Fellows Celebrate Year-End with Inspiration from Whitman

The Institute’s three groups of Fellows were treated to a joyous year-end ceremony at Wood Lawn on May 10th. Joining the 29 students completing the Governor’s Executive, Raimondo Legislative, and traditional Eagleton Fellowship Programs were many parents, friends and placement supervisors. Former New Jersey Governor and U.S. Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Christine Todd Whitman spoke to the group, praising the work of the Institute and providing encouragement to the future public servants. Below, excerpts from her remarks:

Fundamental to the fellowship programs at Eagleton is a belief that while Fellows should fully respect the academic study of public policy, they should similarly experience the real world of politics and policy making. … The Eagleton approach is unique in how it teaches and what it expects of its students. …

By being exposed to political leaders, students… learn that before you can begin to think about politics at all you have to abandon the notion that politics is a war between the good people and the bad people; the right people and the wrong people.

By understanding the obstacles and challenges that successful leaders have faced, and overcome, Eagleton students come to understand that grand ideas, and even some not-so-grand ideas, usually take a lot longer to put (continued on page 5)

CAWP Faults New Jersey Counties for Poor Performance

New Jersey’s record for electing women is among the worst in the nation. That conclusion was reinforced when Eagleton’s Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) released its second annual “County Report Card,” highlighting the performance of the state’s 21 counties in producing women mayors and county freeholders.

The grades were released at a Trenton press conference where speakers included CAWP director Debbie Walsh, Democratic State Committee chair and Assemblywoman Bonnie Watson-Coleman, Republican State Committee chair and State Senator Joseph Kyrillos, Department of Community Affairs commissioner Susan Bass Levin, and GOP State Committee co-chair Candace Straight.

As in 2002, when CAWP first issued a report card highlighting the state’s record in electing women as mayors and freeholders, New Jersey continues to earn an overall “unsatisfactory,” with the number of women mayors actually dropping slightly. The percentage of women mayors throughout the state in 2004 is 12.7% (72 out of 566), down from 13.4% (76) in 2002. Women fill 26.3% of all freeholder positions, or 36 out of 137, compared with 23.4% (32) in 2002.

No county received a grade of “excellent” in any category. Hudson County, with no women mayors and no women freeholders, earned an “unsatisfactory” and garnered the (continued on page 9)
FROM THE DIRECTOR

The presidential primary season and the upcoming national elections have generated interest in young people’s political participation, or, when it comes to voting, lack thereof. It’s not surprising that educating young people about politics is much on our minds at the Eagleton Institute. We are, after all, part of a university where we teach, advise, and support students.

At Eagleton, we find no shortage of student interest in politics; students figure prominently in most of our programs, whether as program participants, workers, or research subjects. Students assist on our research projects and aid the work of our centers. Among other projects, The Star-Ledger/Eagleton-Rutgers Poll and a new Pew-funded study of young people’s consumption of news media employed graduate student research assistants. We were grateful to have a cadre of politically interested interns and work study students helping with a variety of projects at the Institute.

Eagleton’s year-long graduate fellowship programs and its three-semester Undergraduate Associates Program again succeeded in enrolling impressive young people attracted to politics. A highlight of this year was Governor McGreevey’s decision to support Eagleton’s proposal for a Governor’s Executive Fellowship Program (GEFP), an exciting new opportunity we launched in January. Benefitting Rutgers graduate students and at the same time serving New Jersey, the GEFP places fellows in executive branch offices to further their knowledge of government while aiding in its work. With the inaugural class of eight Governor’s Executive Fellows joining this year’s class of eight Raimondo Legislative Fellows and the many undergraduates interning in Trenton, Eagleton students lent a helping hand in many offices in Trenton this spring.

The Eagleton Institute’s interest in young people focuses first on students at Rutgers, but also extends beyond our campus to the broader issue of youth political engagement. The Center for American Women and Politics has built a national program – NEW Leadership – aimed at attracting college women to future political leadership. Eagleton recently conducted the first national census, survey and conference of elected officials age 35 and under. Entitled Political Generation Next: America’s Young Political Leaders, the report from that project will be disseminated nationally this summer. Eagleton has also joined a Harvard University initiative, the “National Campaign for Political and Civic Engagement,” a consortium of colleges and universities dedicated to developing civic-minded and politically engaged college students.

