NEWS FROM THE
EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

FALL/WINTER 2003

NEW GOVERNOR'S EXECUTIVE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM LAUNCHED

Eight Rutgers graduate students will spend the spring semester this year as Governor's Executive Fellows through a new program awarded to the Eagleton Institute. Funded by the New Jersey Governor's Office, the Fellows will be placed with upper-level officials in state agencies and given opportunities to link their academic training with the practice of governance and politics. Fellows will have specific responsibilities and assignments, and they will also shadow one or more state officials and sit in on a variety of discussions and events. Throughout the semester, they will also participate in workshops on state government.

Eagleton was overwhelmed with applications for the new program, defying conventional wisdom that says students are not interested in government. Applicants came from all three Rutgers campuses and from fields as diverse as law, public policy, public administration, political science, psychology, social work, agricultural economics, education, business, criminal justice, statistics, urban planning, labor relations, public health, communications, and French.

The program is modeled on Eagleton's Raimondo Legislative Fellowship Program, which is now in its fourth year. Through that program, an additional eight graduate students are placed with the partisan and non-partisan staffs in the New Jersey legislature each year.

SURVEY FINDS YOUTH DISENGAGED FROM POLITICAL PROCESS

Although young people participate in volunteer activities as much as older people, they are less inclined to vote, follow what's happening in government, or work in or contribute to a political campaign. That's the conclusion of a report co-authored by Eagleton faculty members Alan Rosenthal and Cliff Zukin, based on a recent national survey. The survey results are not encouraging with regard to civic engagement and support for representative democracy. Respondents in the "Dot Net" generation, ages 15-26, have a much weaker sense of the obligations of citizenship than older generations. Both the younger and older generations are cynical about the people and processes of government. Two out of five people believe that those elected to public office are out to serve their own personal interests, while only one in three thinks that they are trying to serve the public interest.

The report, released in September, is titled Citizenship: A Challenge for all Generations. It was generated by the Representative Democracy in America Project, sponsored by the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) in collaboration with the Center for Civic Education and Indiana University's Center on Congress. It is available via a link from the Eagleton website at www.eagleton.rutgers.edu.

BRAZILE SPEAKS AT EAGLETON EVENT

Donna Brazile, who served as campaign manager for Gore-Lieberman 2000, shares her "Presidential Primary Predictions for 2004" at a dynamic presentation on November 5.
FROM THE DIRECTOR

I am delighted that the Eagleton Institute of Politics is now able to add another dimension to its well-known educational programs at Rutgers (see story on page 1). Thanks to New Jersey Governor Jim McGreevey, Eagleton is launching the Governor’s Executive Fellowship Program. The program enables Eagleton to complement its legislative fellowships with eight additional opportunities for graduate students to learn first hand about politics and policymaking, this time in the executive branch.

From the beginnings of the Institute established with a bequest from Florence Peshine Eagleton almost 50 years ago, education has been at the core of its mission. Over the decades, Eagleton’s faculty and staff have developed pioneering research and public service initiatives whose originality and impact enhance the Institute’s effectiveness as a place to study the practice of American politics.

Starting with Eagleton’s very first and now longest running program, the Eagleton Fellows Program, a consistent strategy has been to link study with practice so that they can inform each other. In the 1980’s, former NJ Assemblyman Harold Martin and his wife Reba added an important building block to the Eagleton Fellowship Program by supporting six graduate fellowships at the Institute annually. In the 1970s, building on Eagleton’s success in training and supporting graduate students, a new partnership with the Department of Political Science was created – the Eagleton Undergraduate Associates Program – which continues to attract some of the most active and accomplished campus leaders at Rutgers.

Since 2000, the prestigious Henry J. Raimondo Legislative Fellowship Program, created in memory of a beloved faculty member, has supported eight graduate students who have a special interest in studying and working in the New Jersey legislature. With stipends awarded through a grant from the New Jersey legislature, the Eagleton Raimondo Fellows spend the spring semester in Trenton working in the Senate and Assembly partisan offices and in the Office of Legislative Services. Now the new Governor’s Executive Fellows, assigned to state agencies and the Governor’s office, will join Eagleton’s legislative fellows in gaining an intensive up-close look at how government works.

