

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY



ORGANIZED RESEARCH UNIT (ORU)
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE
FALL 2007



Concerned: Mary Robinson waits to respond to a question about human dignity and economic development

HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD INFORM ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Former UN Human Rights Commissioner Mary Robinson reflects on ethical globalization

On April 19, 2007, the former President of Ireland and United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights visited UC Irvine as a Chancellor's Distinguished Fellow to share her international experiences as an advocate for human rights and deliver the 2006-2007 Peltason Lecture. For Robinson, global economic progress must deliver basic benefits for those who toil in obscurity. Food, shelter, education and basic healthcare are critical for people to realize their human potential. Globalization must deliver a balance of benefits to all who are involved. She noted that "everyday, over 30,000 children under the age of five die from disease, hunger and lack of immunization. This is completely unnecessary," she explained. "If we don't fulfill our duties to the community, we haven't reached our full potential."

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REBUILDING IRAQ: MISHAPS AND MISSTEPS

Former Washington Post Baghdad bureau chief reflects on invasion's aftermath

The Green Zone in Baghdad is one of the most heavily fortified areas in the world. On November 16, 2006, Washington Post assistant managing editor Rajiv Chandrasekaran, visited UC Irvine to share observations

CARTER: WE CAN AND MUST COMMIT TO PEACE



Champion for peace: Jimmy Carter encourages students to visit the West Bank.

On June 6, 2007 the Center, along with the Model United Nations program, was delighted to host Jimmy Carter, thirty-ninth president of the United States and recipient of the 2002 Nobel Peace Prize. President Carter gave his remarks at a packed Bren Events Center and touched on issues long identified with his political career – achieving mutually acceptable terms for peace and justice in the Israeli-occupied Palestine territories.

Carter recently published *Palestine: Peace not Apartheid*, a book based on in-depth and on-the-ground studies of conditions in the occupied territories, and not, as he explicitly points out, in Israel proper. The title of the book has generated controversy and Carter was quick to preface his remarks by stating that he wished to convey to the American public, the simple facts about living in a region under multiple threats of

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from his best selling book *Imperial Life in the Emerald City*. Chandrasekaran's witty remarks and observations to a rapt audience belied the serious issues associated with managing the consolidation of power after the invasion had ended.

The decision to send the "loyal and the willing" instead of the "best and the brightest" is now regarded by many

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CSD LECTURES: DISCUSSING THE MANY CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRACY

Each year the Center invites speakers to give lectures on the challenges facing democratic institutions around the world. This year speakers addressed diverse issues from California to Middle East politics:

Jimmy Carter
39th president of the United States
Remarks on the Middle East Conflict
June 6, 2007

Paul Sniderman
Stanford University
*Political parties: The political logic of a
Downsian space*
June 6, 2007

Christian Welzel
Jacobs University Bremen
*The shape of civic-mindedness: Insights
from the new round of the World Values
Survey*
May 29, 2007

Abbas Milani
Stanford University
*Ahmadinejad
and the problems and prospects of
democracy in Iran*
May 16, 2007

Mark Mizruchi
University of Michigan
*Power without efficacy: The decline of
the American corporate elite*
May 8, 2007

Mary Robinson
Former UN High Commissioner for
Human Rights and former President
of Ireland
Human rights and ethical
globalization
Peltason Lecture and Chancellor's
Distinguished Fellow
April 19, 2007

Faizullah Zaki
Member of Afghanistan Parliament
*Politics and society in present-day
Afghanistan*
April 17, 2006

Craig Brians
Virginia Tech University
*The missing link: Why easier voting
registration failed to boost U.S. voter
turnout*
April 5, 2007

George Edwards III
Texas A&M University
The nature of political leadership
March 1, 2007

Norm Ornstein
American Enterprise Institute
*The broken branch: How Congress is
failing America and how to get back on
track*
February 23, 2007

Robert Albritton
University of Mississippi
*The two democracies of Thailand:
Cultural origins of the overthrow of a
democratic government*
February 22, 2007

Joe Mathews
Los Angeles Times
*The big enchilada: What Arnold really
wants in his second term*
January 24, 2007

