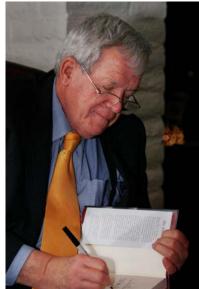


# CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY Organized Research Unit (ORU)

# *University of California, Irvine Fall 2012*



## J. Dennis Hastert, Former Speaker of the House, Offers Reflections on the "Past, Present, and Future" of Washington

On February 23, 2012, the UCI campus community was honored with a visit from J. Dennis Hastert, former Speaker of the House of Representatives. Hastert spent a busy day on the UCI campus, having breakfast and lunch with faculty and graduate students, delivering the annual Peltason Lecture to Professor Matt Beckmann's "Introduction to American Politics" undergraduate students, and giving an evening talk and book signing at the University Club. Hastert's active presence on campus enabled a diverse audience to listen to his reflections on politics and to ask questions of this respected politician.

Professor Beckmann's undergraduate students took a particularly central role in the Peltason lecture by working in advance to research Hastert's career and to develop questions to guide his talk. Hastert discussed the importance of mentorship to his political career, an idea which he traced back to his early career as a teacher and wrestling coach in Illinois. He also candidly discussed his own rise to power in the House of Representatives, crediting the trust he cultivated as the essential ingredient that brought him to power.

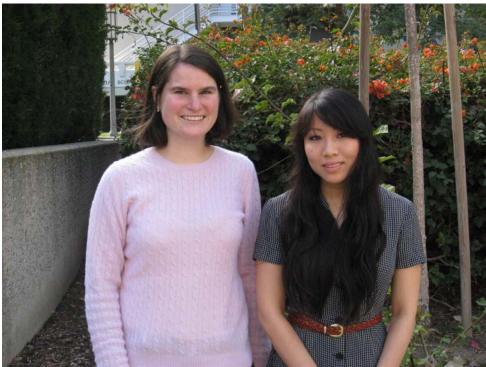


## Princeton Professor Kim Lane Scheppele Discusses the "International State of Emergency"

On October 19, 2011, CSD faculty, graduate students, undergraduates in professor Wayne Sandholtz's International Relations course, and other members of the UCI community gathered to hear Kim Lane Scheppele deliver the 2011 Eckstein Lecture. The annual Eckstein lecture is a very special one for the CSD community, since it honors the late Harry Eckstein who was one of the founding directors of CSD as well a respected figure in the study of democracy more generally. CSD was especially honored to have Harry Eckstein's wife, Marlene, in attendance at this year's lecture.

Kim Lane Scheppele focused her talk on what she calls the "international state of emergency," or the spread of "states of emergency" around the world. Scheppele argued that terrorist attacks induce a general fear among domestic populations that pressures officials to act via the "state of emergency." Though many have argued that emergencies are temporary, lawless situations, Scheppele contends the opposite – that instead they operate through more permanent instances of law.

## UC IRVINE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY 2011-2012 2011-2012 CSD Graduate Fellows



Katelyn Finley and Anna Tan

#### **CSD** National and International Visiting Researchers

Laurie Beaudonnet, European University Institute, Florence Italy, September 1, 2011 – January 31, 2012

Professor Stephen Burgard, Northeastern University, Jan. 1 - Mar. 31, 2012

Rashedur Chowdhury, University of Cambridge Judge Business School, April 4, 2012 - June 30, 2012

Timm Fulge, University of Bremen, Germany, September 15, 2011 – December 15, 2011

Sarah John, Flinders University, Law School, Adelaide, Australia, April 2, 2012 - December 31, 2012

Daiane Menezes, Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, January 13, 2012 – December 31, 2012

Professor Woojin Moon, Anjou University, South Korea, January 31, 2011 – January 31, 2012

Michael Neuber, Humboldt University of Berlin, December 1, 2011 - May 31, 2012

Dr. Kevin O'Leary, July 1, 2011 – June 30, 2012

Mario Quaranta, Istituto Italiano Di Scienze Umane, Italy, October 19, 2011 - March 15, 2012

Daniel Schmuecking, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena, Germany, March 5, 2012 - April 9, 2012

Professor Doh C. Shin, Professor Emeritus, Korea Foundation Chair and the Middlebush Chair at the University of Missouri, Columbia, January 1, 2012 – December 31, 2012

