

# Institute of Governmental Studies

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Schwarzenegger communications director Adam Mendelsohn makes a point. Also on the panel: campaign manager Steve Schmidt, chief of staff Susan Kennedy, and deputy campaign manager Reed Galen.

## Running for Governor— The Inside Story

How did Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger rebound from a disastrous 2005 to win a landslide reelection in 2006? Was challenger Phil Angelides doomed from the start? Would Democrats have fared better with

Steve Westly carrying their banner?

These questions and more were hashed over at this year’s traditional IGS election postmortem, “The 2006 Governor’s Race: An Inside View.” As happens every four years, IGS became the epicenter of California politics for a January weekend, a two-day binge of analysis sure to satisfy any junkie.

“This is, to use the language of football, the granddaddy of all the wrap-ups,” IGS

Director Bruce Cain said in opening the conference, which was generously supported through a gold-level sponsorship by Pacific Gas & Electric Company and a silver-level sponsorship by National Semiconductor.

The centerpiece of the conference was the exchange of views among people who ran the campaigns. Westly adviser Garry South was sharply critical of the effort mounted by fellow Democrat Angelides. The Angelides team answered back that they ran the best campaign possible with limited funding. Schwarzenegger advisers detailed the governor’s political rejuvenation.

Other panels featured scholars describing California’s electorate and pollsters providing hard numbers about the public mood.

For excerpts from the transcript, see pages 8–11.

## Nelson Polsby, 1934–2007

IGS suffered a sad day on Wednesday, Feb. 7, when word spread through the Institute that former Director Nelson W. Polsby had died the previous evening. Nelson led IGS for more than a decade, and remained a jovial and enlivening presence in Moses Hall until his death. One of the world’s most distinguished political scientists, he was remembered far and wide, from the pages of the *Times* of London to the floor of the U.S. Congress. For more on his legacy, see pages 2, 12–13.



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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY  
INST. OF GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES  
109 Moses Hall #2370  
Berkeley, California 94720-2370  
510 642-1474  
FAX 510-642-3020  
<http://www.igs.berkeley.edu>

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# SCHOLAR'S CORNER

**Nelson W. Polsby:**  
*A Lifetime of  
Examining  
American Politics*  
**Eric Schickler**



Nelson Polsby's contributions to the study of American politics were not confined to any particular subfield. His research ranged widely over such terrain as the nature of community power, the sources of political innovation, the dynamics of presidential elections, the impact of political party reform, and the institutional development of the U.S. Congress. But as Charles Jones pointed out two years ago at an American Political Science Association panel celebrating Polsby's career, he was most fundamentally a student of political elites: "He wants to know where they came from, who are their friends, how they flock, what are their urges, why some lead and others follow, what they choose to reform, and how they endure change. He also runs a mental sorting apparatus—distinguishing elites from those who think they are."

While he found elite maneuvering entertaining—Polsby was a political junkie *par excellence*—his interest in elites was driven most fundamentally by a deep concern for the effectiveness of representative democracy. In the opening paragraph of his classic article, "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives" (*American Political Science Review*, 1968), Polsby noted that "for a political system to be in some sense free and democratic, means must be found for institutionalizing representativeness with all the diversity that this implies, and for legitimizing yet at the same time containing political opposition within the system." Polsby was drawn to the study of the U.S. Congress—where he arguably made his most enduring contributions—because it was the core institution in the

American political system for institutionalizing the representation of diverse constituents and for legitimizing, expressing, and containing political opposition. Writing amid the political—and campus—turmoil surrounding the Vietnam War, the importance of this congressional role cannot be overstated.

Polsby's institutionalization article was recently celebrated as one of the twenty most influential articles published in the *American Political Science Review* over the past hundred years. In that article, he devised a range of innovative measures that together documented the gradual transformation of the House of Representatives from a relatively simple and undifferentiated legislative body into a complex organization, with an extensive division of labor, clear boundaries, and heavy reliance upon automatic methods for conducting internal business. One of the core insights is that institutionalization does not require centralization: the House had become a more specialized, effective body over the course of decades in part by creating a decentralized committee system governed by the seniority norm. In contrast to many political scientists who believed that powerful party leaders were the only way for Congress to maintain its role amid a burgeoning bureaucracy and modern presidency, Polsby argued that decentralization may be better suited for bringing to bear the diverse interests and ideas contained in a representative legislature. The institutionalization essay left an important legacy for the scholarly community. For quantitatively oriented researchers, it suggested the promise of new data sources to uncover broad trends in institutional development and behavior. For a later generation of historically oriented congressional scholars, it is one of the earliest examples of systematic, empirical research into the development of the legislative branch.

Polsby's last major book, *How Congress Evolves: Social Bases of Institutional Change* (2004), provides a fitting capstone to the research agenda that he launched with his institutionalization article. At one level, the book is the entertain-

*Cont. on p. 14*

The **Scholar's Corner** features commentaries in which faculty members affiliated with IGS apply academic research or concepts to issues relevant to the practical world of politics and policy.

# Matsui Center to Honor Late Congressman

In more ways than one, Berkeley played a key role in the life of the late Congressman Robert T. Matsui. He met his wife, Doris, when they were both undergraduates at Cal, and the school helped forge the ideals that were the bedrock of Matsui's career.

Now IGS is playing a key role in a campus effort to honor Matsui. The Institute is launching an effort to establish the Robert T. Matsui Center on Politics and Public Service.

"The Matsui Center will be an extraordinary addition to the Institute, providing a focal point for our efforts to connect the world of scholarship with the practical realities of politics," said IGS Director Bruce Cain. "Perhaps even more important, the center will be a place where young people can learn the importance and profound value of public service."

