



Organized Research Unit (ORU)  
University of California, Irvine  
Fall 2004



## Sen. Edward M. Kennedy Delivers the Peltason Lecture

Senator Edward M. Kennedy has been described as one of the most influential legislators in American history. He delivered the annual Peltason Lecture at UC Irvine, discussing the challenges of health policy and economic security facing the nation to an overflow audience of more than a thousand people.

Kennedy spoke about Americans need for health care, and the special problems this poses for senior citizens and the poor—and how government could do more to ensure that research and policy reform improves the well-being of Americans. He discussed the need for more educational opportunities and educational performance, and for the government to deliver on its promises for change. Kennedy stressed that these needs continue at home, even while we fight and fund a continuing war in Iraq.

Kennedy has represented Massachusetts in the U.S. Senate since he was first elected in 1962 to finish the term of his brother, President John F. Kennedy. Since then, he has been re-elected seven times, and he is now the second most senior member of the Senate.

Kennedy's address is available on the CSD website:

[www.democ.uci.edu/kennedy/](http://www.democ.uci.edu/kennedy/)

## CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY

In 2004, more than 60 nations around the world are holding elections. Nearly 2 billion people--including Americans--will trek to the polls to select their government and make their views known to their political leaders. This marks a dramatic change in recent history. Until very recently the total number of people living in democracies was far smaller than just the number voting in 2004. In the last two decades, citizens from Afghanistan to Indonesia to the states of the former Soviet Empire have embraced democracy. The recent World Values Survey suggests that democratic aspirations exist on nearly a global scale as a common human value.

Yet, the existence of fair and free elections remains a challenge in many nations. And electoral democracy is just the beginning--real democracy requires much more. Even in the established democracies, substantial democratic challenges remain.

The Center for the Study of Democracy is one of the largest and oldest academic centers in America that focuses on the development of democracy. The Center sponsors research and education aimed at improving the democratic process in the United States and expanding democracy around the world. This newsletter outlines our activities of the past year, and illustrates our efforts to help democracy continue to expand and improve the life of its citizens.

Come visit us at:  
[www.democ.uci.edu](http://www.democ.uci.edu)

The Economic Policy Consequences  
of Electoral Systems:  
The 2003-04 Eckstein Lecture



Can proportional representation (PR) electoral systems survive globalization? Although Harry Eckstein consistently debunked claims that PR was inimical to democracy, he readily accepted the political effects of electoral systems. Earlier research demonstrated that PR leads to more Leftist governments, higher overall

taxation and spending, greater power for producers (including organized labor), and greater redistribution and less economic inequality. More recent research strongly suggests that PR systems innovate less and adapt less well to the demands of a rapidly globalizing economy. Other findings imply that PR thrives only where economic inequality is low. Rogowski links these arguments and considers whether the pressures of globalization will increasingly disadvantage PR regimes.

Ronald Rogowski specializes in comparative politics and political economy. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton University, and Harry Eckstein was his thesis advisor. His book *Commerce and Coalitions* explores how international trade shapes domestic political coalitions. In 1999, the American Political Science Association honored him by organizing a roundtable discussion to commemorate the tenth anniversary of its publication. His earlier book, *Rational Legitimacy; A Theory of Political Support*, is a critical study of political culture.

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

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Rogowski's Eckstein Lecture will be available online at the CSD paper website: [repositories.cdlib.org/csd](http://repositories.cdlib.org/csd).

DISCUSSING DEMOCRACY

The Center has hosted the following speakers and lectures during the 2003-04 academic year:

David Butler, Nuffield College, Oxford University, *Fifty Years of British Electoral History*

Josep M. Colomer, CIDE, Mexico, *The Choice of Political Institutions*

Denish D'Souza, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, *Has America Become an Empire? The Implications for World Peace*

Sheri Kunovich, Ohio State University, *Pathways to Power: The Role of Political Parties in Women's National Political Representation*

Gara LaMarche, Open Society Institute, *The War on Terrorism and its Effects on Democracy Around the World*

Noranit Setabutr and a delegation from the King Prajadhipok's Institute (KPI), Thailand discussed comparative research in East Asia.