I want to sound a special note of appreciation for the devoted alumni and generous friends who teach in our programs, come to class as guest lecturers, and offer internships to Eagleton’s students...embody the Institute’s message of the vital connection between theory and practice.

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Ruth B. Mandel, director of the Eagleton Institute, speaks to Rutgers faculty, staff and administrators at Eagleton’s annual election day luncheon. Each year, the name of the person who most accurately predicts the outcome of the day’s elections is inscribed on the Eagleton Cup.

ELECTION DAY LUNCHEON GATHERING

Ruth B. Mandel, director of the Eagleton Institute, speaks to Rutgers faculty, staff and administrators at Eagleton’s annual election day luncheon. Each year, the name of the person who most accurately predicts the outcome of the day’s elections is inscribed on the Eagleton Cup.
EAGLETON ELECTION EXPERTISE EVIDENT IN 2003 AND BEYOND

While the 2003 election was a sleeper nationally and attracted few voters in New Jersey, elections always merit attention at Eagleton. This year:

• a new web site launched by the Institute helped New Jersey voters get the information they needed to make informed choices;
• the Eagleton New Jersey Project undertook new research and public service programs aimed at improving campaign conduct and election administration;
• the Center for American Women and Politics continued to track women candidates and winners as part of its Election Watch.

Eagleton’s newest website, www.njvoterinfo.org, was a great success, gaining thousands of “hits” each day as Election Day approached and garnering significant media attention including several laudatory editorials. In addition, the state’s social studies teachers were alerted to the site and its information and exercises specifically designed for classroom use. The Leadership New Jersey Class of 2002 collaborated with the Institute on the creation of the site, and Bristol-Myers Squibb provided support for the schools component.

The Eagleton New Jersey Project (ENJP) is playing an important role in assisting the state in implementing the new federal Help America Vote Act (HAVA) by getting perspectives from other states on their election reform efforts and responses to the new law. Ingrid Reed, director of ENJP, was appointed by New Jersey’s Attorney General to serve on the state committee to plan for HAVA implementation. Under HAVA, every state is required to provide voter education and information, establish statewide voter registration lists, and replace voting machines that do not meet current standards. Eagleton’s contribution has included hosting a series of seminars to learn how other states have met these challenges in order to help New Jersey make its own plans.

The first seminar, held in September, focused on management initiatives at the state level and featured presentations by the Secretary of State of New Mexico and the Maryland Elections Commissioner. An October seminar on statewide voter registration lists included speakers from Michigan and Pennsylvania discussing their states’ pioneering efforts in this area. The final seminar in November, with case studies from Los Angeles County and the State of Georgia, addressed the use of funding available under HAVA to improve voter information and education. The seminars received support from the Fund for New Jersey and were organized by ENJP director Ingrid Reed.

CAWP’s Election Watch reports that, as a result of the November 2003 elections, a record number of women will serve as governors in 2004. When Louisiana Governor-Elect Kathleen Blanco takes office, a total of eight women governors will serve nationwide. In contrast, at the state legislative level, in three of the four states with legislative elections, the number of women in 2004 will decrease from the 2003 figure; in the fourth state, women gained one seat.

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Fewer women candidates ran in state legislative races in 2003 than in previous comparable off-year elections. “We watched the numbers of women candidates and office-holders edge upward for three decades,” observed Debbie Walsh, director of CAWP, “but in the last few election cycles, we’ve reached plateaus in some cases and even seen some drop-offs.” Information about the 2003 races, as well as emerging news about women candidates running in 2004, is posted on the CAWP website (www.cawp.rutgers.edu).

SUPPORT THE EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

It’s the holiday season, and it’s easier than ever to make a gift to Eagleton!

Donate on line – go to www.eagleton.rutgers.edu and click on “Support Eagleton” – or use the enclosed postage-paid envelope.
WHICH NEW JERSEYANS DON’T VOTE – AND WHY?

This article is excerpted from an extended version of “The Sorry State of Turnout in New Jersey Elections,” written by Star-Ledger/Eagleton-Rutgers Poll director Cliff Zukin and associate director Patrick Murray with graduate student Robert Suls for the Star-Ledger and published on October 5, 2003.