Terry Lynn Karl
Stanford University
Oil, democracy and war
2006-2007 Eckstein Lecture
*Not on your vita: The relevance of
comparative politics for public life*
January 18, 2007

Susan Kupperstein
Podlich Fellow, CSD
*Observations on Iraqi political party
development*
November 28, 2006

Rajiv Chandrasekaran
Assistant Managing Editor
Washington Post
*Imperial life in the Emerald city: US
reconstruction of Iraq*
November 16, 2006

Brendan O'Leary
University of Pennsylvania
*Power-sharing in deeply divided places:
Northern Ireland and Iraq*
November 15, 2006

Janet Yellen
President and CEO
Federal Reserve Bank of San
Francisco
*The changing landscape of economics
inequality*
Economics of Governance Lecture
November 6, 2006

Arlene McCarthy
Member of European Parliament
(Labour Party)
*Making policy for Europe: The policy
process in the European Parliament*
November 1, 2006

Natalie Masuoka
CSD Graduate Fellow
University of California, Irvine
*Rethinking race and politics:
Multiracialism and the trajectory of
minority politics*
October 18, 2006

Jill Quadagno
Florida State University
*Religious conservatives in U.S. welfare
state politics*
October 12, 2006

2006-2007 CENTER DIRECTORY

Director William R. Schonfeld
Associate Director Judith Stepan-Norris
Newsletter Editor William Chiu
Website Editor Karl Kruse
Working Papers Editor Amy Alexander

DEMOCRACY, OIL AND AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN IRAQ

Terry Lynn Karl delivers the Eckstein Lecture

Reasons for why the United States led a coalition to invade Iraq abound. Some argue that American security requires a commitment to engaging with threats where they originate. Others argue that furthering the establishment of democratic regimes is in itself a worthy objective. Finally, those more skeptical of the Bush administration's public proclamations indicate that securing a region whose energy supply is critical to continued global and American economic growth is the real reason.

As Stanford political scientist Terry Lynn Karl notes, the answer is complicated but clues can be found if one examines the political dynamics of the Middle East. Certain facts are clear: states with an abundant supply of oil have been associated with authoritarian rule, whether in the Middle East or South America. Furthermore, ruling regimes in commodity rentier states often indulge in patronage in order to maintain their power, thus weakening the prospects for democracy. In addition, wealth is often distributed poorly, leading to inflation and paradoxically poor living standards for most people.

While proportionately little money is spent on social welfare, oil states often invest heavily in oil-producing infrastructure and military materiel, thereby incurring a heavy debt burden. Perhaps not surprisingly, studies show high correlations between oil-dependent states, military expenditures and the frequency of civil war. Regimes which fund their power through oil appear to be corrupt, well-financed but thin in popular support. Given these structural economic and political conditions, and setting aside the sectarian fissures and pent-up enmity of the Baathist rule in Iraq, it is not surprising that the United States is faced with a multitude of challenges that will require calm reckoning and a candid assessment of what any foreign power is able to accomplish realistically.

Notes: Terry Lynn Karl is the William and Gretchen Kimball University Fellow and Professor of Political Science at Stanford University.

About the Eckstein Lecture on Democracy

The Eckstein Lecture was established to recognize Harry Eckstein's role as a co-founder of the Center for



Informative: Chandrasekaran describes American reconstruction priorities in Baghdad 2003-2004.

POLITICAL MISSTEPS HINDER AMERICAN REBUILDING EFFORT IN IRAQ

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observers as one of the gravest errors in the American effort for stabilization. Chandrasekaran noted that a pattern of evaluating candidates for reconstruction projects often stressed party membership and loyalty – Republican not Democrat – rather than area and issue expertise. Moreover, ensconced in the Green Zone cocoon, “viceroy” L. Paul Bremer, as Chandrasekaran called the American in charge of Iraq, was strangely detached from the realities of strife and decay, not just for the soon-to-be-warring sectarian factions but also for the average Iraqi citizen. Rather than swiftly responding to a devastated war zone with proven solutions, Bremer’s team instead chose to experiment with a neoconservative vision of how to rebuild a country by ideological blueprint rather than pragmatic counsel.