Jan van Schagen and a delegation from the Dutch Ministry of the Interior, *Potential Reforms of the Dutch Electoral System*.

Carsten Schneider, European University Institute, *The Consolidation of 'Third Wave' Democracies: An Analysis of Six World Regions Using New Data and Methods*

Yuliya Tverdova, SUNY Binghamton, *Cross-national Variation in Sociotropic Economic Evaluations:*

Stanley Winer, Carleton University, *Tinpots, Totalitarians (and democrats): An Empirical Investigation of the Effects of Economic Growth on Civil Liberties and Political Rights*

## New Research Grants to CSD Faculty

Center faculty received the following major research grants during the 2003-04 academic year to conduct research on the democratic process in the United States and internationally.

Frank D. Bean and Louis DeSipio are part of a project of the Center for Research on Immigration, Population and Public Policy that received a \$1.7 million grant from the Russell Sage Foundation to study the social mobility of immigrant groups in Los Angeles.

Linda Cohen received the Gilbert S. White Research Fellowship from Resources for the Future in Washington DC. to study environmental law.

Russell Dalton and W. Philips Shively received \$137,000 from the National Science Foundation to conduct the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems survey during the 2004 U.S. elections.

Bernard Grofman received a \$25,000 grant from the Borchard Foundation to organize an international conference on the electoral rules in France, the UK and the U.S.

David Smith, Michael Timberlake and Jeffrey Kentor received \$50,000 from the National Science Foundation for "Collaborative Research: Globalization and the Network of Global Cities".

Kaare Strom and Torbjörn Bergman, "Nordic Parliamentary Democracy," Nordic Committee on Research Cooperation [NOS-S], 2004-06. SEK 1,800,000 (\$248,300). Team Research Grant.

Katherine Tate is co-Principal Investigator on a \$77,500 grant from the National Science Foundation to study "Black Public Opinion, the Supreme Court, and the University of Michigan Affirmative Action Decision".

Wang Feng is part of a multi-university research group that received \$120,000 from the Smith Richardson Foundation to conduct a national survey in China on the perceptions of distributive justice and factors affecting these attitudes.

## Living and Learning: An Intellectual Journey in Race, Law, and Politics:

The Department of Political Science and the CSD hosted Lucius Barker who delivered a Chancellor's Distinguished Fellow Lecture at UC Irvine. Lucius Barker spoke of his life and professional career, beginning in rural Louisiana and ending as an endowed professor at Stanford University. Barker's career spanned the historic change in race relations, beginning with the Brown vs. Board of Education ruling when he was a graduate student at the University of Illinois, to the civil rights struggle that transformed American during the next several decades. He discussed how the institutions of democratic politics, especially the courts, played a role in this historic transformation. He concluded his address by discussing the problems of tolerance and diversity that still exist in America, and how further progress can be made.

Professor Barker is one of America's leading scholars in the fields of judicial process, constitutional law and African-American politics. His book *Civil Liberties and the Constitution* is a classic text in the field. *African Americans and the Political System* (with Mack Jones and Katherine Tate) comprehensively addresses the political aspects of the African American experience in the United States. He is now finishing a political-legal biography of former U.S. Supreme Court Justice, Thurgood Marshall.

Barker moved to Stanford University in 1990 where he became the William Bennett Munro Professor. He was previously the Edna Fischel Gellhorn Professor at Washington University, St. Louis. He has served as President for the American Political Science Association, the Midwest Political Science Association, and National Political Science Association. He was the founding editor of the *National Political Science Review*. He is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

## Perceptions of Distributive Justice

Rising social and economic inequalities are one of the defining features of post-socialist countries. Popular perceptions of the degree and causes of rising inequalities are crucial for gauging support for further social and political reforms.

A research team composed of scholars from Peking University in China, and Harvard University, University of Michigan, Yale University, Texas A&M University, and UCI in the US are carrying out the first national survey on the perception of social inequality and distributive justice in China.