Center for The Study of Democracy Vol. XII

## CALENDAR OF EVENTS 2011-2012

October 18, 2011 "Confronting the Varieties of Islam" with Hedieh Mirahmadi, J.D., President, World Organization for Resource Development and Education

October 19, 2011 "Eckstein Lecture, "International State of Emergency" with Kim Lane Scheppele, Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs, Director of the Program in Law and Public Affairs at Princeton University

October 26, 2011 "Insights about the 2012 Presidential Election"" with Associate Professor Matthew Beckmann, UC Irvine

November 9, 2011 "Reflection on the 'Arab Spring' and the Role of Cyber-Dissent in Democratizing in the Middle East with Dr. Asiay Daud, cosponsored with Cross Cultural Center

November 21, 2011 "Beyond Citizens United: Campaign Finance Law and the Roberts Court"" with Professor Rick Hasen, UCI School of Law November 17, 2011 "The Possibilities and Perils of the Arab Awakening"" with Roger Cohen, New York Times Columnist. Cosponsored by ISPF.

November 22, 2011 "Meet with the Visitors." With Laurie Beaudonnet (European University Institute), Timm Fulge (University of Bremen), Professor Woojin Moon (Anjou University), and Mario Quaranta (Istituto Italiano Di Scienze).

December 2, 2011 "Women, Property Rights and Islam" with Assistant Professor Feryal Cherif, Loyola Marymount University. Co-sponsored by the UCI Department of Political Science.

January 19, 2012 Willie Brown, Former Mayor of San Francisco and Speaker of the California Assembly, speaker for the Martin Luther King, Jr. Symposium, cosponsor Cross Cultural Center

February 6, 2012 "Can Justice Be Bought?" Dean Erwin Chemerinsky, UCI School of Law, Professor James Sample, Hofstra University, Professor Richard Hasen. Cosponsored by the UCI School of Law. February 7, 2012 "Inequalities, Welfare States and Political Protest in Western Europe" Mario Quaranta, CSD Visitor, Democracy & Conflict

February 9, 2012 "Europe & America -Converging or Diverging?" Sir Eldon Griffiths, Former Member of Parliament and Minister in the British Government

February 16, 2012 "Do Constitutions Matter?" Tom Ginsburg, Leo Spitz Professor of International Law and Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, The Law School. Co-sponsor with ISPF

Feb. 17, 2012 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Japan-Irvine Conference on Public Policy, Amihai Glazer, Professor, Economics, UC Irvine

February 23, 2012 "A Conversation with Former Speaker J. Dennis Hastert: Reflections on Washington Past, Present, and Future" J. Dennis Hastert, Former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

March 14, 2012 "Constitutions and Treaty Commitments" Wayne Sandholtz, Associate Professor of Political Science, UC Irvine. Law & Latte March 21, 2012 "Does Partisan Gerrymandering Violate Individual Rights? Social Science and Vieth v Jubilirer" Tony McGann, Professor, UC Irvine. Law & Latte

March 22, 2012 "Institutional Context and Representational Strain in Party-Voter Agreement in Western and Eastern Europe" Professor Robert Rohrschneider, University of Kansas.

April 6, 2012 The Robin Williams Lecture. "The Future of Violence: What Is High Tech Doing to Violent Conflict?" Randall Collins, Dorothy Swaine Thomas Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania

May 3, 2012 "Meet the Visitors." With Rashedur Chowdhury (University of Cambridge Judge Business School), Sarah John (Flinders University), Daiane Menezes, (Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul), Michael Neuber (Humboldt University).

May 12, 2012 8th Annual Graduate Student Conference. "Empirical Democratic Theory" Guest Speaker Ben Hubbard, Chair Emeritus, Comparative Religion at CSU Fullerton

### Willie Brown, Former Mayor of San Francisco, Offers Reflections on Justice and Liberation to Commemorate Martin Luther King, Jr. Day

On January 19, 2012, UCI students, faculty, staff, and visitors attended the Dr. Joseph L. White lecture given by Willie Brown, an accomplished California public servant and politician most well-known for serving as the 41<sup>st</sup> Mayor of San Francisco. Brown's delivered the keynote address, entitled "The Struggle for Justice and Liberation", as part of the larger Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Symposium held to commemorate Martin Luther King, Jr.'s legacy.

