

CSD *Center for the Study of Democracy*

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



Washington Week in Review Comes to UC Irvine

The U.S. election was November 3, 2000, but by November 17th the results were still in doubt. This provided the setting for the original cast of *Washington Week in Review*--Paul Duke, Charles McDowell and Jack Nelson--to discuss the historic 2000 elections and their implications for democracy in America. Nelson moderated PBS's popular WWR for 20 years, and McDowell and Nelson are among the nation's foremost journalists on elections.

The Center's Leadership Council sponsored the event, bringing together the political and social elite of Orange County with some of the leading election analysts in America. William Steiner hosted the event; Marian Bergeson and Walter Gerken served as honorary chairs for the event support fellowships for future students to study the democratic process at UC Irvine. evening. The proceeds from the

Center for the Study of Democracy

When Vaclav Havel addressed a joint session of the U.S. Congress in 1990, he offered the following definition of democracy: "democracy in the full sense of the word will always be no more than an ideal; one may approach it as one would a horizon, in ways that may be better or worse, but it can never be fully attained."

Now, a decade after the democratization wave transformed the world in the early 1990s, these words are even more prophetic. There has been amazing progress in the development of democracy in Eastern Europe and South Africa, and the consolidation of democracy in Latin America--but more progress is necessary. And there is an increasing realization that even in the West we need to make further progress toward the democratic horizon.

2000-01 was a very successful year for the Center. UC Irvine designated the Center as the university's 14th Organized Research Unit. This provides a continuing institutional and financial base for faculty research on democracy. Miki Caul and Rachel Cichowski became the Center's first new Ph.D.s to accept academic positions (SUNY Binghamton and the University of Washington respectively). Center symposiums produced several major research volumes, and faculty initiated a host of new research projects. All these efforts contribute to the Center's goal to sponsor research and education to improve democracy at home and abroad.

Russell J. Dalton
Director

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Reza Pahlavi Sees Iran at a Crossroads

On the eve of the 2001 presidential elections in Iran, Reza Pahlavi visited UCI and the Center to discuss the prospects for democratic reform in Iran.

Pahlavi discussed the contradictions between the current clerical regime in Iran and the principles of freedom and democracy. He questioned whether the majority of the Iranian public supports the clerical-based regime.

Pahlavi laid out an agenda for political reform in Iran, beginning with a guarantee of human rights, and including new economic and political exchanges with the West. Pahlavi's believes that Iran's goal should be the creation of a secular democracy.

Pahlavi's address was part of the Center's *Democracy Leadership Program* that brings leading political and academic figures to UC Irvine for student and community discussions of democracy.

Reza Pahlavi's lecture is available online at the CSD website.

Bowling Alone at UCI

For nearly a generation, social and political engagement in America have been on the wane. People vote less, we know, but they also are less likely to join a social group, to attend political meetings, or even to have dinner with their neighbors.

Along with the Roger and Janice Johnson Chair, the Center hosted Robert Putnam of Harvard University to discuss his groundbreaking new book, *Bowling Alone*. Putnam shows that more Americans are now disconnected from family, friends, neighbors and civic life. The decline in such social activity diminishes our "social capital," which he argues is vital to the social, economic, and political health of our nation. Putnam attributes this decline to the changing structure of modern societies, and generational differences. Declaring the decline of social capital the central crisis of our time, he then suggested how Americans can reconnect.

Putnam also presented the initial results from his new study of social life in 40+ American communities. Perceptions of the quality of life in the community are surprisingly unrelated to community affluence, but are strongly linked to levels of social capital.

See Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 2000).

Sidney Verba Delivers 2001 Eckstein Lecture

Is it rational to vote, especially when your ballot is only one of several million? Sidney Verba, Professor at Harvard University, addressed this question in the annual Harry Eckstein Lecture: "Culture, Calculation, and Being a Pretty Good Citizen: Alternative Interpretations of Civil Engagement." In the tradition of Eckstein's research, Verba focused on the persisting debate between those who view citizen participation as a rational calculus of citizens, and those who see participation as resulting from values and cultural norms of citizenship.

Verba drew upon his long series of citizen participation studies, and maintained that rational calculations may apply in a few specific circumstances, such as when activists calculate on how to involve others. But in most instances, norms and values appear more important in stimulating citizen involvement. People vote because they believe they should.

Rather than emphasizing either approach alone, Verba suggests that the best research combines rational actor theories with more culturalist perspectives to the benefit of each. Specifying the contexts that shape citizens' action will help us to understand why some citizens participate, and others abstain from the process.