Lately we have also applauded and looked for ways to respond to President Richard L. McCormick’s call for greater political awareness and activity among Rutgers students. His emphasis on the value of students engaging in a full range of political behaviors – from gaining political education, to advocacy on behalf of issues they care about, to registering and voting – has sent a strong message. It reminds all of us that the duty of universities is to prepare the future, not only in creating new knowledge through research and scholarship, but by giving young people the tools, self-confidence, and sense of responsibility that will enable them to embrace the larger world with a passion to confront its problems and a belief that they can help solve them.

Last year, during our study of young elected officials, we discovered that half of all the top elected leaders in the nation held their first office before age 35. That fact alone makes us determined to reach out to today’s young women and men – tomorrow’s leaders – with opportunities to participate in politics and to explore a future in public service.

Students “Shadow” Local Officials

On April 29th, Newark Student Voices participants took part in the project’s second annual City Hall Shadow Day. Students spent the day learning how local officials work to serve citizens and how citizens can work with local government to improve their city. Here, a student from Science High School reviews plans with Newark’s Business Administrator, Richard Monteilh.
YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE NEWS: CAN THIS RELATIONSHIP BE SAVED?

People in the media face a conundrum: How can they create a product that is attractive to young consumers without stripping the news of its substance? On March 9, 2004, journalists, TV news producers and researchers joined a group of about 50 college students at the Eagleton Institute to discuss how the news can be made more appealing to young people while remaining informative.

The dialogue was part of Eagleton’s News for a New Generation project, a research endeavor designed to investigate new formats for news that would be more informative and engaging for young people than those that are currently available. The study is funded by the Center for Information and Research in Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE).

Michael St. Peter, the assistant news director at WWOR UPN Channel 9 in New York, told the young people in the room, “You’re the enemy; you’re the people we are trying to reach. Obviously by the statistics, we haven’t figured it out yet.” On a more optimistic note, St. Peter admitted that there are stories that do interest young people and motivate them to watch the news, but that news organizations are still trying to determine what those stories are.

Pamela Brownstein, executive editor of the New Jersey Law Journal, had a number of suggestions for presenting news in a more youth-friendly format. She expressed particular disdain for the idea of “dumbing down” the news and instead advocated adding young people to the news staff, adding more young voices to news stories, including sidebars and features that are aimed at young audiences, and updating web sites with greater frequency.

An exchange between the final two panelists – Josh McMahon of The Star-Ledger op-ed page, and Peyton Craighill, a project director at the Pew Research Center for the People & The Press – demonstrated that misunderstandings still exist in the press about the potential for young citizens to eventually become newspaper readers. McMahon explained that newspapers assume that as young people age and are increasingly affected by public policies, they will start reading the newspaper regularly. However, according to Craighill, data show that the most recent generations of young people are not tuning into the news in greater numbers as they grow older.

Students had a variety of suggestions for how the news media might attract younger audiences. They reported turning to a diversity of sources for their news and said they have a variety of preferences for the kind of news to which they would like to have access. Some students expressed interest in more international news, while others were more interested in local affairs. One student suggested that an intermingling of news and comedy would help young people learn information more easily. Another cautioned newspapers against charging for on-line news if they hope to attract and retain younger readers.

Overall, the discussion demonstrated that there is great interest among news producers in increasing their youth audience, and there is a real possibility of engaging young people in the news. However, the wide range of opinions and interests found among younger citizens means that there is no one route toward engaging youth in a lifelong habit of news consumption.

POLITICAL GENERATION NEXT: AMERICA’S YOUNG ELECTED LEADERS

Political Generation Next: America’s Young Elected Leaders, the report about Eagleton’s Young Elected Leaders Project, will be issued in July. Eagleton conducted a nationwide census and survey of elected officials ages 35 and under and convened almost 50 young elected leaders in May 2003 to discuss their common interests; the report details findings from the research and conference. To order a copy, contact Joanne Pfeiffer at (732) 932-9384, ext. 245. Copies are free in limited quantities.
VARIETY OF TECHNIQUES HELP CPIP SURVEY PARTICULAR POPULATIONS

Survey research means more than simply telephoning a random sample of the entire population of New Jersey or the nation. Researchers often require information about particular groups of people, some of whom can be difficult to reach using standard methods. Recent projects undertaken by Eagleton's Center for Public Interest Polling, highlighted below, illustrate some of the specialized techniques that can be used to contact and interview individuals who might be missed by the usual approach, such as those with disabilities or whose first language is not English, and to collect information on sensitive topics.

