



# THE ROSE REVIEW

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Photo Credit: Claremont McKenna College

## DIRECTOR'S REPORT

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### ANDREW E. BUSCH, PHD

As Spring semester 2014 draws toward a close, the Rose Institute of State and Local Government continues to fulfill its mission of promoting undergraduate research on subjects of importance to the state and region. Since last October, we have:

- Released the *2013 Kosmont-Rose Institute Cost of Doing Business Survey*, rating over 300 cities in California and the western United States.
- Begun two major research projects on criminal justice in California. One is an examination of the "crime funnel" (how many crimes lead to arrests, how many arrests to charges, how many charges to trials, and so on) in California and the nine next most populous states. The other examines the nature of the second- and third-strike crimes committed under California's three-strikes provision. These projects are the beginning of what we expect will be a long-term commitment to study crime and justice in California.
- Worked to complete three white papers on

particular issues, such as state budgeting processes in California and around the country.

- Introduced a system of beat reports for the Rose blog focusing on reports from the Legislative Analyst's Office and on the light-rail proposal. In the future, subjects will rotate.
- Provided important assistance for Prof. J. Andrew Sinclair's research project on state primary election laws.
- Drafted an analysis of the December 2013 American Communities Survey by the Census Bureau.
- Neared completion of an election manual for the city of Glendale.

In addition, the Rose Institute brought a number of speakers to campus, including State Finance Director Michael Cohen, journalist Steven Malanga, San Jose Mayor Chuck Reed, and sociologist Heidi Swarts, a scholar of urban studies.

The Rose Institute also continued its long collaboration with the Lowe Institute of Political Economy in the form of the Inland Empire Center. This Spring, the IEC hosted a UCLA-CMC forecasting conference in the Coachella Valley, as well as publishing another edition of the *Inland Empire Outlook*.

Not least, the Rose Institute enjoyed a couple of major celebrations. In October, we held a dinner at the Athenaeum to commemorate 40 years of the Rose Institute. Then, in March, the Institute held a luncheon in Sacramento to honor Kirk West, the fourth recipient of the Rose Institute Award for Excellence in Public Service. The event was attended by approximately 150 people, including friends, family, and co-workers of Kirk West, CMC president Hiram Chodosh, and a large contingent of CMC students and staff, including Prof. Ken Miller's California Politics class and a number of additional students from the Rose Institute, whose travel was financed by generous gifts from the Board of Governors.



Andrew E. Busch, PhD

Looking ahead, the Rose Institute, through the IEC, will be hosting a conference in the Bay Delta water plan on June 19 at CMC. We will also be hosting the site visit of an external review team hired by the College to provide an unbiased detailed assessment of the Rose.

The committee, consisting of Prof. Timothy Conlan (George Mason University), Prof. Rick Hasen (University of California, Irvine), and Bob Stern (Center for Governmental Studies), will be visiting campus on May 5 to interview students, staff, Board members, and affiliated faculty of the Institute.

Finally, as is tradition, the Rose Institute student management team changed hands at Spring Break. I want to recognize and thank the outgoing team, Marina Giloi and Alex Bentley, who did a tremendous job over the last year. Congratulations and welcome to our new student manager, Ian O'Grady, and new associate student manager, David Tse. Another great year for the Rose Institute is on the horizon. ■

## INCOMING MANAGEMENT

IAN O'GRADY '15  
DAVID TSE '15

Looking back, we are amazed at how much the Rose Institute has accomplished. This year, the Institute brought renowned speakers to CMC, inputted thousands of cells of data, trained a team of terrific new hires, revamped multiple websites, designed new, innovative maps, and far more. All these accomplishments can be traced to the

