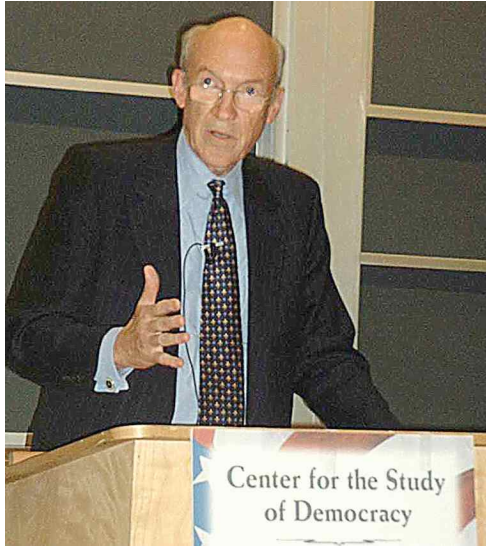


Center for the Study of Democracy



Organized Research Unit (ORU)
University of California, Irvine
Fall 2002



Sen. Alan K. Simpson: “Politics IS a Contact Sport”

Alan K. Simpson, one of the most distinguished Senators of the last quarter century, delivered the 2001-02 Peltason Lecture at UCI. Simpson spoke about the challenges facing America in the post 9/11 era, which will require new efforts to deal with international terrorism—and the potential financial and political costs of these efforts. He discussed the Bush administration’s ability to deal with these new challenges, and the skills they bring to this task. He also highlighted two major unresolved issues that he believes the US must address: nuclear waste and population growth—stressing the need to address these issues based on the facts, not on emotion or fear.

Simpson was Assistant Republican leader for 8 years, and was known for his bipartisan work on immigration, veterans & aging issues—and his quick wit. He now teaches at the University of Wyoming. Simpson’s address is available on the CSD website.

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY

In many ways, the world will never be the same. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 demonstrated a vulnerability that Americans have never felt in the history of the nation. Moreover, the whole world watched these events live, and experienced them in very personal ways. This was more than an attack on the United States, it was a challenge to supporters of human rights, freedom, and democracy throughout the world.

As the anniversary of September 11th passes, we should consider the enduring implications of these events. This experience underscores how precious democracy is, and how strong a government of the people can be when attacked. The outpouring of sympathy and support from fellow Americans and other nations was unprecedented. At the same time, the problems of ensuring security in this new environment can challenge some of the freedoms that are the basis of the democratic process.

Equally important, these events underscore the value of democratic development around the world. A democratic Afghanistan, or at least a politically more modern nation, would not have harbored the Taliban, and would have offered greater freedoms and opportunities for its own people—as we have seen since the change in government. A “Democratic Peace” could help move the world away from international conflict and toward peaceful resolution of differences.

In 2001-02 the Center for the Study of Democracy began its first year as an Organized Research Unit (ORU) at UCI. The Center sponsors research and education aimed at improving the democratic process in the United States and expanding democracy around the world. The events of September 11th underscore the even greater importance of our mission in today’s world.

Russell J. Dalton
Director

Come visit us at:
www.democ.uci.edu



**Doctor of Democracy:
Rein Taagepera**

As the democratic wave swept across the world in the early 1990s, one of the participants in this process was a co-founder of the Center for the Study of Democracy: Rein Taagepera.

Taagepera is a noted international expert on electoral systems. He applied these skills to the construction of Estonia's new democratic political system. Taagepera served on the constitutional council that drafted the new constitution in 1991. When Tartu University reformed its Faculty of Social Sciences, he served as the first dean.

While on summer leave from Irvine in 1992, the Popular Front party selected Taagepera as its presidential candidate. He polled nearly a quarter of the national vote. This ensured that Lennert Meri, the representative of the democratic coalition, was elected president. The election was the ultimate summer leave for a political scientist. In a subsequent article on the experience, Taagepera observed that being a political scientist both helped, and harmed, his candidacy. It helped by giving him a better understanding of how the democratic process worked; the limitation was the public's skepticism of whether he was running for election or running as a research project.