• The Center is completing its fifth project for the New Jersey Commission for the Blind and Visually Impaired. To help the Commission meet the federal requirement that the satisfaction of clients be assessed periodically, the Center devised a low-cost means to conduct reliable self-administered surveys with a visually impaired population using a mailed questionnaire with large print plus a toll-free telephone number to call for assistance from an interviewer. The value of this work was acknowledged when project director Patrick Murray was invited to discuss the methodology at a recent national conference on Best Practices for Surveying People with Disabilities sponsored by the Federal Interagency Committee on Disability Research.

• In advance of Earth Day 2004, the Center completed the first phase of a study of the New Jersey public’s concerns about the state’s environment. The author of the study is Professor Michael Greenberg, associate dean of the Edward J. Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy, and the project is funded by the Environmental and Occupational Health Sciences Institute (EOHSI), a joint institute of Rutgers and UMDNJ-Robert Wood Johnson Medical School. The initial results of the survey reveal that concern about the environment among New Jerseys, which declined as priorities shifted to personal and economic security following the 9/11 terrorists attacks and the economic downturn of the past several years, has now increased. The state’s residents are especially concerned about the disposal of toxic waste, garbage disposal, and water and air pollution. One of the project’s primary objectives is to identify any special environmental concerns among racial and ethnic minority populations. The next phase of the study, therefore, will include interviews with large samples of African Americans, Latinos, and people of Asian descent living in Bergen, Essex, Hudson, and Middlesex Counties. Interviews will be conducted by telephone in English, Spanish, Mandarin, Cantonese, and Korean.

• The Center is currently conducting an evaluation of the North Jersey Community Research Initiative (NJ CRI). Under a grant from the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, an agency of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, NJ CRI provides services in the Newark area to individuals infected with the HIV virus and individuals at risk of contracting the disease, most often assisting clients to enter pro-

(continued on page 8)

POMPER PUBLISHES PAIR OF BOOKS

Professor Gerald Pomper will have two books published in 2004. The first, Ordinary Heroes and American Democracy (Yale University Press), is scheduled for publication in June. In the book, Pomper describes how responsible, good – but "ordinary" – individuals can emerge as heroes from the core governmental branches of the House of Representatives, the Senate, the courts, the presidency, and the bureaucracy, as well as from less formal democratic institutions such as the press, political parties, and social movements.

The second, Negative Campaigning: An Analysis of U.S. Senate Elections (Rowman & Littlefield), co-authored with Rick Lau, also a professor of political science at Rutgers, is due out later in summer. Just in time for election year 2004, this book provides a sophisticated analysis of negative campaigns for the Senate from 1992 to 2002. The results of this study are surprising and challenge conventional wisdom: Negative campaigning has dominated relatively few elections over the past dozen years, there is little evidence that it has had a deleterious effect on our political system, and it is not a particularly effective campaign strategy.

Public programs at Eagleton will highlight each book during the fall 2004 semester.
EAGLETON STUDENTS MEET PRACTITIONERS

At a Governor’s Executive Fellows orientation session, Jody Carbone (center) and Joshua Mann (right) chat with former Governor Jim Florio (2nd from left) and both the past and current commissioners of the New Jersey Department of Human Services Bill Waldman (left) and Jim Davy (2nd from right).

Raimondo Legislative Fellow Alec Marcalus (left) talks with former Governor Donald DiFrancesco (right) at the Fellows’ monthly gathering in Trenton.

The Undergraduate Associates class taught by John Weingart (left) hears a discussion on serving in public office with State Senator Nia Gill (center) and Board of Public Utilities Commissioner Carol Murphy (right).

WHITMAN REMARKS (CONTINUED)

in place than a demanding public might expect. They come to realize that politics is the art of the possible.