Brown took the stage after introductions from Dr. Joseph L. White and UCI's Chancellor, Michael Drake, and delivered a frank but hopeful message about the state of racial and ethnic relations in the contemporary United States. Brown spoke to a diverse audience of students, faculty, staff, and interested community members and centered his talk around the question: "What would Martin Luther King, Jr. say if he were giving this speech today?"

According to Brown, Martin Luther King, Jr. would celebrate the fact that the U.S. elected its first African-American president, but would also remind us that the "nature of racism" is as alive and well as ever and challenge us to continue to strive for racial and ethnic equality. He cited examples such as recent voter registration laws in South Carolina, incarceration rates, and high school graduation rates to demonstrate how the African-American community continues to be systematically disadvantaged. Brown spoke of the need to push for true institutional change in order to achieve equality of opportunity in the United States. Brown's reminders that racial and ethnic justice and liberation are as much of an issue today as they were in Martin Luther King Jr.'s day were sobering reminders that there is still much work to be done.

In Brown's opinion, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s famous "dream" has not yet been achieved, but he emphasized that the importance of remembering and sharing in King's optimism while pursuing a "continued focus on systemic change." The underlying message of Brown's talk was one of hope. He spoke of the important work that President Obama and the Occupy movement are working on in an effort to bring institutional change to the United States, and he encouraged the audience to take an active role in this struggle. Brown also shared experiences from his personal life as well as his political career throughout his talk, discussing how his mother's work as a domestic gave him a personal connection to the historical bus boycotts and telling humorous stories about his own involvement with Barack Obama's political campaigns.

## CSD Sponsors the Eighth Annual Graduate Student Conference.

The Eight Annual Center for the Study of Democracy Graduate Student Conference was on May 12, 2012. Centering on a conference theme of "Democracy and Its Development," the conference featured graduate students from UC Irvine who presented empirical research papers on a variety of topics related to the conference theme. Each panel featured multiple CSD-affiliated faculty members who served as discussants, providing feedback and suggestions for the further development of each paper as well as thoughtful reflections on the themes of each panel.

The morning session featured a panel called "Institutional Design and Participation in Transitions," which featured a lively group of papers on topics such as pension privatization ad nationalization in Argentina; the legacy of competitive authoritarianism in new democracies; how lost autonomy relates to secessionist conflicts; and why Latin American countries re-elect regimes under which civil liberties have worsened.

Continued on Page 11

### **Hastert Continued from Page 1**

Hastert also discussed both the contemporary political environment as well as speculating on the future, especially the upcoming 2012 election. He discussed the "collaborative" process that characterized post-9/11 lawmaking in his experience, even though many think that the post-9/11 balance of power has largely shifted to the executive branch. He described a government that worked together behind the scenes during this time of crisis to iron out all the issues with legislation before the time came for a vote. When asked about the 2012 election, Hastert explained that Romney is much more "electable" than Gingrich and predicted an exciting election with much media scrutiny.

Hastert's talk was fast-moving, candid, and covered a vast collection of topics. Audience members seemed to particularly enjoy the personal anecdotes with which he peppered his talk, such as when he recounted the long-distance phone calls that helped Hastert and Bill Clinton balance the budget. Hastert also shared with the audience that he has a personal connection to UCI, since Bill Koetzle, a former UCI student, was one of Hastert's fellows and advisors.



## Randall Collins Delivers the Robin Williams, Jr. Lecture on the Role of Technology in Violent Conflict

CSD faculty and graduate students were treated to a stimulating discussion of the relationship between high technology and violent conflict when Randall Collins presented his research on April 6, 2012. Collins provided an overview of various areas of intersection between technology and conflict which influence the shape of war and other conflicts.

Victory in violent conflicts, as it is traditionally understood, involves subjecting one's opponent to what Collins calls "friction." "Friction" refers to the costs of warfare, including the physical drag, informational fog, and emotions, like tension and fear, that are often associated with warfare. Under this traditional model, the "winner" is whoever can impose more friction upon one's opponent (or, as Collins noted, who "breaks down less" than the other side). High technology has a complicated relationship to friction, in Collins' view, since it in some ways limits friction as an instrument of war and in other ways enhances it.