Precise plans for the new center are still in the formative stages, but it will continue Matsui's long tradition of political involvement and public service. The center will sponsor lectures and discussions, fund public internship opportunities for undergraduates, and promote education and research about American politics and policy. Through programmatic activities in Sacramento and Washington, D.C., students will gain first-hand experience in the workings of state and federal government.

"Congressman Matsui was a dedicated and bipartisan figure who represented the best tradition of leadership," said IGS Associate Director Jack Citrin. "He is an ideal role model for a center that will assist young people on the path to public service."

The effort to create the Matsui Center was announced in January, when the university also announced that Berkeley's Bancroft Library will accept the late congressman's papers, including documentation of legislative efforts surrounding the North American Free Trade Agreement, welfare reform, base closures, and Japanese-American reparations. Matsui, who represented the Sacramento area in Congress for more than a quarter century, died on New Year's Day, 2005.

**"Just as Bob was inspired at UC Berkeley by President John F. Kennedy's rousing call to public service, it is my hope that the Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service will inspire future generations to public service."  
—Doris Matsui**

"Robert Matsui was one of California's most significant political figures and a distinguished Cal alumnus, and we are most grateful for his archive," said UC Berkeley Chancellor Robert Birgeneau. "This will be the largest collection of papers at The Bancroft Library from a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, and it will be highly valued by our students and faculty and by visiting researchers."



The Matsui Center at IGS, Birgeneau added, "will reflect his two great passions—promoting public service and better political understanding—and the Matsui family's continuing commitment to that legacy."

Doris Matsui, who now holds the congressional seat once occupied by her husband, said the campus was special to the couple.

"For Bob, it is the place where the ideals of justice and equality he formed in his youth took root to become the foundation for his lifetime of public service," she said.

"Just as Bob was inspired at UC Berkeley by President John F. Kennedy's rousing call to public service," she added, "it is my hope that the Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service will inspire future generations to public service."



## Who Runs Universities?

After a year in which higher education saw its share of controversies—from the executive compensation turmoil at the University of California to the troubled Harvard presidency of Lawrence Summers—faculty members, administrators, and others examined academic governance at an IGS conference in December.

An overflow crowd packed into the Geballe Room in Stephens Hall for the symposium, which was called “Governing the Academy: Who’s the Boss?” and was cosponsored with the Center for Studies in Higher Education.

John Douglass, a senior research fellow at the center, said he wanted to “cut to the chase” by asking the central question: Who should run universities? The answer, Douglass said, is “nobody and everybody. It’s just that some are more equal than others.”

The often-lively discussion echoed that answer by offering a wide array of viewpoints about the proper roles of trust-

ees, administrators, faculty members, and political leaders.

Two scholars of higher education—Steven Brint of UC Riverside and William Zumeta of the University of Washington—opened the conference by providing a brief summary of the status of the academy in America.

Brint noted that the public is broadly supportive of higher education, but also worries that universities are too expensive—for both students and taxpayers—and too politically liberal. Zumeta presented a graph showing that public spending on higher education tends to reflect economic cycles.

Although Brint and Zumeta dealt with higher education broadly, much of the conference, focused on conditions in California, and even more specifically UC.

Donald Gerth, the former president of CSU Dominguez Hills and Sacramento State University, discussed the changing role of university presidents, particularly with regard to the importance of fundraising.

Gerth, who came to California in 1958 and spent most of his career in the CSU system, said he could remember a time when presidents were actually discouraged from independent fundraising, in preference for public support.

Lawrence Coleman, currently the vice provost of the UC system and a former chair of the systemwide Academic

Senate, outlined the parameters of sharing governance at UC, suggesting that different roles are played by the regents, the administration, and the faculty. That idea of shared responsibilities is “fairly deeply inculcated into the culture of the university,” he said.

At the same time, Coleman noted that shared governance does not diminish the ultimately superior role of the regents.

“The regents are the final authority,” he said. “All the authority for the governance of the university is in fact vested in the Board of Regents.”

Sharply different views of the proper role for the Board of Regents emerged.

Former regent Velma Montoya took the provocative stance that regents often trust the faculty too much.

“In fact UC professors should be viewed as just another university interest group deserving of oversight by the regents,” she said.

Montoya criticized many aspects of university governance, and argued for a more vigorous role for the regents, including the acquisition of more independent information about university operations and independent evaluations of existing programs. The regents, she said, should be fiduciaries for the people of California, not boosters for the university.

Former regent William Bagley, on the other hand, said that often the regents have hurt the university by importing political



issues into the higher education environment. The goal of the regents, Bagley said, should be to “do no harm.”

“There are three or four of them who are absolutely oblivious to why they are there,” Bagley said. Many university administrators are excellent at doing their jobs, Bagley said, and the regents should trust them.

Lawrence Pitts, a former chair of the Academic Senate at UCSF, argued that faculty members should be consulted about matters of university governance.

“We don’t expect to get our way,” Pitts said. “We do expect to be heard. . . . My plea is: Listen to the faculty. They sometimes are right.”

Two speakers from the political sphere discussed the interaction of the university with the state’s political leadership.

Tim Gage, who was the director of the California Department of Finance under Gov. Gray Davis, noted that typically the university complains that it is receiving too little funding, while the Legislature and the governor respond that no more funding is available. That dynamic leaves little room for a discussion of “broader public goals that we’re trying to achieve through our higher education system.”