There is a major problem in voting participation in the Garden State – and no shortage of explanations. The state’s recent nefarious political history, full of the ethnically challenged, indicted and convicted, offers one good reason for cynicism to flourish in the Garden State, with depressed voter turnout as a consequence. Moreover, campaigns have become more negative and more expensive in recent years. But the nature of the electorate itself has also changed, and here may be the main culprit for the decline in turnout.

Who’s Not There?

Registering to vote is the ante in the game of politics; if you’re not registered, those at the table have no reason to consider seriously what you want. So we ask: “Who is missing from the table?” We pooled information from the last four statewide surveys of the Star-Ledger/Eagleton-Rutgers Poll, encompassing some 3,400 residents of New Jersey, including registered and non-registered voters. Here’s what we learned:

- There is a small partisan difference that favors Republicans; 85 percent of Republicans are registered, compared to 80 percent of Democrats and 77 percent of independents. Far fewer of those not identifying with any of these three groups are registered.
- Better educated and wealthier New Jerseyans are more likely to be registered to vote.
- Registration rates differ only slightly between whites and African Americans, but there are much larger gaps between these two groups on the one hand and Hispanics and Asians on the other. These differences persist even when looking only at those eligible to register (excluding non-citizen immigrants, for example).
- But age accounts for the biggest difference in whose voices are absent from the political process: a bare majority of those under 30 (55 percent) are even registered to vote, and far fewer actually turn out to do so. In contrast, 75 percent of those between 30 and 49 report being registered to vote, as do 86 percent of those between 50 and 64, and 92 percent of those over 65.

Why People Don’t Participate

In surveys conducted over the last 12 months, we asked people who are not registered why they are not, and we asked those who are registered but don’t vote in every election why they don’t. We turn first to why people are not registered to vote – excluding those who are not eligible (such as non-citizens and felons). This group includes roughly one-quarter of all state citizens. Interviewers asked for “the main reason” why they were not registered. Thirty-two percent of non-registered New Jerseyans told us they recently moved and haven’t gotten around to registering. Another 37 percent are apathetic, including a quarter who say they don’t care and another 12 percent who couldn’t even give interviewers a reason why they aren’t registered. Somewhat surprisingly, only 22 percent reject politics, negative campaigning, government, or all of the above. Just eight percent report being dissuaded from registering by difficulties in the process. Thus the key to getting the bulk of non-voters to register lies in showing them the relevance of the political process and outcomes to their lives, rather than turning around negative attitudes or removing any structural barriers to registration!

This is particularly true with regard to young people in New Jersey. Just under half (47%) of those under 30 who are not registered say they just haven’t thought about it or give no answer to why they are not registered. The number giving this type of responses drops to one-third of those between 30 and 50, and to one-quarter of those over 50. Older non-registered voters give a higher proportion of answers suggesting they have been turned off by the political system. Young people haven’t really opted out of the political system – they have just never opted in.

What It All Means: The “So What” Question

Obviously, younger voices are less loud, and thus less well heard by those in Trenton. But less recognized may be the clear consequence. Representative government works pretty well; elected representatives do try to respond to the voice they hear. Credit this to an enlightened view of democracy or naked self-interest, but they do. The corollary, of course, is that if you aren’t speaking, they don’t hear you. So the political system has a bias: because young people, and to a lesser but still significant extent, the less well educated and less affluent, have a muted voice in the input, they have less effect on the output, or how goodies are given out.

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2003-2004 Eagleton Visiting Associates

Eagleton Visiting Associates are political practitioners with extensive experience in New Jersey politics and governance who provide assistance and advice to the students in Eagleton’s three graduate fellowship programs during the academic year. The 2003–2004 Eagleton Visiting Associates are:

- Nancy Becker, President and Founder, Nancy Becker Associates
- Roger Bodman, Senior Partner, Public Strategies Impact LLC
- Cory Booker, Director, Newark Now
- Tom Byrne, President, Byrne Asset Management
- Michael Catania, President and Founder, Conservation Resources, Inc.
- Joseph V. Doria, NJ Assemblyman and Mayor of the City of Bayonne
- W. Cary Edwards, Partner, Edwards & Caldwell
- Zulima Farber, Partner, Lowenstein & Sandler PC
- Jack Hall, Former Vice President of Government Affairs and Policy, Johnson & Johnson
- Harold Hodes, Senior Partner, Public Strategies Impact LLC
- Greta Kiernan, Former New Jersey Assemblywoman; Chief of Staff, Assemblywoman Linda Greenstein
- Peter McDonough, Founder and President, McDonough Public Affairs
- Velvet Miller, Principal, DMG; President and CEO, My Parent’s Concierge
- Richard Roper, Founder and Principal, Roper Group
- Judy Shaw, Senior Partner, MBI GluckShaw
- Jon Shure, President, New Jersey Policy Perspective
- Candace Straight, Private Investor and Investment-Banking Consultant
- Michele Tuck-Ponder, President, Ponder Solutions, Inc.
- Melanie Willoughby, Senior Vice President, New Jersey Business and Industry Association

Eagleton Fellows and Henry J. Raimondo Fellows meet over dinner with Eagleton Visiting Associates. Seated from left to right: Visiting Associate Tom Byrne, Raimondo Fellow Alec Marcalas, Eagleton Fellow Sarah Smith, Visiting Associate Jon Shure, and Raimondo Fellow Jason Redd.

Which New Jerseyans Don’t Vote? (continued)

Our survey findings are illustrative: while 64 percent of those under 30 favor gay and lesbians being able to marry legally, just 27 percent of those over 50 agree. Guess which voice is louder in Trenton? Moreover, young people’s lack of interest and engagement shapes the way campaigns are run in the state – which issues are addressed, and which ones are not. Campaign discourse is tilted to those who are responsive: social security over education; economic over social concerns. And this becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. Younger citizens’ concerns are less well addressed, and this reinforces a sense that the political system is irrelevant to them.

What Is To Be Done

We believe it is important for all citizens to participate in the democratic process. To the extent that participation wanes, those left in the system have more partisan and shriller voices, and the extremes tend to be heard more clearly than the means; the system loses precious ballast and moderation. Something should be done to draw in New Jersey youth who currently are disengaged.

Our proposed solution is a renewed emphasis on civic and political engagement in the state’s high schools and colleges. Something positive must counter the pessimism of actual bad behavior, big money and a negative media (largely television) environment that emphasizes the warts in the political culture without a nod to the smooth skin. We cannot afford to raise another generation that is either turned off or tuned out. A healthy, functioning democracy depends on the transmission from one generation to the next of the message that each is the guardian of sacred norms of participation. We are currently failing in this regard, and we must do better.
IMMIGRANTS AND MINORITIES ALTER PROFILE OF AMERICAN ELECTORATE

Many Americans might be surprised to learn that:

• Foreign migration to the U.S. is changing dramatically the demographic profile of the American electorate. More than 1 in 5 adults was born in another country, and nearly one-third of all Americans are of non-white and non-European descent.

• Over 30% of the population in both California and Texas is Hispanic/Latino. This far exceeds the proportion of Hispanics/Latinos at the national level (12.5%).

• There are discrepancies in voting participation among different segments of the Hispanic/Latino communities. In 2000, 72.6% of Cuban Americans over the age of 31 voted on election day. By contrast, 64.6% of Central Americans, 58.0% of Puerto Ricans, and only 53.6% of Mexicans turned out.

• California, Texas and Florida, states with substantial immigrant populations, have relatively lenient residency requirements. Because they require no particular length of residency, these states make it easier for newcomers to participate in elections.

These and other facts can be gleaned from a new addition to the Eagleton website, designed as a resource for journalists and students interested in minority and immigrant voting in the 2004 election. (Eagleton’s web address is www.eagleton.rutgers.edu.) Compiled by Jane Junn, an associate professor at Eagleton and in the Department of Political Science, with the assistance of research associate Elizabeth Matto, it contains general information pertaining to the 2004 elections, as well as information about the political participation of the minority population in particular, with links to resources on minority and immigrant political behavior and to recent polls.

The information on the web site is organized around four research areas: recent voting behavior of citizens; voter registration requirements and schedule of primary elections; party strength and inter-party competition; ethnic breakdown of citizenry and ethnic voter participation. Fact sheets for each research topic provide information at the state and national levels.