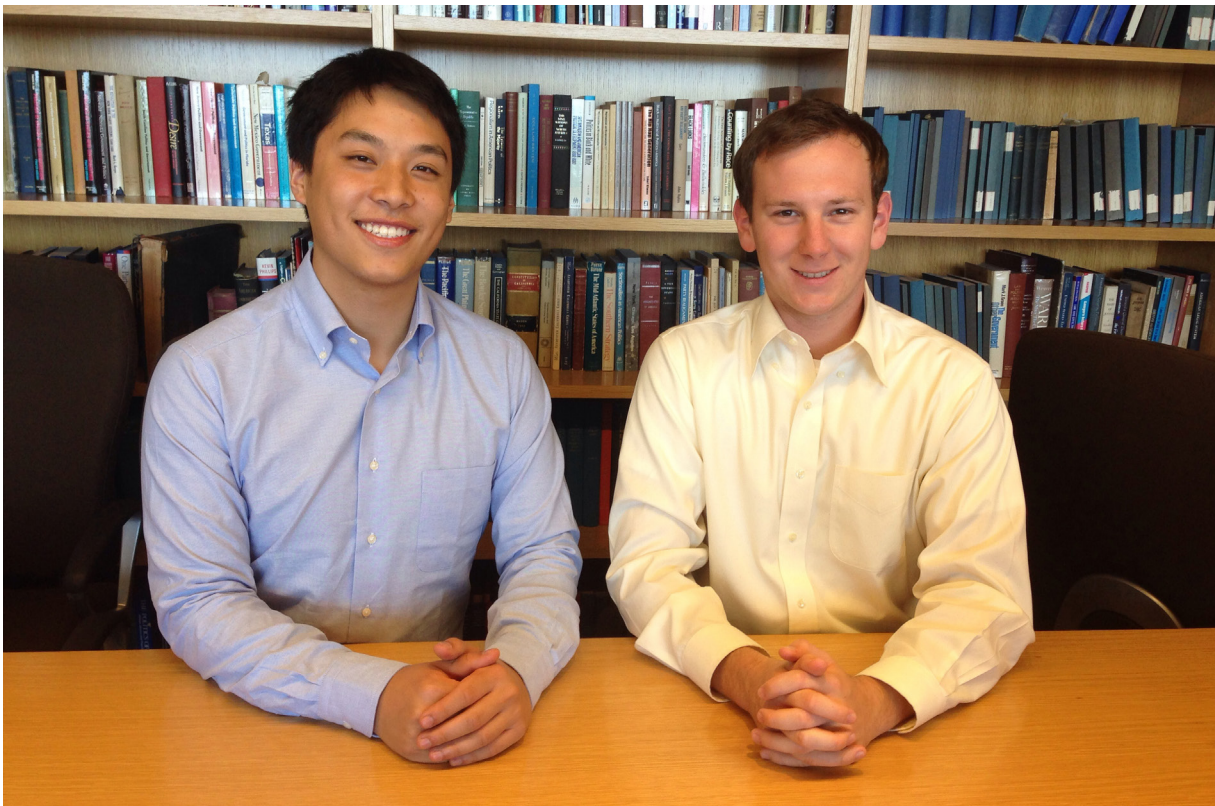
industriousness of our students and senior staff, as well as the fantastic leadership of last year's management team: Alex Bentley and Marina Giloi. We realize we have very big shoes to fill. Thankfully, skills gained through the Rose, and the tutelage of our graduating class—Kathryn Yao, Luke Davis, Katya Abazajian, Nathan Falk, Gavin Landgraf, and Sam Stone—makes



achieving our goals considerably easier. Our mentors have laid the groundwork for exciting and innovative future projects, whether it is improving old assignments like the Initiative Database or Speaker Series, or starting new research such as the crime projects. We wish these graduating seniors the best in their future endeavors, and are thankful for benefiting from their experience and kindness.

These relationships are, in large part, why the Rose Institute has been so instrumental in our phenomenal undergraduate experiences. We owe an immense debt to the Institute for

As with most years at the Rose, 2014-15 will be busy. Our twenty-eight student Research Assistants are currently working on fifteen different projects. Some, like the Glendale Election Manual, continue a longstanding Rose Institute's tradition of partnering with local governments. Others, like the Southern California Almanac, represent fascinating new directions for our research. Whatever the project, our Research Assistants and Project Managers are continually thinking of ways to improve the Institute. This drive has resulted in a new design for the spring 2014 IEO, an easier interface for our databases, and new statistical



*Associate Student Manager David Tse and Student Manager Ian O'Grady*

allowing us to produce original research, build skills, and form lasting friendships. With the unique opportunities the Rose has offered us, we could not be more excited to be spending our final year trying to make it even better. Moreover, we could not be more eager to see what our talented staff will accomplish in the coming year.

approaches with Primary Elections Project. We are proud of working alongside such a dedicated and skilled team.

*Continued on page 11*



# PRIMARY ELECTIONS

IAN O'GRADY '15

SHANNON MILLER '16

J. ANDREW SINCLAIR, PHD, FACULTY FELLOW

Photo Credit: Matthew Field

In 2013, the Rose began compiling an extensive database of laws relating to primary elections and election administration at the state level. This database, including both historical and current information, provides opportunities for students and researchers to collaborate on academic research in areas currently understudied. Upon publication, the Rose Institute will house the replication data as a resource for scholars to recreate and test our findings.