Two workshops have been held to launch the survey: one in the United States and one in China. At these two workshops researchers developed a questionnaire for the survey and finalized a sampling plan. The pre-tests are under way and the survey will be carried out in early fall 2004. Funds from CSD and Harvard University supported these two workshops, supplementing a grant from the Smith-Richardson Foundation for the survey work.

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## The Center Welcomes New Faculty

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

During the past year the Center expanded to include three additional faculty affiliates who will add to the research and educational activities of CSD:

David Frank, Department of Sociology  
Globalization, sexuality,  
the natural environment

Donald Saari, Department of Economics  
Voting and decision theory,  
social choice, micro-economics

Martha Feldman, Department of  
Planning and Policy  
Organizational learning,  
public management and public policy

## Bren Foundation Gift to the Peltason Fellows Fund

The Donald Bren Foundation generously provided a gift to the Center for the Study of Democracy to recognize Jack Peltason's contribution to higher education in America. The gift becomes part of the Peltason Fellowship Fund that supports entering Ph.D. students in political science who participate in the Center's Democracy Fellows Program.

The Peltason Fellowships honor the scholarly achievements of Jack Peltason. Peltason was the 16th President of the University of California (1992-95), after serving as Chancellor of the University of California, Irvine (1984-92) and as Chancellor of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1967-77). He was the president of the American Council on Education, and also served as President of the Bren Foundation.

Peltason is a highly regarded scholar on the Constitution and the democratic process in the United States. The textbook he coauthors on American Politics, Government by the People, is now in its 20<sup>th</sup> edition and is leading book in the field. He is also the co-author of Understanding the Constitution, now in its 16th edition.

The Center awards the Peltason Fellowship to an incoming student in the political science Ph.D. program who is concerned with the democratic process in the United States or in another nation. The first Peltason Fellow was admitted in Fall 1999.

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The Donald Bren Foundation was established in 1986 to further Mr. Bren's lifetime interests in education, scientific research, the visual arts and conservation. Mr. Bren is a long-standing contributor to the UC Irvine campus. In 1988, he initiated the Bren Fellows program and in 2003 he endowed the Bren School of Information and Computer Science. The Bren Foundation has endowed more faculty chairs at UC than any other benefactor of the university.

THE CENTER'S COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

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

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

Jack W. Peltason  
Chair of the Leadership Council,  
President emeritus, University of California

Marian Bergeson  
Vice Chair of the Leadership Council,  
Former CA Senator and OC Supervisor

William G. Steiner  
Vice Chair of the Leadership Council

Hank Adler  
Partner, Deloitte & Touche

Jo Ellen Allen  
Regional Director, Public Affairs, Southern  
California Edison

Terry C. Andrus  
Partner, Woodruff, Spradlin & Smart

Linda Cohen  
Professor of Economics, UC Irvine

Nicholas Franklin  
Senior VP, Public Affairs, PacifiCare

Diane F. Geocaris  
Counsel to the Chancellor, UC Irvine

James A. Geocaris  
Attorney at Law

Walter B. Gerken  
Chairman & CEO (retired) Pacific Life

Bernard Grofman  
Professor of Political Science, UC Irvine

Lisa Hughes  
Attorney, Hughes and Sullivan

Gary Hunt  
California Strategies, LLC

Christine Diemer Iger  
Christine Iger and Associates

Meredith J. Khachigian  
Former Regent, University of California

William F. Podlich  
Managing Director, PIMCO

Tom Powell  
Attorney at Law

Curt Pringle  
President, Curt Pringle & Associates  
Mayor, City of Anaheim

Safi Qureshey  
CEO, AVAZ Networks

Michael D. Ray  
President, Sanderson J Ray Corporation

Thomas Rogers  
Vice President, City National Bank

Donald Saltarelli  
Owner, Century 21 Saltarelli Realty

Bernard E. Schneider, Jr.  
Attorney at Law

Gary J. Singer  
Managing Partner, O'Melveny and Meyers

Larry Thomas  
Senior Vice President, The Irvine Company

Thomas Tucker  
Chairman, Jenstar Capital

Harriett M. Wieder  
President, Linkage Consulting

Martin Wattenberg  
Professor of Political Science, UC Irvine

Brett J. Williamson  
Partner, O'Melveny and Meyers

## RESEARCH CONFERENCES SPONSORED BY THE CSD

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### MAJORITARIAN AND RUNOFF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