Most importantly, by being exposed to the real world of public policy and politics, Eagleton Fellows come to reject cynicism.... Cynicism is pernicious. It poisons the wellspring of ideas and ambition. Those of us who have, and those of you who will, make a decision to affect public policy in academics, in elective politics, or as an element of any other chosen profession, do so by first rejecting the cynical view.

It’s not always easy. Negative advertising, newspaper headlines and extremist radio – from the left and the right – bombard us with the kind of thinking that so easily leads to cynicism. The same voices that rail against people for not participating are the very same people who tell us that no matter what we do, it won’t make a difference.

How do you guard against becoming cynical? First off, by respecting other points of view. None of us has all the good ideas, so we have to work together. And, as hard as it is to listen to the ideas of an opponent who may have been less-than-flattering in public or private comments, the key is to separate the personal from the political and to be willing to respect and consider another perspective.

Focus on the big picture. No one ever tripped over a mountain; it’s the molehills that cause the problems. Set clear, and big, goals. Little problems are just that – little problems. Don’t let them overwhelm you and cast you into a state of despair.

Take action. It is essential to talk and listen, but there comes a time when you just have to “do it.” ...At a certain point it becomes clear that doers do and cynics talk.

Finally, seek advice from the most successful, knowledgeable and experienced people you can find. Find advisors who have made a difference. They’ll tell you about the mistakes they made and the ways to avoid them. Most important, a good advisor will tell you how it can be done. If a mentor begins advice with the words, “you can’t,” or “you’ll never,” get a new advisor.

Experience is at the root of the Eagleton fellowships, and it is by far, the very best teacher.
Conference Examines Minority Political Participation

Minority Political Participation in the United States was the topic of a February 13 conference convened by the Eagleton Institute and the Walt Whitman Center for the Culture and Politics of Democracy (a unit of the Department of Political Science at Rutgers). Organized by associate professor Jane Junn, the program brought prominent political scientists to the campus to discuss their work on minority political participation. Presenters and their topics included: Kristi Andersen (Syracuse University), immigrant political incorporation; Dennis Chong (Northwestern University), racial consciousness and mobilization; Rodolfo de la Garza (Columbia University), Latino voters; Vincent Hutchings (University of Michigan), racial cues in election campaigns; Brian McKenize (Emory University), Black political participation over time; and Jane Junn (presenting a paper by Janelle Wong, Pei-te Lien, and M. Margaret Conway), Asian American participation. Respondents to the papers were: Rogers Smith (University of Pennsylvania); Kerry Haynie (Duke University); Victoria Defrancesco (Duke University); Cristina Beltrán (Haverford College); Jane Junn (Rutgers University); and Michael Hagen (Rutgers University).

Building a Lasting Infrastructure for Progressive Ideas

John Podesta (below, right), former Chief of Staff to President Clinton, explained the new Center for American Progress he heads in a Good Friday talk titled, "Reclaiming the Debate: Building a Lasting Infrastructure for Pro-gressive Ideas." Among those in the capacity audience was Jon Shure, who directs New Jersey Policy Perspective, a similar state-based organization.

Frum Speaks About What’s Next in the War on Terrorism

David Frum, former speechwriter for President Bush and co-author with Richard Perle of An End to Evil: What’s Next in the War on Terrorism, spoke to a large crowd at Eagleton. While his topic was the thesis of the new book, he also responded to questions on a wide variety of subjects, focusing on the Bush administration's foreign policy. The discussion continued over dinner with a group of Eagleton Fellows.
**EAGLETON PEOPLE**

Angela Garretson, project manager of Newark Student Voices, was elected in April to the Hillside (Essex County), NJ Board of Education. Her victory represents the latest phase of her active involvement in civic programs including “Newark Do Something,” a noted hands-on initiative with local students, and “Stand and Deliver,” a public speaking program for high school students. Newark Student Voices, an initiative in “empowering the next generation of voters,” is part of Eagleton’s Civic Engagement and Political Participation Program.

Institute director Ruth B. Mandel was a guest on National Public Radio’s Talk of the Nation in May, along with pollster Stan Greenberg and political strategist Ann Lewis. They discussed Greenberg’s new research about the 22 million non-voting unmarried women in the U.S.