At the same time, Gage acknowledged that the Capitol often displays a flagging level of knowledge and interest in the problems of higher education. Most of the policymaking community’s educa-

tional focus is on the K-12 system, Gage said.

Former Assemblyman Ted Lempert suggested that the university must do more to foster engagement and connection with the policymakers. When he became chair of the Assembly Higher Education Committee, he viewed himself as a tremendous booster of the university, he said, and yet he often found interaction with the university to be frustrating. Too often, Lempert said, university leaders would insist on their role of self-governance and be too reluctant to engage the Legislature.

The former lawmaker urged “much more collaboration and communication with the state government. . . . Right now the relationship isn’t great.”

Karl Pister, the former chancellor of UC Santa Cruz, compared the university to a beehive. Left alone, bees produce honey, he said. But when bothered by outside influences, they get angry and collectively attack the outsiders.

As the last speaker, Pister ended the conference, and he noted that whatever happens, universities are likely to remain. He quoted former UC President Clark Kerr as observing that universities are among the few institutions that existed in the sixteenth century and still exist today.

*From left to right:*

*Jack Citrin*

*William Bagley*

*Lawrence Pitts*

*Lawrence Coleman*

*Ted Lempert*

*Tim Gage*

*Velma Montoya*

For an audio webcast of this event, go to: [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu)

# Western Muslims or Muslims in the West?

Renowned French scholar Olivier Roy dissected the relationship between Muslims and the West for a standing-room-only crowd in the IGS Library at the start of the spring semester. The event was sponsored by the IGS Center on Institutions and Governance.

Roy, the research director at the French National Center for Scientific Research, gave a talk entitled, “Western Muslims or Muslims in the West?” He made several suggestions for better integrating Muslim communities into western society, including disconnecting Muslims and the question of the Middle East and disconnecting religion and culture.

Noting that Muslims arrived in western countries in a very rapid wave of immigration, Roy cited three categories of argument typically used to explain why Muslim immigration and integration into society are unique. First, there is a sociological argument that Muslims remain a diaspora and maintain links with their countries of origin. Second, there is a cultural argument that Islam is an all-encompassing religion and it is impossible to separate religion from culture. Third, there is a political

argument that Islam is incompatible with western values of democracy and equality.

“We have to stop speaking of ‘Islam,’” Roy said. “We have Muslims who don’t define Islam the same way. There is not even a definable Muslim community.”

Roy suggested there are many ways to view the Muslim community:

## **Secular Muslims:**

Muslims who don’t believe and who exhibit nonreligious behavior such as drinking alcohol.

## **Liberal-Reformist**

**Muslims:** They are the new thinkers of Islam, especially among intellectuals. They are considered crucial to avoiding the clash of civilizations, but there is an issue of leadership among born-again and converts: the religious revival is disconnected from the endeavor of reforming Islam.

**Muslims that try to be recognized as a community through institutions:** There is a process Roy calls the “churching” of Islam. Most Muslims are reluctant to include institutions as part of their community. But it is a consequence of political pressures and also of the need for lobbying. It parallels the process of gentrification in the EU: Muslims are marginalized (their social position is destitute), and they need institutions to gain respectability.

**Muslims who don’t want to compromise.** The salafis are one example of this group. This group does not automatically turn to political violence, but there is a separation.

How can the western world encourage greater integration of Muslim communities? Roy suggested several important efforts, including disconnecting Muslims and the question of the Middle East and disconnecting religion and culture and treating Islam as a western religion. He also suggested that the West promote liberalization of Islam, and “promote a citizen approach.” How, he asked, can we adapt the public sphere to the revival of religions while not accepting religious fundamentalism?



Olivier Roy

## Health Care Perspective

Several members of the IGS National Advisory Council have expertise in politics or public policy, and in February we took advantage of that to add council member Priya Mathur to our Harris Seminar speaker series.

Mathur, who serves on the CalPERS Board of Administration, titled her talk, “A Call to Action: The State of Health Benefits.”

It is time to push for better health benefits for all Americans, Mathur told the lunchtime crowd. Health care is a topic closely related to her service on CalPERS; the state’s public pension system is the third-largest purchaser of health care in the country, behind the federal government and General Motors.

In 2003 Mathur became the first woman elected to the CalPERS board in 40 years, and its youngest member ever. She is also a principal financial analyst for the Bay Area Rapid Transit District, where she finances multibillion-dollar infrastructure projects. She joined the IGS National Advisory Council last year.



Priya Mathur



## IGS Salon Dinner: An Intellectual Feast



Photos, top to bottom:

IGS National Advisory Council member Karen Getman, Marcy Smothers, Sarah Anderson, Berkeley journalism professor Susan Rasky

Salon Dinner hosts Sarah and Darius Anderson

IGS National Advisory Council Chairman Darius Anderson, political consultant Katie Merrill, and IGS National Advisory Council member Doug Boxer

IGS launched a new tradition this spring when the inaugural IGS Salon Dinner drew more than 80 people to an evening that featured generous hospitality and discussion of some of the world's most pressing issues.

The dinner, held March 17 at the Sonoma Valley ranch of IGS National Advisory Council Chairman Darius Anderson and his wife, Sarah, served as a fundraiser for the Institute, but also as an opportunity for supporters to sample the rich intellectual connections of IGS.

Berkeley Executive Vice Chancellor George Breslauer spoke about the university's unique combination of access and excellence. Guillaume Parmentier, director of the Center on America and Transatlantic Relations at the University of Paris, spoke about European-American relations. And keynote speaker Shibley Telhami, Sadat Professor of Peace and Development at the University of Maryland, spoke about the troubles of the Middle East. (For more on Telhami's talk, see below.)

