CSD: Building on a Decade of Success
Looking Back, Looking Forward

The Center for the Study of Democracy (CSD) began in 1991 as a UCI Focused Research Program (FRP). The original proposal, prepared by Harry Eckstein, Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Rein Taagepera, noted the extraordinary fact that “there is no other research unit on democracy and democratization on any U.S. campus.”

The FRP built collaborative relationships among faculty interested in various elements of the democratic process. Then in 1994, U.C. Irvine received a large multi-year grant from the National Science Foundation (NSF) to establish a graduate research training program on democracy. With the NSF grant in hand, the faculty applied to become an informal research center. This status and an initial multi-year commitment of research funds, was finalized in 1996. Then in 2001, CSD, under the leadership of Russell J. Dalton, became UC Irvine’s thirteenth Organized Research Unit. ORUs are the highest level and most select group of research entities within the University of California. The Center’s primary goal has been to facilitate research and education on themes of democratization and democratic politics. ORUs are subject to five-year reviews to identify strength and weaknesses.

Globalization and the Economics of Governance

The effects of globalization are ubiquitous. Cars, clothing, food, energy - all are products of a global production chain. For critics and skeptical observers, however, globalization incurs enormous social, economic, health and environmental costs. It is against this backdrop that the Center, in collaboration with the Department of Economics and with financial support from the City National Bank, invited noted economist Jagdish Bhagwati to the University to give the second annual Economics of Governance Lecture.

On April 26, 2006, Prof. Bhagwati, University Professor of Economics and Law at Columbia University and Senior Fellow in International Economics at Harvard University visited the Center for the Study of Democracy.

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Issues of Democracy at Home and Abroad

Each year the Center invites speakers to give lectures on the challenges of democracy. In 2005-2006 the Center hosted the following:

- **Eileen Padberg**
  Orange County Business and Political Consultant
  *Assimilating Women into Iraq's Economy*
  September 27, 2005

- **Al Carnesale**
  Chancellor, University of California, Los Angeles
  *Shared Governance*
  October 24, 2005

- **Robert Albritton**
  University of Mississippi, *Measuring Democracy and Jihadi Terrorism in Thailand*
  October 26, 2005

- **Doug McAdam**
  Stanford University
  *Civil Society Reconsidered*
  December 5, 2005

- **Morris Fiorina**
  Stanford University
  The 2005-2006 Eckstein Lecture
  *The Myth of a Polarized America*

- **Aiji Tanaka**
  Waseda University
  *Power Longevity in Japan*
  February 15, 2006

- **Manuel Hassassian & Edward Kaufman**
  *The Role of Israeli and Palestinian Civil Society in Peace Building*
  February 27, 2006

- **Holly McCammon**
  Vanderbilt University
  *Becoming Full Citizens: U.S. Women’s Jury Rights Campaigns*
  February 27, 2006

- **Hans-Dieter Klingemann**
  University of Berlin
  *Post-Autocratic Party Systems*
  April 17, 2006

- **Jagdish Bhagwati**
  Columbia University
  Economics of Governance Lecture
  *Why the Critics of Globalization are Wrong*
  April 26, 2006

- **Wang Dan**
  Ph.D. Candidate
  Harvard University
  *Rethinking the Past and Looking Forward to China’s Future*
  May 25, 2006

- **Christian Welzel**
  International University Bremen
  *Human Development Model of Social and Political Change*
  May 31, 2006

- **R. Kenneth Carty**
  University of British Columbia
  *Do Citizens’ Assemblies Make Reasoned Choices?*
  June 8, 2006

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**2005-2006 Center Directory**

**Director**
William R. Schonfeld

**Associate Director**
Judith Stepan-Norris

**Newsletter Editor**
Alix Van Sickle (2005)
William Chiu (2006- )

**Website Editor**
Michelle Budz

**CSD Welcomes New Faculty**

**Edwin Amenta**
Professor
Department of Sociology

**Francesca Polletta**
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology

**Catherine Bolzendahl**
Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology
A Country Divided?
The Myth of a Polarized America

The 2006 Eckstein Lecture

The checkerboard map of the United States is by now, well-known. Many states are blue and the remainder are red. It would appear that politically, the country is irreparably divided. The rancor over the past two presidential elections has not subsided and many observers, political pundits and social scientists alike, fret that America is torn between two poles.

