

Political Science at UCSB

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

SPRING 2001

Students Learn and Demonstrate Research Skills in Honors Program

Political Science majors with outstanding academic records may apply for the Departmental Honors Program during their junior year. If accepted, they progress through a series of courses and seminars to develop topics and research skills for completing an honors thesis by the end of their senior year. During the process, they work closely with a faculty advisor and the honors program advisor, Professor Daniel Philpott, and also have the opportunity to present their research to others in their cohort for advice and questions. Students who successfully complete the program receive the designation of "distinction in the major" on their diploma. Ten students will complete the Honors program at the end of the Spring Quarter, 2001. Though we can only present a sample, their research topics encompass a broad spectrum of ideas and techniques, from the ethics of embryo/stem cell research to democratization in Spain and Latin America.



LISA THOMPSON PRESENTS HER RESEARCH TO THE HONORS SEMINAR

From the Chair *Lorraine M. McDonnell*

This newsletter is the second in what we hope will be an annual update for our alumni and other interested readers. We particularly appreciate that a number of alums took the time to contact us about the first issue, and to let us know how they are currently drawing on their UCSB education. That is how we met Cynthia Carpenter who returned to UCSB to speak about her documentary on the Taliban. We look forward to getting reacquainted with more of you each year.



Some alumni mentioned specific courses and faculty members that had made a lasting impression on them. I can report that SimCong, the course that simulates the workings of the U.S. Congress and allows students to play the role of individual Members, is still offered and that we will include an article about it in our next issue. Judge Joseph Lodge is still teaching his course on the criminal justice system. Professor Roger Davidson, who is a nationally-recognized expert on Congress, taught a course this year on "Power in Washington." Finally, you may remember Kelly Weis from our story last year on UCDC. Kelly was just awarded the top academic prize given to a graduating senior in the social sciences.

We have included a form to use if you would like to make a contribution to the department. We especially ask those of you who are already regular contributors to UCSB to consider designating part of your annual donation to Political Science. Such funds will help in continuing the special kinds of educational experiences, such as our honors program, that you will read about in this issue.

Darcie Goodman is a Biology/Political Science major. Having grown up near Lake Tahoe, she chose to research the environmental politics of water quality of lakes by conducting case studies of four lakes in California, Oregon, and Washington. Each lake differs in its degree of development and eutrophication (algae-buildup), as well as in the political agencies responsible for them. She has identified four factors that influence policies: (1) scientific knowledge of the process of eutrophication; (2) community awareness of the problem; (3) business and economic interests of the surrounding communities; (4) political structure and history of the area. Her research indicates there are major differences in the extent to which each factor influences environmental policies for these lakes. Darcie found the research process to be extremely rewarding, and was surprised at the willingness of public officials to be interviewed. She recommends the honors program as a good opportunity to pursue one's academic and personal interests at the same time, and enjoyed the one-on-one contact with her advisor, Professor John Woolley.

Allison Ickovic is analyzing Israeli election data for 1992 and 1996, comparing the results to outcomes predicted by two different election theories: "proximity" and "directional." Proximity theory predicts that voters support candidates who are perceived to be closest to their own overall ideological position across many issues; therefore, the more centrist candidates will win. Directional theory predicts that voters support candidates who most clearly represent their views on key or strong issues, rather than their overall ideological position; therefore, more extreme candidates will win. Allison believes that research results favoring the proximity theory may be suspect because most of that research has taken place in countries with rather homogenous populations. Having lived in the Middle East, Allison believes that Israel's diverse

population of many origins, which holds strong and often opposing political views, makes that country prime testing ground for the directional theory of elections. Allison credits Professors Garrett Glasgow, Eric Smith, and especially her project advisor, Professor Jim Adams, with being incredibly supportive. She strongly recommends this program because of the research experience, though in her words, preparing an honors thesis “is nothing like doing a research paper for a class!”