The online material serves as a companion to a forthcoming volume of essays edited by Junn and Dr. Kerry Haynie of Duke University addressing minority and immigrant political behavior. A panel of experts is conducting research on the political consequences of foreign migration. They are examining the character and strategies of organizations that mobilize new citizens to politics; the development of the political psychology of group membership among members of racial and ethnic minority groups; and the patterns of participation and candidate choice among new voters.

EAGLETON JOINS NATIONAL EFFORT TO GET STUDENTS INVOLVED IN POLITICS

Developing civic-minded and politically engaged college students is the goal of a new “National Campaign for Political and Civic Engagement,” which Eagleton has been invited to join. Lauren LaRusso, an Eagleton Raimondo Legislative Fellow, and Susan Sherr, director of Eagleton’s Civic Engagement and Political Participation program, attended the first strategy session of the consortium of colleges and universities participating in the program, convened in October by Harvard University’s Institute of Politics. The campaign has a three-part focus: electoral politics, public service career development, and civic education. Students from participating institutions will take the lead in all campaign activities, helping to promote civic and political participation among their peers. LaRusso and Sherr are developing plans for Eagleton to expand its civic engagement activities with Rutgers students.

NOT A MILLIONAIRE? YOU CAN STILL NAME A CHAIR!

A chair in the Eagleton drawing room could have your name on it—or you can name a chair to honor a friend, family member, colleague, class, corporation, or non-profit.

For details, visit our website at www.eagleton.rutgers.edu and click on “Support Eagleton” or contact Chris Lenart at 732/932-9384, ext. 244.
EDUCATION AND EMPOWERMENT FOR A NEW GENERATION

It’s at Chatham College and at the University of Washington. It has happened at the University of Oklahoma and Ohio State University and the University of Nevada-Las Vegas. They’ve done it at Washington State University and at the University of Missouri in St. Louis and American University in Washington, DC. Soon, it will come to Minnesota State University at Moorhead, North Dakota State at Fargo and Concordia College – with Auburn University and Portland (OR) State not far behind. And of course, it’s at Rutgers.

It’s the NEW Leadership program to educate and empower a new generation of women leaders, the model developed at the Center for American Women and Politics and shared with other colleges and universities across the nation through the NEW Leadership Development Network. CAWP created the first NEW Leadership summer institute in 1991 and has been refining the curriculum since then. Beginning in 1999, CAWP has taught the program basics to educators from other institutions and assisted them in planning and implementing similar programs for college women in their states.

Partners value the opportunity to build on a successful program and make it work on their own campuses. Says Alice Coil of the Women’s Resource Center at Washington State University, “One of the most rewarding NEW Leadership experiences is building relationships between students and regional political women....We are committed to enhancing women’s political participation by taking positive action. We are building a critical mass of women leaders.”

You can learn more about the NEW Leadership program at www.newleadership.rutgers.edu. If you know of an institution that might be interested in starting a NEW Leadership program, contact Sasha Patterson by e-mail at sashap@rci.rutgers.edu or by phone at 732/932-9384, ext. 248.

GIRL SCOUTS MAKE CAWP THEIR DESTINATION

Politics and leadership will be on the agenda as 40 Girl Scouts ages 14-17 come from across the nation to New Brunswick this summer for Pathways to Politics, a two-week workshop designed by the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP). The girls, along with adult scout leaders, will meet political women and participate in discussions, leadership exercises, and recreational team building activities. They will learn about the roles of women in politics from past to present and the demands of leadership in a diverse society. Travel during the program will include two days in Washington, D.C. and day trips to the Eleanor Roosevelt House at Val-Kill National Historic Site in Hyde Park, NY and the new Constitution Center in Philadelphia. The curriculum draws on CAWP’s award-winning NEW Leadership program, established in 1991 to teach college students about politics and public leadership.

Through the generosity of the Bonner Foundation, an AmeriCorps member, Lisa Masterson, is working with CAWP staff on both the Girl Scout program and NEW Leadership New Jersey. Masterson, a graduate of NEW Leadership New Jersey 2003, will try out some of the newly-designed activities on local teens, either in Girl Scout troops or in youth groups where other AmeriCorps members are posted.