Sidney Verba's *Eckstein Lecture* is available online at the CSD website.

Bernard Grofman Elected to AAAS

Bernard Grofman, Professor of Social Science and a co-founder of the Center for the Study of Democracy was elected as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Grofman's research impressively spans many fields in the social sciences: public choice, mathematical models of collective decision making, formal democratic theory, politics of small groups, representation, electoral systems, and voting rights. Grofman is one of America's leading experts on political representation and redistricting. In 2000 Grofman was elected president of the Public Choice Society.

In recent years Grofman organized a series of international research conferences on electoral systems. This included studies of the hybrid systems, such as single transferable and non-transferable systems, as well as Scandinavian electoral systems. These meetings produced several books:

Bowler and Grofman, eds. *Elections in Australia, Ireland and Malta under the Single Transferable Vote* (University of Michigan Press, 2000).

Grofman, Lee, and Winkler, eds. *Elections in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan Under the Single Non-Transferable Vote* (University of Michigan, 1999).

The Real Story of the Florida Vote in 2000

As the computers in South Florida counted the ballots on election night, they made an electronic copy of each ballot for a CSD researcher—Anthony Salvanto—who had analyzed ballots in the prior two elections for his Ph.D. research. A few days later when Florida and the nation were embroiled in the election controversy, Salvanto was already analyzing these ballot images. Using a computer-imaging technique that he developed



for his thesis research, Salvanto documented the problems with the Miami ballots (*Miami Herald*, January 6, 2001). He subsequently led the analysis for the major news organizations' re-examination of the Florida vote (*USA Today*, May 11, 2001) and the mistakenly punched ballots. His findings, which appeared on CNN and major papers throughout the country, showed that voter errors cost both candidates votes. Gore lost thousands of votes from voter mistakes around the state, but Bush would still have won the recount had it gone forward as planned.

Salvanto is serving on the Carter- Ford Commission on National Election reform, sponsored by the Century Foundation, on the task force on voting technology that is searching for ways to improve the voting process in the U.S. He is now writing a book about the election, voting, and possible steps toward reform.

The Center Welcomes New Faculty

As the CSD became an Organized Research Unit, it expanded its membership to include several new faculty who will be affiliated with the Center:

Frank Bean, Department of Sociology
International migration, demography and minority politics

Anthony McGann, Department of Political Science
Formal analysis, European politics

Belinda Robnett, Department of Sociology
Social movements, race and ethnicity

David Snow, Department of Sociology
Social movements in America

Democracy, Violence, and Cities

Teresa Caldeira, Department of Anthropology, hosted an international research conference that examined how democratization creates new bases of segregation in public spaces. This renowned group of international scholars met the UC Irvine in June 2001

James Holston, UC San Diego, "Disjunctive Democracies"

Sophie Body-Gendrot, Université Sorbonne-Paris IV, "Fear of the Other: French Cities at a Crossroads"

Re-Segregation and Violence

Teresa Caldeira, UC Irvine, "Violence and Erosions of the Public in Democratic São Paulo"

Alan Mabin, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, "Suburbanization, Segregation, and Metropolitan Governance in the Early 21st Century"

Anne-Maria Makhulu, University of Chicago, "South Africa's New Urban Segregation: Looking from the Margins"

Gerald Frug, Harvard Law School, "The Legal Technology of Exclusion"

Vicente Rafael, UC San Diego "The Cell Phone and the Crowd: The Question of 'Non-Violence' in the Recent Philippine Coup"

Private Urbanization

Ayfer Bartu, Koç University, Istanbul, "Constructing Urban Identity through Fortified Enclaves: A View from Istanbul"

Evan McKenzie, University of Illinois, Chicago "Constructing the Pomerium in Las Vegas"

Greening X Conference

Helen Ingram and Richard Matthew hosted the tenth annual Southern California conference on environmental politics and policy at UC Irvine in January 2001:

Bryan McDonald and Ted Gaulin, UC Irvine, "On Measuring the Impact of Environmental Stress"

Ann Terlaack, UC Santa Barbara, "Governmental Problems of Transferring Solutions of Best Practices"

Leah Frazier, UC Irvine, "Framing Environmentalism"

Morgan Barrows, UC Irvine, "Natural Community Conservation Planning Act"

Linda Fernandez, Ryan Dwight, "Estimated Health Costs for Illnesses Associated with Recreational Contact with Marine Waters"

Stephen Colbert et al., USC, "Bacterial Contamination of Marine Recreational Waters in Huntington Beach"

Pablo LaRoche, UCLA, "Three Architectural Proposals for Climate Sensitive Design"

Julie Silvers, USC, "Environmental Conflicts Involving Transnational Corporations, States, and Environmentalists in Latin America"

Paul Sirola, UCLA, "When Rhetoric and Reality Don't Match"

Steve Recchia, UC Irvine, "Taking to the Streets or the Elites?"

