Ira Katznelson: Toward a Useful Historical Political Science of Liberalism

Richard M. Valelly, *Swarthmore College*

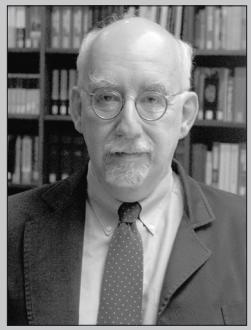
APSA President (2005)

Ira Katznelson

Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History
Columbia University

B.A.
Columbia University
1966

Ph.D.
Cambridge University
1969



Over a career that spans the late 1960s to the present, APSA President Ira Katznelson has mounted a long and fruitful interrogation of political liberalism in the United States and Europe—asking for definition of its many forms, their origins, their strengths and weaknesses, and what kinds there can be. In doing such work, Katznelson has reframed several consequential phenomena and issues. They include African-American political incorporation over the course of the 20th century and the role of partisan strategy and policy design (as opposed to racial attitudes among Whites) in structuring such incorporation, the roots of American exceptionalism in the lived experience of "class," and, most recently, the surprising extent to which rational choice and historical institutionalism conceptually overlap.

Louis Hartz's masterpiece, *The Liberal Tradition in America,* (1955) serves well as a point of both reference and contrast. In it, Hartz presented a two-fold challenge to the American political science profession. That summons nicely illuminates Katznelson's intellectual preoccupations and contributions.

Hartz's book issued, first, an invitation to his contemporaries and successors to grasp how monolithically liberal a regime America is—a consensus so strong that, paradoxically, given liberalism's foundation in reason, America's Lockean liberalism is unthinking, as it were, a kind of political fundamentalism. But, second, The Liberal Tradition asked Americanists to place the regime's fundamentalist liberalism in comparative perspective—and to thereby appreciate that its roles and influence resulted from circumstance, that is, an unusual confluence of apparent classlessness for nearly a century and long geographic isolation.

In the half century since its publication, many distinguished political scientists have responded to Hartz's twin insights by either elaborating on or contradicting them. Samuel P. Huntington, J. David Greenstone, Michael Rogin, Karen Orren, Judith Shklar, James Morone, and Rogers Smith—these are just a few of the scholars who have pursued the problems and issues sketched by Hartz's vision and imagination.

Ira Katznelson joins them in recasting and enriching Hartz's intellectual bequest. Like Hartz, who was deeply read in Freud, Marx, and counter-Enlightenment thought, Katznelson intellectually and imaginatively holds American political culture and life at some mental distance as he examines its behavior, policies, and institutions. That capacity to distance himself, in turn, has been augmented by a mastery of non-liberal, normatively refreshing sources of political, social, and moral knowledge as diverse as the Talmud and Western Marxism, for example, or the powerful sociology of the "color line" in world history (and the related "double consciousness") that were fashioned by W.E.B. Du Bois.

Katznelson's elaboration of the Hartzian legacy is markedly positive and empirical. It pivots on the recognition and identification of many liberalisms across time and space in both American and European politics. There is no liberal regime *per se.* Instead, liberal politics takes many different forms in social, labor-market, and economic policy, in bureaucratic, legislative, and executive institutional evolution, and in the lived political experience of citizens and non-citizens (at the polls, at the workplace, and in cities.) It coexists with and is bent—even transformed—by illiberal currents and legacies. The promethean nature of liberalism is particularly clear in the American case. A Southern-influenced mutation of liberalism emerged here, brought about by the interlacing of Jim Crow, Wilsonian Progressivism, and the New Deal. This variant—what Katznelson once dubbed a fusion of Sweden and South Africa—has been a particularly engrossing area for his research.

Katznelson's taxonomic approach toward the liberal Prometheus has of course steeped him in Enlightenment and liberal political thought. He has published critical appreciations, co-authored with Andreas Kalyvas, of Benjamin Constant, Germaine de Staël, and Adam Smith. For Katznelson, the charting of liberalism's tangible policy, behavioral, and institutional correlates has also required deeply historical attention to struggles over class formation, economic and political emergency, race relations, gendering, immigration, religious tradition, colonialism, subjugation to and release from Soviet hegemony (or Cold War tension), and, last but hardly least, Jewish-Gentile interactions.

The result of Katznelson's cartography of liberalism's forms, challenges, and variations is an encompassing—and continually growing—bibliography crowned by such prizes as the 2005 David and Elaine Spitz Award of the Conference of Political Thought, given to the best book in liberal and/or democratic theory published two years earlier, and the 2005 David Easton Award of APSA's Founda-

Richard M. Valelly *is professor of political science at Swarthmore College. He is the author of* Radicalism in the States: The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party and the American Political Economy *(University of Chicago Press, 1989).*

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tions of Political Thought Section, both honoring *Desolation and Enlightenment: Political Knowledge after Total War, Totalitarianism, and the Holocaust* (2003). Honor and recognition have also come in the form of election to the American Philosophical Society (in 2004) and to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (in 2000).

Katznelson is the sole author of seven scholarly books, co-author with Margaret Weir of an eighth, co-author with Mark Kesselman and Alan Draper of an American politics textbook (now in its fifth edition), co-editor of six scholarly volumes, the author of some 65 academic articles and essays, and the author of nearly a dozen more pieces in serious periodicals of political opinion and argument. Happily for the profession, the vast majority of Katznelson's corpus is in English—but whoever writes the full biography will require knowledge of French, German, and Spanish (and will even have to commission someone fluent in Finnish to read an interview published in a Finnish journal). Somewhere Louis Hartz is undoubtedly smiling at this multilingual prospect.

Katznelson's contributions and findings take his colleagues up many roads to a wide range of vantage points. An abbreviated listing would include, first, his recasting of the study of race relations in the U.S. and Britain by laying the basis for a structural-historical approach toward Black disadvantage and Black political behavior and struggle. This work has been carried forward by, among others, Dan Kryder, Anthony Marx, Desmond King, and Robert Lieberman. Katznelson has identified American 19th-century city life as the primary locus of the American variant on working-class formation. He has underscored (along with Margaret Weir) that the public school movement was forged in a cross-class alliance of working- and middle-class reformers which generated a public good of incalculable significance to American life. He has shown that political scientists frame their careers and work agendas in response to enormous ruptures in social and political life as well as to the internal ongoing conversation which we call "normal science." In his latest book, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold Story of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America,* (2005) he shows that the structural bias in New Deal social policy toward allocating public benefits to White citizens requires re-thinking that era as a seedbed of long-term Black disadvantage. This thesis runs contrary to established accounts claiming that WWII's impact on the socio-economic status of African Americans sufficed to resolve disadvantage.

Remarkably, the above sketch provides only one "pass" over Katznelson's achievements. A chronological sketch of his career reveals additional themes that place his exceptional intellectual fecundity in striking relief.

Chronology of a Career

The other motifs of Katznelson's career emerge across four institutional associations: a brief stretch on the Columbia faculty as a junior member, successive decade-long associations with the University of Chicago and then the New School for Social Research, and, finally, a return to Columbia in his current appointment as Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History.

Even brief attention to Katznelson's record reveals several leading traits: demanding administrative service while sustaining high academic productivity; creative encounter and conversation with allied disciplines—political sociology and labor and political history; capacity for setting scholarly agendas—both in editorial direction of leading scholarly journals and via trusteeship and editorship at university presses; great delight in the give-and-take of workshops and colloquia, ranging from directing the Center for the Study of Industrial Societies at the University of Chicago (1982–1983) to membership on the Research Planning Group of the Council for European Studies (1988–1990) to his current direction of the American Institutions Project at the Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy at Columbia University (2000–); the commitment to travel and guest lectureship—at Tougaloo College (1971), as a Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholar (1990–1991), as Commonwealth Fund Lecturer at University College, London (1995), and as Page-Barbour Lecturer at the University of Virginia (1999). His concern for the development of useable knowledge about social policy has led him, as well, to a close working relationship with perhaps the leading sponsor of social policy research in the U.S., the Russell Sage Foundation, where he has twice held visiting research fellowships. From 1999–2002 he chaired the Foundation's Board of Trustees.

Katznelson has been unstinting in giving time and energy to the American Political Science Association and its committees and organized sections, serving, for example, along with Helen Milner, as program co-chair of the 2000 Annual Meeting. Last, but by no means least, Katznelson has inspired many undergraduate and graduate students and junior scholars at Chicago, the New School, Columbia, and elsewhere. He is well-known for tirelessly and cheerfully shouldering the responsibilities of reading and commenting fully on the work-in-progress of students and colleagues. As Andrew Grossman, a former student, has aptly written: "Personally modest and unaffected, Katznelson remains true to one of the ultimate values in a free society: He is a teacher" (Utter and Lockhart 2002, s.v. "Katznelson, Ira).