This conference is the fifth in a series held on the world's major election systems. Previous conferences have looked at list systems of proportional representation, the single transferable vote, the single non-transferable vote, and mixed member systems. The main focus of the conference was on electoral rules in France (double ballot), UK (single seat plurality) and the U.S. (single seat plurality and majority runoff). The conference is funded by the Borchard Foundation; it was held at the Hotel de la Bretesche, Missillac (Bretagne), France. The co-organizers are Bernard Grofman (UC Irvine), Shaun Bowler (UC Riverside) and James Adams (UC Santa Barbara).

#### Monday, June 21

Bernard Dolez and Annie Laurent: "The Vote Seat Equation and the Single Member Run-Off System: The French Example"

Christine Fauvelle-Aymar and Michael Lewis-Beck: "Coalition Strategies and the National Front Vote in French Legislative Contests"

#### Tuesday, June 22

Jim Adams, Bernard Grofman and Samuel Merrill: "Does France's Two-Ballot Presidential Election System Alter Candidates' Policy Strategies? A Spatial Analysis of Office-Seeking Candidates in the 1988 Presidential Election"

Jean-Dominique LaFay: "The Effects of Changes in French Electoral Laws"

Bruno Jérôme and Veronique Jérôme-Speziari: "2004 French Regional Elections: The Politico-Economic Factors of a Nationalized Ballot"

#### Wednesday, June 23

Jon Fraenkel and Bernard Grofman: "Does the Alternative Vote Foster Moderation in Ethnically Divided Societies?"

Ian Budge: "Policy Correlates of Pluralitarian and Majoritarian Systems"

### CITIZENS, DEMOCRACY AND MARKETS AROUND THE PACIFIC RIM

The conference assembled an international team of distinguished scholars who are examining citizen attitudes toward democracy and markets in East Asia and the established Western democracies of the Pacific Rim. This research is based on the data from the newest wave of the World Values Survey. The project is directed by Russell Dalton of CSD and Doh Chull Shin of the University of Missouri.

#### Modernization and Human Value Change

Chris Weltzel, International University of Bremen and Ronald Inglehart, University of Michigan, "The Human Development Model and Value Change"  
Tan Ern-Ser, National University of Singapore, "Singapore in Global Perspective: Economic Change and Value Shift"

Pham Minh Hac, Institute for Human Studies, Vietnam and Pham Thanh Nghi, Institute for Human Studies, Vietnam, "Value Survey on Democracy and Market in Vietnam"

#### Factors Influencing Support for Democracy

Russell Dalton, UC Irvine, and Doh Chull Shin, University of Missouri, "Democratic Aspirations and Democratic Ideals"

Hans-Dieter Klingemann, WZB, "Government Evaluations and Democratic Attitudes"

Ken'ichi Ikeda, University of Tokyo, "Social Capital and Democratic Attitudes"

Russell Dalton, UC Irvine, and Nhu-Ngoc Ong, UC Irvine, "Authority Orientations and Democratic Attitudes in East Asia: A Test of the 'Asian Values' Hypothesis"

Nhu-Ngoc Ong, UC Irvine, "Changes in Attitudes toward Democracy among Asian Generations"

#### Factors Influencing Support for Markets

Doh Chull Shin, University of Missouri and Russell Dalton, UCI, "Exploring Weber's Theory in Confucian East Asia: Contemporary Attitudes toward the Principles and Norms of Capitalism"

Chung-Si Ahn, Seoul National University and Jiho Jang, Kwangwoon University "Public Support for Market Reforms in Nine Asian Countries: Divergence of a Market-Based Economy"

Zhengxu Wang, University of Michigan, "The Impact on Self-Expression Values: Economic Growth, Modernization, and Higher Education".

ECONOMICS OF GOVERNANCE

Some decisions are made individually or within the family, such as what house to buy or what food to eat. But many important decisions are made collectively. Democratic governments are a prime example, particularly in the legislature, but also on the Supreme Court or on the Courts of Appeal. In parliamentary governments, the cabinet, rather than the prime minister alone, sets policy. In the private sector, corporate boards of directors make decisions collectively.