On January 26, 2006 the Center welcomed distinguished scholar and observer of American politics Morris P. Fiorina to give the annual Eckstein Lecture. As a student of domestic politics for nearly thirty years, Prof. Fiorina has studied and witnessed important eras in American history. Is America truly divided and if so, is this something to worry about?

As an accomplished scientist, Prof. Fiorina prefers to corroborate suppositions with data. Relying on numerous public opinion indicators, Prof. Fiorina argued that one must pay attention to the details. Data show that the nation may be closely divided but it is not deeply divided.

Many polls indicate that Americans remain centrists. Indeed Republicans and Democrats alike map onto the standard bell curve with most being moderate in their views. This holds true for people whether they are in so-called ‘red’ or ‘blue’ states.

This moderation can be seen in the trends of public opinion regarding notorious hot-button issues such as abortion. Numerous polls conducted from 1972 to 2004 show that Americans feel about the same on abortion year after year.

Prof. Fiorina does acknowledge that there is a divide. Importantly, this divide maps onto the two competing political parties. Whereas Americans appear to be moderate, opinion polls show that over time people feel that the parties have, in their benchmark platforms, become increasingly polarized. For Prof. Fiorina, the parties do not represent the mainstream American but rather they stand to the left and right, politically, and work to pull the center in.

Notes: Morris Fiorina is the Wendt Family Professor of Political Science at Stanford University and a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

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the Council on Foreign Relations shared his thoughts with a lively and at times obstreperous audience.

As observers interested in current events, social scientists attempt to make sense of phenomena by deploying methods such as economic models, sociological studies, political economic analyses. Within the field there naturally exist competing views. The Economics of Governance lecture is designed to provide a forum for partisans to engage in lively debate.

For sociologists sensitive to income inequalities, globalization speaks to unequal exchange by global commodity chains controlled by wealthy firms. For neo-liberal economists, the diverse production matrix speaks to a comparative advantage that leverages the efficiency of market mechanisms. On any given point, Bhagwati was open to engaging U.C. Irvine's attentive and erudite audience.

When an incendiary issue is debated, it is not surprising that the University should come alive with protestors. However, Prof. Bhagwati's lecture was interrupted on numerous occasions by a group of demonstrators who, while exercising their freedom to assemble and voice dissent, managed to miss a golden opportunity to engage a scholar of the highest order on points of merit.

Truth in social science remains elusive. Diversity of opinion should be the source of a discussion that enables rather than impairs insight. Governance requires choices; it is through debate and deliberation that democracies can best meet the various demands of their constituencies.

Notes: Prof. Bhagwati has been Economic Policy Adviser to the Director General, GATT; Special Adviser to the UN on Globalization; External Adviser to the Director General, WTO. He is the author of over three hundred articles and fifty volumes.

His most recent publication is The Wind of the Hundred Days, How Washington Mismanaged Globalization (2000), both published by MIT Press.

About the Lecture Series

The Economics of Governance Lecture series is the University's premier lecture series on economics. Each year the Center invites distinguished economists and economic policy experts to discuss the economic challenges facing California and the nation, and explain the ways in which governments and citizens can best address these challenges.