Katznelson graduated summa cum laude in history in 1966 with a Phi Beta Kappa key from the College of Columbia University. Upon graduating, he was directed by David Truman, then dean of Columbia, toward study at St. John's College of Cambridge University, where Katznelson studied on a Kellett and later a Danforth Fellowship. Within three years, Katznelson had completed his Ph.D. in history at Cambridge and founded the journal *Politics & Society,* which continues today as a lively forum of fresh, qualitative political science and sociology. Within four years, Katznelson published his elegantly conceived comparative study of urban race relations in the U.S. and Britain, *Black Men, White Cities: Race, Politics, and Migration in the United States, 1900–1930, and Britain, 1948–1968* ([1973] 1976), which analyzed the foundations of clientelistic integration of Black migrants to cities and underscored the persistence and impact of these political relationships in later limiting the terms of political incorporation for African-American voters and politicians and for their counterparts in England.

By 1979, a decade after submitting his Ph.D. at Cambridge, Katznelson was a full professor and chair in the department of political science at the University of Chicago, had been elected to the APSA Council, had joined the editorial advisory board of *Political Science Quarterly* (on which he still serves), and had received research support from the National Science Foundation, the German Marshall Fund, and the National Institute of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Also, he published his second book, *City Trenches: Urban Politics and the Patterning of Class in the United States* ([1981] 1983), a richly historical comparison of New York and Chicago showing how ethnic and racial antagonisms came to cut across and suppress class mobilization in Northern American cities with large numbers of blue-collar voters. Katznelson had rapidly traced, in other words, what ordinarily counts as a full, successful career. Yet many more notable achievements lay in the future.

Moving to the New School for Social Research in 1983, Katznelson accepted

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the Loeb Professorship of Political and Social Science on the Graduate Faculty and began a term as dean of the Graduate Faculty. During this time he co-edited *Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and North America* with Aristide Zolberg, who also went to the New School from Chicago. The volume comprised articles by Amy Bridges and Martin Shefter, among others, to provide path-breaking accounts of the linkages between worker mobilization and party-system evolution in the U.S. over the 19th century, prior to the establishment of the alliance between the Democratic party and the AF of L and the CIO.

Katznelson did much to establish the New School political science department as a center for work in American political development, gathering in the process several scholars who would soon help to energize the subfield and training a new generation of graduate students in APD. Two new monographs appeared. *Schooling for All: Class, Race, and the Decline of the Democratic Ideal* ([1985] 1988), co-authored with Margaret Weir, explored why and how public educational systems moved from being locations for productive reformist cooperation across class lines to becoming battlegrounds of racial and ethnic strife—and what the unrealized alternatives to that outcome were and are. *Marxism and the City* (1992) critically surveyed the influence of Marxist thought on urban sociology from Engels to the present.

During his New School appointment, Katznelson received research support from the Ford Foundation. He also joined the editorial boards of *International Labor and Working Class History* and the *Journal of Policy History.* With Theda Skocpol and Martin Shefter, he founded "Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives," a highly regarded series from Princeton University Press.

With Pierre Birnbaum, Katznelson produced a co-edited volume on profoundly important processes (too little studied by political scientists) in the evolution of European and trans-Atlantic liberalism: Jewish emancipation from the strictures and exclusions that dated to the Middle Ages—and the ensuing patterns of assimilation that have been so perilous for Jews and Judaism. The result, *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship* (1995), analyzes polities ranging from those of Turkey to Russia to the United States, among others, and traces the comparative developmental variation and influence of Jewish-Gentile relations in the wake of the Enlightenment, Romanticism, and the counter-Enlightenment.

Ira Katznelson's appointment at Columbia University as Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History began in 1994. In the intervening decade, Katznelson's exceptional productivity has surged, as has his involvement in professional service (the presidency of the Social Science History Association in 1997–1998, co-program chair of the 2000 APSA meeting, service on the international advisory board of the Institute for Human Sciences of Vienna and Boston from 1997–present, and a term (2003–2004) as acting vice president for the Arts and Sciences and dean of the faculty at Columbia University).

In the past decade, Katznelson has thought about the political choices that emerged from the unanticipated opportunity for progress and human freedom that came with the Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe. Reflecting on the opposite extreme, he has also closely investigated how political scientists have responded to shocking political and social events and crises, such as the rise of totalitarianism, world war, and the Holocaust. The results have been *Liberalism's Crooked Circle: Letters to Adam Michnik* (1996) and *Desolation and Enlightenment* (2003).

A third book, *When Affirmative Action Was White* (2005), is meant to shake up the premises of public discourse about public policy for improving race relations in the U.S. public debate about policies to remedy Black disadvantage recognizes that Black disadvantage was imposed through, for instance, job discrimination and bias in public educational expenditure. But the discussion rarely recognizes the public investment in White advantage ratcheted up over several decades of activist government from the 1930s into the 1960s—in, for instance, collective bargaining and old-age income security.

Katznelson has also published several major co-edited volumes since his move back to Columbia. *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development* (2002), co-edited with Martin Shefter, collects methodologically eclectic papers that are unified by the conviction that it is long past due for Americanists to integrate "second image reversed" factors into their accounts of American politics. Since the book's publication, the Chinese central bank's dollar-peg/U.S. debt purchase strategy for Chinese export growth has collaterally facilitated both the GOP drive toward fiscal imbalance and war without direct taxation—a confluence that highlights the book's acute relevance. In addition, Katznelson and colleague Helen Milner guided the centennial edition of *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (2002), a volume which grew out of the authors' collaboration in arranging the program of the 2000 APSA Annual Meeting.

The most recent turn in Katznelson's abundant output is an ambitious, promising initiative to substantively conjoin rational choice and historical institutionalism. Many political scientists have long recognized that the two areas of inquiry—often seen as rival sensibilities—actually overlap conceptually in ways that await full elaboration. Working with Barry Weingast, Katznelson has developed a co-edited volume, *Preferences and Situations: Points of Intersection Between Historical and Rational Choice Institutionalism* (2005), that lays the cornerstone for this promising project.

Working with John Lapinski and Roze Razaghian, and funded by the National Science Foundation, Katznelson is also developing major empirical support for a new coding of congressional roll-call data. Katznelson, Lapinski, and Razaghian (KLR) have developed a substantive congressional roll-call coding approach that corrects for an inadvertent bias in NOMINATE's underlying coding toward so-called low dimensionality and are developing what will be a public-use data set of all votes from the 1st through the 100th Congress. This KLR database will thus offer a widely useful taxonomy of the content and impact of congressional lawmaking over American history that can be used in tandem with the spatial maps of periods and roll calls provided by NOMINATE (and its desktop tools, Voteview and Animate). The roles of political parties and cross-party coalitions in making landmark statutes, and in driving or containing policy innovative periods (e.g., the New Deal), will therefore be searchable with great accuracy—and move the study of statutory change well past the case study, "Congress-makes-a-law" approach. The prospects for revamping the historical and contemporary study of American politics are considerable, to say the least.[1]

Conclusion

Katznelson has greatly advanced our knowledge of American politics, in large part through adoption of the kind of comparative-historical stance that Hartz pioneered. Hartz's still startling insights into Lockean liberalism in the U.S.—the idea that it was and is unchallenged in our domestic war of ideas, and for that reason it was and is a one-eyed variant—have, in turn, positive corollaries. These inferences illuminate the cumulative dimension of

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Katznelson's work.

Hartz's insights imply that close analysis of U.S. institutions and policies will show that they instantiate liberal ideals in perplexingly incomplete ways. Research on political debate will also show that real exclusions rooted in economy and society will inevitably be recognized as temporary aberrations—paradoxically permitting their great persistence. In his work on race relations and American exceptionalism, Katznelson has provided provocative findings that can be seen, in retrospect, to validate these salient and observable implications of Hartzian theory.

Katznelson's analysis of the social control arrangements that White-controlled urban parties enacted in Northern cities to channel the earliest immigration of African Americans shows that these devices determined the delay in and incompleteness of minority political incorporation which persist to this day. Class-based alliances between Blacks and Whites were (and are) a live possibility—but largely to the extent that White workers experienced class. Yet the spatial arrangement of urban industrial life meant workplace experience of class and off-work experience of ethnicity and particularism. Public schools have come to reflect that bifurcation of lived social experience; suburbanization has reinforced it. Economic solidarity has therefore never been a particularly strong counterweight to the legacies of early minority political incorporation. And, as Katznelson has shown in his analytical reconstruction of the New Deal and its internally "red-lined" panoply of policies, the federal "welfare state" profile has tended to reinforce urban and local racial and ethnic orders. Black migration and the emergence of an American social democracy have not sufficed, in other words, to undo racial exclusions—a view that shows how deep a shadow the 19th century has cast on the 20th. Yet the discourse of temporary aberration, rooted in the conceptual repertoire that Hartz dissected, guided and continues to guide policy discussion—and continues to trigger cycles of hope and disappointment in public initiative.