As a result, Chandrasekaran believes that many of the tasks facing Iraqi and American leaders today, for example rebuilding the power grid and providing employment, might have been more easily achieved when the US first toppled the Hussein regime.

the Study of Democracy, and for his scholarly contributions to the study of democracy. 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. He was also U.C. Irvine's first Distinguished Professor; and Distinguished Research Professor of Political Science.

FORMER UN HUMAN RIGHTS CHIEF MARY ROBINSON: WE MUST BALANCE ECONOMIC GAIN WITH BASIC HUMAN NEEDS

(Continued from Cover)

The events of September 11, 2001 had a devastating effect on human rights, Robinson explained, calling the attacks "a crime against humanity". The attacks diverted attention from the millennium goals, and the international focus became terrorism rather than humanity, she said. "It's time for reflection," Robinson said as she challenged the United States to hold a conference on reflection, similar to the Club of Madrid, in order to come together to discuss the impact of September 11 on society. Her comments were met with applause from many in attendance. Robinson made another challenge to those seated in the audience; that "individuals and businesses work together to make known the universal rights of all human beings." Calling everyone to action, Robinson recited a quote from one of her heroines, Eleanor Roosevelt, and concluded her formal talk:

"Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home - so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person; the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm, or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world." --Eleanor Roosevelt

Notes: Mary Robinson served as President of Ireland from 1990 to 1997. Prior to this, she served as senator for twenty years. From 1997-2002 she was the United Nations High Commissioner for Human rights. As High Commissioner, Mrs. Robinson gave priority to implementing the Secretary-General's reform proposal to integrate human rights into all the activities of the United Nations. During her first year as High Commissioner, Mrs. Robinson traveled to Rwanda, South Africa, Colombia and Cambodia, among other



Graduate Encounter: Mary Robinson meets with graduate fellows of the Center

countries. In September 1998, she visited China--the first High Commissioner to do so--and signed an agreement with the Government for OHCHR to undertake a wide-ranging technical-cooperation program to improve human rights in that country. Mrs. Robinson also strengthened human rights monitoring in Kosovo, in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Mrs. Robinson's term of office expired in 2002.

About the Peltason Lecture and the Chancellor's Distinguished Fellows Series

The Peltason Lectureship was established to recognize Jack and Suzanne Peltason. Jack Peltason served as 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). In addition, he was President of the American Council on Education (1977-1984). Peltason is a fellow in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, as well as a founding member of the Center for the Study of Democracy.

Each year the **Chancellor's Distinguished Fellows Series** brings to campus distinguished scholars and other individuals who, through their interaction with students and faculty, enrich the UCI experience. Candidates are nominated by faculty and evaluated by the Chancellor's office. Speakers are invited to give talks on topics of contemporary social, scientific and political relevance.



Monitoring: Federal Reserve banker Janet Yellen describes her role in monetary policy

SF FED BANK'S YELLEN: GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR WIDENS

On November 6, 2006, the Center in conjunction with the department of economics, hosted its annual Economics of Governance lecture. Janet Yellen, president and CEO of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, shared her recent research on income inequality and showed that it has been increasing for the last three decades in the United States.

Dr. Yellen's data show that while nominal income has risen since the 1970s, when stratified by such variables as educational level, stark separation exists between those who are college-educated and those who are not becomes quite stark.

"Given these two developments—more macro stability and more rapid labor productivity growth—it is tempting to conclude that most Americans are feeling "better off." But a glance at the newspapers suggests that this is not necessarily the case."

Moreover, a skill-biased technological change favors workers who are equipped to use new technologies thus creating stratification within education levels. In addition, the acceleration of global production has introduced cheaper labor that may have depressed wages for Americans with high school degrees. For example,

VISIT CSD ONLINE TO VIEW THE LATEST RESEARCH BY GRADUATE AND FACULTY SCHOLARS

<http://www.democ.uci.edu/research/conferences/gradconf2007.php>

compared with a 1973 baseline, by 2005 real hourly wages for those with less than high school education had fallen to an index of 80, a real loss of 20 percent, while those with advanced or post-graduate degrees had achieved an index score of 125 or a 25 percent real gain. The top one percent of Americans has seen a staggering two-fold leap in real income since 1972. In comparison with America's OECD peers, Yellen observes that "the U.S. ranks near the top (some might say the bottom) in terms of household income inequality. The inequality gap in the United States is associated with higher levels of overall and child poverty relative to a majority of OECD countries."