The series is jointly coordinated by faculty in the Center for the Study of Democracy and the Department of Economics. The Center is grateful to City National Bank for sponsoring the lecture series.
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 play a vital role:

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

The 2005-2006 Community Leadership Council

Officers
Chair: Jack W. Peltason, President Emeritus, University of California; Chancellor Emeritus, University of California, Irvine
Vice-Chair: Hon. Marian Bergeson, Former State Senator and Orange County Supervisor
Vice-Chair: Hon. William G. Steiner, National Program Director, Childhelp USA

Jo Ellen Allen, Regional Director, Public Affairs, Southern California Edison
Linda Cohen, Professor of Economics, University of California, Irvine
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Walter B. Gerken, Chairman & CEO (retired) Pacific Life Insurance Co
Bernard Grofman, Professor of Political Science, University of California, Irvine
Lisa Hughes, Attorney, Hughes and Sullivan
Gary Hunt, California Strategies, LLC
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William R. Schonfeld, Director, Center for the Study of Democracy
Gary J. Singer, Managing Partner, O’Melveny and Meyers, LLP
David Snow, Professor of Sociology, University of California, Irvine
Judith Stepan-Norris, Associate Director, Center for the Study of Democracy
Larry Thomas, Senior Vice President, The Irvine Company
Thomas Tucker, Chairman, Jenstar Capital
Hon. Harriett M. Wieder, Former Orange County Supervisor; President, Linkage Consulting
Brett J. Williamson, Partner, O’Melveny and Meyers, LLP
The Politics of Special Interests

On February 13, 2006 the Center for the Study of Democracy held a conference on the politics of special interests. The event, organized by Prof. Amihai Glazer, drew researchers from around the world, including six faculty from Japanese universities and attendees from Taiwan, Spain, Russia and India.

Interdisciplinary in scope, the gathering included economists and political scientists as both panelists and discussants. The day was structured into two sessions. The morning portion covered theoretical analyses while the afternoon session offered empirical studies. The issues were diverse and covered such problems as why candidates adopt diverging platforms to how fiscal federalism can promote economic growth.

For example, a review of spending in the last twenty years shows that in both Japan and the United States, spending increases at the end of the fiscal year. What are the mechanics? In Japan data seem to show that the increase in the prime minister’s power allowed passage of important spending on large scale transportation projects. Attached to this was a systemic move away from multi-member electoral districts and a decrease in interest group politics. Great Britain showed a similar trend in economic growth linked to the rise of the Prime Minister’s power. Meanwhile, American findings suggest that lobbyists gain influence not by buying the votes of Congressional representatives in specific quid pro quo transactions but rather by subsidizing the activities of legislators who already support the positions lobbyists favor.

Voting Rules Matter: Plurality and Multi-Round Elections

On February 18-19, 2006 the Center, in collaboration with the Canadian Embassy and the U.C. Irvine Academic Senate, sponsored a conference to discuss the issues facing students of electoral systems. This was the fifth in a series examining the major electoral systems of the world.

The two-day conference brought together accomplished scholars from around the world. Topics included: the problem of the UK system being neither representative nor accountable; party inflation in India; and strategic voting.

Papers on American politics and strategic voting in Southern Democratic primaries also drew a lively discussion.

Attending the conference were researchers from the United Kingdom, and Canada as well as faculty from the University of Chicago, SUNY-Binghamton, Ohio State, George Mason and Concordia. Amongst the participants were UCI Center faculty included Amihai Glazer, Rein Taagepera, Yuliya Tverdova and CSD Fellows Michael Latner and Steve Weldon.
The 2005 – 2006 CSD Conferences

How is Democracy Doing?
The Second Annual Graduate Conference

The Center held its second annual Graduate Student Conference on April 29, 2006. This year CSD faculty David Meyer, Anthony McGann, Yuliya Tverdova and Carole Uhlane provided leadership and direction with important contributions from doctoral candidates Catherine Corrigall-Brown and Alix Van Sickle.

This conference is an important forum for the Center in that it provides graduate students with the opportunity to develop critical presentation and argumentation skills.

Drawing graduate students from the west coast, this year’s event featured four panels covering eleven papers. Topics were wide ranging and covered the spectrum from post-Authoritarian politics, religious and reactive social movements to sub-national democracy and the challenges of creating viable democratic institutions.