In addition to structural-historical analysis of actual political liberalism in the U.S., Katznelson has laid new foundations for fruitful exchange between rational choice and historical institutionalism. Such attention to the promising opportunities built into the recent evolution of the American politics subfield has resulted in the mentoring of gifted young scholars—and in a major new dataset. With it, other scholars will be able to replicate or revise the substantive findings about American politics and the liberal polity in the U.S. which Katznelson and other Americanists have generated—and to develop new understandings of policy and its impact over time on political coalitions and political liberalism.

Katznelson's career has, in summary, been one of vast output and self-renewing intellectual energy carried out in New York, Chicago, and, again, New York. The return to Columbia has inaugurated the most assured and productive period in Katznelson's journey within political science—a shift that also brings him to the presidency of the American Political Science Association.

Note

1. For an early statement, see Ira Katznelson, John Lapinski, and Rose Razaghian, "Policy Space and Voting Coalitions in Congress: The Bearing of Policy on Politics, 1930–1954," ISERP Working Paper 01-02, Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, Columbia University; www.iserp.columbia.edu/research/working_papers/papers/.

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Executive Director's Report, 2005

Michael Brintnall, *APSA*

The APSA Executive Director's Report has represented the Association's Annual Report for some years. This year we are approaching the reporting in a somewhat different way. By the end of this fall we will issue a stand alone Annual Report to the membership describing APSA programs and activities for the year. The key data series characterizing the Association traditionally included in the report are included in this issue of *PS* in the Gazette section, starting on page 859. These data include membership, organized section, meeting attendance, and financial summaries. I will report in the new Annual Report on key issues facing the Association, the discipline, and the broader community in which we serve instead of in an executive director's report in *PS.*

As you will see in the forthcoming Annual Report, and can detect in the data reported here in *PS,* the Association is very healthy in all major areas of its activity. Membership is stable and continuing to gain, the pre-registration attendance numbers for the 2005 Annual Meeting already exceed the total attendance of the last two meetings, our budget is balanced, and our assets continue to move upward in a difficult investment climate. The Teaching and Learning Conference is entering its third year—it was fully attended with 240 participants last spring and we'll grow it in spring 2006. The Centennial Center invites your residence if your scholarship brings you to Washington.

If you are a regular reader of APSA's eNewsletters you have a recurring look at APSA programs and priorities. As you know, the agenda is a full and forward looking one. We are eager to hear from members and welcome your comments, suggestions, and, especially, service on committees and in organized sections. We look forward to reporting to you in detail on Association work in the forthcoming Annual Report.

News and Notes

Call for Women and Politics Contributors

Joyce Gelb, City University of New York, and Marian Lief Palley, University of Delaware, are editing a two volume work entitled Women of the World. The two volumes, to be published by ABC-CLIO, will be out in 2008. One volume will focus exclusively on women in different nations and the other volume will focus on issues that cross national boundaries. They are looking for contributors for these volumes. For more information about this project, please contact Marian Lief Palley at mpalley@udel.edu.

Applications for Visiting Scholars

The Center for the Study of Law and Society, at the University of California, Berkeley, invites applicants for visiting scholars for 2006–2007. Deadline for applications is November 15, 2005. For more information about the Center and the application requirements, visit their web site at www.law.berkeley.edu/institutes/csls/.

Call for Manuscripts

The National Political Science Review is seeking to expand its contributor base and is inviting manuscripts on a full range of contemporary issues of politics and policy. While the journal will maintain its particular emphasis on politics and policy that advantage or disadvantage groups on reason of race, ethnicity, and gender, they are interested in including articles on American government, domestic and urban politics and policy, U.S. foreign policy, religion and politics, civil society, and popular culture. For more information and guidelines, please contact the editor at georgia.persons@pubpolicy.gatech.edu.

PS Political Science & Politics

January 2006

Here's a preview of some of the articles that will be published in the January issue of *PS: Political Science and Politics*:

Symposia

EU Constitution Aftermath

Inequality and American Democracy: Task Force Report and Critiques

Features

Drawing the Line on District Competition
Michael P. McDonald

Rethinking Redistricting: How Drawing Districts Packed with Partisans Improves Representation and Attitudes toward Congress
Thomas L. Brunell

Don't Blame Redistricting for Uncompetitive Elections
Alan Abramowitz

Long Lines, Voting Machine Availability, and Turnout: The Case of Franklin County, Ohio, in the 2004 Presidential Election
Benjamin Highton

The Profession

Asian Americans and Political Participation: Elections and Participation
Jane Junn

Beyond the Audience of One: Producing a Student Journal of Politics
Sharon Barrios

The Teacher

Real-Time Polling Technology in a Public Opinion Course
Cindy D. Kam and Barbara Sommer

Publish, Publish
Gary King

Doing a Literature Review
Jeffrey W. Knopf

The Meyerhoff Incident: Simulating Bioterrorism in a National Security Class
Volker Franke

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Washington Insider

Academic Bill of Rights

Several state legislatures and the U.S. Congress are considering (or have passed) bills and resolutions that intrude deeply into the educational responsibilities of faculty and administrators on college campuses, and challenge the independence of the higher education sector. Examples include increased political influences in the sciences, governmental oversight of international studies centers, and the "Academic Bill of Rights" that would proscribe and prescribe activities in classrooms and on college campuses. The Academic Bill of Rights, introduced so far in Georgia, Colorado, California, Ohio, Indiana, and the U.S. Congress, would involve the state and/or federal government in oversight of curricula and teaching, and faculty hiring and promotion in both public and private institutions of higher education.

House Subcommittee Approves Bill to Extend Higher Education Act

A key subcommittee in the U.S. House of Representatives approved legislation to extend the Higher Education Act another six years. Provisions include: raising the maximum amount a student can receive in Pell Grants, as well as extending the period of time a student can receive Pell Grants, reduce fees students pay to receive loans, and raise the amount first and second year students can borrow from the federal government. The bill is expected to move to the floor of the house in the next few weeks. The Senate has not yet scheduled its debate on their version of the legislation.

Justice O'Connor Retirement May Effect Higher Education

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor was widely viewed as a voice of moderation on the Supreme Court. Her retirement has left many experts on higher-education law uncertain what direction the court will take on cases important to colleges. Justice O'Connor has been the key swing vote in rulings dealing with affirmative action, gender equality and many other issues important to academia. The court has already agreed to hear several cases that would greatly affect the world of higher- education as many await her judicial replacement.

Student-Records Database Proposed

The U.S. Department of Education is considering the creation of a national database to track the educational progress of every college student. Some feel that the creation of such a database would make colleges more accountable for the performance of their students. Others feel that a federal database would result in a loss of privacy and possibly discourage student enrollment.

Sources for this column include the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History's NCC Washington Update, *the* Chronicle of Higher Education, *and the Consortium of Social Science Associations'* Washington Update.

A LOOK AHEAD

Perspectives on Politics

Here's an early look at some of the articles you'll see in the December *Perspectives on Politics*:

Editor's Note
JENNIFER L. HOCHSCHILD

Articles
On Leadership
NANNERL KEOHANE

Humanitarianism Transformed
MICHAEL BARNETT

Commentary
Humanitarianism as Political Fusion
JANICE STEIN

Consenting Adults? Amish "Rumspringa" and the Quandary of Exit in Liberalism
STEVEN V. MAZIE

Democracy in Europe: The Impact of European Integration
VIVIEN SCHMIDT

New Destinations and Immigrant Incorporation
HELEN MARROW

Lincoln's Precedent: Executive Power and the Survival of Constitutionalism
BENJAMIN KLEINERMAN

Leadership by Definition: George W. Bush and the Politics of Orthodox Innovation
STEPHEN SKOWRONEK

Review Essays
Globalization, Development, and the Role of International Institutions
HELEN MILNER

The Qualitative Foundations of Political Science: Moving beyond KKV
GEORGE THOMAS

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The Frontrunners—2008

Costas Panagopoulos, *Yale University*

The final chapter on the 2004 presidential election may not yet be written, but it is not too soon to look ahead to the 2008 contest. Public pollsters have been assessing opinions about the 2008 campaign for months already. Given the importance of frontrunner status in an increasingly frontloaded presidential primary system (Mayer 2004), the 2008 race has already begun for many prospective candidates, parties, and voters. In this article I analyze early public opinion polling data available from the Roper Center's IPOLL database about the 2008 race to determine the frontrunning candidates (at least through June 2005) and to reflect on the preliminary dynamics of the next presidential race.

The Democrats

Data presented in Table 1 show that New York Senator Hillary Clinton is far and away the leading Democrat in the field. A Fox News/Opinion Dynamics survey conducted in June 2005 shows that most Democratic partisans (44%) prefer Clinton over any other Democratic contender. Clinton is consistently the most popular Democratic option in each of the other polls. Moreover, her support amongst Democrats appears have increased between September 2004 and June 2005: an early Ipsos poll conducted in September 2004 shows Clinton with 33% of the Democratic primary vote, which increased to 39% support in a Marist poll from February 2005, to 40% in a Gallup survey fielded in February 2005, and to 40% in an April 2005 Marist survey. Massachusetts Senator and 2004 Democratic Nominee John Kerry places second in all five polls, but he trails Clinton substantially. The gap between the two Democrats is widening: Clinton leads Kerry by 27 points in the most recent Fox News/Opinion Dynamics survey, 22 percentage points in the April 2005 Marist poll, 18 points in the February 2005 Marist survey, 15 points in the Gallup poll, and by 14 points in the Ipsos survey. Former North Carolina Senator and 2004 Vice Presidential Nominee John Edwards fares well in all five polls, although he trails both Clinton and Kerry. Edwards's support also appears to be diminishing, dropping from a high of 17% in February 2005 (Gallup) to a low of 13% in the June 2005 Fox News/Opinion Dynamics survey.

