government Policies
Evan Schofer
This grant will support Beth Gardner for one month RAship.

“Internet and Voting” Conference
Bernard Grofman
This grant will support the two-part conference whose first part will be held in June 2010 at the European University Institute in Fiesole (Florence), Italy, with a follow-up session at UCI.

“Bush vs Gore: A Decade of Decisions”
Charles (Tony) Smith
This grant will support research on the aftermath of the Supreme Court decision in Bush v Gore that purported to limit its application to the instant case.

“Black Legislative Policy Makers: Winners or Losers?”
Katherine Tate
This grant will support one graduate student for two months to code for roll call votes that won and lost for major policies during the Clinton administration for the CBC and other House caucuses.

2009-10 Research Guests

Steve Burgard, Northeastern University, Dates: Winter 10, Interests: American politics, mass media, religion and politics

Nicole Doerr, Free University in Berlin, Dates: Spring 10, Interests: Democracy in social movements, transnational communication, language, culture, gender, visual sociology and comparative analysis

Giorgio Freddi, University of Bologna, Italy, Dates: Fall 09, Interests: Public administration, health and environmental policies, European union, Italian politics

Michele Khouri, University of Pantheon-Assas Paris II (France), Dates: Fall 09, Interests: Public choice, political economy, voting and international organizations

Kevin O’Leary, Yale University, Dates: Fall, Winter, Spring, 09-10 Interests: American politics, democratic theory and practice, political reform, politics and the press

Sang-Chul Park, Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul, South Korea, Dates: Winter, Spring, Fall 10 Interests: Constitutional Law in Korea, Public Opinion, Voting and Elections

Hanna Wass, University of Helsinki, Finland Fall 09, Interests: Elections and turnout, generational effect in electoral and no-parliamentary participation; citizens’ expectations for representative democracy

Center for The Study of Democracy Vol. X
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