Gerald Pomper, Board of Governors Professor of Political Science Emeritus, was interviewed about the U.S. presidential election for a German newspaper, Thüringer Allgemeine. Pomper declined to predict the election outcome, but anticipated a close election. Also, see news of Pomper’s latest publications (see page 4).

When Rutgers President Richard McCormick led a New Faculty Traveling Seminar on a five-day bus trip around the Garden State, Ingrid Reed, director of the Eagleton New Jersey Project, was on board to present "New Jersey Politics 101." The 33 educators spent a week in May getting to know the state. After starting in Trenton, going south through Camden, Atlantic City and the Pinelands, the tour continued north to Morris County to see high tech firms and farms, stopped at a high school in Paterson, and went on to Newark for a ride on the Hudson to explore the Port of New Jersey and New York before ending up back in New Brunswick.

Alan Rosenthal hosted a reception at Eagleton on May 11 to launch a new program in collaboration with the New Jersey legislature, "State House Express.” The organizers are raising funds to make small grants which will allow high school and middle school teachers and their students to visit Trenton. The State House Tour Office has developed special tours focusing on the legislature as a locus for representative democracy – an arena where different public values, interests, and priorities are deliberated and negotiated and where, by dint of tough work, settlements are reached. Anyone interested in supporting the program is encouraged to contact Rosenthal (alanr@rci.rutgers.edu, 732/932-9384, ext. 251).

Debbie Walsh, director of the Center for American Women and Politics, was nominated by Governor Jim McGreevey to serve on the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women.

Star-Ledger/Eagleton-Rutgers Poll director Cliff Zukin has won the position of president-elect of AAPOR, the American Association of Public Opinion Research. After a year as vice president and president-elect, he will assume the presidency in May, 2005.

**CONVERSATIONS WITH NEW LEADERS**

This spring, the Institute continued its series of “Conversations With New Leaders.” In each session, a New Jersey official spoke and then took questions, first from discussants and then from the audience. Former Eagleton Fellow and newly-elected State Senator Ellen Karcher was questioned by former New Jersey Democratic Party Chair Tom Byrne and Institute director Ruth B. Mandel (shown at right).

Discussants for the conversation with newly-elected Assemblyman Bill Baroni were former State Senator Bill Schluter and Institute director Ruth B. Mandel (shown at left).

The third program in this series (not shown) was a conversation with Kevin Ryan, New Jersey’s new, and first, Child Advocate. He was questioned by Richard Roper, Principal of the Roper Group, and Deborah Spitalnik, executive director of the Elizabeth M. Boggs Center on Developmental Disabilities.
grams to treat substance abuse. Personal interviews are conducted with clients when they enter the program and again after six and twelve months, in order to assess the program’s effectiveness.

- The staff is currently completing two additional studies of substance abuse statewide, funded by a federal grant through the Center for Substance Abuse and Treatment and the New Jersey Department of Health and Senior Services. One project involves telephone interviews with nearly 15,000 New Jerseyans, soliciting information about each individual’s use of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs, currently and over their lifetime. The second project entails asking similar questions of 700 clients of mental health treatment facilities around the state. The primary objective of both studies is to estimate the number of individuals in the population who require treatment for substance abuse.

- More and more frequently, the Center’s staff combine longstanding expertise in survey research with growing technical capacity to construct systems for collecting information through the Internet. For the New Jersey Department of Health and Senior Services, for example, the Center is developing an on-line system to allow hospitals and county coordinators to report information about children with birth defects and hearing difficulties more easily and reliably. Such information will help the state to provide appropriate services to families that need them and, when combined with information from other sources, holds the potential to help researchers identify causes of birth defects.

- The Center is about to begin the next in a series of research projects with the New Jersey Board of Public Utilities (BPU). In 2001, the BPU approved a wide-ranging set of programs designed to encourage energy efficiency and promote renewable energy sources. In May, to help the Board assess the impact of these programs, the Center embarked on a study to discover the public’s awareness and understanding of the new measures, attitudes toward energy efficiency, and use of energy-efficient technologies.