Pathways to Politics is part of the national Girl Scout “Destinations” program, which allows advanced Girl Scouts to test their skills and interests – whether that means trying out a career possibility, exploring a new subject area, or undertaking an outdoor adventure. CAWP’s partner in planning the program is the Girl Scout Council of Delaware-Raritan.

To learn more about the program, contact Kathy Kleeman at 732/932-9384, ext. 231 or by e-mail at kleeman@rci.rutgers.edu.

VISITING PROFESSOR AT CAWP

Dr. Christine Marie Sierra, visiting professor at the Center for American Women and Politics and associate professor of Political Science at the University of New Mexico, spoke in October on the topic “In English, Spanglish y Español: The Politics of Inclusion for Latinas and Latinos in Contemporary America.” Sierra is currently collaborating with other scholars on a research project, “Gender and Multicultural Leadership: The Future of Governance,” which examines African American, Latina/o and Asian American women and men who hold elective office at the local, state, and federal levels. The study will address dimensions of identity politics (race, ethnicity, and gender), motives for seeking political office, trajectories into elective office, political attitudes and representational roles in office, and public policy perspectives.
Few people would guess that 5000 New Jersey residents volunteer their time to serve on hundreds of state boards or commissions, or that almost all feel they are making a meaningful contribution to state government. Nor would most New Jerseyans know that a wide variety of departments and agencies rely on these citizen groups for feedback, evaluation of plans and activities, and in some cases approval of proposals before they can take effect.

A new study by Eagleton associate director John Weingart, examines this generally overlooked part of government. Titled *Another Government Success Story: Citizen Volunteers on New Jersey State Boards and Commission*, the report was prepared with support from the Fund for New Jersey.

Weingart surveyed board members and staff and found much that is admirable and beneficial, as well as significant opportunities for improvement. On the positive side, boards and commissions provide major opportunities for meaningful public participation in government. Though their existence is largely unheralded, their success offers a model for reducing the distance between the government and the governed.

Members of boards and commissions express overwhelming enthusiasm about their experience.... More than 90 percent of those surveyed feel it is an honor to serve....

Weingart found that several states are far ahead of New Jersey in creating web sites to report on the work of particular boards or to allow people to ask to be considered for appointments. While some aspects of the New Jersey web page have received national praise, state government web sites for Florida, Maryland, Rhode Island, and Utah all have information about boards and commissions that is far more extensive and useful than New Jersey’s.

Among the recommendations in the report is a call for periodic assessments of existing boards and commissions to determine whether all are still needed. This has not been done in New Jersey since 1990, when close to 150 boards were eliminated or consolidated based on recommendations by a Management Review Commission created by Governor Florio.

An appendix to the report includes a list of 435 boards and commissions grouped according to the state agencies with which they work most closely. This may be of particular value to the reader interested in serving on a board or commission. While some people are asked to serve or are appointed as a result of their political service or connections, the study found more than one-third of the members initiated the appointment process themselves, and 27 percent reported their board membership was their first direct experience with government.

The complete study is available on the Eagleton web site (www.eagleton.rutgers.edu). If you would like to explore the possibility of serving on a state board or commission, contact the Governor’s Appointments Office, State House, P.O. Box 001, Trenton, NJ 08625 or (609) 777-0251. Unfortunately, the office does not yet have a website.

**John Weingart’s personal experience with New Jersey’s boards and commissions includes interacting with many of them as a division director and later assistant commissioner in the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection. In the late 1990s, he also served as executive director of the state board trying to find a location for a disposal facility for low-level radioactive waste. Currently, Weingart is a member and chair of the Delaware and Raritan Canal Commission.**
CPIP GAUGES OPINIONS ON MOTOR VEHICLE AGENCIES, TRANSPORTATION ISSUES

Got a gripe about New Jersey’s Motor Vehicle Commission? People who do – along with those who are happy with the service they’ve received – are recounting their experiences for Eagleton’s Center for Public Interest Polling (CPIP). Unsurprisingly, customers’ satisfaction with their experience at MVC offices, according to CPIP director Michael Hagen, is most heavily influenced by their impressions of how helpful, knowledgeable, courteous, and efficient the staff was, by how much time they had to wait in line, and by how clean and comfortable the facility was.