We hope to build a database that provides, for state and local politics, an answer to the question Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde (2003) asked about Presidential politics: does “changing the rules change the game?” This project in particular concentrates on aspects of election administration that alter political outcomes. Since Proposition 14 (the “top-two” primary) has increased interest in primary elections in California, our initial data collection focused on building a resource to place these new laws in national and historical context. In the coming months, we will use this database as part of an active academic research agenda, conducting analysis and predictions, and then release the database for wider use.

In the first phase of our research, we collected detailed data on primary election laws and regulations from all 50 states dating back several decades. Now, we are combining our data with other academic data of political outcomes (for example, estimates of legislator ideologies) to

evaluate political outcomes in terms of primary election administration.<sup>1</sup> Our depth of detail, national scope, and emphasis on carefully evaluating the incentives generated by different laws set our database apart from previous work. The academic literature to date has tended to focus on using a limited number of very broad categories easily related to theoretical models; while this approach has some advantages, important institutional detail may be lost.

Furthermore, in previous research, scholars have tended to address issues particular to a certain state or time (with a few notable exceptions).<sup>2</sup> Moreover, political scientists have yet to converge on a standard terminology or classification system for primary types. Each state has its own set of rules and historical oddities; upon closer inspection, for example, we may expect voters and candidates to experience one state’s “open” primary very differently from another’s. After sorting through the existing literature and previous data collection efforts, we collected information in 14 categories in order to account for all possible primary systems consistently, past and present. Thus, the database we built incorporates dozens of categories of election regulations, ranging across local, statewide, and federal elections, and finds dozens of changes in relevant election law—rules that we believe may “change the game.” ■

1 Political scientists have developed increasingly sophisticated strategies for estimating important quantities of interest like how liberal or conservative legislators might be. As examples, see Bonica (2013), Shor and McCarty (2011), Poole and Rosenthal (2007).

2 For studies with a more national focus, see for example: McGhee et al. (2014), Kanthak and Morton (2001), and Gerber and Morton (1998).



Ideally, every crime would result in the arrest and conviction of the offender and the imposition of an appropriate sentence. There is, however, a drop-off at each stage of the process: not all crimes result in an arrest; not all arrests lead to a conviction; and not all convictions result in an appropriate punishment.

This is sometimes called “the funnel” because the data can be displayed graphically in the shape of a funnel showing incidents, arrests, convictions, incarceration, and sentences. For a long time criminal justice experts have known that even for

serious crimes like robbery (taking someone’s property by force or by threatening to use force), only a small fraction of incidents result in prison sentences. For example, in 2006 (the most recent year for which we have national felony sentencing data) police departments reported that 447,403 robberies occurred in the U.S. In that same year, police arrested 125,605 persons for robbery and state felony courts convicted 41,740. Of those convicted, 5,460 were sentenced to probation, 5,950 to local jails for an average of 10 months, and 29,670 to state prisons with an average maximum sentence of 8 years, 5 months. Thus, less than 10% of the nation’s robberies in 2006 resulted in a robbery conviction, and less than 7% resulted in a prison sentence.

Generating the funnel for robbery and other serious crimes provides a snapshot of the effectiveness and the punitiveness of the American criminal justice system. The funnels can be compared across crimes for a single year, for a single crime over time, and across jurisdictions. In this very direct way, we can

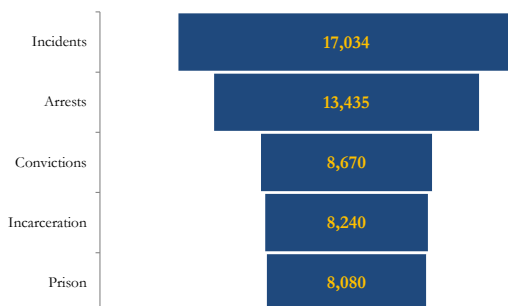
assess whether and how the criminal justice system is becoming more or less effective and punitive over time, both for the nation and for individual states.

In its initial phase, this project will generate national funnels for five serious crimes—murder, rape, robbery, aggravated

assault, and burglary—beginning in 1986 (when felony sentencing data first became available). Phase two will generate similar funnels for California, and, if the data are available, for individual counties in California. Phase three will generate such funnels for other large states in the nation.