Senator Clinton's appeal extends beyond Democratic partisans. Most registered voters (49%) indicated, for the first time, in the April 2005 Marist poll, that they would like to see the senator run for president in 2008, up from 46% in a February 2005 Marist survey in which 49% indicated that they did not want to see her run. Clinton's momentum appears to be mounting as support for a Clinton run amongst registered voters nationally has climbed from the 38% recorded in a December 2004 Marist poll. (Survey details available upon request.)

The Republicans

Amongst Republicans, former New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani consistently emerges as the most popular contender. Data presented in Table 2 reveal that nearly one in three Republicans prefer Giuliani in the two most recent polls (29% in the June 2005 Fox News/Opinion Dynamics poll and 27% in the April 2005 Marist poll). Gallup finds that more than one in three (34%) Republicans prefer the former mayor in the February 2005 survey. Twenty-five percent designate Giuliani as their top choice in the Marist poll conducted in February 2005, and 29% prefer Giuliani in the September 2004 Ipsos poll. Arizona Senator John McCain trails Giuliani closely in all three surveys, garnering 26% of Republican support in the most recent survey (June 2005), up from a low of 20% in the April 2005 Marist poll. McCain captures 29% of Republican support in the CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup poll (February 2005), 21% in the Marist poll also conducted in February 2005, and 25% in the September 2004 Ipsos poll. Respondents were only surveyed on their preferences for Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in the February 2005 Marist poll, where 14% of Republicans expressed support for her. Florida Governor Jeb Bush also emerges as a contender, capturing 10% support in the April 2005 Marist poll, 7% in the Marist (February 2005) and Ipsos (September 2004) polls, and 12% support in the CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup poll (February 2005). Another possible Republican candidate, former speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Newt Gingrich, fares well amongst fellow partisans: Nearly one in 10 (9%) Republicans indicate they would support Gingrich in the Republican primary in the June 2005 Fox News/Opinion Dynamics poll, essentially doubling his support from the February 2005 Marist poll in which 5% of Republican respondents noted Gingrich as their top choice.

The data indicate there is far greater—and growing—uncertainty amongst Republicans than amongst Democrats about the 2008 nomination. Whereas the proportion of undecided Democrats ranges from 6% (CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup , February 2005) to 13% (Fox News/Opinion Dynamics, June 2005), the proportion of undecided Republicans ranges from 7% (CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup , February 2005) to 24% (Marist, April 2005).

Furthermore, support for a Giuliani candidacy amongst all registered voters appears to have wavered between late-2004 and mid-2005. Whereas 50% of respondents expressed support for a Giuliani run in a September 2004 poll conducted by PSRA/Newsweek, a poll conducted by Quinnipiac shows that support dropped substantially to 39% in January 2005. Marist finds, in December 2004, that only 32% of registered voters wanted to see Giuliani run (compared to 42% who indicated they would prefer he not run in the same survey), even as the April 2005 Marist poll finds support for a run at 49% of registered voters (compared to 43% who would not like to see him run for president in 2008). (Survey details available upon request.)

Democrats vs. Republicans: Pairwise Matches

A series of surveys conducted by various organizations (data not displayed is available upon request) probes regis-

Costas Panagopoulos *is a postdoctoral fellow at the Institution for Social and Policy Studies at Yale University. He served previously as an APSA Congressional Fellow (2004–2005).*

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Table 1
If the 2008 Democratic presidential primary were held today, whom would you support if the candidates are [see below]?

	Fox/OD 6/05*	Marist 4/05	Marist 2/05	CNN/USA/Gallup 2/05**	Ipsos 12/04***
Clinton	44	40	39	40	33
Kerry	17	18	21	25	9
Edwards	13	16	15	17	15
Biden	6	7	5	/	/
Clark	2	4	4	/	11
Feingold	/	2	2	/	1
Richardson	/	1	2	/	3
Bayh	1	-	1	/	2
Warner	1	-	1	/	-
Vilsack	/	-	-	/	1
Undecided	13	12	10	/	9
Don't vote in primaries	1	/	/	/	3
Other	2	/	/	6	/
Any	/	/	/	2	/
None	/	/	/	4	/
No Opinion	/	/	/	6	/
N	900	376	1,009	1,010	1,002
Sample	Democrats	Dem (inc. lean)	Democrats	Dem (inc. lean)	Democrats

* If the 2008 Democratic presidential primary were held today, for whom would you vote if the candidates are [see below]?

** Next, I'm going to read a list of people who may be running in the Democratic primary for president in the next election. After I read all the names, please tell me which of those candidates you would be most likely to support for the Democratic nomination for president in the year 2008—New York Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, former North Carolina Senator John Edwards, Massachusetts Senator John Kerry—or would you support someone else?

*** I know it is early, but if the (2008) Democratic primary for president were held today, which of the following would you support for the Democratic nomination for president? Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, Senator John Kerry, Senator John Edwards, Retired General Wesley Clark, Governor Bill Richardson, Senator Evan Bayh, Senator Russ Feingold, Governor Tom Vilsak, or Governor Mark Warner?

NOTE: - indicates less than 0.5%; / indicates option not included in survey.

tered voters' preferences in hypothetical match-ups between various candidates. A series of six separate polls conducted by various survey organizations between November 2004 and April 2005 presented pairwise matches to respondents between the two leading contenders, Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton and Republican Rudolph Giuliani. The results suggest that a Clinton-Giuliani race would be close (Table 3). Most polls indicate the match is a statistical dead-heat, even though Clinton trails Giuliani by at least 1 point in all five polls. More telling perhaps are the dynamics of preferences indicated by the data: Clinton's support amongst registered voters appears to be mounting, up from 38% in November 2004 to 46% in April 2005 (Clinton registered a high of 47% support in the February 2005 Marist poll), while Giuliani's support appears to be unsteady, dropping from 49% in September 2004 to 44% in March 2005, then growing to 47% in the most recent survey. Despite widespread speculation about the high-profile match-up between the two New Yorkers, substantial numbers of voters claim to be undecided about a Clinton-Giuliani contest, ranging from 4% of respondents (Marist, February 2005) to 13% (Fox News/OD, November 2004). The two most recent surveys, conducted in April 2005 by Marist and Quinnipiac in March 2005 show 7% and 10%, respectively, are undecided between the two prospective contenders.

Senator Clinton trails her Republican colleague John McCain consistently in four polls conducted between November 2004 and April 2005. In most cases, Clinton falls behind McCain by a wider margin than she does Giuliani, suggesting that McCain may be a stronger Republican contender against Senator Clinton than the former New York City mayor. The survey results presented in Table 4 indicate, however, that a Clinton-McCain contest seems to be drawing increasingly closer. Clinton trailed McCain by 16 points in a hypothetical match-up conducted by Fox News/Opinion Dynamics in November 2004. By March 2005 (Quinnipiac), Clinton had closed the gap significantly, trailing McCain by only 2 points in what amounts to a statistical tie between the two. Even as the gap appears to have widened to 8 points in the most recent April 2005 Marist survey, Clinton's disadvantage in a contest against McCain seems to have diminished by at least half.

Survey results also suggest that Clinton would defeat Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. In a poll conducted by Marist in February 2005, a majority of registered voters (51%) indicate that they would support Clinton if Rice became the Republican nominee. Clinton would also fare well against Republican Senator Bill Frist, winning 40% support in a December 2004 poll conducted by Fox News/Opinion Dynamics, compared to Frist's 33%. Over one in four (27%) respondents are undecided in this survey however, compared to only 6% undecided in a Clinton-Rice race. Results from a Fox News/Opinion Dynamics December 2004 poll show that Clinton also beats New York Governor George Pataki (by 6 percentage points) in

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Table 2
If the 2008 Republican presidential primary were held today, whom would you support if the candidates are [see below]?