The economics of governance emphasis within the CSD studies how such collective decisions are made, under what conditions they lead to good or bad results, and how different institutional arrangements affect the outcomes. Another aspect of the economics of governance concerns conflict: when are collective decisions adopted and enforced, rather than having individuals or groups fight each other for power.

The academic year 2003/2004 saw increased activity in the area. We offered a three-quarter graduate course in Public Choice, taught by economists and a political scientist. And we had a two-quarter research series on public policy, which discussed the following two topics.

- Why does government adopt policies which appear inefficient? For example, why does it protect a domestic industry by imposing an import tariff, rather than by directly subsidizing the industry. Or why does environmental protection often take the form of command-and-control regulations, rather than impose emissions taxes which would lead to environmental improvements at less cost. Explanations we explored often focused on problems of commitment and of credibility, with firms or individuals refusing to invest because they expect government to relax proposed regulations, or of lobbying groups favoring policies which will constrain future governments.
- Our second topic was income inequality, with special consideration of why the United States sees less income redistribution than does western Europe. Of special interest here was how the presence of minority groups (including recent immigrants) can reduce the political support for redistribution to the poor.

ASSOCIATED FACULTY

Linda Cohen  
Economics, UC Irvine

Amihai Glazer  
Economics, UC Irvine

Bernard Grofman  
Political Science, UC Irvine

Marek Kaminski  
Political Science, UC Irvine

Michael McBride  
Economics, UC Irvine

Anthony McGann  
Political Science, UC Irvine

Don Saari  
Economics, UC Irvine

Stergios Skaperdas  
Economics, UC Irvine

Carole Uhlaner  
Political Science, UC Irvine

Wang Feng  
Sociology, UC Irvine

## GAMES PRISONERS PLAY: THE TRAGICOMIC WORLDS OF POLISH PRISON



On March 11, 1985, a van was pulled over in Warsaw for a routine traffic check that turned out to be anything but routine. Inside was Marek Kaminski, a student at Warsaw University who also ran an underground press for Solidarity (STOP). The police discovered illegal books in the vehicle, and in a matter of hours five secret police escorted Kaminski to jail. A sociology and mathematics major one day, Kaminski was the next day a political prisoner trying to adjust to a bizarre and dangerous new world. This remarkable book represents his attempts to understand that world through the prism of social science.

As a coping strategy until he won his freedom half a year later by faking serious illness, Kaminski took clandestine notes on prison subculture. Much later, he discovered the key to unlocking that culture--game theory. Prison first appeared an irrational world of unpredictable violence and arbitrary codes of conduct. But as Kaminski shows in riveting detail, prisoners, to survive and prosper, have to master strategic decision-making. A clever move can shorten a sentence; a bad decision can lead to rape, beating, or social isolation. Much of the confusion in interpreting prison behavior, he argues, arises from a failure to understand that inmates are driven not by pathological emotion but by predictable and rational calculations.

Kaminski presents unsparing accounts of initiation rituals, secret codes, caste structures, prison sex, self-injuries, and of the humor that makes this brutal world more bearable. This is a work of unusual power, originality, and eloquence, with implications for understanding human behavior far beyond the walls of one Polish prison.

Marek Kaminski, *Games Prisoner's Play: The Tragic Worlds of Polish Prison* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

## BLACKWELL COMPANION TO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The abundance of social movement activity throughout the world makes it important to understand how social movements develop and function.

Blackwell's Companion to Social Movements is a compilation of more than two dozen original, state-of-the-art essays by a set of internationally recognized scholars on an array of topics in the field of social movement studies.



\* It covers a wide array of topics in the field of social movement studies.

\* It features a valuable introduction by the editors which maps the field, and helps situate the study of social movements within other disciplines.