Taagepera has been one of the guiding forces in CSD. He now splits his time between teaching and research at UC Irvine and Tartu University, and remains a participant in the democratization process in Estonia. He combines the passion for the science of politics with the realities of democracy building that best illustrates the Center for the Study of Democracy.

**Collective Action & Democracy:
A New Initiative**

It is said that America was born in the streets. But protests and demonstrations were once unusual occurrences, and now they are a common part of democratic society and politics in the United States and most other democracies. Whether it is Gray Panthers at a senior center, green groups protesting pollution, or the "Battle in Seattle," collective actions are a standard part of the contemporary political repertoire. We are living in a social movement society.

An interdisciplinary research group headed by David Snow and David Meyer, is developing a CSD initiative to study these new forms of collective action. As one part of the initiative, Snow and Meyer are organizing and training *standby field research teams* that can be dispatched on short notice to sites of major collective action events. The teams are comprised of faculty and graduate students who are trained to study the processes of collective action. Most research on collective action and protest is done long after the streets have cleared, the activists are gone, and the situation has returned to "normal". By studying collective action in real time, these field teams can interview participants and their opponents, study the dynamics of the action, and monitor the flow of events as they occur.

The collective action initiative will also provide an international forum for research and teaching about collective action research. A lecture series will invite leading scholars to UC Irvine and the Center to discuss the processes and implications of these new forms of collective action.

The initiative's goal is to understand how social movements and new patterns of collective action are transforming political processes, empowering new social and political interests, and changing public policy outcomes. These changes are also occurring on a broad international scale, as collective action efforts span national boundaries. Snow and Meyer claim that non-institutional collective action may represent the new "fifth estate" in contemporary democracies.

The Center Welcomes New Faculty

The Center includes approximately three dozen faculty at four University of California campuses.

During the past year the Center expanded to include three additional faculty affiliates. We welcome these new members:

Louis DeSipio, Department of
Political Science
Chicano-Latino politics
American politics

Garance Gericott, Department of
Economics, International
economics, economic
development

Yung Su, Department of
Sociology
Social movements, China

CSD Repository for 2000 Florida Recount Data

USA TODAY, *The Miami Herald*, Knight Ridder newspapers, *The Tampa Tribune* and five other Florida newspapers examined all disputed ballots in the 2000 presidential election in Florida. The study sought to discover who might have won if all the disputed votes in Florida had been reviewed by hand, and to learn what went wrong to cause so many voters' ballots to be thrown out. The Center is the repository for the precinct level data from this study. These data and other data from Center projects are available online:

www.democ.uci.edu/archive.htm

The 2001-02 Eckstein Lecture: Harris Presents "Into the Arms of Strangers"

For nine months prior to World War II, Britain conducted an extraordinary rescue mission, opening its doors to over 10,000 Jewish children who lived within the Third Reich. These children were taken into British homes and orphanages, and the majority never saw their parents again. A similar program brought the "One Thousand Children" to the United States--and one of these children was Harry Eckstein.



For the 2001-02 Eckstein, Lecture Mark Jonathan Harris presented and discussed his 2000 Academy Award winning documentary, *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport* that chronicles this powerful story of the 10,000 children who left the Third Reich for Britain.

Harris wrote and directed *Into the Arms of Strangers*. He is a professor of film and television production at the University of Southern California. His documentary, *The Redwoods*, helped to establish a national redwood park in California and won the Academy Award for the best short documentary in 1968. *The Long Way Home* depicted the experiences of European Jews following the Holocaust, and won the Academy Award for the best feature-length documentary in 1997. Harris received his third Oscar for *Into the Arms of Strangers*, along with Deborah Oppenheimer who produced the film.

Preceding the film, an academic panel discussed the lessons of the *Kindertransport* and the Holocaust experience. William Schonfeld moderated a panel composed of Mark Jonathan Harris; Ruth Kluger, Department of German, UC Irvine; Robert Moeller, Department of History, UC Irvine and Kristen Monroe, Department of Political Science, UC Irvine.