The fact that annual income for Americans at the median may swing from a high of \$60,000 to a low of \$15,000 over the course of a decade, may instill a sense of instability and unhappiness with the standard of living. As for remedies, Yellen cautions that policy prescriptions are easier to discuss in abstract. Nonetheless, given America's rank near the bottom of the thirty OECD countries in public social expenditures, Yellen believes that targeting education at all levels, from the very young to those in need of re-training is essential if the country is to deliver the returns of economic growth to all its citizens.

Notes: Janet Yellen is President and CEO of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco. She is also Professor Emeritus of Economics at the University of California at Berkeley, where she has been a faculty member since 1980. Dr. Yellen was Chair of the President's Council of Economic Advisers from 1997-1999. She holds a Ph.D. in economics from Yale University.

About the Economics of Governance Lecture

Each year the Center invites distinguished economists and economic policy experts to discuss the challenges facing California and the nation in the university's premier economics lecture series. The lecture is intended to help citizens better understand the ways in which government and citizens can address problems and opportunities in the public and private spheres.

The series is jointly coordinated and sponsored by faculty in the Center for the Study of Democracy and the department of economics. The Center is grateful to City National Bank for its continued support in sponsoring this lecture.

DEMOCRACY AND ISLAM: A SERIES OF DIALOGUES ON THE ISSUES OF THE DAY

The Center initiated a new series of invited lectures in 2006-2007. The Dialogue on Democracy series brings to campus scholars, policy officials and diplomats to discuss contemporary events. Within this series, a particular focus has been given to the relationship between Islam and democratic institutions. There are numerous perspectives on religion and politics in political science. Samuel Huntington, for example, argues that great civilization archetypes, broadly construed as European Enlightenment, Islam and Confucian, to name a few, exist in separate spheres. Sociologists and globalization scholars would disagree. In any event, given the turmoil in world politics and global security, the relationship between two important cultural-political institutions demands further study.

To this end, the Center hosted such eminent visitors as Faizullah Zaki, Member of the Afghanistan Parliament; Abbas Milani, Professor at Stanford University; Rajiv Chandrasekaran, author of an illuminating book on Iraq's reconstruction; and Susan Kupperstein, a CSD Fellow who has spent extended time in Iraq monitoring political party development.

THE ANNUAL DEMOCRACY DINNER SERIES

Unique preparation for graduate fellows

Each year the Center invites distinguished faculty actively publishing in their field to UCI to present and meet with graduate fellows and Center-affiliated faculty over an informal dinner. This Democracy Dinner series is invaluable in providing students with access to external faculty and serves as a forum in which graduate students are able to network and develop social and professional skills in an amicable, nurturing environment. Presentations are usually followed by a question and answer session and the advice lecturers give often touches on a more holistic, professional perspective rather than on purely academic, substantive content.

In 2006-2007, the Center hosted such prominent scholars as Craig Brians, George Edwards, Terry Lynn Karl, Brendan O'Leary, Jill Quadagno, Paul Sniderman, and Mark Mizruchi.



Inspirational speaker: Carter with students from the Center for the Study of Democracy and the Model United Nations program.

CARTER ON PALESTINE

(Continued from Cover)

violence. Peace in the Middle East is "not a simple subject," Carter said as he referenced a statement made by Pope John Paul II in which the Pope mentioned two possible solutions to the conflict, one realistic, one miraculous. "The realistic solution would be a divine intervention from heaven; the miraculous solution would be a voluntary agreement between Israelis and Palestinians," Carter said.

When questioned about his view on campus rallies obstructing the peace process in the Middle East, Carter challenged student leaders from the opposing groups to travel together to the Middle East and witness for themselves the issues they are debating. He indicated that such debates do not obstruct the peace process, but that all should see first hand the issues about which they are so divided. When asked what the implications of a free Palestinian state might be, Carter compared it to "morning breaking after a dark night; a lull after a large storm," supporting his position in favor of an Israeli withdrawal from the Occupied Territories.