IGS Associate Director Jack Citrin also spoke briefly about the Institute, and Anderson described the role of the National Advisory Council. Anderson said he hopes to make the IGS Salon Dinner a regular event, providing both financial support for the Institute and a stimulating evening for participants.

The guest list was varied, but obviously tilted toward the political. Among those who attended: former California Secretary of State Kevin Shelley and Tommy Smothers, who with his brother is part of the Smothers Brothers comedy team.

Donations from the event are still being tallied. For a complete list of IGS contributors, including donors to the Salon Dinner, see the next issue of the *PAR*.

## The U.S. through Arab Eyes

The image of the United States is suffering in the Arab world, Middle East expert Shibley Telhami told the participants at the inaugural IGS Salon Dinner.

Telhami, who frequently appears on national television and in other media to comment on the region, described surveys he conducts each year in Arab countries. Traditionally, he said, the prime minister of Israel is the world leader Arabs say they dislike the most, but this year President Bush was by far the most frequently cited person in that category, far outstripping the combined total of former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and current Israeli leader Ehud Olmert.

By contrast, Telhami said, when his survey asked for the world leader respondents like the most, respondents most frequently cited Hasan Nasrallah, the leader of Hezbol-

lah. The rest of the top four: French President Jacques Chirac, Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, and Venezuelan Hugo Chavez. The only thing uniting those figures, Telhami said, is that all are perceived as standing up to the United States.

Telhami also noted that although most Arabs, including most of those in the survey, are Sunni, both Nasrallah and Ahmadinejad are Shiite, suggesting that antipathy toward the United States outweighs the Sunni/Shiite divide among Muslims.

Telhami, a Berkeley Ph.D. in political science, expanded on his Salon Dinner talk during a lecture the following week in the IGS Library.



Shibley Telhami

# The 2006 Governor's Race

## An Inside View

*This year's IGS review of the gubernatorial campaign included panels on the primary election, the general election, the state's political demography, and the polling numbers. On Saturday, the first day of the conference, we started with an in-depth discussion of the primary season. Campaign managers and consultants delved into the opening phase of the campaign, from the aftermath of the 2005 special election to the Democratic primary in June. Here are excerpts from that panel.*

Photos p. 9:

Katie Merrill

Matthew Dowd

Adam Mendelsohn

Steve Schmidt

Phil Trounstine

Cathy Calfo

Garry South

David Doak

All photos on pages 8–11 were taken by James Buck.

### THE SCHWARZENEGGER COMEBACK

**SCOTT SHAFER** (moderator): All right, so the governor is on the ropes coming out of the special election. What were the priorities? . . . What did you feel you had to do first?

**MATTHEW DOWD** (Schwarzenegger strategist): I'll just say first, everybody calls it a comeback and all of that. I think one thing people have a false sense of is that the voters had foreclosed, had closed the door on the governor in the aftermath of those [election defeats]. They were upset, they didn't like what he had done, but they had not shut the door on it.

**SHAFER:** On him personally.

**DOWD:** On him personally, and on the potential for the type of leadership that they had wanted him to push through. The beginning of the comeback was the night of the defeat that he had on election night, when he basically said, "You know, I made a mistake. I'll take responsibility for this. I did some things wrong, and it's time to move on." That really was the start of the comeback, and I think, you can't underestimate in my view the importance of that because it basically sent a signal to the voters that this guy has some humility, understands he made a mistake. . . . The contrast between what he did and what they saw going on in Washington was so dramatic that what he did in that moment was basically get people to say, "Okay, I'm going to take a look at this for the next six months." And then it was contingent upon everybody at this table to do our best job to shine a light on the governor and what he wanted to do and how it was different than what had happened in the year before. . . .

**SUSAN KENNEDY** (Schwarzenegger chief of staff): It was pretty immediate in terms of what we had to do. . . . One, we had to restore trust. Trust and confidence were the two things we really had lost in his persona. So restoring trust and confidence, setting an agenda that basically eliminated really bad options wherever possible, so we actually could use his strengths and go organically where he wanted to go—let Arnold be Arnold. That was the more longer-term strategy, but we were conscious of that in the beginning. And then there was pick our battles. At that time when we came on, the administration was fighting with everyone. Whether they intended to or not, they had active engagement with almost every stakeholder group in the state. And so there was a conscious decision to eliminate whatever the active engagements were where they were not necessary battles, so that we could choose who we were going to engage in the battle with. . . . And then most of it was really just restoring the trust and confidence in who he was, and that meant not making any stupid mistakes, not spreading ourselves too thin, communicating very carefully who the governor was, and that was something we talked about from the very first days in November and December [2005]. . . .

**STEVE SCHMIDT** (Schwarzenegger campaign manager): I think, by the time I arrived at the end of January [2006], the bow of the ship had started to turn rather dramatically. Most importantly, he had gone in the Special Election from talking about things that were unpopular to . . . talking about things that were fundamentally popular—building schools, building roads, fixing levies.



### THE WESTLY CAMPAIGN

**RANDY SHANDOBIL** (moderator): I think it's fair to say that in terms of running for governor [Westly] was relatively inexperienced, and I'm just wondering what made you guys think that this newcomer neophyte had a real chance?