With these funnels, researchers can compare the effectiveness and punitiveness of California’s criminal justice system with the nation as a whole and with other states. This data generated by this project will be especially valuable or tracking the effects of California’s realignment policy, which took effect in October of 2011 and is resulting in a dramatic reduction in the state’s prison population. ■

**National Murder Funnel - 2006**



*In 2006, over 50% of murders resulted in conviction.*

## CRIME FUNNEL

JOSEPH M. BESSETTE, PHD, FACULTY FELLOW

Photo Credit: California Department of Corrections

## SENIOR FAREWELLS

### KATHRYN YAO

I cannot imagine what CMC would have been like for me without the Rose. These past four years, I have gained invaluable knowledge and experience, as well as incredible memories I will cherish for years to come. Never have I laughed harder or had so much fun than with my fellow Rosies. They are by far the most brilliant, hilarious, and motivated people I have

ever met, and I feel so lucky to have been able to work (and play) with them. I also want to thank all the faculty and staff at the Rose. I am so grateful for all your guidance and I have learned so much from all of you. The Rose has made my time at CMC unforgettable and absolutely amazing. Good luck to everyone and I will miss you all so much!

### MARINA GILOI

Looking back on Alex and my term as student management, we could not be more excited about the progress that the Institute has made and the years that lie ahead. We have spent some of the past year organizing small teams of students toward targeted efforts in tech and social media, resulting in significant progress in revamping several of our websites and increasing access to much of our research and projects. In addition, we have picked up several new and exciting research topics as well as integrating our eight outstanding new hires into new teams and allowing them to pursue their interests in state and local government beyond the initial structure of the new hire program. Though I have enjoyed all of my years at the Rose, my year as student manager has been the most exciting as I had the chance to make a meaningful difference in the Institute's present and future and the humbling opportunity to learn about and improve upon

myself. Reflecting on my past three years as a whole, I feel overwhelming gratitude to be a part of the Rose family and to have had the chance to challenge myself and those around me. I have learned so much from both senior staff and my peers and I hope, for the sake of future Rosies, that the Institute will continue to have the exceptional combination of fascinating research and close-knit community that I have enjoyed during my time here – it's truly something special. I'm beginning my career starting in public accounting this September, but I hope to bring it back to state and local government in the future, largely inspired by how much I've enjoyed my countless phone calls to city and state government officials. Best of luck to all of remaining Rose students, special thanks to Alex for all his help and encouragement over the past year, and thank you to everyone at the Rose Institute for letting me be a part of such a great experience.





Kathryn Yao, Sam Stone, Alex Bentley, Gavin Landgraf, Marina Giloi, Katya Abazajian, Nathan Falk

Photo Credit: Tricia Wang

## ALEX BENTLEY

I had next to no idea what I was signing up for when I applied to work at the Rose Institute during orientation freshman year. As a nervous freshman who had never had a job interview in his life, I remember being incredibly intimidated by the interview process involving timed essays, a group debate, and a 6-on-1 individual interview, and was shocked when I got a call from Mike Whatley offering me the research assistant position. Now, looking back on four years at CMC, I can't imagine the experience without the Rose. In addition to providing opportunities to research with faculty, present projects, interact with prominent researchers and politicians, and lead teams of peers, the Rose has been a second on-campus home and has given me a close circle of friends that have helped to shape my time at CMC. Memories such as pulling all-nighters at the Rose debating philosophy with Gavin, sharing dinners in the

village with the Board of Governors, spending a summer drawing redistricting lines with Luke, and our institute trip to Pirate's Dinner Adventure rank amongst some of my favorites. I want to thank senior staff - Dr. Busch, Dr. Miller, Mrs. Nadon, Mr. Huntoon, Marionette, and Doug - for all of the time and assistance that they've given me, and am grateful to all of my peers past and present for the ways that they've challenged me, mentored me, and made the Rose such a fun place to work. The opportunity to serve on the student management team with one of my best friends, Marina Giloi, this past year has been so much fun, and I'm especially thankful to Marina for putting up with me and for all her hard work that resulted in an awesome year at the Rose. Good luck to all of my fellow seniors, and to everyone staying in Claremont - keep up the good work! It's been a pleasure.

## NATHAN FALK

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Thank you so much to everyone at the Rose Institute for allowing me to work with all of you over these last four years. To my teachers and mentors, thank you for the leadership you have shown, and the time you have spent teaching me how to develop and coordinate projects. I know how much of an effort you all made to help pass on those crucial leadership skills, and I am forever grateful. A special thank you to Mr. Huntoon for personally devoting so much

time to help me with my personal projects as the Rose, and sharing his tremendous wisdom and experience with me. And to my colleagues, I don't know where to begin. The Rose is more than a job, it's a community. From late-night study sessions and philosophical arguments, to BOG dinners and Kosmont shifts, I can say for certain that I have made some of my closest friends through the Rose. Thank you for everything, I'll miss you guys.