Notes: Jimmy Carter served as thirty-ninth president of the United States. Significant foreign policy achievements include the Camp David Accords and the SALT II treaty with the Soviet Union. Mr. Carter is the author of seventeen books. On December 10, 2002, the Norwegian Nobel Committee awarded him the Nobel Peace Prize for 2002 "for his decades of untiring effort to find peaceful solutions to international conflicts, to advance democracy and human rights, and to promote economic and social development."

2006 – 2007 CSD CONFERENCES

NEW STUDIES OF DEMOCRACY

The Third Annual Graduate Conference

The Center held its third annual Graduate Student Conference on Democracy and its Development on February 24, 2007. Eighteen graduate students presented their recent research. The conference attracts many young scholars from southern California. This year, students from four of our sister UC universities such as Berkeley, UCLA, San Diego, and Riverside participated.

The conference is an important forum for the Center and serves as a training exercise in which graduate students may prepare themselves for the research and presentation regimen that is elemental to academic life. Success depends on the active contributions of both graduate students and faculty mentors. This year's topics were wide-ranging, from foreign aid and its consequences for democracy to class and ethnicity in Taiwan's democratic development.

Graduate fellow John Ensich, a civil engineer prior to entering the Ph.D. program, presented a paper that examined bureaucracy, democracy and institutional change at Caltrans. Willy Jou examined social capital standards in East Asia. And Amy Alexander presented research that investigated four theories for gender empowerment and gender equality. In addition, visiting graduate fellow Daniel Bochsler discussed mixed-member electoral systems in Central and Eastern Europe while Ana Haro Gonzalez presented work on regional versus national district proportional representation in Peru and Colombia.

Students from other institutions presented work on foreign aid and democracy; political institutions and financial dollarization; and ethnicity, class and mass politics in Taiwan's democratic transition.

The conference was organized by Center faculty members David Meyer and Nina Bandelj from sociology and Anthony McGann and Yuliya Tverdova from political science. In addition, many of the Center's affiliated faculty participated as panel and discussion members. These included Amihai Glazer, Catherine Bolzendahl, Mark Petracca, Rein Taagepera and Carole Uhlaner.

CENTER HOSTS GRADUATE SCHOLARS FROM SPAIN, SLOVENIA, SWITZERLAND

Each year the Center invites select graduate student scholars from around the world to collaborate with CSD faculty. One of the goals is to disseminate scholarship and develop an international academic research network. In 2006-2007, the Center hosted young scholars from Spain, Switzerland, and Slovenia.

Edurne Bartolome came from Deusto University in Spain to write her dissertation at the Center.

Daniel Bochsler, from the University of Lausanne and Geneva, Switzerland spent the year.

Aina Gallego Dobon, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain spent the Fall Quarter writing up her dissertation.

Helena Kovacic, visited from the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.

RESEARCH SCHOLARS IN RESIDENCE

Covering California, Europe and Asia

Each year the Center invites select faculty to visit UC Irvine on a long-term basis as post-doctoral fellows or visiting professors. This extends the Center's expertise in diverse areas of research. In 2006-2007 the Center hosted:

Stephan Burgard, professor of journalism at Northeastern University with a focus on American politics, mass media, and religion.

Hans-Dieter Klingemann from the Science Center of Social Research in Berlin. Hans-Dieter is an expert in electoral politics, political parties and social change.

Kevin O'Leary is a Senior Research Fellow with the Center and focuses on California politics.

Christian Welzel visited from Jacobs University in Bremen and is an expert in comparative politics and public opinion. Christian co-taught a CSD graduate seminar in Spring 2007 with Russ Dalton.

Sang Chul Yoon visited from Hanshin University in South Korea and studies sociology and social movements.