**GARRY SOUTH** (Westly senior advisor): Well, I got involved in this campaign against my better judgment. I had promised myself, and made a solemn pledge to God, and more importantly to my wife, after the 2002 [Gray Davis] reelection that I wouldn't do any more candidate campaigns. . . . So, you know, I got involved in it because it was my view, having had 13 years of experience with the other [Democratic] candidate, that if he were able to slide through and get the nomination uncontested, it would be a disaster in the fall. . . . I thought he would be a very bad candidate in the general [election] to begin with, but if he slid through the nominating process without any opposition, without having to go out and contest, without having to go out and campaign, without really having to have a contest, that in fact would make him a worse candidate in the general, not a better candidate in the general. . . .

**DAVID DOAK** (Westly media consultant): Let me jump in and give you my two cents. . . . I thought Steve's association with eBay was a metaphor for something new and different and cutting edge. . . . And I thought that Steve having, you know, at least one foot inside elective office, wasn't a total neophyte, like, say, Al Checchi, but he still had the outsider image enough that he could play on that. Plus, I thought from a practical standing that the new fundraising laws, which

I think are a catastrophe for the state, frankly, gave a huge advantage to somebody who could fund their campaign themselves. . . . And he was just a very appealing, nice guy who we all generally liked in our meetings. . . .

**SHAFER:** You sort of ran in the primary [election] a campaign that may have worked in the general election in that you were portraying Phil [Angelides] as somebody who wanted to raise taxes, and yet that doesn't typically win votes in the Democratic primary. What did you think you were going to get in June from running that kind of campaign?

**DOAK:** You always try to win each battle in a way that sets you up to win the war. . . . We always thought that the Angelides campaign was founded on—and I'm not being critical, I think there's a very good strategy for the primary—a flawed principle, and that was that Arnold was so destroyed as a political candidate coming out of the initiative phase of the year before the campaign started that . . . all you had to do was be the anti-Arnold, all you had to do was get the Democratic nomination, and the election would fall in your lap. We were not convinced that was accurate, and we did not want to go to such lengths to win that battle that it would dictate that we lost the war. We thought the tax argument was something that could be stuck down our throats in general, and, you know, on our polling we show that, you know, it wasn't a big plurality but a plurality of Democratic voters who opposed tax increases, also.

**SHAFER:** Do you think the endorsements—I mean the endorsement of the [Democratic] Party—made a big difference?



**DOAK:** Yes, I think it did. . . . Our tracking towards the end—and this was confirmed by other tracks that I had access to that people were telling me about that weren't connected with the campaign—[showed] that we actually had moved ahead in the period right before the weekend. . . . I think Senator Feinstein's intervention at the end, about the Lake [Tahoe] ad, probably was the thing that pushed this thing over the brink for Phil. . . .

**JUDE BARRY** (Westly campaign manager): I think David's right about Feinstein. If you believe the *LA Times* exit polling, we split moderates and conservatives, and we should have won that group. And we lost women by a larger margin than I think we expected to or that we should have. And I would attribute that directly to Senator Feinstein. I mean, those are two groups that she has some persuasive ability with.

### THE ANGELIDES CAMPAIGN

**CATHY CALFO** (Angelides campaign manager): I think going into the race, we started early, and more than assessing his strengths and weaknesses we looked at who he was, which is someone who had stood up to Governor Schwarzenegger very early, when the governor was extremely popular. He's somebody who had formally chaired the Democratic Party, built a business, had a strong record on the environment—in a lot of ways a perfect candidate in the

Democratic primary. So we scoped-out an early campaign plan, probably close to two years out. We were hoping we would have no [primary election] opponent ultimately. We hoped to clear the field. We had hoped that if we had a competitive race that Phil would be seen by Democratic voters as a candidate that they could count on.

We hoped to get early endorsements, both from the parties but also from nontraditional groups like the Silicon Valley business leaders . . . early in the primary. And then, finally, we felt we needed a broad fundraising base, largely because of the possibility of a self-funded candidate getting in. So that's how we started.

**SHANDOBIL:** There were rumors about Rob Reiner, even Warren Beatty for a time. Were you concerned about the possibility of those other people and how things changed when [Bill] Lockyer dropped out?

**CALFO:** The main thing was really using endorsements to try to keep others from getting in. We had Senator Boxer, Senator Feinstein, Nancy Pelosi. We started to have delegates from the party very early on, so by the time we got up to the convention, although we downplayed it going in, we knew we had the votes before we got to the convention to get the Democratic Party endorsement. So all of the things that we did, you know, early, the first year, were to help keep there from being an opponent, because we are all students of history and know that when you're running against an incumbent governor your chances are bad, but if you're challenged in your primary you're looking at a potential double-digit loss, mostly.

**SHANDOBIL:** So you actually thought you had a chance to scare away all opponents?

**CALFO:** We hoped we would. We knew pretty quick that we weren't going to, but we had hoped that we would be able to clear the field [and] run a strong campaign against Schwarzenegger, and we certainly would have been in a much better place to do that if we had not had a primary. . . .

**SHANDOBIL:** On the negatives, if you don't mind. One, given that Garry South was working for Mr. Westly, did you ever trust the pledge not to go negative? And two, did that pledge keep you from airing your own negatives as early as you would have liked?