Collins described how technological innovations are changing the contours of warfare and aimed at tailoring our theoretical understanding of violent conflict to reflect the impact of technological advances. Collins surveyed technological innovations, like precision targeting and sensors, and described their impact on violent conflict, highlighting the ways in which the game of war has changed as well as ways in which it remains consistent. He also discussed the "human element" of war and discussed how the "battle for hearts and minds" is influenced by technology, home politics, and a media industry that focuses mainly on failures.

## Sir Eldon Griffiths, Former British MP, Discusses Converging and Diverging Europe-U.S. Relations

On February 9, 2012, CSD faculty and graduate students attended a lunchtime seminar featuring Sir Eldon Griffiths, a former conservative Member of Parliament and Minister of the British government. Griffiths gave a talk titled, "Europe and America: Converging or Diverging," in which he drew upon his extensive experience as a politician and also as a journalist to offer his reflections on the topic.

CSD Director, Bernie Grofman, began by announcing that Griffiths recently agreed to join CSD's Leadership Council and that this lunchtime seminar marked the beginning of what he hoped would be a close collaboration between Griffiths and CSD.

Throughout his talk, Griffiths demonstrated his desire to engage the audience by asking each audience member to describe his or her areas of research as well as by taking questions from the audience. Griffiths presented a variety of comments on the current trajectories of Europe and America and in what ways they are evolving similarly or differently.

Griffiths discussed the relationship between the U.S. and the European Union, current European crises like Greece's financial instability, and how conflict in the Middle East plays in to Euro-American relations. Griffiths also commented on the differences between election seasons in the United States and his own United Kingdom, a timely discussion with the 2012 presidential election looming in the U.S. He noted that election seasons are much shorter and that there are greater limits placed on the financial expenditures allowed in the U.K. and cited these as key reasons why elections in the U.K. are less controversial and chaotic than those in the U.S.

Griffiths' talk provided an illuminating look into key differences and similarities between the United States and Europe, as well as to highlight how these factors are a part of larger world affairs. The Center for the Study of Democracy looks forward to more stimulating discussions and interactions with Sir Eldon Griffiths in his new role as a member of the Leadership Council.

## UC IRVINE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY 2011-2012 Message from the Director Bernard Grofman

This year marks my fifth year as Director of CSD. I am very proud of what CSD faculty and Graduate Student Democracy Fellows have accomplished over these past five years, and am delighted to report that these accomplishments were reflected in the strongly enthusiastic comments of the five external reviewers commissioned by the Office of Research to evaluate CSD's past five year record.

CSD's mission is to foster faculty research. CSD uses the bulk of its funds in the form of small seed grants specifically linked to faculty research, especially projects leading to proposals for extramural support and/or to books, such as proposals for conferences that can be expected result in edited volumes. The programs of Democracy lunches and colloquia, workshops and seminars, and the major research conferences we support, along with occasional public events, are all intended to foster a climate of research innovation and excitement (see list of major events elsewhere in this newsletter, with all of our activities, including those we co-sponsor, averaging more than one event per week during the academic year). Although 2011-12 continued a period of economic retrenchment for the University of California, with CSD's operating budget from the university taking a further cut, CSD was able to continue a high level of research activities, and we furthered our international visibility with a stream of international visitors and with international conferences, with further seed grant funding committed to additional international conferences planned for 2012-13.

I am especially pleased that CSD was able to provide the seed funding to Tony Smith and Diana Kapiszewski for the third annual CSD "signature" conference, on "The Judicialization of Politics: Global Perspectives," held in July 2012, in conjunction with a research section of the International Political Science Association. A selection of the papers given at this conference appear as a special mini-symposium issue of the well-known *Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Jan-March 2012). This conference reflects a recent initiative to bring leading scholars to UCI on a focused topic directly linked to one of the CSD's five research foci. The second such conference was run by Russ Dalton and Chris Welzel in March 2011, an international conference at UCI on "The World Values Survey: Mapping and Tracking Global Cultural Change." CSD faculty and graduate students have long been involved with the World Value Survey, including running a previous wave of the survey in Vietnam. The proceedings of the first event of this conference series, in 2010: "The Fall of the Berlin Wall and Tiananmen Square: 20 Years Later," has been published by Oxford University Press in a volume coedited by Dorie Solinger (Political Science) and Nina Bandelj (Sociology). We anticipate that the "World Values" conference(s) will also result in a major book publication.