Electoral Democracy Expands in East Asia

On July 17, 2006 the Center funded, in cooperation with the East Asian Barometer and the POSCO Program at the East West Center, a conference to discuss the development of electoral democracy in Asia. As governments in East Asia implement electoral changes, scholars worry about the factors that may foster or hinder democracy.

Among the issues addressed were the role of partisan competition and political parties; the influences of social structure and issue-cleavages on partisanship; and the consequences of interest group politics.

Comparative analyses offer leverage into understanding how the paths that governments in East Asia are following converge with or diverge from that followed by Western democracies.

Organized by the Center’s former director, Russell Dalton in collaboration with Doh Chull Shin of the University of Missouri and Yun-Han Chu of National Taiwan University, the conference drew panelists from Australia, Japan, Taiwan, as well as faculty from Texas Tech.

Modeling Voting Across Different Dimensions

On December 10-11, 2005, the Center sponsored a working conference that brought together mathematicians, economists and political scientists to study the outstanding theoretical issues that define spatial voting.

The goal was to explore voting models that cover legislatures on the one hand and mass electorates on the other. The advent of powerful and accessible computing technologies must be guided by a theoretical framework. By looking at voting from multiple angles, the hope is to find patterns that show how votes on various and sometimes apparently disparate issues might actually be related.

The conference included scholars from Harvard, UCLA, U.C. Davis as well as CSD faculty including Bernie Grofman, Anthony McGann, Amihai Glazer, Stergios Skaperdas, and Donald Saari.
CSD Research: Ten Years of Achievement
(Continued from Page 1)

The most significant feature of the review is a visit by an external committee of leading scholars, who are selected by the Vice Chancellor of Research in consultation with the Academic Senate. This group visits the campus for three days, to study carefully the past performance of the ORU and to meet with faculty, administrators, and graduate students to pose questions and gather further information about the ORU’s activities and performance.

CSD has just completed its first external review. The committee was composed of Robert Hayden, Professor of Anthropology and Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, John McCarthy, Professor of Sociology and Department Head, Pennsylvania State University, and Paul M. Sniderman, Fairleigh S. Dickinson Jr. Professor of Public Policy, Department of Political Science, Stanford University. After their visit, the review team submitted their report to the Vice Chancellor of Research and Graduate Studies. They were extremely impressed with the broad array of contributions the Center has made. While such reviews are typically less than enthusiastic, this one was most laudatory.

For example, “CSD is doing a superb job of promoting research of the highest quality, assisting, recruiting, and retaining faculty, attracting funding and educating graduate students, creating a community of scholars, research fund-raising, and developing and strengthening ties between the University and members of the community.” Moreover, the recommendations provided by the committee all focus on urging the relevant parties in the University to provide the Center with additional financial and space support to enable it to carryout its current activities. Such external validation and recognition of CSD’s performance is extremely gratifying.

During the past five years, the Center has developed an impressive record of published research on democracy along with a substantial and effective Ph.D. training program. These accomplishments reflect the high quality of the Center’s faculty members and its graduate students, as well as support not only from the campus administration and the administration of the School of Social Sciences, but also from a number of critical members of the community who provide CSD with intellectual and financial support.

During the next phase of its development, the Center needs to maintain the momentum it has developed and institutionalize its graduate program and its support base.

SEE THE LATEST RESEARCH BY CENTER GRADUATE STUDENTS ONLINE AT:
Morris Fiorina Delivers the Eckstein Lecture (Continued from Page 3)

He previously was Frank Thompson Professor of Government (1996-98) and Professor of Government (1982-1996), Harvard University. Fiorina is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

Prof. Fiorina has published extensively on diverse subjects. His primary research interests include democratic theory, legislative process and decision-making, elections and public opinion. His books include: Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America; Divided Government, Retrospective Voting in American National Elections; and Representatives, Roll Calls and Constituencies. He received the Philip E. Converse Book Award in 2002.