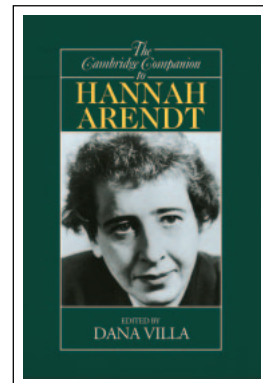
Lisa Thompson is researching underlying causes of policies toward medicinal abortion and AIDS, comparing the United States and France. Examples of differing policies include the approval of RU-486 in France 10 years before the United States, and the tremendous lead the United States has in AIDS research. Lisa reviewed funding budgets and research guidelines for many agencies, and interviewed officials from the National Institutes of Health and the AIDS office of the Ministry of Health in France. Her research indicates that differences between the Federal system of the United States and the centralized system of France (with a national health program) have influenced policies in both countries, as well as the economics of medicine and the role of the pharmaceutical industry. Lisa received needed advice and support from her project advisor, Professor Aaron Belkin, and has especially enjoyed the interaction with other honors students. As for the work involved, she says, “when you’re not working on your project, you’re thinking about it.”

Kyle Ashley is a double major in Economics and Political Science. Intrigued by studies relating the lack of political participation of Generation X to their lack of trust of political institutions, he decided to investigate the relationship between civic participation and trust (both social trust and institutional trust) for a larger group. Using data from the 1996 National Election Survey and a 1990–92 panel study, he hopes to determine if political participation increases trust, or if trust leads to greater participation. Kyle feels the honors seminar was the best class he’s had at UCSB because of the small class size and the opportunity for direct interaction with a professor. He credits his advisor, Professor Eric Smith, with helping him with design and statistics; however, it has been especially rewarding for Kyle to discover what he can do on his own.

Professor Philpott describes the honors program as his “favorite thing to teach,” and particularly enjoys the opportunity to work closely with the individual students. As he states, “It’s the closest thing to a liberal arts college experience that we have at UCSB.”

Editorship Recognizes Dana Villa’s Research

Dana Villa, newly-tenured Professor, is recognized nationally and internationally as an expert on the works of Hannah Arendt, a significant 20th century political thinker. Since 1992, he has published two books, eleven book chapters, and several journal articles analyzing the themes and concepts in her writings. The esteem in which his work is held resulted in his appointment as editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Hannah Arendt* (2000). The Cambridge Companion series is intended to make the work of individual theorists more accessible to first-time readers. Editorship of these volumes is generally given to the most senior scholars in the field; therefore, for Villa to have received this honor so early in his career is especially gratifying. As editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Hannah Arendt*, Villa was given the task of choosing the authors for the essays within the volume and editing the end result so as to give new readers a clear analysis of the work of this complex political theorist.



Villa was attracted to Hannah Arendt when, just before he went to college, part of her last work, *Life of the Mind*, was serialized in the *New Yorker*. At Amherst, Villa studied with George Kateb, a highly-regarded political theorist and Arendt scholar, and noted the esteem in which her work was held “by the smartest people I knew.” Because Arendt’s works are sometimes difficult to read, people tend to turn excerpts into slogans (“the banality of evil,” for example) without delving into the argument behind them. In his writings, Villa has tried to clarify Arendt’s central message, which is that politics gives the most adequate expression to equality and freedom. In his first book, *Arendt and Heidegger: The Fate of the Political* (1996), Villa explores Arendt’s debt to the German philosopher and her idea of what it means to lead a fully human existence. In Arendt’s view, it is when one acts politically or publicly. In other words, the public self is the true or “real” self, an idea that harks back to Athenian democracy. In his second book, *Politics, Philosophy, Terror: Essays on the Thought of Hannah Arendt* (1999), Villa delves deeper into other themes of Arendt’s writings, which were strongly influenced by her experiences as a German Jew during the rise of National Socialism.

Arendt was critical of the way western philosophical tradition has devalued the life of the citizen, focusing on contemplation rather than political speech and action. With the editorship completed, Villa departs from Arendt, turning in his next book to the Socratic idea of philosophical citizenship. Since the time of John Stuart Mill, this idea of citizenship has received little attention. In *Socratic Citizenship* (2001), Villa revisits this ideal, tracing its vicissitudes in the modern age and arguing against the current trend that finds no place for philosophy in contemporary citizenship.