In 2012 CSD sponsored one other international conference at UCI: the 8th Annual "Irvine-Japan Conference on Political Economy," CSD also ran an additional conference at UCI: the 8th annual California Graduate Student Conference with the able assistance of graduate students Jennifer Garcia, Peter Miller, and Kelsey Norman. In addition, CSD co-sponsored two other international conferences, held in Lisbon and Zurich, respectively. One on "District Magnitude and Electoral Engineering" in May 2012, was joint with the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon; and one in June 2012 on "Ethnic Politics and Electoral Democracy," was joint with the NCCR Democracy Institute and the Centre for Comparative Studies (CIS), University of Zurich and ETH.

An important element of CSD's research mission is to encourage interdisciplinary connections among CSD's faculty and affiliated graduate students in the three disciplines of political science, economics and sociology, from whose faculty Center members are drawn. CSD sponsors three annual public lectures whose speakers are normally drawn, respectively, from these three disciplines: the Harry Eckstein lecture, the Economics of Governance Lecture, and the Robin Williams lecture. In 2010-11, the distinguished legal scholar, Kim Lane Scheppele was scheduled to be the Eckstein lecturer but she was snowbound in Princeton and we rescheduled her talk for fall 2011. The 2011-12 Economics of Governance lecture by Barry Eichengreen, Professor, University of California, Berkeley had to be postponed from this academic year because of scheduling difficulties, and will take place later in 2012 The Robin Williams lecturer this year was Randall Collins, Dorothy Swaine Thomas Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, a past president of the American Sociological Association. To further strengthen interdisciplinary ties CSD sponsored in 2011-12 one research workshop (meeting 2-4 times per quarter) with each of its three component disciplines on topics that are of substantial interdisciplinary appeal: the "Law and Latte" seminar, organized by political scientists, Tony Smith and Diana Kapiszewski; the "Economics of Conflict" workshop, organized by the economist, Michael McBride; and the "Social Movements" workshop, organized by sociologists David Snow and David Meyer. Graduate students and faculty from more than one discipline participate in each of these workshop series.

### Message from the Director-Continued From Page 6

Another aspect of CSD is public outreach. One element of this is the Jack W. Peltason Lecture series, which brings in leading public figures. The 2011-12 Peltason lecturer was former Speaker of the House, Dennis Hastert, Hastert, sometimes called the "unexpected" Speaker, who became the longest serving Republican Speaker of the House, number three in U.S. presidential succession. He was the Speaker during 9-11. CSD's ties to Speaker Hastert come through William Koetzle, a UCI Ph.D. in Political Science, who, as an American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow, went to work as an intern for the then relatively obscure Illinois congressman, and then stayed on as (an increasingly senior) staff member after Congressman Hastert assumed the Speakership and until his retirement. Also, since 2012 is a presidential election year, we anticipate sponsoring at least one public event next year tied to the presidential primaries. Another public lecture series CSD runs is on "Religion, Media, and Politics." In 2012 we had a lecture by Ben Hubbard, former Chair of the Department of Comparative Religion at CS Fullerton. This series is organized by Stephen Burgard, Director of the Northeastern University School of Journalism, formerly of the *L.A. Times*, who is a regular visitor to the Center.

In addition to the international conferences we co-sponsor, CSD has two other important aspects to its international outreach. First, we bring in a number of international visitors to UCI, mostly pre-doctoral and post-doctoral fellows, for periods ranging from one month to two years, with a modal stay of three months. Even though our budget limitations force us to insist that all visitors be fully funded by their home institution or country, because of CSD's international visibility we are still asked to host many more visitors than we have space to accommodate, and we screen visitors by requiring that they be actively involved in work with CSD faculty who will take mentoring responsibility for them. This academic year we had a dozen visitors, including ones from Australia, Brazil, England, Germany, Italy, and South Korea. Second, we are involved in faculty or graduate student exchange programs with other research centers. For example, in summer 2012, CSD's long standing ties to the Berlin Science Center will result in a co-organized international conference at the WZB on "New Developments in Spatial Models of Party Competition."