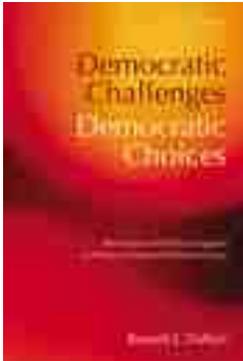
\* The chapters includes coverage of historical, political, and cultural contexts; leadership; organizational dynamics; social networks and participation; consequences and outcomes

\* The book includes case studies of major social movements, such as the labor movement, women's movement, environmentalism, ethnic movements and religious movements

\* It offers the most comprehensive discussion of social movements available today. It is a guide to understanding the dynamics and operation of social movements within the modern, globalized world.

David Snow, Sarah Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (London: Blackwell Publishers, 2004).

DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGES,  
DEMOCRATIC CHOICES



In most democracies today, citizens are more distrustful of politicians, political parties, and political institutions—despite the social and political progress of the past several decades. Where once democracies expected an allegiant public, citizens now question the very principles of representative democracy.

*Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices* documents the erosion of political support in virtually all advanced industrial democracies during the last third of the 20th century.

Assembling an unprecedented array of cross-national public opinion data, this study traces the current challenges to democracy primary to changing citizen values and rising expectations. These critical citizens are concentrated among the young, the better educated, and the politically sophisticated. At the same time, the evidence debunks claims that such trends are primarily a function of scandals, poor policy performance and other government failures. Changing levels of political support are more directly due to the successful social modernization of these nations. The increasing policy fragmentation of political agenda also contributes to these trends. A creedal passion for democracy is sweeping across the Western democracies, and people now expect more of their governments.

This study examines the consequences of these changing images of government. The author finds that these expectations are making governing more difficult, and fueling demands for political reform. The choices that democracies make in response to these challenges may lead to a further expansion of the democratic process and a new relationship between citizens and their government.

Russell J. Dalton, *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

DELEGATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY  
IN PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACIES



While the 20th century witnessed some of the greatest atrocities in human history, it is also the century in which democracy was gradually established and consolidated in large parts of the world. At the end of the millennium, there were more stable democracies than ever before.

This volume examines the processes of democratic governance. It studies political delegation and accountability in the parliamentary governments of Western Europe. Electoral and governmental institutions in Europe display great variation, with consequences for democratic delegation and accountability. This book addresses questions such as are different institutional structures a response to distinct problems of governing? How effectively do different parliamentary structures function? Do different parliamentary institutions create their own governability problems? And can we observe any changes over time in the ways in which parliamentary systems confront the delegation issues facing them?

This is the most ambitious and comprehensive account of the institutions of democratic delegation in West European parliamentary democracies to date. It provides an unprecedented cross-national investigation of West European political institutions from 1945 until the present day, as well as situating modern parliamentary democracy in the context of changing political parties and the growing importance of the European Union.

Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman, eds. *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

## A Decade of Democracy Fellowships at UC Irvine

In the wake of the global democratization wave of the 1990s, in 1995 the National Science Foundation awarded a five year grant to UC Irvine to develop a graduate training program on democracy and democratization. The program created an interdisciplinary curriculum combining political science and sociology. The program trains a new generation of Ph.D.s with the research and theoretical skills to understand and to strengthen the democratic process in established and emerging democracies.

When the NSF grant finished, community and business leaders in Southern California provided new funds for the Democracy Fellows program. The training program recruits new graduate students who are concerned about the central theoretical and political issues involved in building and strengthening the democratic process. In the past decade more than three dozen graduate students have participated in the democracy training program.

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

The activities of recent Democracy Fellows highlight the breadth of democratic studies at UC Irvine:

- ! Interviewing a peasant in a Bulgarian village to learn how citizens participate in this formerly communist nation.
- ! Analyzing millions of ballots from the 2000 election to learn who the Florida voters actually supported in the presidential election.
- ! Assessing how social movements create the frames that influence the movement and the policy images of observers.
- ! Studying election monitoring in Mexico City as Vincente Fox is elected president.
- ! Participating in the development of the World Values Survey in Vietnam.

As the program celebrates its tenth year, the students from this program are establishing new careers as university faculty at Arizona State University, Hunter College, the University of Washington and other campuses. Other students have positions as polling experts, federal court clerks, federal government analysts, or in private consultancy.