	Fox/OD 6/05*	Marist 4/05	Marist 2/05	CNN/USA/Gallup 2/05**	Ipsos***
Giuliani	29	27	25	34	29
McCain	26	20	21	29	25
Rice	/	/	14	/	/
Bush	/	10	7	12	7
Gingrich	9	8	5	/	/
Frist	3	3	3	6	7
Owens	/	-	2	/	1
Romney	2	1	1	/	1
Santorum	/	3	1	/	3
Pataki	/	2	1	/	3
Hagel	/	1	-	/	1
Allen	3	-	-	/	2
Barbour	/	1	/	/	/
Brownback	/	-	/	/	/
Undecided	23	24	20	/	17
Other	2	/	/	7	2
All/Any	/	/	/	1	/
None	/	/	/	4	/
No Opinion	/	/	/	7	/
Don't Vote in Primaries	3	/	/	/	2
N	900	352	1,009	1,010	1,002
Sample	Rep.	Rep (inc. lean)	Rep.	Rep (inc. lean)	Rep (or Primary Voters)

* If the 2008 Republican presidential primary were held today, for whom would you vote if the candidates are [see below]?

** Next, I'm going to read a list of people who may be running in the Republican primary for president in the next election. After I read all the names, please tell me which of those candidates you would be most likely to support for the Republican nomination for president in the year 2008—Florida Governor Jeb Bush, Tennessee Senator Bill Frist, former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, or Arizona Senator John McCain—or would you support someone else?

***I know it is early, but if the (2008) Republican primary for president were held today, which of the following would you support for the Republican nomination for president? Former Mayor Rudy Giuliani, Senator John McCain, Senator Bill Frist, Governor Jeb Bush, Senator Rick Santorum, Governor George Pataki, Senator George Allen, Governor Mitt Romney, Governor Bill Owens, or Senator Chuck Hagel?

NOTE: - indicates less than 0.5%; / indicates option not included in survey.

a pairwise match-up, with 24% undecided. Data from the same survey reveal that Clinton would fare best in a race against Republican Governor of Florida Jeb Bush. Clinton beats Bush by 11 percentage points in a hypothetical pairing, with 19% undecided.

Marist surveys show that a race between Republican frontrunner Rudy Giuliani and 2004 Democratic Nominee John Kerry is tightening. Giuliani leads Kerry by only 2 points (48 to 46%, respectively) in the April 2005 poll, down from a 6 point advantage (50 to 44%, respectively) in the February 2005 survey. Six percent of respondents were undecided in each survey.

Results from the same two Marist surveys are less clear with respect to a match-up between Giuliani and 2004 Vice Presidential Nominee John Edwards, and suggest that Edwards is picking up steam against a Giuliani candidacy. The results of the April 2005 poll show Edwards would defeat Giuliani by 3 points (48 to 45%, respectively), even as the February 2005 survey indicated that 49% express support for Giuliani (compared to 43% for Edwards), with 8% undecided. These findings suggest that Edwards would be a stronger Democratic challenger than Kerry against Giuliani.

Survey results from registered voters in two Marist polls suggest that John McCain would also handily defeat John Kerry in a pairwise match-up by at least 10 points. Even as Kerry appears to be narrowing the gap, majorities of registered voters (55 to 37%, respectively, in February 2005 and 51 to 41%, respectively, in April 2005) would support McCain over Kerry, suggesting that McCain would be a stronger Republican nominee against Kerry than Giuliani.

Findings from the same two surveys indicate that McCain's support against Edwards is on the decline. In the February 2005 Marist poll, a majority of registered voters (51 to 39%, respectively) claimed that they would support McCain against Edwards. By April 2005, McCain support had dropped to 46%, and Edwards was favored by 43% of respondents. The data suggest McCain would be a stronger Republican contender than Giuliani against Edwards.

The news is not all bad for John Kerry. Kerry's strength is growing against both leading Republicans, even as he trails both. And the results of a December 2004 Fox poll show that Kerry would beat Jeb Bush in a race if Bush emerges as the Republican nominee. Forty-five percent of registered voters indicated that they would support Kerry in a contest against Bush, compared to 37% who would sup-

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Table 3
If the 2008 election for president were being held today, and the candidates were Hillary Rodham Clinton, the Democrat, and Rudolph Giuliani, the Republican, for whom would you vote?

	Marist* 4/05	Quinnipiac 3/05	Marist* 2/05	Quinnipiac 1/05	Quinnipiac 12/04	Fox/OD** 11/04
Clinton	46	43	47	43	43	38
Giuliani	47	44	49	45	45	49
Someone Else	/	2	/	2	3	/
Wouldn't Vote	/	1	/	2	2	/
Don't Know/No Answer	7	10	4	7	6	13
N	838	1,534	1,009	2,100	1,529	900
Sample	Reg	Reg	Reg	Reg	Reg	Reg

* If the 2008 president election were being held today, whom would you support if the candidates are [see below]?

**Thinking ahead to the next presidential election, if the 2008 presidential election were held today and the candidates were . . . Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Rudy Giuliani, for whom would you vote?

NOTE: - indicates less than 0.5%; / indicates option not included in survey.

port Bush (18% undecided). The battle for Democratic support for the party's nomination appears more problematic for Kerry: he trails far behind Clinton in this measure, with an increasingly viable (with respect to Republican match-ups) Edwards on Kerry's heels.

Conclusions

If nothing more, experience has taught analysts to be cautious about electoral prognostications. Drawing conclusions from survey results, especially this early in the process, is a dangerous enterprise. Lessons from prior presidential elections should cause us pause. In a recent study, Berggren (2005) demonstrates that while Republicans typically nominate early favorites, the eventual Democratic nominee is rarely an early frontrunner. In fact, Berggren shows that since 1972, only two of the eight eventual Democratic nominees who competed in contested races led in Gallup polls one year before the Iowa and New Hampshire primaries (Mondale in 1984 and Gore in 2000). Carter trailed in every poll taken in 1979 until December, a month before the Iowa primary, and Clinton did not emerge as the 1992 frontrunner until the very last poll taken before the Iowa primary Republicans, on the other hand, nominate early frontrunners "with 100% accuracy" (29). If post-1968 patterns hold, the eventual Republican nominee will surely lead in the first Gallup poll taken one year from the Iowa caucuses and will most likely have an established national reputation, have served in a high-profile capacity, or have finished second in a prior nomination contest. He (or she) will be the frontrunner throughout the invisible primary, probably raise the most money by year's end, win either Iowa or New Hampshire, and win the first Southern primary (30). Democrats, however, are more likely to nominate an unknown newcomer from a medium-to-small state with single-digit support in early polls, unless, Berggren (31) speculates, Democrats manage to find "a nationally known candidate with experience in a previous Democratic administration, like a former vice president (or a first lady)." This analysis seems to indicate that Democrats are well on their way in identifying such a possible contender. Nevertheless, the volatility and uncertainty that have tended to characterize the Democratic nomination process suggest that a Hillary Clinton nomination is far from a *fait-accomplis*.

There is also the consideration of Burden's (2002) pessimistic expectations about the fate of senators—especially sitting senators—on the presidential campaign trail (they tend to lose) that may influence both parties' choices in 2008. Of course, this would be mitigated by a contest that featured two sitting U.S. Senators as nominees.

Though it may seem premature to reflect on the dynamics of a 2008 campaign, the results of early presidential preference polls help inform the strategies and decisions of voters, contributors, parties, prospective candidates, and interest groups and influence the dynamics of what

Table 4
If the 2008 election for president were being held today, and the candidates were Hillary Rodham Clinton, the Democrat, and John McCain, the Republican, for whom would you vote?

	Marist 4/05*	Quinnipiac 3/05	Marist 2/05*	Fox/OD 11/04**
Clinton	42	41	42	37
McCain	50	43	54	53
Someone Else	/	2	/	/
Wouldn't Vote	/	1	/	/
Don't Know/No Answer	8	13	4	10
N	838	1,534	1,009	900
Sample	Reg	Reg	Reg	Reg

* If the 2008 president election were being held today, whom would you support if the candidates are [see below]?

**Thinking ahead to the next presidential election, if the 2008 presidential election were held today and the candidates were . . . Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Rudy Giuliani, for whom would you vote?

NOTE: - indicates less than 0.5%; / indicates option not included in survey.

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ultimately becomes the 2008 presidential campaign. This analysis suggests that pollsters and voters are already engaged in thinking about the 2008 presidential race. It is not too early to begin to monitor, track, and assess developments in the evolution of public opinion about the 2008 election.

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AAUP Issues Statement on Academic Boycott

Release date: May 3, 2005

Delegates to a recent meeting of the British Association of University Teachers (AUT) approved resolutions that damage academic freedom. The resolutions call on all members of AUT to "refrain from participation in any form of academic and cultural cooperation, collaboration, or joint projects" with two universities in Israel, Haifa University and Bar Ilan University. Excluded from the ban are "conscientious Israeli academics and intellectuals opposed to their state's colonial and racist policies," an exclusion which, because it requires compliance with a political or ideological test in order for an academic relationship to continue, deepens the injury to academic freedom rather than mitigates it.

These resolutions have been met with strong condemnation and calls for repeal within the United Kingdom and elsewhere. The American Association of University Professors joins in condemning these resolutions and in calling for their repeal. Since its founding in 1915, the AAUP has been committed to preserving and advancing the free exchange of ideas among academics irrespective of governmental policies and however unpalatable those policies may be viewed. We reject proposals that curtail the freedom of teachers and researchers to engage in work with academic colleagues, and we reaffirm the paramount importance of the freest possible international movement of scholars and ideas. The AAUP urges the AUT to support the right of all in the academic community to communicate freely with other academics on matters of professional interest.