In addition to its international visitors, CSD was happy to welcome back long term visitors, Tom Bernstein, Kevin O'Leary, and Doh Shin. Professor Bernstein, who retired from Columbia University after many years of service as chair of its Political Science department, continues his research on China, including China's foreign policy, and is acting as CSD's liaison with UCI's International Studies Program; Kevin O'Leary continues to write for *Newsweek* and other news organizations on topics such as political reform and the budget crisis in California. I am also delighted to report that Professor, now emeritus at the University of Missouri, is in what we hope will be many years as a CSD scholar-in-residence. Professor Shin, whose research aims to unravel the cultural and institutional dynamics of democratization from a comparative perspective, is perhaps the leading expert in the U.S. on electoral politics and public opinion in Korea. His recent Oxford University Press book was in part written while at UCI.

One of the founding principles of CSD is that first-rate faculty can only be sustained by programs that attract firstrate graduate students. We are very proud of the complementarities that CSD's interdisciplinary research activities provide to the Political Science and Sociology Departments in recruiting graduate students, and I, like the previous Directors of CSD, have spent time seeking community support for graduate students whose interests fall within one of the five research foci within CSD (democratic reform; democratic development; social movements and collective action, race, ethnicity and civic inclusion; and the economics of governance). These efforts and the committed mentorship of CSD Faculty continue to pay off. In particular, I am very pleased that for three of the five years I have served as Director, a CSD Democracy Fellow has won the UCI Alumni Association award for Outstanding Graduate Student, a campus wide award given to only one student each year. Last year's winner was Daisy Reyes in Sociology. (Previous CSD winners are political science students, Kathy Rim and Christopher Stout). Moreover, in a year when few graduate students in the social sciences got academic jobs, and few even got job interviews, I am also very pleased to report that Fatima Rahman, who received her Ph.D. in 2012, has a tenure track assistant professor position at an excellent liberal art college, Lake Forest, in Illinois; Karl Kruse will be a management consultant in Washington, D.C., and Adam Martin, will be a Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science, Graceland University, Iowa. Among our former Fellows, I am pleased to announce that Amy Alexander, who was on a long term Post-Doc at the University of Leuphana, Germany, will now be the Maria Goeppert-Mayer Professor of Gender and Politics at the University of Gottingen, Germany -- affiliated with both the Department of Political Science and the Department of Gender Studies; while Catherine Corrigall-Brown also previously on a Post-Doc, is now an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Western Ontario in Canada.

### CSD Graduate Fellows Publications (CSD Graduate Fellows are in Bold):

**Cuffe, John**. "Paradise Lost: Autonomy and Separatism" in A. Pavkovic and J.P. Casteban (Eds.), Secessionism and Separatism in Europe and Asia: To Have a State of One's Own, New York: Routledge, 2012. With David Siroky.

Edwin Amenta, **Beth Gharrity Gardner**, **Amber Celina Tierney**, Anaid Yerena, and Thomas Alan Elliott, "A Story-Centered Approach to the Newspaper Coverage of High-Profile SMOs." *Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change* 33 (2012): 83-107

Francesca Polletta, Pang Ching Bobby Chen, **Beth Gardner** and **Alice Motes**. "The Sociology of Storytelling." Annual Review of Sociology 37(2011): 109-130.

Gronke, Paul, and Peter Miller. "Voting by Mail and Turnout in Oregon: Revisiting Southwell and Burchett."

**Sowers, Elizabeth**. 2012. "Population." In Encyclopedia of Globalization, edited by George Ritzer. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

### CSD Graduate Fellow Awards (CSD Graduate Fellows are in Bold):

John Cuffe received the Best Graduate Paper at the Southwestern Social Sciences Conference (March 2011)

Karl Kruse received his Ph.D. in Political Science in 2012. Managing Consultant, Washington, D.C.