**PAUL MASLIN** (Angelides pollster): I predicted that [Westly] would go negative first. I just felt that's what was going to happen, and eventually their positive [message] was going

Photos p. 10:  
Mark Baldassare  
Susan Pinkus

Photos p. 11:  
Mark DiCamillo  
Bill Carrick  
Susan Kennedy  
Paul Maslin





For a webcast of the entire conference, go to the IGS website at [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu).

to run out of steam, because they weren't taking it anywhere. We were focus grouping their ads. Originally, their ads were doing pretty well. Then they sort of started getting formulaic. . . . Now, the fact is, they still dragged us further into the mud and we did fall behind on Memorial Day weekend with the Tahoe ad. But, you know, in retrospect, this race could have gone a couple of different ways. If they had run positive all the way with all that money, Garry [South] thinks they would have lost by double digits. I guess he doesn't trust his own candidate. I'm not at all convinced that would have happened in the end. It would have been a very tight race. I'm glad they did what they did. I'm glad that they sort of gave up on their positive message and allowed this thing to take a different tenor. At the end, now that the fur is flying and the voters are saying, "Please help me. Time out. How can I judge this? Oh, Dianne Feinstein says Angelides. Oh, Barbara Boxer says Angelides. Oh, the Democratic Party says Angelides. Oh, the various groups, environmental groups and others, say Angelides. Teachers say Angelides." Then I think we have the real advantage. . . .

**SHAFER:** In March of 2006, the Labor Federation pledged its support to Phil. Do you feel that you got what you needed and what you expected to get from labor in the primary?

**KATIE MERRILL** (Angelides advisor): No question this campaign, in my opinion, was won because of labor. It was one of the major factors. We won by 103,000 votes or something. On election day, the State Fed alone Get Out The Vote [programs impacted] 98,000 voters. You add in CTA, which was not included in that number, you add in what SEIU did and the LA Labor Fed, there's the margin right there, no question.

### *Coming Soon from Berkeley Public Policy Press*

#### **California Votes: The 2006 Governor's Race**

This forthcoming book is the definitive historical account of the race for California's top political office, as told by the campaign managers and consultants for the three major campaigns. Based on the transcript of the quadrennial IGS conference reviewing the race, this important new book will detail the inside strategies behind the candidacies of Arnold Schwarzenegger, Phil Angelides, and Steve Westly. Top scholars will also describe the underlying nature of the state's political geography, while California's best independent pollsters will assess the nature of the electorate.

***California Votes: The 2006 Governor's Race*** is scheduled for publication this summer. To order a copy when the book is released, watch for the next issue of the *PAR*, check the IGS website at [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu), or email the IGS Center on Politics at [centeronpolitics@berkeley.edu](mailto:centeronpolitics@berkeley.edu) and ask to be notified when the book is released.

# Remembering Nelson W. Polsby

Below are excerpts from some of the remembrances about former IGS Director Nelson W. Polsby. Nelson, who had taught political science at Berkeley since 1967 and who led IGS from 1988 to 1999, died Feb. 6 of complications associated with heart disease. To read more about Nelson's life and work, including complete obituaries and more personal tributes, go to the IGS website, at [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu).

"Nelson Polsby shed light where others saw only dim outlines. If the world of politics is a grand ballroom, Nelson was its chandelier, illuminating the entirety with brilliance and clarity. His death . . . leaves us all in the shadows."

—Robert Reich  
*former U.S. Secretary of Labor*

"He was an extraordinary intellect, who paid this institution the enormous compliment of taking it very seriously and helping both the general public and those of us who serve here understand our workings."

—The Honorable Barney Frank  
*on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives*

"Nelson hired me as a research assistant immediately upon my arrival in Berkeley in August 2001. I soon discovered that one of my main responsibilities was simply to spend as much time as I could in his office, a practice that Nelson liked to refer to as "babysitting." When he was in the midst of working on a book or article, the pace might be hectic, with much to be done. During slack periods, we would sit and talk, the air thick with Nelson's insightful remarks, hilarious quips, and loud, infectious laugh. He was terrific company, and I can think of no finer education."

—David Hopkins  
*IGS graduate student*

*The Polsby family and UC Berkeley have established a fund to support Berkeley graduate students who are interested in studying the United States Congress. For more information or to contribute to the fund, go to the IGS website at [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu).*

"Legions of students and colleagues, me included, could not have a better friend and mentor. Polsby's scholarship spanned many areas, but Congress was his true love and the subject of his best work. His article "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives" is among the most cited scholarly pieces ever published in the *American Political Science Review*. His last book, *How Congress Evolves: Social Bases of Institutional Change*, is typically elegant and deep, a huge contribution to the scholarly literature but written so that a nonprofessional reader can learn mightily from its insights. It is a must-read for every member of Congress who wants to understand his or her institution in a historical and political context—which should be every member of Congress."

—Norman Ornstein  
*American Enterprise Institute*

"Nelson honored me by inviting me to become a visiting scholar, which further opened his already open doors to the Nelson fellowship, something that continued with many hours of schmoozing on everything from the presidency, past and present, to exchanges of Broadway musical lyrics from the 1930s and 1940s to the history of eastern Connecticut, scenes of battles of King Philip's War, and Berkeley politics."

—Peter Schrag  
*IGS Visiting Scholar*

"Nelson's loss is irreparable—for the department, the university, and the discipline. He was an intellectual leader and an icon in the study of American politics."

—Pradeep Chhibber  
*chair of the Charles and Louise Travers Department of Political Science, UC Berkeley*

"Polsby had a dominating physical presence; a mountain of a man, he looked like an American footballer gone to seed. Dressed in a T-shirt and corduroys, he shuffled rather than walked and breathed heavily, and friends constantly worried over his health (he had a number of angioplasties). But the flow of epigrams, witticisms, attacks on the higher nonsense of political science, and stimulating ideas continued. He was constantly judgmental about other politicians and academics. But if he argued with someone it was a mark of his approbation. Speakers who assumed that Polsby, eyes shut and snoring in the audience, was asleep could quickly be confounded when the 'sleeper' made a pertinent, or ferocious, intervention."