APSA Responds

May 13, 2005

Ms. Sally Hunt,
General Secretary
Association of University Teachers
Egmont House
25-31 Tavistock Place
London
WC1H 9UT

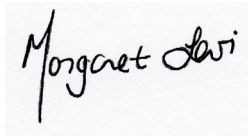
Dear Ms. Hunt:

On behalf of the Council and the Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights, and Freedoms of the American Political Science Association, I am writing to convey the following statement, issued in conjunction with the position expressed by the American Association of University Professors, with respect to the academic boycott recently adopted by the AUT.

"The American Political Science Association, through action by its Council and its Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights, and Freedoms, supports the views expressed in the May 3, 2005 statement by the AAUP against academic boycotts. We join in condemning the resolutions of the AUT that damage academic freedom and we call for their repeal."

We hope that these matters can be resolved quickly and in a manner that affirms our common interest in higher education and academic freedom.

Sincerely,



Margaret Levi
President

cc: American Association of University Professors
American Political Science Association membership

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APSA NOMINATIONS 2006

NOMINATIONS SOUGHT for APSA OFFICERS and COUNCIL

The APSA Nominating Committee welcomes your suggestions for candidates for 2006 Council seats and offices. This year, eight Council seats, three vice presidencies, and the offices of president-elect and secretary are open. Council members serve staggered two-year terms. The president-elect, vice presidents, and secretary all serve one-year terms.

The Nominating Committee encourages all members of the Association to suggest names for consideration. Those wishing to do so should explain why they believe the person's accomplishments, background, and views would make them a good choice for a leadership position in the Association. The Nominating Committee hopes to nominate a slate of accomplished scholars and practitioners who reflect the diverse membership of the Association. To help the Committee achieve this goal, they rely on the membership to forward suggestions and recommendations of candidates representing a broad spectrum of backgrounds, institutional settings, intellectual interests, professional experiences, and geographical regions.

Please return your list of nominees to APSA (by mail or email to nominations@apsanet.org or by visiting the web site at www.apsanet.org/section_230.cfm) by **January 13, 2006.**

The Nominating Committee will meet in February to begin compiling a slate of candidates. A report will be made no later than April 10, 2006 and during the Business Meeting on Saturday, September 2, as part of the 2006 APSA Annual Meeting to be held in Philadelphia August 31–September 3.

Members of the Nominating Committee:
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Mathew D. McCubbins, University of California, San Diego
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Institution
Email

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APSA Nominations
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CenterPAGE

A Look at the Centennial Center for Political Science & Public Affairs

Center Space Available for Spring 2006!

The Centennial Center for Political Science and Public Affairs is quickly becoming an invaluable resource to political and social scientist. Since its opening in September 2003, the Center has housed more than 45 scholars. The Center, housed in the APSA headquarters near Dupont Circle, provides a great base of operations for scholars researching in the DC metro area. The Center offers Visiting Scholars furnished work space, telephone, fax, computers, Internet access, conference space, a reference library, and access to George Washington University's Gelman Library.

Visiting Scholar stays range from a few days to 12 months. Space is limited to APSA members and is available for faculty members, post-doctoral fellows, and advanced graduate students from the U.S. and abroad. Scholars are expected to cover their own expenses and a modest facilities fee for the use of the Center.

Prospective visiting scholars may apply at any time. Positions are awarded on the space-available basis. Full details on the Center and the Visiting Scholars Program, including application form, can be found online at www.apsanet.org/section_224.cfm. You may also contact Cathy Setzer at APSA: 202-483-2512; csetzer@apsanet.org.

Research Funding Available

The APSA sponsors a number of funds to help finance research. Many of these funds can support your stay at the Centennial Center or elsewhere.

The Presidency Research Fund
Provides supplemental support for examination of the presidency.

Special Study for the Study of Women and Politics
Provides supplemental support for the study of women and politics.

Warren E. Miller Fellowship for Electoral Politics
Provides supplemental support for research residencies in national and comparative electoral politics.

Ed Artinian Endowment for Advancing Publishing
Provides supplemental support to assist young scholars in publishing their research.

*In*The**News**

Over the summer, the Centennial Center for Political Science and Public Affairs hosted Yuriy Yuriychuck, a Junior Faculty Development Program Fellow. Yuriy is an associate professor in the history department at Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine.

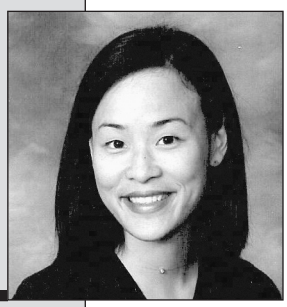
Patrick Roberts, a veteran Centennial Center scholar, has accepted a year-long teaching position at Stanford University before moving into his teaching position at Virginia Tech University.

Martin Sweet, Centennial Center alum, was a co-recipient of the Edward S. Corwin Award for his dissertation, "Supreme Policymaking: Coping with the Supreme Court's Affirmative Action Policies."

*In*Profile

Jennifer Nou

A Ph.D. candidate at Oxford University, Jennifer Nou's research focuses on the role of economic concepts in policy analysis and decision-making. Specifically, her work begins with the observation that the parallel emergence and development of the ideals of democracy and efficiency have given rise to multiple philosophical tensions, few of which have been adequately explored in the literature. As a deliberative conception of democracy arguably provides the best available account of how a polity should arrive at its collective, coercive decisions, Nou argues that it is important to know what kind of reasons the concept of efficiency gives as well as how and if those reasons align with our democratic convictions. Thus, broadly stated, her research seeks to address the question of how efficiency claims should be handled given the concerns and demands of deliberative democracy. This charge requires, among other things, making explicit the normative assumptions at work in the rhetoric and rationales of efficiency as well as developing an account of the processes whereby citizens can deliberate upon the questions to which efficiency insists an answer.



Jennifer Nou

More concretely, these normative concerns give rise to multiple practical research questions: How are public concerns about productive and allocative efficiency operationalized in bureaucratic practices? Who makes decisions about what constitutes a "benefit" and a "cost"? How do civil servants practically interpret efficiency and what sorts of disagreements arise among them? These, and other related questions, require empirical investigation, direct observation, and interaction with those engaged in policy analysis.

As such, part of Nou's project seeks to gather qualitative data through semi-structured interviews of civil servants in both London and Washington, D.C., which will in turn be recorded and transcribed for analysis. Thus, from June to August 2005, she is conducting interviews in Washington, D.C., during her stay at the Centennial Center as a Visiting Scholar. Some of the research resulting from her work there will be presented at APSA's Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C., this September.

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Exploring Competition and Bargaining among Interest Group Lobbyists in Washington

Thomas T. Holyoke, *Centennial Center Visiting Scholar and California State University, Fresno*

In 1997, lobbyists for the Independent Insurance Agents of America, under pressure from then Senate Banking Committee Chair Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), threw in the towel and agreed to negotiate with their long time enemies, the banking and Wall Street investment industries, on new laws structuring the financial industry for the 21st century. Their compromise removed a major legislative barrier to facilitating the emergence of large, one-stop shopping financial corporations. More surprisingly, the Consumer Federation of America and other public interest groups also started bargaining over the shape of the consumer protection laws governing these new institutions. Getting something through bargaining, they believed, was better than letting the financial industry write these laws themselves. Not all consumer groups participated in these negotiations or gave support to the final bill; there were just not enough consumer protection provisions included to please their ideologically motivated members. Nor did every banking and insurance agent organization support the final deal, largely because their members felt threatened by the prospect of an industry dominated by a few financial behemoths. Yet the final interest group coalition that drove the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act of 1999 across President Bill Clinton's desk was truly surprising in its ideological breadth.

We do not know how frequently competition among interest groups resolves into cooperation and coalition building; truly representative data simply do not exist and are not likely to be collected in the near future. What we do know is that the American interest group system has become larger and much more diverse over the last several decades (see Walker 1991). This, in turn, has lead scholars to be reasonably confident that *competition* among groups is growing. Rather than retreat into increasingly narrow issue niches too small and resource poor to support viable groups (see Gray and Lowery 1997), new groups are establishing themselves by attracting members whose policy desires can only be achieved at the expense of others so that the lobbyists for these groups must engage in what appears to be zero-sum struggles to influence policy outcomes. But why then would these competing lobbyists ever engage in bargaining or form coalitions supporting a single compromise position on contentious issues?