THE COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

Guiding the Center's Future

The 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 support of education and research on democracy
- ❖ Develop community awareness of the Center and its activities
- ❖ Guide activities towards critical issues that enhance understanding of democratic governance

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

Community Leaders

Jo Ellen Allen,	Regional Director, Public Affairs, Southern California Edison
Linda Cohen,	Professor of Economics, University of California, Irvine
Nick Franklin	Former Senior Vice President, Public Affairs, PacifiCare
James A. Geocaris	Attorney at Law
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
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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 Wieder	Former Orange County Supervisor; President, Linkage Consulting
Brett J. Williamson	Partner, O'Melveny and Meyers, LLP

GRADUATE FELLOW ACCOMPLISHMENTS

CSD graduate students continue to make significant contributions to the visibility of the Center. In 2006-2007, Graduate Fellows published papers in prestigious journals and earned both intramural and extramural distinctions.

Jill Harper received a Federal Government Presidential Management Fellowship for 2007. This fellowship encourages bright, young scholars to enter government service. Bruce Hemmer (along with Paula Garb and Daniel Wehrenfennig, co-investigators) received a US Agency for International Development Grant. These funds will be used for a comparative study of citizen peace-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Georgia/Abkhazia. Willy Jou received a Japan Student Services Organization Fellowship for Spring 2007, which enabled him to study and pursue research in Japan.

Nhu-Ngoc T. Ong was awarded a UC Pacific Rim Research Mini-Grant for February 2007 as well as a US President's Dissertation Year Fellowship from UC Irvine. Lindsey J.H Lupo received the Chancellor's Club Fund for Excellence Dissertation Fellowship; and Natalie Masuoka received the Ted Robinson Award for Graduate Student Research on Minority Politics from the Southwest Political Science Association, 2006.

Michael Jensen, Natalie Masuoka, and Nhu Ngoc T. Ong published in journals including *The Information Society*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, and the *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*.

Please visit <http://www.democ.uci.edu/education/fellowpublications.php> for an expanded and updated list.

2006-2007 CSD FACULTY RESEARCH GRANTS: FUNDING DIVERSE SUBJECTS

United States Supreme Court decision-making.

Bernard Grofman

This grant supports analysis of a database created on U.S. Supreme Court decision-making. The evolution of case law in the Supreme Court will be studied with a focus on seeing how particular ideas/precedents come to assume a dominant role within a particular jurisprudential domain and come to cross over from one jurisprudential domain to another.

The dynamics of social movement coalitions: The case of win without war.

David S. Meyer

This project traces the development and maintenance of cooperation among social movement organizations, examining both internal and external factors that affect the likelihood of political organizations finding ways to work together effectively.

Globalization, global inequality and democracy: A network analytic/world-system approach.

David Smith

Using multiple network analysis, the relationship between a country's position in a hierarchically organized structure of commodity trade and that nation's level of democracy is examined. Dominant positions encourage democratization through the strengthening of labor and consumer power, while subordinate positions restrict democratization by constraining the growth of labor and consumption.

Gathering statistical data on protest and welfare in China, France, and Mexico, 1980 to 2005: Does regime type matter, and if so, how?

Dorothy J. Solinger

This project explores the influence of political regime type over time. What affect might political regime have had on the respective outcomes each of these nations achieved in moving from similar economic predicaments in 1980?

Ways of Knowing in democratic problem solving.

Martha Feldman

This grant will be used to prepare for a special issue of the *International Public Management Journal*, a set of publishable manuscripts that explores how policy issues influence our ability to use deliberative processes in democratic problem solving.

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FACULTY RESEARCH GRANTS IN 2006-2007 *(continued from page 9)*

Immigrant Parents and Political Children? Changes in parental legal status and the political attitudes and behaviors of 1.5 and 2nd Generation Immigrant Children.

Louis Desipio

This project assesses how changes in parental immigrant status or civic involvement change the political attitudes and behaviors of 1.5 and 2nd generation children born or raised in the United States. Assessments are made as to whether there is a cross-generational benefit to U.S. civil society in programs that legalize unauthorized immigrants, in immigrant naturalization, or in immigrant transnational engagement.

Perceptions of inequality and political participation in China.

Wang Feng

This project's goal is to better understand the perceptions of social inequality and their associations with political participation in China. The seed grant will be used to conduct interviews and to create a network between colleagues both in China and in the U.S., to explore ways of obtaining additional funding to support research in this area.

The impact of direct democracy.