Information on the "One Thousand Children" can be found at:

www.onethousandchildren.org

The list of *Eckstein Lectures* is available online at the CSD website.

COMPARATIVE REDISTRICTING

Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley assembled an international team of experts to consider the impact of redistricting choices on the representation of racial and ethnic groups. The conference was in December 2001.

Race and Ethnicity in Redistricting

Andy Reynolds, "Comparative Approaches to Race and Redistricting"

Jonathan Fraenkel, "Redistricting via Coups and Constitutions: The Construction of Ethnically-Mixed Constituencies in Fiji"

David Lublin, "Race and Redistricting in the U.S."

S. Mendiratta, "Delimitation (Redistricting) in the Indian Electoral System"

Discussant - Bruce Cain

Equal Population and Other Criteria

Rod Medew, "Australia's Concession to One Vote One Vote"

Pietro Navarra and Dario Caroniti, "Instrumental Redistricting and Legislative Unanimity in Italy"

Toshi Moriwaki, "The Politics of Redistricting in Japan"

Marina Popescu and Gabor Toka, "Districting & Redistricting in Eastern/Central Europe"

Lisa Handley, "The Role of the U.S. Courts in Mandating Redistricting Criteria"

Discussant - Karin MacDonald

Political Gerrymandering and Redistricting

Bernie Grofman, "Why Did the Democrats Lose So Many Southern House Seats, 1992-2000?"

Ron Johnston, "Distortion Magnified: New Labour and the British Electoral System"

Junichiro Wada/Toshihiro Sakaguchi, "How to Avoid Gerrymandering"

Discussant - Richard Katz

Institutional Mechanisms for Redistricting

Michael McDonald, "United States Redistricting"

John Courtney, "From Gerrymanders to Independence: District Boundary Readjustments in Canada"

John Coakley, "Electoral District Boundary Delimitation in Ireland"

Alonso Lujambio, "In Search of Neutrality: Mexican Redistricting in Historical Perspective"

Alan McRobie, "An Independent Commission with Political Input: New Zealand's Electoral Redistribution Practices"

Discussant - Jonathan Katz

CORPORATE GOVERNANCE

Amihai Glazer developed an international conference to examine the theoretical and empirical basis of how public and private institutions regulate conflicts of interests among the various stakeholders of the firm. The conference fostered cross-fertilization of ideas from scholars in economics, political science, finance, and organizational behavior who largely study public choice and political economy, and those who study corporate governance. The conference was held at UC Irvine in February 2002.

Governance

Oliver Williamson, University of California, Berkeley, "The Theory of the Firm as Governance Structure: From Choice to Contract"

Stergios Skaperdas, University of California, Irvine, "Law, Monitoring Costs, and the Choice of Ownership Structure"

Internal Organization I

Holger Müller, New York University, "Distributional Conflict in Organizations"

Susanne Lohmann, University of California, Los Angeles, "Can't the University Be More Like Business? A Comparative Analysis of the Governance Structure of the Public State University and the Multinational Firm"

Financial Institutions

Daniel Wolfenzon, New York University, "External Finance and the Real Economy"

Luigi Zingales, University of Chicago, "The Great Reversals: The Politics of Financial Development in the 20th Century"

Internal Organization II

Bjorn Segendorff, Swedish Central Bank, "Credit Claiming"

Joseph Harrington, Johns Hopkins University, "Multi-Market Competition, Consumer Search, and the Organizational Structure of Multi-Unit Firms"

MOVEMENTS, POLICY, AND DEMOCRACY

New social movements and public interest groups are expanding the boundaries of policy making in America. Helen Ingram, Valerie Jenness and David Meyer assembled the leading scholars on social movements in the U.S. to assess how these groups are impacting on public policy and transforming the democratic process. They are preparing the conference findings for publication as an edited volume.