—*The Times of London*

“Nelson was a true student of the American experiment and the reasons why this country has such a unique and lasting pedigree. He was also hilarious and irreverent, and a truly fascinating character all in all. It’s a great loss.”

—John Podhoretz  
*National Review Online*

“I once discussed with Nelson the perception of French culture in the United States (you know, good food, luxury, artsy movies, romantic love . . . ) and he had this line: ‘Well, the only thing the French have been successful at exporting is snobbery!’”

—Frederick Douzet  
*Université de Cergy-Pontoise*

“How does one say goodbye to a friend of a half century? Nelson materialized in James Fesler’s public administration seminar at Yale in the fall of 1956 and instantly established himself as a font of insight, erudition, and superlative wit. . . . In reading the outpouring of praise on the IGS website, I am reminded of Nelson’s comment when we appeared alphabetically on a panel: ‘I am the victim of anticipatory plagiarism.’ He may be gone but he won’t be forgotten.”

—Fred Greenstein  
*Princeton University*



*Clockwise from top left: with former Hong Kong Governor Chris Patten; with former House Speaker Tom Foley; on election night with political science lecturer Alan Ross and the late Berkeley Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien; with House Speaker Nancy Pelosi.*

## Platinum Fellows: Lunch with a Legislator



Alberto Torrico

The Cal-in-Sacramento Platinum Fellowship Program is off to another great start, with 18 students enrolled in the spring semester class that prepares them for their summer internships in the state Capital.

IGS Legislator-in-Residence Wilma Chan, forced from the Assembly last year by term limits, is teaching the course, and early in the semester the students enjoyed a special opportunity to meet another of California's leaders, Assemblyman Alberto Torrico of Newark.

On a visit to campus, Torrico sat down to share sandwiches and potato chips with the Fellows in the IGS conference room, talking with them about politics, public policy, and what it takes

## IGS Gets the Scoop on Schwarzenegger

Los Angeles Times reporter Joe Mathews came to IGS in the wake of the fall election to talk about one of the year's biggest political winners and the subject of his new book: Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger.

Mathews' book *The People's Machine: Arnold Schwarzenegger and the Rise of Blockbuster Democracy* chronicles the governor's election and first two years in office.

The book explores Schwarzenegger in the context of California's infatuation with direct democracy, both because he

to succeed in Sacramento. He also encouraged the Fellows to apply to his office for internships.

Throughout the spring semester, the Fellows will work to find an appropriate placement in Sacramento, working in some aspect of public policy that meets their interests. Past Fellows have worked in legislative and executive branch offices, nonprofit groups and even political journalism. This summer, the Fellows will head to Sacramento for firsthand experience in California politics.

The Cal-in-Sacramento Platinum Fellowship program, including the lunch with Assemblyman Torrico, is generously supported by IGS National Advisory Council Chairman Darius Anderson.



Joe Mathews

was elected through a gubernatorial recall and because of his use of the initiative process once in office.

Mathews covered the recall election that first brought Schwarzenegger to power and has also covered his governorship. He has interviewed the governor repeatedly, and also talked with hundreds of people closely connected to California's celebrity politician.

## Scholar's Corner cont. from p. 2

ing tale of how the gradual disappearance of southern conservative Democrats in the 1960s–1980s led initially to the liberalization of the House of Representatives as northern Democrats finally defeated the conservative coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats that had dominated the House for decades. The tale turns ironic, however, when Newt Gingrich and a new Republican majority that drew its greatest strength from the formerly Democratic South brought down the Democratic majority in the House. Gingrich and his Republican allies then proceeded to provide a degree of centralized party leadership that had not been seen in the U.S. Congress since the early 1900s.

But *How Congress Evolves* is more than just an entertaining tale. Viewed in juxtaposition to the institutionalization article, it suggests some of the problems posed by the form of party government that has arisen in the House. Writing in 1968, Polsby had argued that strengthening the Speaker might hurt the House by reducing rank-and-file members' incentive to specialize and by undermining professional norms of conduct, such as reciprocity, courtesy, and predictability. He emphasized that there is nothing inevitable or irreversible about the institutionalization process, and *How Congress Evolves* is in many ways the story of the par-

tial de-institutionalization of the U.S. House. With the decline of the seniority system and the reduced role of committees in shaping legislation, the old system of decentralized expertise has been displaced by competing partisan teams fighting it out with little regard for institutional interests. *How Congress Evolves* provides a note of caution for those who see reform as a panacea—a recurrent theme in much of Polsby's research. But it also suggests that institutional change is typically rooted in broad societal dynamics. Polsby argues that the dramatic changes in the House were rooted in the major post-World War II social transformation in the American South. The shift in the South from being a safe Democratic haven to being the locus of GOP strength generated tremendous pressure to change House institutions that had been designed to suit a Democratic majority divided between its liberal northern and conservative southern wings. In *How Congress Evolves*, Polsby draws upon 40 years of experience watching and talking with members of Congress, journalists, and other Washington observers. For a student of political elites and of representative democracy, it was the project of a lifetime—a lifetime that enriched all who seek to understand the American political system.

*Eric Schickler is a professor of political science at Berkeley.*

# IGS OBSERVER

By Gerald C. Lubenow

## Blah, blah, blogs

Judging by the press attention they've been getting, you would think this was the year that bloggers had emerged as a major factor in American politics. You would be wrong.

With the presidential race breaking early from the gate, the mainstream media (MSM to bloggers) is filled with stories about candidates adding bloggers to their staffs and even blogging themselves. A *Wall Street Journal* story headlined, "Candidates Face New Test: Winning Netroots Primary" said presidential candidates, particularly Democrats, were making a major effort to court bloggers.