CPIP is completing a study of public satisfaction with the state’s motor vehicle agencies for the Motor Vehicle Commission – formerly the Division of Motor Vehicles. This year’s survey will serve as a baseline against which to measure the impact of reforms the Commission will undertake over the next year. Over the summer, telephone interviews were conducted with more than 1200 New Jersey adults and with representatives from more than 500 New Jersey businesses, asking about staff, facilities, and procedures at the MVC’s 45 offices statewide. In August, Hagen appeared before the Commission, providing a preliminary report on the project.

The Center also will begin a new project in January for New Jersey Transit and the New Jersey Department of Transportation to study the public’s knowledge about and preferences on major transportation issues facing New Jersey, especially with regard to sources and levels of funding. Conducted in collaboration with the Voorhees Transportation Policy Institute at Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy, the research will involve historical analysis and survey research to improve communication between the state’s transportation agencies and the New Jersey public.

TWO NJ GOVERNORS DISCUSS CAMPAIGNING

Former Governors Brendan Byrne and Thomas Kean compared notes on running for office during a session of the political campaigning course taught at Eagleton. The instructors for the course are Eagleton Visiting Associates Rodger Bodman and Harold Hodes and former Henry J. Raimondo Legislative Fellow Gina Serafin.

EAGLETON VISITING ASSOCIATES TEACH FELLOWS SEMINAR

Assemblyman Joseph V. Doria, mayor of Bayonne and Eagleton Visiting Associate, introduces former Governor Donald T. DiFrancesco and former U.S. Senator Robert Torricelli to the Eagleton Fellows during their seminar in American politics, which is co-taught by Doria and Pete McDonough, director of communications and press secretary under Governor Christine Todd Whitman.
THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC POLITICS ASSESSED IN NEW BOOK

Professor Emeritus Gerald Pomper and Marc Weiner recently published an edited volume, The Future of American Democratic Politics: Principle and Practices, including papers presented during a year-long symposium on that topic co-sponsored by the Walt Whitman Center at Rutgers and the Eagleton Institute of Politics. This fall, a panel discussion at Eagleton addressed the continuing viability of American democracy by examining events and changes in conditions since the symposium ended in May 2002. Below, Weiner, a former Eagleton Fellow who is currently a doctoral candidate in the Rutgers University Department of Political Science, draws lessons from the book and recent developments.

Regardless of the historical era, the practices of American democratic politics breathe life into three core principles: equality, liberty, and participation. In the recently published The Future of American Democratic Politics: Principle and Practices (Rutgers University Press 2003), distinguished political scientists discuss those principles in the institutional contexts in which they are animated: Congress and the state legislatures, the presidency, political parties, interest groups, and the Supreme Court. The book's primary conclusion is that the original Constitutional framework, while somewhat reworked from the founding, still operates to provide solutions to the problems of popular government.

As the future unfolds, however, that consensus of comfort and confidence is subject to continuing reassessment. As we end a difficult year and enter a presidential election year, at least four vital considerations potentially affect the future of American democratic politics. These four concerns are vexing, both intellectually and politically. Each, in its own way, impinges on the balances of power – between the branches of government themselves, and between the people and government – that protect our liberty, foster a workable equality, and honor citizen participation.

On the institutional side, Congress and the Court have both dealt with thorny issues. For example, the PATRIOT Act and the recently introduced VICTORY Act highlight tensions between the extremes of national security and personal freedom. These concerns, however, are not the theoretical exercises they once were; rather, and perhaps paradoxically, in the post-September 11 world, the heightened threat from stateless terrorism underscores the vital importance of liberty in our political and social culture.

Similarly difficult to reconcile is the counter-majoritarian concern that the unelected federal (and state) judiciary undoes the democratic work of duly elected legislatures, or – as in the 2000 election – even of voters. The Supreme Court's last term was extraordinary on a number of social issues, all of which riled up legislative response, real or threatened. No doubt, the Bill of Rights and the Civil War Amendments properly remove some issues from the electoral arena – no citizen’s basic civil rights, liberty, or dignity should be up for a vote – but the limits of those protections have been, and continue to be, difficult to realize. As noted constitutional scholar Elizabeth Garrett suggests in her chapter, "The Impact of Bush v. Gore on Future Democratic Politics," there is an increasing tension between Congress and the Court.