Villa brings his enthusiasm and expertise in clarifying political thought to the classroom. He presents not only the ideas of the great political philosophers, but also links them to the larger questions of why we have political society and what its primary

DOUG FARRELL



HONORS SEMINAR STUDENTS WITH PROF. DAN PHILPOTT, WINTER 2001



goals are or ought to be. He wants students to connect to the underlying “moral energy” behind the writings, and relates the discussion of classic texts to contemporary issues and problems. He feels this is extremely important, given the age of the students and the often archaic language of the writers. In addition, Villa helps students see that each of the great theorists has a unique perspective on morals and politics, and grasping these perspectives will in turn enlarge our own moral-political horizon.

Student evaluations from Villa’s classes give him high marks for his “passion” for the subject and his willingness to engage students in the discussion. Open-ended comments are extremely favorable, with many statements like “Professor Villa makes complicated questions understandable,” and “The Professor made me enjoy coming to class to learn.” But perhaps the highest compliment to Villa’s commitment to be the “animator of ideas” to his students is found in the following: “The most important thing about this course is that it was structured so that I could actually study the material instead of trying to second guess what the instructor thought was important. This is the only class . . . where I have had the opportunity to study and think rather than repeat.” It is apparent that in his classes, Villa is inspiring students to achieve his own excellence in scholarship and teaching.

John Woolley Explores the American Presidency

Professor John Woolley’s popular upper-division course, “The American Presidency,” had particular relevance in this hotly-contested election year, but it offers a deeper analysis of the office than merely dissecting how presidents are elected. From a historical perspective, the course reviews the development of the presidency from its origins to the present. At the theoretical level, it examines how individual (“president-centered”) and institutional (“presidency-centered”) contexts influence our perception of the office and the behaviors of those in it. In addition to examining the presidency, Woolley uses the course to explore the general concept of leadership as an important social science problem. Why do we need leaders and accept leadership? What are the characteristics of successful leaders?

Woolley relies on more than the standard combination of lecture, text, and discussion to teach and illustrate concepts. A highly-



FROM AMERICAN PRESIDENCY WEBSITE,
COURTESY OF GERHARD PETERS

developed interactive website (<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu>) provides additional resources to students and can be accessed during lectures. For example, Woolley might illustrate a particular theory of the presidency by projecting and playing portions of contrasting presidential speeches from the website links. Outside of class, students can access the site for basic information, such as the course syllabus, but more importantly, they can obtain supplemental content for the class. This is the unique feature of the website, which is constantly updated and revised with the assistance of graduate student Gerhard Peters.

During the presidential election and its aftermath, users could access the site to view a detailed map showing election results by county, or read the court arguments and opinions on the key lawsuits and appeals as they occurred. Nearing Inauguration Day, the focus changed to historical links about past inauguration ceremonies, speeches, and photos. One of the regular features on the website, “The Presidency Interactive” data archive, contains data on such things as electoral politics and relations with Congress from 1789 to the present, which students can quickly pull up in table format. Other features include an archive of all State of the Union speeches, presidential messages submitted to Congress, and all inaugural addresses. Many of these documents are not available in electronic format elsewhere. A link to Newseum’s “100 Years of Presidential Campaigns” lets one scroll through changes in candidate reporting, from “On the Porch” during the McKinley era to the current “Interactive” phase of cable TV and web instant news sites. Users with the appropriate software installed on their computers can hear and view a history of Presidential campaign commercials from 1952–2000, or key presidential addresses from Franklin D. Roosevelt through Bill Clinton.