## KATYA ABAZAJIAN

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Coming into the Rose as a sophomore transfer, I'm not sure what I was hoping to experience or find. My time at the Rose has gone above and beyond anything I expected. At the end of three years, I know entirely too much about state and local government, and have a unique admiration for those who dedicate their lives to government on the ground floor. And of course, I've had the pleasure of becoming friends with

many amazing people who I'll be sad to leave at graduation. I'm thankful for the guidance of our senior staff and the hours they put into ensuring that the Rose stays a safe, educational, productive space for students, and I hope that the long-standing tradition of Rose Christmas karaoke continues. I'll miss the Rose when I graduate, but I'll hold onto the memories made here!

## SAM STONE

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It's amazing how quickly four years can fly by. When Dave Meyer first introduced me to the Rose while I was a prospective student, I had no clue what a Kosmont was or why my nasally voiced midwestern host was so excited about GIS. Now I can't imagine going through CMC without the Rose. The skills and knowledge I have gained through my time at the Rose Institute have been incredibly valuable--but it's the friends I've made and the relationships I've built along the way that have been priceless. So here's to the marathon Redistricting In America work sessions, BOGs and croquet, and the countless other memories too crazy to name.

Thank you to Jacinth, Mike, Dave, and Chloe for mentoring a geeky, redistricting obsessed underclassman while I was still learning the ropes. Thank you to Pai, Ryan, Marina, and Bentley for leading the Rose to new heights over the last two years. Thank you to senior staff for your knowledge, your patience, and for guiding me through the defining work experience of my college career. Most of all, thank you to the rest of my fellow Rosies. Getting to know all of you these last four years has been my pleasure. Best wishes to the next generation--may your experience at the Rose be as rewarding as mine!



## GAVIN LANDGRAF

Spring 2014 has come, and it is time to move on to the next phase of life. It has been a true pleasure to be a member of the Rose Institute these last four years. Freshman year highlights included having a couch and getting a compliment from Mr. Huntoon on my Kosmont phone-talking skills. Sophomore year we made the leap to the Kravis Center. Paul Jeffrey was a senior, so he turned over the Miller Initiative Database and the coveted Head of Legal Research title to me. Working for Dr. Miller has definitely been one of the best parts of my Rose experience. He helped me discover my passion for California politics, and he has been one of my wisest mentors at CMC. He also gave me a shout-out in his latest law review article, which I am really proud of.

Rose is so much more than a work group—it's a community. OK, we should probably start spelling it ΡΩΔ. Some of my closest friends in college have been from Rose: Jacinth, Paul, Bentley, Marina, Nate, Elise, Francesca. Oh and Katya: the men of the Man Van salute you. I wouldn't be Gavin if I didn't take this opportunity to force some advice on current Rose students. The three rules to college life are: 1) sleep as little as you can until you start feeling unhappy—then you know you need to sleep more. 2) Don't say anything behind a person's back you wouldn't say to their face. But don't let that stop you from speaking your mind. Just say it to their face, too. 3) Spend a lot of time outside. I will miss you all very much.

## STUDY ABROAD



**Aseem Chipalkatti '15:** This past fall, I took a distinctive break from domestic state and local governments to study abroad in Amman, Jordan. As part of the experience, I lived with a local host family, and attended school at a specialized program with Jordanian staff and instructors. Needless to say, the four months were both incredibly educational and life-changing. My Arabic improved in leaps and bounds, helped in no small part by my frequent trips to the desert to live with Bedouin nomads and my affinity for the local falafel stand. More than just the linguistic expertise though was the cultural background that I gained from my time there. I learned the proper way to eat mansaf – Jordan's traditional rice, yoghurt, and meat dish, found centuries-old artifacts in an undisturbed ancient settlement in the countryside, and even acted as an extra in a movie being shot in Jordan. Overall, while I certainly missed the familiar environs of the Kravis 4th Floor, I would not trade my time in Jordan for anything, and I cannot wait to head back.

## SUMMER PLANS

Photo Credit: Basheer Tome

**Nina Kamath '16** will be working as a Private Wealth Management Intern in Deutsche Bank's Century City office near downtown Los Angeles.

**Aseem Chipalkatti '15** will be staffing Congressman Ami Bera (D-CA07)'s reelection campaign in Sacramento, CA this summer.