Dele Ogunseitan, UC Irvine, "International Country Study Programs and the Question of Hegemony in the Framing of Global Environmental Assessments"

Credit, Risk and Development

Garance Genicot Department of Economics, hosted an international team of scholars who examined how informal and formal institutions provide bases of investment in developing nations, and thereby facilitate social, economic and political modernization in these nations. The conference was held at UC Irvine in January 2001

Ethan Ligon, UC Berkeley, "Informal Insurance and Limited Commitment"

Marcel Fafchamps, Oxford University, "Risk- Sharing Network and Limited Commitment"

Abhijit Banerjee, MIT, "Networks, Migration and Investment: Insiders and Outsiders in Tirupur's Production Cluster"

Garance Genicot, UC Irvine, "Endogenous Group Formation in Risk-Sharing Agreements"

Matthew O. Jackson, Caltech, "La Crema: A Case Study of Mutual Fire Insurance"

Dilip Mookherjee, Boston University, "Corruption and Decentralization of Infrastructure Delivery in Developing Countries"

Maitreesh Ghatak, University of Chicago, "Occupational Choice, the Wealth Distribution and Allocation of Talent"

Debraj Ray, New York University, "Persistent Inequality"

Kaushik Basu, Cornell University, "International Credit and Welfare"

Andrew Foster, Brown University, "Imperfect Commitment, Altruism and the Family"

Philip Bond, Northwestern University "Why is Microfinance Hard?"

Jonathan Morduch, New York University, "Commercial Banking and the Poor"

Democracy in New Forms?

Democratic institutions are changing, though the exact course of these changes remain uncertain. Bruce Cain of UC Berkeley and Russell Dalton of UC Irvine received a grant from the Institute of European Studies to begin a new study of the growing tensions between the system of representative democracy and increasing public demands for expanded citizen access and direct democracy, such as referendums and citizen advisory bodies. The project examines the sources and consequences of these reforms in Europe, North America, and the other OECD nations.

One type of change involves reforms of the electoral system, such as expanding the number of offices decided by election, or opening up the nomination process to the voters through direct primaries. Related reforms appear to be expanding ballot access to minor parties. There is also evidence of increasing use of referendums and initiatives in contemporary democracies. This workgroup includes Shaun Bowler, UC Riverside; Miki Caul, State University of New York; David Farrell, University of Manchester; Mark Gray, UC Irvine; Susan Scarrow, University of Houston; and Martin Wattenberg, UC Irvine.

A second project group looks at reforms in the administrative processes. For example, Cain and Sergio Fabrinni from the University of Trento are examining provisions that increase citizen access to government records. Chris Ansell, UC Berkeley, is studying how the spread of regional government is providing new venues for citizen involvement. Henrik Bang of the University of Copenhagen is documenting reforms that expand the public's access to and participation in government administration.

Finally, Alec Stone, UC Irvine and Oxford and Rachel Cichowski, U. of Washington, are focusing on the judicialization of politics, seen in various institutional changes which expand citizen rights and access to the courts to challenge government decisions.

Democracy and Environmental Stress

During the 1990s several large international research projects demonstrated that environmental change may contribute to conflict within and between nations. Yet, many nations apparently lack the capacity to manage this dangerous relationship. These findings generated worries that growing environmental stress will trigger violent conflict through out the developing world.

With partial funding from CSD, the *Global Environmental Change and Human Security Project* is exploring these issues. In its first phase the project focused on small island states, which are often poor countries facing rapid environmental degradation. The project found that democratization, economic openness and participation in international regimes help these nations adapt so that environmental stress does not lead to conflict.

A more extensive cross-national analysis is challenging many of the findings of the 1990s. This research suggests that even the poorest societies are fairly innovative and successful in meeting the social effects of environmental change.