Social Movements and Public Policy

David Meyer, "Social Movements and Public Policy"
Discussant - Sidney Tarrow

Public Policy as Opportunity and/or Provocation

Helen Ingram and Mill Ingram, "Federal Organic Standards: The Organic Farming Movement"
Suzanne Mettler, "Effects of Veterans' Policies for Participation in Social Movements and Conventional Politics"
Ellen Reese, "Social Movement Coalitions and Public Policy Implementation: Struggles Over Immigrants' Rights to Welfare in California"
Discussant - Calvin Morrill

The Shape of the Political Agenda

Frank Baumgartner, "Social Movements and the Rise of New Issues"
Doug Imig, "Social Movements and the Public Policies they Lead and Follow: American Children's Policy"
Mary Katzenstein, "Prison Reform and American Politics: Missed Opportunities"
Discussant - David A. Snow

The Interpenetration of Government and Challengers

Lee Ann Banaszak, "Inside and Outside the State: Movement Insider Status, Tactics, and Public Policy Achievement"
Paul Burstein and Paul Froese, "Interest Organizations, Information, and Policy Innovation in Congress"
John D. McCarthy, "Teflon Triangles: The Mobilization of Issue Coalitions by Government, Business, and Foundations"
Discussant - Cecilia Lynch

How, Why, and When Movements Matter

Edwin Amenta, "Political Contexts, Strategies, and the Impact of Challengers on Policy: The Townsend Plan and U.S. Social Spending Challengers"
Ryken Grattet, "Professional Networks and the Formulation and Adoption of Worker's Compensation Reforms"
Discussant - Belinda Robnett

DEMOCRACY IN NEW FORMS?

Bruce Cain of UC Berkeley and Russell Dalton of UC Irvine received a grant from the Institute of European Studies to study how democratic institutions in the OECD nations are responding to growing citizen demands for greater access and influence. Project participants presented their initial findings at a May 2002 at UC Berkeley.

Change within the Political Parties

Miki Caul Kittleson and Susan Scarrow
"Intraparty Democracy"
Shaun Bowler, Elisabeth Carter, and David Farrell "Changing Party Access to Politics"
Discussant: Austin Ranney

Change in Elections

Susan Scarrow, "Non-party Elections"
Mark Gray, "The Amount of Electing"
Discussants: Henry Brady and David Farrell

Access to Information and Administration

Bruce Cain, Sergio Fabbrini, and Patrick Eagan, "Knowledge is Power"
Chris Ansell and Jane Gingrich, "Expansion of Administrative Contact Points"
Discussants: Eckhard. Schroeter, and Mark Warren

Bureaucracy and the Courts

Henrik Bang, "Opening up the Bureaucracy"
Alec Stone-Sweet & Rachel Cichowski,
"Access through the Courts"
Discussants: Chris Ansell, Sergio Fabbrini

Roundtable: Democracy in Transition?

Bruce E. Cain, Russell Dalton, and Susan Scarrow

A final conference was held at the Bellagio Center of the Rockefeller Foundation in Fall 2002. This session considered the implications of these institutional reforms for the structure and processes of contemporary democracy. A book is planned for the presentation of the project findings.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND DEMOCRACY



Why do social movements take the forms they do? How do activists' efforts and beliefs interact with the cultural and political contexts in which they work? Why do activists take particular paths, and how do their strategies affect the course and impact of the movement?

Social Movements bridges the gap between "political opportunities" theorists who look at the circumstances of social movement efforts and "collective identity theorists" who focus on the reconstruction of meaning and identity through collective action.

The volume brings together scholars from a variety of perspectives to consider the intersections of opportunities, identities, structures and cultures, in social movements. Representing a new generation of social movement theory, the contributors build bridges between political opportunities and collective identity paradigms, between analyses of movements' internal dynamics and their external contexts, between approaches that emphasize structure and those that emphasize culture. They cover case studies from the U.S., Western Europe, and less developed countries. Movements include feminist organizing in the U.S. and India, lesbian/gay movements, revolutionary movements in Burma, the Philippines, and Indonesia, labor campaigns in England and South Africa, civil rights movements, community organizing, political party organizing in Canada, student movements of the left and right, and the Religious Right.

Combining a variety of perspectives on a wide range of topics, the contributors' synthetic approach shifts the field of social movements forward in important new directions.