On the electoral side, California's recall of its duly-elected sitting chief executive, together with that state’s remarkable reliance on voter initiatives as a form of...
**GENDER DIFFERENCES IN CIVIC ENGAGEMENT FOCUS OF NEW STUDY**

Are there attitudinal or behavioral gender differences in civic engagement? That question is posed under a new grant to the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) from CIRCLE (the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement). The project takes a fresh look at data sets pertaining to civic engagement, checking to see whether findings about gender went unreported in earlier analyses. Dr. Krista Jenkins is conducting the study in collaboration with CAWP director Debbie Walsh. Among the questions the study explores:

- What kinds of gender differences do studies on civic engagement find?
- How do differences in race, class, and level of education interact with gender differences in the research findings?

The team will test the hypothesis that there are significant gender differences, mediated by other demographic factors. In particular, while it is unclear what the research will show concerning traditional forms of political participation, the Center expects to find that young women embrace informal forms of community-centered activism in greater numbers than young men. The findings from the study can be used to inform research and program development, both at the Center and elsewhere.

**DOCUMENTING THE LIVES OF LEADERS IN THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT**

Institute director Ruth B. Mandel and Mary Hartman, director of the Institute for Women's Leadership at Rutgers, interview Sarah Weddington, the Texas lawyer and activist who in 1973 successfully argued *Roe v. Wade* before the Supreme Court. Mandel and Hartman are documenting the lives of leaders in the women's rights movement in their "Talking Leadership" videotape series.

**NEW BOOK (continued)**

direct, as opposed to representative, democracy raises essential concerns for fidelity to the Constitution's outline for representative democracy. Also in the electoral arena, the Supreme Court's unusual accelerated hearing schedule on challenges to the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act brings to a head the now seemingly perennial issue of money in politics, in a way that implicates all the branches of government at once. Particularly interesting about 2004 is the impact of changing communications technology on electoral campaigns. Howard Dean, and now to a lesser extent, Wesley Clark, are seeing to it that the effect of the Internet on this election dwarfs all that has come before, particularly in terms of cyberspace fundraising.

Our book concludes that all ages are ages of crisis, and it is crisis that tests the mettle of our national ethos and our political culture. We found a tremendous endurance of our nation's organizing principles, and a remarkable flexibility in our governing institutions. Even in the face of serious concerns, the animation of our vital fundamental principles through our stable working institutions provides credible hope. As Carey McWilliams concludes in *The Future of American Democratic Politics*, the real issue is our declared capacity to rule ourselves. McWilliams observes that the issue in 1776 was about self-government, and in many ways that is the American story. At bottom, the contributors in our book and the participants and audience at the October panel believe deeply in our capacity to govern ourselves.
Fellows Class of 1968 Reunites

Thirty five years ago, fifteen young people walked through the front door of Wood Lawn to begin their nine-month study of politics. On an October Saturday morning in 2003, ten of those Eagleton Fellows from the class of 1968 returned, joined by Professor Alan Rosenthal and education programs coordinator Chris Lenart, for a day of reminiscence about their professional and personal journeys beyond Rutgers.

They recalled fondly two individuals who had affected them deeply – Institute director Don Herzberg and Jesse Unruh, who was speaker of the California Assembly at the time and served as a visiting practitioner at Eagleton. While their career paths branched in many directions – including campaign work, service in state legislatures, stints in the Peace Corps, and other forms of activism – a constant for the Class of ’68 was continued commitment to public service, stimulated in large measure by their experiences at Eagleton. Said classmate Steve Andrews, “I feel fortunate to remain both interested and personally and professionally engaged in public policy and the story of how we as a people try to improve our lives and improve the social and political communities in which we live and work. The underlying groundwork for much of that interest and much of that engagement was strengthened at Eagleton.”

Eagleton Institute of Politics

The Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University explores state and national politics through research, education, and public service, linking the study of politics with its day-to-day practice. The Institute focuses attention on how contemporary political systems work, how they change, and how they might work better. Eagleton’s faculty, centers and programs specialize in the study of: state legislatures; public opinion polling and survey research; women’s participation in politics; minority and immigrant political behavior; campaigns, elections and political parties; civic education and political engagement; young elected leaders; electronic democracy; and New Jersey politics.

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