See Matthew and Gaulin, "The Social and Political Impacts of Resource Scarcity on Small Island States," *Global Environmental Politics* (2001).
www.gechs.uci.edu

Political Systems and Economic Stress

Participation in regional economic and global trade organizations is often accompanied by sudden surges of unemployment and other economic dislocations. How do political regimes of different types adjust to these problems? How do the displaced workers fare in states of different types?

These issues are especially interesting in comparing how democracies and socialist governments differ in addressing these economic issues in their quest for global economic participation.

With initial seed grants from CSD, Dorothy Solinger launched a comparative study of economic adoption in France, Mexico, and China as each nation joined an international trade group.

Solinger interviewed government officials and unemployed people in China; second stage interviews were conducted with unemployed French and Mexican workers.

Building on this base, in Spring 2001 Solinger received a large grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation to expand the project. Solinger plans to do further interviewing in China and further comparisons to the French and Mexican experiences. A book length manuscript is planned from this project.

Conflict potentially exists in almost all social exchanges: one person would like to get more, and the other would like to give less. Indeed, the essence of many social decision involves such exchanges.

Sterios Skaperdas organized an international conference on "Social Conflict and Economic Performance" that analyzed how economics can explain the peaceful allocation of decisions in various social exchanges, and predict the potential consequences when such conflict resolution mechanisms break down.

The conference offered an economic perspective of how policy decisions are made within an exchange model. The participants examined questions such as the role of conflict in state development, political support for welfare spending, and the complementarity of economic and defense policy. Another paper examined when social rules are likely to generate conflict. One of the more provocative pieces offered an economist's perspective on how to deal with dictatorships.

The contributors demonstrate how an economic approach can identify some of the social exchanges principles that underlie the democratic process—and the factors that may prompt these exchanges to break down into social conflict.

Conference findings are in a special issue of *Economics of Governance*, edited by A. Glazer and K. Konrad, March 2001.

How Women Win

Just days before the hereditary peers lost their privileges in the British House of Lords, I was in London interviewing former Labour Party General, Lord Larry Whitty. As I observed the peers and their influential friends sip cocktails and chat in a private bar, the irony of the new strides toward democratization became increasingly clear.

The interviews in London were part of my dissertation research that examined the factors aiding the representation of women in parties across Western Europe. With a German Marshall Fund dissertation grant, I interviewed party officials and politicians in Britain, Finland, and Germany. I spoke with party National Women's Officers, National Executive Committee members, Directors of Campaigns, several members of parliament (MPs) and even a presidential candidate in Finland (one of four women running for President!).

My research identified several conditions when parties are more likely to promote female candidates in parliamentary elections. Pressure from the party's grassroots appears most effective when the women's organization within the party joins forces with the party's main faction. In addition, pressure from party elites, especially women in the party leadership committee, facilitates the adoption of party rules, such as quotas, that directly increase the number of women candidates.

Miki Caul Kittilson participated in the Democracy Fellows program and received her Ph.D. from UC Irvine; she is now an assistant professor at State University of New York, Binghamton.

Graduate Fellowships to Study Democracy

In the wake of the global democratization wave of the early 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 authoritarian regimes

The formal course work and faculty mentorship of the training program draw upon faculty of the CSD and build upon its present research and educational activities. The program involves a set of formal courses that are 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 democratic theory and practice. 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

CSD Center for the Study of Democracy

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:

Deana Rohlinger, *Countermovement and Media Coverage Outcomes: A Case Study of the Abortion Debate*, CSD01-06

Sidney Verba, *The Harry Eckstein Lecture: Culture, Calculation, and Being a Pretty Good Citizen*, CSD01-01

Shaun Bowler, Elisabeth Carter, and David M. Farrell, *Studying Electoral Institutions and their Consequences*, CSD01-05

Bernard Grofman and Robert Stockwell, *Institutional Design in Plural Societies: Mitigating Ethnic Conflict and Fostering Stable Democracy*

Reza Pahlavi, *Iran at the Crossroads*, CSD01-04

David Meyer, *Claiming Credit: The Social Construction of Movement Success*

Amihai Glazer, *Optimal Term Length When Misinformation Increases with Experience*, CSD01-03

Helen Ingram, *Research Agenda for Public Policy and Democracy*

Steven P. Recchia, *Explaining the International Environmental Cooperation of Democratic Countries*, CSD01-02

Rachel Cichowski, *Sustaining Democracy*

All these papers are available online at the Center's website; the papers can be downloaded and used for instructional and research purposes: www.democ.uci.edu

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