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](http://www.democ.uci.edu)

## Democracy Building in Baghdad



Susan Kupperstein is a Democracy Fellow at UCI, who took leave to work with the National Democratic Institute as one of the first non-governmental workers to enter post-war Iraq. In late June and early July of 2003, she helped organize focus groups to learn how Iraqi citizens felt about the defeat of Saddam Hussein.

A member of the team assigned to southern Iraq, Kupperstein and other team members looked for people willing

to talk about the future they want for their country. They were determined to learn homegrown opinion. “We knew the U.S.-led Coalition Provisional Authority had been targeting certain Iraqis, and we made a point not to talk to those people. We would walk around the street, looking for political organizations. We’d tell them, ‘We’re interested in hearing what you think.’”

“We were never in danger,” Kupperstein says. Iraqis, she remembers, saw her as an American, not as a woman. “A dirty floor in a shower – that was the most uncomfortable I was. The most scared I ever was had to be the night Saddam’s sons were killed. We didn’t know they were killed, but we heard lots of gunfire. We thought maybe it was a police chase, but it was celebratory.”

Between June 29 and July 9 of 2003, 15 focus groups were conducted across Iraq. Efforts were made to keep the groups homogeneous. The thought was that each group – men, women, Kurds, Arabs, Sunnis, Shiites and Christians – would be more likely to speak freely in isolation from the others. In other settings, Kupperstein says, women often were outspoken. In a reversal of America’s usual pattern, she says older men and women tended to be more eager than their adult children to reach out for democracy. They remembered freedom, she said; their children, who had known only Saddam Hussein, had trouble imagining it.

An NDI report released in Washington on July 28 gave the world its first look at the opinions of ordinary citizens in postwar Iraq. They were grateful for the ouster of Saddam Hussein, the report said, but they wanted order and governance. They held differing views about the role that should be played by Islam. In Kupperstein’s view, the report quickly affected public debate in America. “We’ve had amazing feedback,” she says. “This report is being read by people from all levels of the hierarchy in the government. It’s had a huge impact.”

For Kupperstein, whose ambition is to become U.S. Secretary of State, the work in Iraq is similar to work she did, also for NDI, in Kosovo and Bosnia. And since Iraq she has been on assignment for NDI in Morocco, Yemen and Washington, DC. All involve helping democracy grow in areas where totalitarian regimes have fallen. It is work that is full of hope, but not because democracy is an American product. “It’s not something that needs to be exported or imported,” she says. “It’s in the people. I think democracy really takes root in places where people are empowered to make their own choices and want to make their own decisions.”

Kupperstein is planning to return to Iraq to help build the infrastructure of democracy. If the Iraqi people are free to rule themselves, she says, “It will all fall into place. It’s still falling into place in the United States, 200 and more years after we first started working on it.”

Susan Kupperstein is a William F. Podlich Fellow at the CSD. She is writing a dissertation on democracy assistance programs and their impact.



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:

Samuel Barnes, Political Participation in Post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe, CSD04-10	Matthew Shugart, Melody Valdini, and Kati Suominen, Information and the Personal Vote under Proportional Representation, CSD04-05
Michael Latner and Anthony McGann, Geographical Representation Under Proportional Representation, CSD04-09	David Farrell and Ian McAllister, Voter Satisfaction and Electoral Systems, CSD04-04
Nhu-Ngoc Ong and David S. Meyer, Protest and Political Incorporation: Vietnamese American Protests, CSD04-08	Bonnie Field, Modes of Transition, Internal Party Rules and Levels of Elite Continuity, CSD04-03
Anita Charuworn and Linda Cohen, Patented Drugs, Generic Alternatives and Intellectual Property Regimes in Developing Countries, CSD04-07	Shawn Rosenberg, Reconstructing the Concept of Democratic Deliberation, CSD04-02
Miki Kittilson and Katherine Tate, Political Parties, Minorities and Elected Office, CSD04-06	Jon Fraenkel and Bernard Grofman, A Neo-Downsian Model of the Alternative Vote as a Mechanism for Mitigating Ethnic Conflict, CSD04-1

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