This was the seventh annual Eckstein Lecture. The Eckstein Lecture was established to recognize Harry Eckstein's role as a co-founder of the Center for the Study of Democracy, and for his scholarly contributions to the study of democracy. He was one of the most prominent social scientists of the second half of the twentieth century.

Harry Eckstein was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford; Guggenheim Fellow; American Political Science Association Vice President; Editor of World Politics; founding member of the editorial board of Comparative Political Studies. Eckstein was also U.C. Irvine's first Distinguished Professor; and Distinguished Research Professor of Political Science.

Research Scholars in Residence 2005-2006

Each year the Center invites a number of faculty to visit the campus on a long-term basis as post-doctoral fellows or visiting professors. The goal is to increase collaboration within the field and extend the Center's contact with important outside scholarship. In 2005-2006 the Center hosted:

Aiji Tanaka, a visiting researcher and Professor of Political Science at Waseda University in Tokyo completed his one year stay at the end of winter.

Stephen Burgard, Director and Associate Professor in the School of Journalism at Northeastern University returned to collaborate with Center faculty on the role of religion in contemporary American politics.

Roger Albritton, Professor of Political Science at the University of Mississippi shared his research on Thai politics.

In addition, Kevin O'Leary continued his visit through the 2005-2006 academic year as he completed his book manuscript Saving Democracy on the practical aspects of elections and democracy. It has just been published by Stanford University Press.

CSD Hosts Graduate Students

The Center also invited select graduate student scholars from around the world to collaborate with faculty.

Edurne Bartolome, Deusto University, Spain
Daniel Bochsler, University of Lausanne and Geneva, Switzerland
Maria de la Puente, Complutense University, Spain
Lorenzo De Sio, Universita di Firenze, Italy
Aina Gallego Dobon, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain
Maria Rosa Herrera, University Pablo de Olavide, Spain
Ways of Knowing and Implications for Democracy
Martha S. Feldman and Helen Ingram
For conference attendance that seeks to find tools to integrate different "ways of learning" a public problem that foster an alternative way of knowing the problem that is broadly inclusive in its composition and capacities.

The Politics of Veiling in Comparative Perspective: Muslim Integration in the United States and France.
Jen’nan G. Read
For costs associated with a conference in France entitled, "The Politics of Veiling in Comparative Research" which will focus on four organizing themes that unite the French and the U.S. cases.

Why Committees Rule
Amihai Glazer
To fund a planning conference on the topic of "Why Committees Rule". The idea behind the conference would be to better understand the conditions which make decisions by committee superior to decisions by an individual.

Participatory and Deliberative Democracy in International Context
Shawn Rosenberg
To host a conference entitled, "Participatory and Deliberative Democracy in International Context". Conference will bring together political theorists, empirical researchers and practitioners to discuss the limits and possibilities of deliberative decision-making. Particular attention to cross-national comparisons and the role played by political culture and existing political practices.

The Underpinnings of Presidential Popularity: A Comparative analysis of Russia and the United States
Yuliya V. Tverdova
To analyze and compare two countries-Russia and the United States, in terms of their underpinnings of presidential popularity. Funding of a research assistant to help compile a dataset using various survey data sources publicly available on the Internet.

Can Majorities Decide? An Introduction to Group Decision Making Over a Multidimensional Space of Policy Alternatives
Bernard Grofman
Support a co-author’s visit to UCI which will enable finishing a book, “Can Majorities Decide?” This project uses real-world congressional voting patterns in large to test formal models of voting patterns in legislature.

The Worldwide Evolution of the University in the 20th Century
David Frank
Analyze university catalogs, develop coding scheme and assemble a dataset of 25 universities in 25 countries for 5 time periods in order to investigate the expansion of university curricula and the role and identity of student over time. With John Mayer of Stanford University.