Adam Martin received his Ph.D. in Political Science in 2012. Visiting Assistant Professor, Graceland University, Iowa

Peter Miller received the Harry Eckstein Scholar Award for Distinguished Graduate Student

Dana Moss received the American Institute for Yemini Studies' Pre-Dissertation Fellowship Award

**Dana Moss** received a Critical Language Scholarship Award in Arabic, Council of American Overseas Center (Full-funding for an 8-week intensive language study abroad program in 'Amman, Jordan, summer 2011

**Michelle Peria** received the National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant – Law and Social Sciences Division (2011-2012)

**Michelle Peria** received the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Award. Funded by the Andrew Mellon Foundation (2011-2012)

Sierra Powell received the Harrell Rodgers Award, Sponsored by the Policy Studies Organization and the MPSA

Sierra Powell received the Order of Merit award in Outstanding Service, School of Social Sciences, 2011-2012

**Fatima Rahman** received her Ph.D. in Political Science in 2012. Assistant Professor at Lake Forest College, Illinois

**Elizabeth Sowers** received the Haynes Lindley Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship, The John Randolph Haynes Foundation (\$20,000) (2012-2013)

**Elizabeth Sowers** received the Dean's Endowed Fellowship for Academic Excellence, School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine (2011-2012)

## UC IRVINE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY 2011-2012 THE COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

## Guiding the Center's Future

The Leadership Council for the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy is a group of political and business leaders of Orange County who are deeply concerned about the vitality of democracy in the United States and the expansion of democracy around the world. The Council embodies the model of citizen participation as the strength of the democratic political process. Council members work with the Center for the Study of Democracy to support education and research aimed at improving the democratic process. As liaisons between the community and the Center, Council members: contribute their own political interest and expertise to the teaching and research missions of the Center; help to increase community awareness of the Center and its activities, and identify areas where Center activities can contribute to the understanding of democracy; assist the philanthropic activities of the Center in the support of education and research on democracy. We believe the democratic process is one of America's most precious resources, and the Community Council is helping to build the leading university-based center devoted explicitly to the study of democracy at home and abroad.

## Community Leaders

Thomas B. Rogers, Chairman of the Board, Plaza Bank (Chair of the Leadership Council)
Honorable Marian Bergeson, former member of the California Legislature
JoEllen Chatham, Regional Director, Public Affairs, Southern California Edison
Sir Eldon Griffiths, Trustee on the World Affairs Council of Orange County
William F. Podlich, formerly of PIMCO
Honorable William Steiner, former member of the Orange County Board of Supervisors
Brett Williamson, Managing Partner, O'Melveny & Meyers

Center Directory	
Director: Bernard Grofman	Associate Director: David S. Meyer
Newsletter Editor: Elizabeth Sowers	Website Editor: Thomas Elliott
Democracy Paper Series Editor: Beth Gardner	Center Administrator: Shani Brasier

### **Message from the Director-Continued From Page 7**

Economic stringencies continue to affect CSD's ability to raise money from the community to provide supplemental funding for Democracy Fellowships and other forms of graduate research support. In hard times, necessity forces people to focus the scope of their philanthropy more narrowly, but thanks especially to the remarkable generosity of CSD Community Leadership Council member William Podlich and his continuing support of the Podlich Democracy Fellows program, and to Jack Peltason, for the endowment that supports the Jack and Suzie Peltason Democracy Fellows Program, we were able to maintain the Democracy Fellows program, and to provide other graduate students affiliated with CSD a small level of research support this year. This funding for graduate support is entirely generated externally. We were pleased to welcome two new CSD graduate student Democracy Fellows in 2011-12, one from political science (Katelyn Finley) and one from sociology: (Anna Tan), bringing to roughly 20 to the number of current CSD Democracy Fellows, while also making summer RAship possibilities with CSD faculty available to another ten graduate students whose research interests overlap those of the Center.

Since it first began roughly a decade ago, CSD has been aided not only by the generosity of, but also by the immense range of personal contacts of, members of the CSD Community Leadership Council and other leading Orange County figures with whom they have put us in touch.

### Major Research Grants Awarded to CSD Faculty 2011-2012

Bernard Grofman

2011-2012. "Public Input Into Congressional and Legislative Districting in the Western States, Sloan Foundation (\$119,000).

#### Diana Kapiszewski

2011-2013. Qualitative Data Repository, National Science Foundation (\$599,822 -- one of five co-PIs)

2011-2014. Institute for Qualitative Data Repository, National Science Foundation (\$150,000 -- one of four co-PIs)

### Mike McBride

2011-2014. Award for equipment for an experimental economic computer lab, Army Research Office (\$149,000)

2011-2014. For experimental studies, Office of Navy Research (\$340,000).