Consider that many of the public interest/ideological groups emerging in the 1960s and 1970s have memberships comprised of politically aware and ideologically driven individuals committed to challenging the alleged dominance of older business/professional organizations (see Berry 1999). Faithfully representing member preferences often seems to mean more to the elites running these organizations than pleasing legislators, even though this sometimes means sacrificing opportunities to participate in legislative bargaining. Defeat can still be a victory in the eyes of highly committed members if ideals have not been compromised. Yet even these organizations *do* sometimes engage in compromise, thus allowing competition to resolve into cooperation (see McFarland 1993). For example, in 2000 several groups interested in preserving wilderness and wetland habitats successfully negotiated a deal with sporting goods manufacturers and the oil industry to divert government revenue from offshore drilling to public land preservation. Several ideologically extreme environmental groups protested any deal-making with big oil, but many of the larger organizations, such as the National Wildlife Federation and Defenders of Wildlife, supported the deal.

My research explores interest group competition and attempts to explain why bargaining and compromise among groups representing ideologically diverse, even polarized, constituencies occurs, as well as when it fails to occur between ideologically similar groups. The need for group elites to please members and other financial backers is certainly one powerful constraint on their ability to cross ideological space and bargain. On the other hand, a powerful incentive to compromise may come from coalition-minded legislators who may see cooperation among groups as a proxy for consensus in the electorate (Ainsworth 1997). Bargaining, however, also requires cooperation among interested parties, an expectation of give and take and, as coalition research has found, a willingness to offer incentives such as sharing financial and political resources (Hula 1999). The tactical decisions of lobbyists are therefore partially conditioned on expectations of the choices of their competitors, something I observed in my early research (Holyoke 2003). A model of lobbyist decision making, therefore, is a combination of incentives and constraints from three competing audiences: group members, legislators, and other lobbyists.

I recently conducted extensive personal interviews with 82 lobbyists in Washington, D.C., on six issues in the domains of environmental conservation, agriculture, and banking in an effort to understand how lobbyists decide to cooperate or engage in open conflict with each other as they strive to influence policy. This work has given me a deeper appreciation of the advantages and limits of elite interviewing. It has also pushed me to grapple with formal models of choice and bargaining from cooperative game theory and learn new techniques for estimating statistical models where observed decisions are conditioned on the choices of others. I have come to believe that while groups use issue framing as a tactic, thus making issue definition multi-dimensional, bargaining is often about policy outcomes in uni-dimensional space. The need to satisfy competing audiences provides lobbyists with the flexibility they need to bargain and consider issue position other than those desired by a majority of group members. If lobbyists for competing groups choosing to jointly support a bill is as an indicator of cooperation, then on 14 of the 24 bills addressing my six issues more lobbyists chose to resolve competition by cooperating than by engaging in conflict. Some of my other empirical results are not overly surprising: moderate interest groups tend to cooperate with each other more often than ideological extremists, and outcomes tend to favor groups and lawmakers closer to the legislative median. Other findings are more surprising: liberal public interest groups and business/professional groups are not monolithic blocs, but are often divided internally and form issue coalitions (temporary alliances) with each other. Group members may also have a greater capacity to exert restraint over their lobbyists than one might expect. While my results are not generalizable, they are suggestive. Politics is still making strange bedfellows in the interest group universe, and as this system, and American politics more generally, becomes increasingly pluralistic, competition is only going to increase; but so too will the need to bargain and compromise. Perhaps this will stimulate more bridge building in American politics that not only brings lobbyists together, but also the constituencies and interests around the nation they represent.

Thomas T. Holyoke *is assistant professor of political science at California State University, Fresno. He can be reached at tholyoke@hastings.edu.*

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2006 APSA Awards

Nominations now being accepted!

Nominations for 2006 APSA Dissertation, Book, and Career Awards are now being accepted. Awards will be presented at the 2006 Annual Meeting in Philadelphia.

Dissertation Awards

Departments are invited to submit nominations for dissertation prizes. Eligible dissertations are those completed in the past two academic years. Deadline for submission is January 14, 2006. For committee information visit the APSA web site.

Gabriel A. Almond Award
in the field of comparative politics.

William Anderson Award
in the field of federalism or intergovernmental relations, state or local politics.

Edward S. Corwin Award
in the field of public law.

Harold D. Lasswell Award
in the field of policy studies. (supported by the Policy Studies Organization and Section on Policy Studies)

Helen Dwight Reid Award
in the field of international relations, law and politics. (supported by the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation)

E. E. Schattschneider Award
in the field of American government.

Leo Strauss Award
in the field of political philosophy.

Leonard D. White Award
in the field of public administration. (supported by the University of Chicago)

Book Awards

Books published in 2005 may be nominated by publishers or individuals. The deadline for submission of books to an award committee is February 15, 2006. For committee information visit the APSA web site.

Ralph J. Bunche Award
for the best scholarly work in political science which explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism.

Gladys M. Kammerer Award
for the best political science publication in the field of U.S. national policy.

Victoria Schuck Award
for the best book published on women and politics.

Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award
for the best book published in the United States in the field of government, politics or international affairs.

For more information on award committee members or further details, visit www.apsanet.org or contact awards@apsanet.org.

Career Awards

Individuals are invited to submit, for consideration, nominations for career awards. These awards are decided by three-member committees appointed by the president. Nominations should be submitted to the APSA office by February 1, 2006.

John Gaus Distinguished Award and Lectureship
to honor the recipient's lifetime of exemplary scholarship in the joint tradition of political science and public administration and, more generally, to recognize achievement and encourage scholarship in public administration.

Hubert H. Humphrey Award
in recognition of notable public service by a political scientist.

Carey McWilliams Award
to honor a major journalistic contribution to our understanding of politics.

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reflections on mobilizing democracy

The 101st Annual Meeting

The 101st APSA Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C., celebrated the start of a second century of scholarship and teaching in political science. Program Co-Chairs Susan Stokes of the University of Chicago, Jack Knight of Washington University, St. Louis, and James Johnson of the University of Rochester organized the meeting, working with a 53-person Program Committee named by APSA President Margaret Levi and also drawn from all of APSA's 34 organized sections. The 2005 conference drew 7,469 registered attendees and exhibitors who traveled from near and far to discuss the Meeting's featured topic, Mobilizing Democracy.

On Thursday evening, APSA President Margaret Levi delivered her presidential address, "Why We Need a New Theory of Government." After the address, attendees enjoyed an evening of camaraderie in the Ambassador Ballroom of the Omni Shoreham.

Recognizing excellence in scholarship is one of APSA's most important activities. In Washington, the APSA presented awards for best dissertations, papers and articles, books, and career achievement at its annual Awards Ceremony and Luncheon, sponsored by the Policy Studies Organization. Among those honored, Vincent Ostrom of Indiana University received the John Gaus Award for achievement and exemplary scholarship in political science and public administration and delivered the honorary lecture to APSA attendees on Friday evening. The lecture, entitled "Citizen-Sovereigns: A Challenge for Political Science and Public Administration," will be published in the January issue of *PS*. The triennial James Madison Award was presented to Elinor Ostrom of Indiana University whose honorary lecture was entitled "Converting Threats into Opportunities."

Other highlights included the APSA Reception Honoring Teaching, sponsored by Pi Sigma Alpha and Rowman & Littlefield, which recognized over 100 scholars who have received teaching awards on their own campuses.

Twenty-six Theme Panels addressed all facets of mobilizing democracy, significantly expanding political science discourse on this important topic on theoretical and empirical levels.

The Meeting's Washington locale brought participants to panels focusing on issues of national







From top: Pi Sigma Alpha plenary speaker David Brooks; a Ralph Bunche Summer Institute student displays his poster presentation; CFP Fellows (L to R) Andrew Taylor (1999–2000), Frances Lee (2002–2003), and Eugene D. Schmiel (1984–1985) gather with Director Jeff Biggs at the CFP happy hour.

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APSA 2005

"By the Numbers"

7,469 total attendees (including exhibitors, members of the press, and guests)

736 panel sessions

2,016 papers submitted to PROceedings

475 poster presentations

113 travel grants awarded

22 APSA awards presented

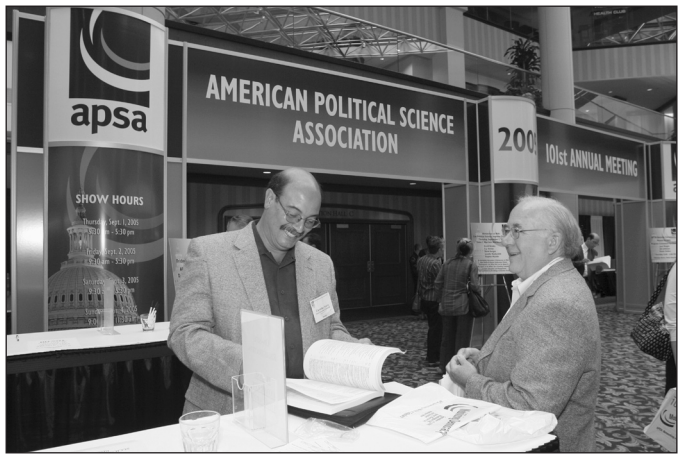
75 Section awards presented

423 exhibitors

and international politics ranging from assessments of the Bush administration and its role in the Iraq War to the struggle for democracy in Russia to the effects of globalization in developed and developing countries.