Amihai Glazer and Shaun Bowler

A forthcoming edited volume is based on papers presented at a conference held on January 14-15, 2005 at UCI. The volume marks the first attempt to examine systematically the impact of direct democracy on representative democracy. Topics discussed include the effects of direct democracy on presidential campaigns, on political parties, on special interest groups, and on the efficiency of government. Grant funds will be used to finish the book.

Protests and political accountability without democratic politics.

Dorothy Solinger

Since the mid-1990s, the outcomes of market reforms in Chinese cities have produced a rash of protests by affected groups. The study of the increased investment by the regime in welfare for the poor that followed begins with the following hypothesis: Although no elections are held at the national level, and though there are no contending political parties in China, the regime--via its fear of protests and disorder--has nonetheless been accountable, in its own way.

The political mobilization and incorporation of Vietnamese-Americans: Access to power in Orange County.

Carole Uhlaner

This project explores the process of political mobilization among political elites and members of the public in the first district Orange County Board of Supervisors. Funding will support the collection of data through personal interviews and mail surveys.

Navigating the legislative divide: Polarization, presidents, and policymaking, 1953-2004.

Matthew N. Beckman

Seed Grant funds will be used for research assistance to compile, match, and code the CQ votes. This will show whether or not presidents' lobbying increases success and whether or not this is bolstered by polarization as compared to greater homogeneity.

Path-dependent democracy: How union democracy affects subsequent membership gains.

Judith Stepan-Norris (UCI) and Caleb Southworth (University of Oregon)

This project seeks to uncover the relationship between trade union democracy and changes in union membership during the 20th century.

The Feasibility of collaborative governance: Theory and research on deliberative democracy conference.

Shawn Rosenberg

This conference assembles researchers in political science and public administration to examine the nature and quality of citizen deliberation. Political scientists suggest that involving citizens directly in the policymaking process will legitimize the political processes.

***A MESSAGE FROM THE CENTER
DIRECTOR***

The research carried out by the Center's faculty is substantial, important, and varied. The quality of our graduate students is excellent; moreover, they receive a training program that prepares them well for successful careers in public service, in the private sector, as well as, obviously, in academia. Last but not least, the Center has played a major role in its community activities, bringing to the campus a number of distinguished scholarly and public figures to contribute to a better understanding of Reserve Bank of San Francisco and the former head of the Council of Economic Advisors for the President of the United States), but also Mary Robinson (former President of Ireland and former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights), as well as Jimmy Carter, (39th President of the United States).

CSD achievements are based not only on its faculty and its graduate students but also on a group

community leaders who provide financial, intellectual and personal support for CSD activities. They are a critical, ongoing component of the Center's success. This past year, the Leadership Council of the Center decided its members would contribute monies each year, so as to have a new fellowship for graduate students. This is a major addition to our on-going capacity to attract the finest young minds to our program.

Last, but not least, as this newsletter is being prepared for press, we have final confirmation that an endowed professorship to honor Jack W. Peltason has been established and will be held by a faculty member in the Center for the Study of Democracy. This is a noteworthy achievement for the Center and a totally appropriate honor for former President Peltason, who has done so much for the University of California, the Irvine campus, and the Center for the Study of Democracy. This endowed professorship carries us forward in a major important way.

THE LATEST CENTER PUBLICATIONS

Christian Welzel and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. (July 30, 2007). *Understanding Democratic Congruence: A Demand-Supply Perspective.*

Jennan G. Read. (July 30, 2007). *More of a Bridge than a Gap: Gender Differences in Arab-American Political Engagement.*

Aiji Tanaka. (July 4, 2007). *Why has the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) Stayed in Power so Long in Post-War Japan?: Democratic System Support and Electoral Behavior.*

Belinda Robnett. (June 8, 2007). *Does Collective Identity Matter? : African-American Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation.*

Belinda Robnett. (June 7, 2007). *Gendered Resource Returns: African American Institutions and Political Engagement.*

Russell J. Dalton, Doh Chull Shin, and Willy Jou. (May 18, 2007). *Popular Conceptions of the Meaning of Democracy: Democratic Understanding in Unlikely Places.*

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