- Members of the Center’s staff are collaborating on an important initiative with Rutgers’ Center for Advanced Infrastructure and Transportation (CAIT) to assess the impact on motorists of value pricing – setting the prices charged for using the region’s toll roads and facilities in ways that alleviate traffic congestion and improve travel times. The project combines CAIT’s engineering knowledge with CPIP’s survey research expertise to develop different models of how people choose when, where, and how to travel.

For each of these projects, the Center has been able to design and implement techniques appropriate to the objectives of the project, efficiently providing valuable information in a format that is useful to researchers, policymakers, and citizens.
The national Alliance for Better Campaigns has again asked the Eagleton New Jersey Project to participate as a partner in its work to ensure that broadcasters give voters the opportunity to learn about candidates and issues. This year, the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA, also known as McCain-Feingold) includes several new regulations that affect broadcasters and candidates in their efforts to communicate with the voters. They include the "Stand By Your Ad" provisions and new rules for issue ads that promote candidates.

The Eagleton NJ Project will continue its collaboration with the Alliance, begun in 1998, by conducting research on how New Jersey campaigns are covered in the New York and Philadelphia media markets and by providing information to New Jersey organizations on candidate and broadcaster obligations in order to reduce the cost and increase the flow of political communication. Contact Ingrid Reed, director of the Eagleton New Jersey Project, for information at (732) 932-9384 ext. 232 or ireed@rci.rutgers.edu.

EAGLETON CONTINUES TO PROMOTE BETTER CAMPAIGNS

CAWP FAULTS COUNTIES (CONTINUED)

comment “Just doesn’t get it!” Bergen County, with a 28.6% increase of women freeholders, was given a “satisfactory” in that category with the notation “Great improvement in freeholders; continues to need remedial work on mayors.”

“The report card is playful, but the message is serious,” says Walsh. “New Jersey ranks among the bottom ten states for the proportion of women in the state legislature, and these county and municipal offices should be producing experienced political women ready to serve at the state level. Instead, even when vacancies occur between elections, party leaders opt to appoint men.”

Training Programs Aim to Correct Imbalance

Recognizing the need for action to springboard more women into New Jersey offices, CAWP convened its fifth bipartisan Ready to Run conference on April 24th at the Hyatt Regency in New Brunswick. Almost 100 potential candidates and campaign leaders attended workshops focused on fund raising, crafting a campaign message, working with party leaders, conquering the camera, and getting out the vote.

In addition, CAWP joined with Latinas United for Political Empowerment (LUPE) to host a special pre-Ready to Run session on April 23 at Woodlawn. Elección Latina-NJ addressed themes such as networking for success in New Jersey and confronting stereotypes about Latinas. Keynoter Maria Echaveste, former deputy chief of staff to President Bill Clinton, spoke of her fears for the country and the need for Latinas to step forward in leadership.

Institute director Ruth B. Mandel and the two other co-founders of the Public Leadership Education Network (PLEN) were honored at a February reception in Washington DC marking the 25th anniversary of the network, a national consortium of women’s colleges working to educate women for public leadership. Lisa Marsh Ryerson (left), current president of Wells College and president of PLEN’s board, greeted the founders: Frances (Sissy) Farenthold, former president of Wells College; Ruth B. Mandel; and Betsey Wright, former executive director of the National Women’s Education Fund.
EAGLETON’S ELECTION WEB SITE WINS AWARDS

An ad for the NJVoterinfo.org, the Eagleton web site designed to educate New Jersey voters about elections, has achieved an unusual distinction. The ad, featuring the slogan “Don’t Give Them A Seat Until You Know Where They Stand,” won first place Gold Astra awards in both the consumer magazine and newspaper categories from the New Jersey Communications and Marketing Association. The ad was produced by Princeton Communications Group, Inc., working with Eagleton. Larry Krampf, the firm’s chief executive, said, “We are proud to earn these awards on Eagleton’s behalf, but, more importantly, we are pleased to help New Jersey voters find a valuable resource.”

After a successful launch for the 2003 legislative election, NJVoterInfo.org continues to provide information about New Jersey politics and elections with updates for the 2004 election. The site is a collaborative effort of Don Linky, director of Eagleton’s E-Government Project and Ingrid Reed, director of the Eagleton New Jersey Project.