Embedded Economies: Social Foundations of Foreign Direct Investment in Central and Eastern Europe
Nina Bandelj
For completion of her book, Embedded Economies which examines foreign direct investment in eleven Central and Eastern European countries to understand economic transformations after state-socialism.
Graduate Fellow Accomplishments

CSD graduate students continued to make significant contributions to the visibility of the Center. The second annual Graduate Symposium on Democracy was held and attracted guests from west coast universities including USC, Washington State University, U.C. San Diego and U.C. Riverside.

For Fall 2005, CSD recruited and supported two new doctoral students, one in political science and one in sociology: Ruben Klein and Lorien Jasny. There are currently twenty-four Democracy Fellows, in either Political Science or Sociology. Two Fellows completed their Ph.D. and will commence tenure track positions in 2006: Andrew Drummond at the University of Arkansas and Steve Weldon at the University of South Carolina.

In addition, a number of fellows have published articles and garnered extramural support. Lindsey Lupo has published as a co-author two articles including an article on effective pedagogy in the prestigious APSA journal *PS: Politics and Political Science*. She also presented a paper at the 2006 APSA Teaching and Learning Conference in Washington, DC.

Catherine Corrigall-Brown presented two papers at the 2006 ASA meeting in Montreal, one on social movements and another on the battle over authenticity in identity in pro and anti-Iraq war protests. In addition, she received the 2006 Phi Beta Kappa International Scholarship from the Alpha Association of the Phi Beta Kappa Alumni of Southern California.

Bruce Hemmer, as co-author, won a $53,000 grant from the US Agency for International Development for the UCI Center for Citizen Peace-building. He also co-published, as first author, an article on bottom-up citizen initiatives in peace-building in the journal *International Negotiation*.

Natalie Masuoka co-authored two papers published by the Center and Chris Stout co-authored another with Louis Desipio.

Lorien Jasny studied as an intern at Oxford, Nuffield College; Jill Harper worked as an intern in the US Department of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor; William Chiu completed the Summer Institute in Political Psychology at Stanford University; and Ruben Kline attended the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan.

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2005-2006 CSD Research Grant Faculty Awards

Trends and Patterns of Urban Income Inequality in China
Feng Wang
To obtain and establish at UC Irvine a database that allows for the systematic and longitudinal study of changing income inequality in China. Data through 2005 will be gathered through the Chinese National Bureau of Statistics.

Governing Globalization in the Presence of Conflict
Stergios Skaperdas
Review of research on the effects of globalization on governance. The project seeks to disaggregate the impact of globalization by country income. Collaboration with Michelle Garfinkel and Costas Syropoulos.

Citizens, Elections, and Democracy In East Asia
Russell J. Dalton
To support an International Conference that will assemble participants from four new International projects on public opinion in East Asia that define the nature of electoral politics in the region.
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:

- **Ferdinand Mueller-Rommel.** (October 1, 2005) *Types of Cabinet Durability in Central Eastern Europe*
- **Bernard Grofman, Scott Feld and Natalie Masuoka.** (December 15, 2005) *Direct And Indirect Influence Among Political Science Departments:*
- **Lorenzo De Sio.** (March 16, 2006) *Political Involvement and Electoral Competition*
- **Royce Carroll and Matthew Shugart.** (May 1, 2006) *Neo-Madisonian theory and Latin American institutions*
- **Doh Chull Shin.** (January 25, 2006) *Democratization: Perspectives From Global Citizenries*
- **Anthony J. McGann and Michael Latner.** (May 1, 2006) *Consensus Without Veto-Players: Testing Theories of Consensual Democracy*
- **Nina Bandelj and Bogdan Radu.** (July 28, 2006) *Consolidation of Democracy in Postcommunist Europe*

These papers are available online and can be used for instructional and research purposes. Download articles from the University of California’s eScholarship Repository at: repositories.cdlib.org/csd