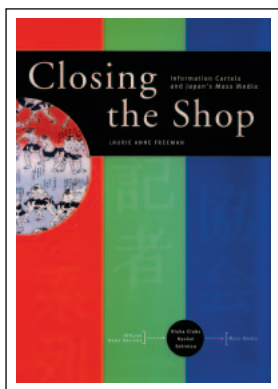
The website is a valuable tool in furthering students’ understanding of the presidency. In an article written for *PRG Report* (the newsletter of the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association), Woolley suggests that the questions to ask in considering to use this technology are: (1) “Are there things I can do using Internet resources that are better than traditional alternatives?” and (2) “Are there kinds of assignments we can pose for students with the Internet that involve more interesting analytic challenges?” For Woolley’s class, student feedback indicates that the data compilations in “Presidency Interactive” have been most useful in assisting them with class research. In a survey of 75 respondents conducted in 1999, over 84% agreed that the website was generally a positive contribution to their educational experience, and 89% agreed that the web site should be continued and expanded. While the total class experience relies on thoughtful analysis of theories of the office and role of the presidency, which the technology can augment, but not replace, Woolley intends to continue to use the Internet to provide additional resources to his students.



DAVID FOLKS

Laurie Freeman Sheds Light on Japanese Media

Professor Laurie Freeman's fascination with Japan began as a child, while her father was stationed in Japan. However, her serious study of the Japanese language did not begin until her junior year of college, when she spent a semester abroad in Japan as an exchange student. Freeman eventually attended Hokkaido University in Sapporo, Japan from 1983–86, receiving a Master's degree in Political Science from the Law Faculty. It was during her graduate studies that Freeman encountered the terms *kisha kuvabu* (Japanese press clubs) and *ban kisha* (political journalists). Having a strong interest in journalism since her high school days, she felt the Japanese system of media-source relationships seemed to be significantly different from that in the US and other western democracies, yet little had been written about it. Thus began her research, culminating in the publication of *Closing the Shop: Information Cartels and Japan's Mass Media* (Princeton, 2000).



In her book, Freeman explores the workings of the press (*kisha*) clubs, which are located in most of the major business, government, and political organizations throughout the country. Access to news sources in these organizations is limited to club members, and membership is in turn controlled by the Japanese Newspaper Association (*Kyokai*). Press club codes of conduct strictly control the news-gathering process, stress maintaining cordial relations between club members and their news sources, and administer sanctions to members and their sponsoring newspapers for breaching the code. Since the national newspapers also own and/or control other mass media, such as TV or magazines, the institutional control and dissemination of news to the public is extensive. Freeman refers to this system as an “information cartel.” As in other cartels, while there are beneficial reciprocal relationships for the participants, they also result in the exclusion of outsiders.

With such a closed system in place, gaining access to the workings of the press clubs in order to complete her research required some ingenuity. Fortunately, Freeman was invited by the *Asahi Shimbun*, one of Japan's major newspapers, to observe several political press clubs; however, her official status as a “participant observer” was not sufficient to gain access to the Diet, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) headquarters, or the prime minister's

offices where the clubs are housed and where news briefings occur. Therefore, one of her *Asahi* sponsors used a political connection (*kone*) within the LDP to have Freeman designated as one of the official's personal political secretaries. This got her the necessary badge for admission, and also illustrated early on the kind of relationships that exist between reporters and their news sources in Japan.

In Japan, analysis and alternative points of view to the official position are often not presented in news reports. Because news event “facts” are disseminated at highly structured briefings between news sources and the press club reporters, stories subsequently published by all the different newspapers sound very much the same, especially since bylines are not used. Freeman notes that this system is not the same as state censorship of the news; however, the system does limit the media watchdog role of the press. Instead, the press becomes a “co-conspirator” with the state in controlling the flow of “credentialed” facts, thus limiting both access to political alternatives and political choice. There is an alternative press outside the system, mostly in the form of weekly pulp magazines, but with their reporters denied access to official sources, the alternative news reports are often based on leaked information from club journalists, rumors, or lies. The net result of this system of “homogenized” news reporting is that Japanese citizens, who have the highest incidence of newspaper readership among democratic states, may have little knowledge of range of perspectives within their own society. It is interesting to note that a Korean translation of Freeman's book will be published in 2001, but so far not a Japanese one. A critical analysis of the clubs is possibly too controversial to be published in Japanese at this time.