Social Movements (Oxford University Press, 2002).

POLITICAL SCIENCE PUZZLES



Why would political leaders gamble on a vote of confidence they did not need to call, when failure would seriously harm their party? Why would a trade union conduct a strike that it knows it cannot win? Why do unemployment benefits seemingly have no impact on unemploy-

ment rates? How could the Soviet empire have dissolved so quickly? These are some of the puzzles examined in this new study of political science as puzzle solving.

This book assembles some of the leading rational choice scholars in political science to show how the insights of this approach can address some of the most pressing questions in comparative politics. The chapters illustrate the power of formal theory when it is allied with detailed knowledge of the historical puzzle to be explained. Five different case studies are presented in this collection.

Contrary to standard methodological treatises that tend to treat puzzle solving as something distant from what social science should be about, the contributors to this volume strongly demonstrate that puzzles that appear to be irrational or illogical do have reasonable explanations from a formal theory perspective. Moreover, the editor argues that an emphasis on specific puzzles will influence the next generation of political scientists.

This volume results from a conference on rational choice and comparative politics that was organized by Bernard Grofman and hosted by the Center for the Study of Democracy, with additional support from the National Science Foundation.

Political Science as Puzzle Solving (University of Michigan Press, 2001).

Return to Vietnam: The World Values Survey

A monsoon rain was flooding the streets of Hanoi as we began the training sessions for the Vietnamese World Values Survey. Since immigrating to America 10 years ago, I have dreamed of engaging Vietnam into the world community. My dream turned into a reality when I became a Democracy Fellow at UC Irvine. The World Values Survey had been conducted in more than 70 nations, and I had suggested that Vietnam be added to the project. Now the survey was being done in Vietnam!

Backed by support from an international team of research centers, including CSD, I traveled to Vietnam to the Institute for Human Studies, conducting a training session on the methodology and research process of the World Values Survey. The Institute then carried out this groundbreaking, scientific poll asking the Vietnamese people about their social, economic and political values.

In our final training session, team members from the Philippines drew a "circle of victory" on the board, and each of us filled in what we saw the Vietnamese Institute and the WVS in the next 10 years. We wrote in Vietnamese and English: "more international cooperation," "more surveys without having to ask permission from local authorities," and "freedom to do research." I hope that all of our aspirations will be realized.

Nhu-Ngoc Thuy Ong is the 2001-02 Peltason Fellow on Democracy.

Information on the Vietnamese survey is available on the CSD website:
www.democ.uci.edu/archive/vietnam.htm

Graduate Fellowships to Study Democracy

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

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

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

The formal course work and faculty mentorship of the training program draw upon faculty of the CSD and build upon its 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



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:

Carole Uhlaner, <i>The Impact of Perceived Representation on Latino Political Participation</i> . CSD02-06	<i>A Cross-Cultural Analysis</i> . CSD02-01
Ken'ichi Ikeda, <i>Social Capital and Social Communication in Japan</i> . CSD02-05	Russell Dalton and Nhu-ngoc Ong, <i>The Vietnamese Public in Transition:2001 WVS</i> . CSD01-09
Alan Simpson, <i>Politics IS a Contact Sport: The 2001-02 Peltason Lecture</i> . CSD02-04	Rein Taagepera, <i>Journal Citation Frequency in 'The State of the Discipline'</i> CSD01-08
Rein Taagepera, <i>Limiting Frames of Political Games: Logical Quantitative Models of Size, Growth and Distribution</i> . CSD02-03	David Snow, <i>Collective Identity and Expressive Forms</i> , CSD01-07
Andrew Drummond, <i>Electoral Volatility and Party Decline in Western Europe: 1970-1995</i> . CSD02-02	Deana Rohlinger, <i>Countermovement and Media Coverage Outcomes: A Case Study of the Abortion Debate</i> , CSD01-06
Christian Welzel, Ronald Inglehart, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, <i>The Theory of Human Development:</i>	Shaun Bowler, Elisabeth Carter, and David M. Farrell, <i>Studying Electoral Institutions and their Consequences</i> , CSD01-05

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

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