Given the explosive growth of blogging, that will take a lot of wooing. In 2005, the Pew Internet & American Life Project reported that 27% of the 120 million adult Internet users in the U.S. read blogs, and 7% had created blogs. That's one blog for every four readers, and if blogs continue to proliferate at the current pace, it won't be long before every blog reader can have her personal blog writer.

Despite all this hype about the revolutionary impact of YouTube, video-sharing, and the wonders of the Web, a 2007 Pew study found the vast majority of Americans (68%) still get most of their election news from television. Nearly that many have no idea what a blog is. And a recent *New York Times*/CBS News poll found that 68% of adults have never visited a political blog, 24% rarely did, and 14% only occasionally. Just 4% were frequent visitors.

The term visitor itself is interesting. While print journalism is measured in terms of readers, bloggers are rated by the number of visits they receive. And many of them report huge numbers. DailyKos, which claims to be the most widely read political blog, receives around 480,000 visits a day according to its site summary. That's an impressive number, to be sure. But it's a bit less impressive if you consider that the average length of a visit is two seconds. DailyKos visitors have either photographic memories or a drive by relationship with politics. By that dicey level of devotion, newspapers should claim that anyone who scans a headline while walking by a newsstand is a reader.

But blog devotees seem to be losing interest. A recent Gallup Poll found that blog readership has bogged down. Blogs came in last among 13 Internet activities Gallup measured, and blog readership hasn't increased over the past year

or so, even though Americans are spending more time online.

Employment in traditional paper-based publishing, which employs nearly a million people, is down 13% over the past six years—just the sort of statistic bloggers love to cite. They may not mention that Internet publishing and broadcasting, which employs 36,600 people, is down 29% over the same period.

Bloggers think of themselves as a counterculture that disdains the MSM and delights at tossing infantile barbs at MSM political reporters. "The DC beltway gasbags don't care about anything outside of DC and their own cocktail party circuit," blogged Kos after the 2006 election. "It's a funny place, DC, inhabited by funny, silly people."



But many of the most popular bloggers are incorporating or being assimilated by the MSM. Worse, a culture that eschews establishment politics saw many of its members defect to campaigns in 2006, including at least four from the DailyKossacks. Most of them still operate their independent sites, and some didn't disclose their campaign ties until they were criticized by fellow bloggers.

Recently, there has been a rash of mini-scandals involving political bloggers. The San Francisco mayor's spokesman was caught posting comments on websites under the identities of other people. Two Edwards campaign bloggers quit after complaints of anti-Catholic remarks. A conservative website, Insight, touched off a media frenzy with an anonymous, unsourced, quickly discredited post saying the Hillary Clinton campaign was readying a devastating smear on Barack Obama. And corporate PR operatives, eyeing the anonymous attitude of the blogosphere, have begun blogging, often covertly.

Anonymous sources have been troublesome to establishment journalism for some time. The idea that anyone would bother to read an anonymously written report relying on an anonymous source, posted on a website that may not be what it purports to be is beyond comprehension. One critic said, this is commonplace blogging practice, "designed to manufacture mischief in large volume."

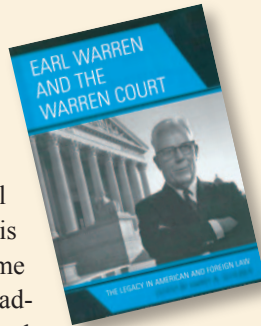
I do read a few blogs, preferably written by people acquainted with the English language who have a passing knowledge of politics. And I'll give bloggers credit for highlighting the MSM's inability to understand what's going on in the blogosphere. There is a good chance the MSM may be toasting the rising power of the blogosphere just as it is running out of steam. □

## New from IGS Press!

In conjunction with Lexington Books, IGS Press offers two books dealing with important topics of American law, one looking back at the legacy of a former chief justice and his court, one looking at a crucial contemporary issue now facing American politics.

**Earl Warren and the Warren Court:  
The Legacy in American and Foreign Law**  
Edited by Harry N. Scheiber

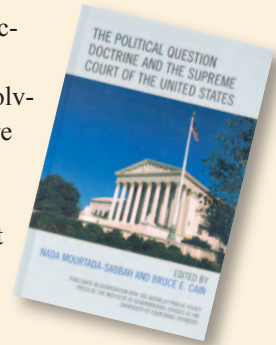
Half a century later, what is the legacy of the Warren Court? Leading experts from the fields of law, history, and social science contribute essays in this evaluation of one of the Supreme Court's most important eras. In addition, the book includes appraisals of the Warren Court's influence abroad, written by authorities of legal development in Europe, Latin America, Canada, and East Asia. These essays portray how innovations in American law generated by the Warren Court led to a reconsideration of law and the judicial role—and in many areas of the world, to transformations in judicial procedure and the advancement of substantive human rights.



**The Political Question Doctrine and the Supreme Court of the United States**

Edited by Nada Mourtada-Sabbah & Bruce E. Cain

The Political Question Doctrine has traditionally held that courts should abstain from resolving constitutional issues that are better left to other departments of government, mainly the national political branches. But the application of the doctrine is now at a crucial crossroads, as the Supreme Court continues to test new “War on Terrorism” initiatives. This important collection of essays examines the broad issues of judicial involvement in politics and the future of the Political Question Doctrine.



To order *Earl Warren and the Warren Court* or *The Political Question Doctrine and the Supreme Court of the United States*, go to [www.lexingtonbooks.com](http://www.lexingtonbooks.com).



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