There have been a few changes since Freeman completed her research. Since 1997, members of the foreign press have been allowed into many of the press clubs as non-regular members; however, this status grants them access only to formal news briefings. They are still excluded from the *kondan*, or post-briefing, that follows every official briefing and during which more substantive information is given. Most importantly, free-lance Japanese journalists outside the system remain excluded from the press clubs; thus any real discussion or presentation of alternatives to the official news line remains unlikely as long as the press club/newspaper association system remains in control. However, the Internet may provide the means for eventual change in the Japanese news system. Though the government has imposed some restrictions on use of the Internet during elections, it remains outside the control of official sources. Freeman has received a Fulbright grant for further research in this area. She will return to Japan in the fall of 2001 to study how the Internet may impact the press clubs, change the way the news associations do business, and alter politics in Japan.

Two Political Science Alums Return to Campus



CYNTHIA CARPENTER IN THE KABUL
MARKETPLACE

Cynthia Carpenter Documents Plight of Afghan Women

Cynthia Carpenter, '88, independent producer of short features and commercials, was so moved when she saw a televised interview two years ago about the conditions of women under the Taliban regime in Afghanistan that she ended up making two visits to film conditions there. While she was afforded unusual access to Taliban officials and provided with an escort to hospitals, military bases, and Afghan society, there were instances of uncertainty that placed her at risk of capture or arrest. She relates that during these tense situations, she found herself recalling discussions from Emeritus Professor Noel's class on International/Mideastern politics, which emphasized the importance of seeing things from different perspectives.

Though Ms. Carpenter's film will not be completed until the end of this summer, she generously agreed to come to UCSB to make a presentation to over 100 students from classes in Political Science, Anthropology, and History. Among the props she brought to illustrate her film and talk were two burqas—the garment all Afghan women must wear in public—which were worn by a male and female volunteer during the lecture. Many students stayed after the talk to learn more about Afghanistan, and professors who assigned essays about the talk reported thoughtful discussions and analyses of the issues involved. Students also commented on how inspiring it was to see a UCSB graduate doing something meaningful with her education. That was especially rewarding to Cynthia Carpenter. She pointed out when first approached about doing a presentation that she is “just an ordinary person, not an activist or VIP,” but felt she could demonstrate to students that sometimes an ordinary person can find themselves in a situation where they too can make a difference.



KIRK BOYD ('81)

Kirk Boyd Argues Case Before Supreme Court

It is a privilege when an alumnus can return to campus to follow in the footsteps of a mentor. It is also a deemed a great privilege for an attorney to argue a case before the United States Supreme Court. Both opportunities were realized by Kirk Boyd, '81. Since 1999, he has been a visiting lecturer in Political Science, teaching the same constitutional law classes that were introduced into the department by his mentor, the late Herman Pritchett. In March of this year, Mr. Boyd (who received his J.D. from Boalt Hall and was admitted to the bar in

1985) argued his first case before the Supreme Court. The original case was to determine whether or not the police used excessive force in the arrest of a protestor; however, the case went to the Supreme Court on appeal of the trial judge's ruling that the issue of use of excessive force could be decided by a jury.

Cases are reviewed by the Supreme Court in briefs filed before the actual hearing. Each side gets only 30 minutes for an oral presentation and questions by the justices. For Mr. Boyd, presenting the argument was “less like a trial and more like an intense scholarly discussion.” Noticing that the prosecutor repeatedly failed to answer a direct question from the justices about a particular point, he decided not to use his prepared statement. Instead, he began his argument by addressing that point, which he feels more fully engaged the justices in his presentation. Mr. Boyd believes that he made the best possible presentation, regardless of the outcome, which he will not know until this summer. He credits the experience and knowledge he gained about the Supreme Court in preparing for his classes, as well as the support from his students and colleagues, with giving him the confidence to set aside his statement and argue the case. Herman Pritchett would be proud.

Gifts to the Department

Gifts of support for the department of Political Science are greatly appreciated, and we have included a clip-out form for that purpose. There are many giving possibilities. Previous contributions have funded undergraduate awards and scholarships, graduate fellowships, endowed chairs, and the Lancaster Reading Room. General gifts to the department are used wherever the need is greatest.

If you would like more information about making a specific gift or about planned giving, please contact Liz Kelleher, Assistant Dean for Development, Division of Social Sciences, at (805) 893-2369, or lkelleher@instadv.ucsb.edu.

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