Francesca Polletta 2011-2014. "Frames Underpinning Political Debates," National Science Foundation (\$616,000 -- co-PI)

Katherine Tate and Belinda Robnett-Olsen 2012. UCI's "Outlook on Life and Political Engagement Study," National Science Foundation (\$260,000).

Wayne Sandholtz 2011-2014. "Globalizing Law," National Science Foundation (\$299,609 -- co-PI)

### **Books by CSD Faculty Members Supported by CSD Seed Grants**

Charles Anthony Smith The Rise and Fall of War Crimes Trials: From Charles I to Bush II. (Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Introduction to the Special Issue: Globalizing Human Rights. Journal of Human Rights (Vol. 11, Iss. 1, 2012)

Russell J. Dalton The Apartisan American. (Sage CQ Press, 2013)

Russell J. Dalton, David M. Farrell, and Ian McAllister *Political Parties and Democratic Linkage How Parties Organize Democracy*. (Oxford University Press, 2011)

Nina Bandelj and Dorothy J. Solinger eds. Socialism Vanquished, Socialism Challenged: Eastern Europe and China, 1989-2009. (Oxford University Press, Forthcoming 2012)

Nina Bandelj and Frederick F. Wherry eds. *The Cultural Wealth of Nations*. (Stanford University Press, 2011)

Katherine Tate Concordance: Black Lawmaking in the U.S. Congress from Carter to Obama. (University of Michigan Press, 2011)

Bernard Dolez, Bernard Grofman, Annie Laurent, eds. In Situ and Laboratory Experiments on Electoral Law Reform French Presidential Elections. (Springer, 2011)

### Scheppele Continued from Page 1

Her analysis of 19 countries that experienced emergencies led Scheppele to discover that there is a distinctive pattern or "emergency script" that characterizes state responses to emergency situations. This "emergency script" begins with the centralization of executive power and the militarization of power and extends into the inversion of speech protections, the reversal of transparency, and putting people in their place, before ending with anticipatory violence and the eventual entrenchment of emergency law. Because of this regular pattern of action was present in her data regardless of the country or type of emergency.

Scheppele argued that the emergency state constitutes a distinct authority type, or way of organizing power and documented the presence of the characteristic feature of the "emergency script" in the case probably most familiar to those in the audience: the U.S.' reaction to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Scheppele discussed how the events of 9/11 was a crucial moment in the invention of global security law through the provisions put in place by United Nations Security Council. Scheppele drew a connection between this initiative, and others like it, and the spread of the particular authority pattern contained within the emergency script around the world.

## CSD Graduate Student Conference Continued from Page 4

The afternoon session featured a panel called "Political Representation and Direct Democracy in the U.S. and Canada," which was composed of three compelling papers on topics such as Latino representation in the House of Representatives; online and offline participation in the 2008 presidential election; and a comparative analysis of open government and the B.C. Citizens' Assembly.

Guest speaker Benjamin J. Hubbard delivered the keynote address, "The Religion Factor in the Presidential Campaign," over the lunch hour. Drawing on his extensive experience as a scholar of world religions and media studies, he commented on how religion will play into the 2012 presidential campaign. With campaign season underway, this was a timely and thought-provoking keynote address.

In keeping with tradition, the annual CSD graduate student conference provided graduate students with the opportunity to present their research, receive valuable feedback for improvements, and participate in a lively and engaging debate about democracy.

#### **Message from the Director-Continued From Page 9**

In this academic year, CSD continued to benefit immeasurably from the contributions of its community affiliates on the CSD Leadership Council-- their involvement and commitment to us and to UCI. This year we are fortunate in having added to the Leadership Council Sir Eldon Griffiths, former British MP, a foreign policy expert with long service as a journalist and strong ties to the World Affairs Council. CSD is truly blessed in having the able leadership of Tom Rogers (Chairman of the Board, Memorial Hospitals) as the Chair of its Leadership Council.

We are also delighted to, to have Shani Brasier as the CSD Administrator, on a 75% time basis. As everyone who has worked with her knows full well, Shani, like her predecessors, has been a superb addition to our research center, with a warm relationship with faculty, graduate students and visitors. She has been invaluable in ably and cheerfully handling the logistics of the many CSD research events and projects and the arrangements for our international visitors. We look forward to her continuing involvement with the Center.



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