**Jessica Jin '16** will be working in San Francisco for Stearns Consulting, a political consulting firm.

**Andrew Nam '15** will be working for JP Morgan this summer as an Investment Banking Summer Analyst.

**Ryan Driscoll '16** will be finishing up premed class requirements and working on a couple of local election campaigns in Nashville.

**Audrey Breitwieser '16** will be working for a private wealth management firm called Luminous Capital in Menlo Park. They are a division of First Republic Bank.

**Ben Fusek '17** will be spending his summer in rural Rwanda as a ThinkImpact Scholar immersing himself in the culture while simultaneously collaborating with a team of locals to create a sustainable business venture.

**Brian Eckhardt '16** will be working as an analyst with Hawk Ridge Partners, a long-short equity hedge fund based in Los Angeles.

**Hannah Oh '16** will be participating in the Charles Koch Institute's summer internship program in Washington DC, where she plans to do legal and public policy work.

## STUDY ABROAD

**Elise Hansell '15:** Before arriving in Freiburg, Germany where I would study the politics of the European Union, I decided to visit some distant relatives in Munich. In order to prepare me for my time at the University, my second cousin and his family only fed me Bavarian food—Knödel and Weisswurst—and as if that was not enough of an immersion experience, they only conversed with me in German. I learned a lot. After Munich, I traveled to Freiburg where I lived with four other German students. My flat mates introduced me to their friends, hikes in the Black Forest, and the traditional Glühwein, which is a hot, mulled wine to drink whilst exploring the Christmas market. Over the course of my semester I definitely took advantage of the Schengen Area—I visited

nine other countries with my friends, flatmates, and professors. Despite my overabundance of travel, no city I visited was quite as charming as Freiburg, and near the end of the semester, I truly felt at home (despite biking in unbearable temperatures). One of my favorite parts of Freiburg was Vauban, a sustainable housing district where some of the apartments were “PlusEnergy,” or capable of producing more energy than is utilized. I am so happy that I decided to study in Freiburg—I met many interesting and intelligent people who were all eager to bring me into their lives and to show me aspects of German culture that I would never have understood on my own. I will never forget my semester in Freiburg and I hope that I will return to Germany someday.



## INCOMING MANAGEMENT, CONTINUED

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As we say goodbye to a departing class of Rose students, we are equally eager to welcome a new group of talented new student hires next fall. With Hannah Oh '16 managing our training curriculum next year, we look forward to seeing their development and benefiting from their intellect.

This year, we look forward to improving the Rose by making progress on a number of exciting new endeavors. As always, the Rose will remain committed to producing high-quality research about state and local government. To further this goal, we plan on reorganizing our blog, the Rose Report, to encompass “beat” reporting. This will allow our student researchers to delve deeply into important issues. With relatively limited coverage about local concerns, we feel

that the step will be a great way to improve journalism skills while providing a beneficial service to Californians.

We also plan on expanding the social media presence of the Rose by utilizing facebook, twitter, and other clients to boost our public audience. With so many knowledgeable speakers and interesting projects organized by the Rose, we hope to make these resources available to our community. Many of our projects, such as the Burnweit Database and Southern California Almanac, are designed to foster interest and facilitate learning within California’s local communities. We believe that building an audience and fostering online presence, is not only exciting but essential in making our projects accessible.

The Rose’s greatest asset lies in its ability to pair eager research assistants with qualified professionals. For this, we would like to thank our Senior Staff, consisting of Mrs. Nadon, Mr. Huntoon, Dr. Miller, and Dr. Busch, for their invaluable assistance, advice, and leadership. Our Administrative Assistant, Marionette Moore, is also indispensable, ensuring the Institute remains organized, well-supplied, and runs smoothly. We cannot be more thankful for the opportunity to work alongside these talented supervisors. With so much activity and opportunity at the Rose, we look forward to a busy, productive, and fun year. ■





Photo Credit: Claremont McKenna College

## STUDENT STAFF

**Rose Review  
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**Rose Review Staff**  
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Shannon Miller '16  
Ian O'Grady '15  
Tim Plummer '17

**Student Manager**  
Ian O'Grady '15

**Associate Student Manager**  
David Tse '15



ROSE INSTITUTE  
OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
CLAREMONT MCKENNA COLLEGE

The Rose Institute pursues the complementary missions of conducting and publishing research on state and local government and providing academic opportunities for Claremont McKenna College students.

[www.roseinstitute.org](http://www.roseinstitute.org)

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**Administrative Assistant**  
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