APSA plenary events offered attendees opportunities to hear from a variety of well-known voices on national and international politics. *New York Times* columnist David Brooks spoke at the Pi Sigma Alpha plenary session on the current U.S. political environment. Brooks had earlier participated on a theme panel led by Stephen J. Macedo with political commentator E. J. Dionne, David Gergen, and Jennifer Hochschild. On U.S. foreign policy, USAID Administrator Andrew S. Natsios discussed democratic opportunity in the Arab and Muslim world and Rashid Khalidi, Edward Said Professor of Arab Studies and Director of the Middle East Institute at Columbia University, held discourse on the challenges the Western world now faces in the Middle East following the Iraq War.







From top: Overhead of members meeting in the lobby of the Marriot Wardman Park, one of the three APSA Annual Meeting hotels; Members catch up in the Annual Meeting registration area; Members are honored at the APSA Reception Honoring Teaching, sponsored by Pi Sigma Alpha and Rowman & Littlefield.

APSA will gather for its 102nd Annual Meeting in Philadelphia next year. For more information on the 2006 APSA Annual Meeting see page 833 of this issue of *PS*, check www.apsanet.org, and look for more details in *PS* throughout the year ahead.

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Recognizing Outstanding Contributions to the Profession: The 2005 Frank J. Goodnow Awards

For more than three decades **Paul Allen Beck** has dedicated his time and knowledge to the study of American politics and the intersection of mass media and public opinion. As a leader in the field of parties and voting behavior, he has provided the basis for a future generation of scholars. He has contributed his knowledge to several institutions, and has been honored for his exceptional teaching and service with major awards from Ohio State University and Florida State University.

His edited volume, *Party Politics in America* with Marjorie Hershey, and earlier with Frank Sorauf, is now in its 10th edition and remains a definitive book on American party politics. His contributions to the field include more than two dozen journal articles and book chapters, and as many more conference papers. He has served on the editorial boards of the *American Journal of Political Science,* the *American Political Science Review*, and numerous others.



APSA President Margaret Levi presents a 2005 Frank J. Goodnow Award to Paul Allen Beck.

He has continued to dedicate his experience to associations of the discipline, serving the APSA in nearly a dozen capacities including chair of the 1994 Annual Meeting and chair of the Association's Strategic Planning Committee which helped guide the Association as it moved into the new century. He has also served in leadership positions for the Organized Section on Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior and as program chair for the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

For over 20 years **Jennifer Hochschild** has dedicated her time and knowledge to the intersection of American politics and political philosophy. Her work in the areas of race, ethnicity, and immigration—and education—has provided critical understanding to a generation of scholars and students. As a faculty member at Princeton University, and now at Harvard University, she has been recognized with a number of the most prestigious awards in the discipline, including being named a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1996.



APSA President Margaret Levi presents a 2005 Frank J. Goodnow Award to Jennifer Hochschild.

She has authored path-breaking works such *The American Dream and the Public*; *Facing Up to the American Dream: Race, Class, and the Soul of the Nation*; and *The New American Dilemma: Liberal Democracy and School Desegregation,* all of which have contributed significantly to public education. She has authored more than 50 journal articles, book chapters, and conference papers. She has also served on the editorial board of the *American Journal of Political Science,* among nearly half dozen more.

She has continued to dedicate her experience to the discipline: serving the APSA as vice president, Council member, Annual Meeting co-chair, and participant in dozens of committees and task forces. As inaugural editor of *Perspectives on Politics,* she has helped develop a critical new journal in the discipline. Her drive to assist a new generation of women scholars led to her election as president of the Women's Caucus for Political Science in 1993.

The Frank J. Goodnow Award

The APSA Council established the Frank J. Goodnow Award in 1996 to honor the contributions of individuals to both the development of the political science profession and the building of the Association. Frank J. Goodnow, the Association's first president, exemplified the public service and volunteerism that this award represents. He was the first of many who voluntarily contributed an extraordinary amount of their time, energy, and attention to building a dynamic learned profession.

Previous recipients are Gabriel A. Almond, Walter Beach, Eugene Eidenberg, Richard Fenno, F. Chris Garcia, Betty Glad, Doris Graber, Pendleton Herring, Malcolm Jewell, Max Kampelman, Gerhard Loewenberg, Thomas Mann, Warren E. Miller, Samuel Patterson, Dianne M. Pinderhughes, Nelson Polsby, Jewel Prestage, Catherine E. Rudder, Roberta Sigel, Frank J. Sorauf, Charles O. Jones, Fred Greenstein, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Dale Rogers Marshall, Nelson Polsby, M. Margaret Conway, Jack W. Peltason, and Michael B. Preston.

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APSA Recognizes Outstanding Career Accomplishments in Washington

The Association honored 25 scholars for their career achievements and outstanding research at the Awards Ceremony and Luncheon, held as part of the 2005 Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C. Hosted by 2005 Program Co-Chairs James Johnson, Jack Knight, and Susan Stokes, the event began with a luncheon for the winners, their guests, and committee members, and was followed by a ceremony presenting 20 prizes. Complete citations on each award can be found in the Gazette section of this issue of *PS*.

The Association recognized four individuals for their major contributions to the profession and our understanding and practice of politics. The Association was pleased to honor **Vincent Ostrom** of Indiana University with the John Gaus Award for a lifetime of exemplary scholarship in the joint traditions of political science and public administration. In conjunction with receiving the Gaus Award, Ostrom delivered the annual John Gaus lecture, titled "Citizen-Sovereigns: A Challenge for Political Science and Public Administration." The lecture will be published in the January issue of *PS*.

Former APSA president **Elinor Ostrom** was awarded the Association's James Madison Award. The committee selected Ostrom in recognition of her distinguished 40-year career over which her scholarship has made a deep and lasting impact on the study of political, social, and economic institutions. As part of the Award she delivered the 2005 Madison Lecture, titled "Converting Threats into Opportunities." The Madison lecture will be published in a future issue of *PS*.

The Benjamin E. Lippincott Award was presented to political theorist **Carole Pateman** of UCLA for her seminal work, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford University Press, 1988). The committee noted "this richly textured study offers a powerful critique of social contract theory, raising questions about its philosophical integrity and its political import." The Lippincott Award is presented every two years for a work of exceptional quality that is still considered significant after at least 15 years since the publication date.

The Carey McWilliams Award, presented annually to an individual who has made a major journalistic contribution to the understanding of politics, was presented to one of today's foremost political commentators, **Seymor M. Hersh** of *The New Yorker* for his contribution to the public's understanding of major social and political trends.

The Hubert H. Humphrey Award, presented each year in recognition of notable public service by a political scientist, was presented to **Richard H. Solomon,** president of the United States Institute of Peace. Solomon earned his Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. As leader of the USIP since 1993, Ambassador Solomon has turned the Institute into a vibrant center of international conflict management analysis and action.

Eight dissertation prizes were awarded to young scholars who had completed their doctoral studies in 2003 or 2004. The Gabriel A. Almond prize for the best dissertation in comparative politics was awarded to **Edmund James Malesky,** University of California, San Diego. Malesky completed "At Provincial Gates: The Impact of Locally Concentrated Foreign Direct Investment on Provincial Autonomy and Economic Reform" under the direction of Robert O. Keohane and Herbert Kitschelt at Duke University.

The 2005 William Anderson Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the general field of federalism, intergovernmental relations, or state and local politics was awarded to **Michael C. Craw,** Michigan State University. Craw completed his dissertation, "Bringing the City Back In: Municipal Government in U.S. Redistributive Policy," under the direction of Kenneth N. Bickers at the University of Colorado, Boulder.

Lori A. Johnson, Mercer University and **Martin J. Sweet**, Honors College, Florida Atlantic University, were dual recipients of the Edward S. Corwin award for their dissertations respectively entitled "Who Governs the Guardians? The Politics of Policymaking for Federal Courts" and "Supreme Policymaking: Coping with the Supreme Court's Affirmative Action Policies." Robert Kagan of the University of California, Berkeley served as Johnson's dissertation chair while John Witte from the University of Wisconsin, Madison, directed Sweet's work. The Corwin Award is given for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of public law.

The Harold D. Lasswell Award for the best dissertation in policy studies was awarded jointly to **Esther N. Mwangi** of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research, and **Thad Williamson** of the University of Richmond. Mwangi's dissertation, entitled "Institutional Change and Politics: The Transformation of Property Rights in Kenya's Maasailand" was completed under the direction of Elinor Ostrom at Indiana University. Williamson's work "Sprawl, Justice and Citizenship: A Philosophical and Empirical Inquiry," was overseen by Michael Sandel of Harvard University.

Emilie Marie Hafner-Burton of Nuffield College, Oxford University received the Helen Dwight Reid Award for the best doctoral dissertation in international relations, law, and politics. Hafner-Burton wrote her dissertation, "Globalizing Human Rights? How International Trade Agreements Shape Government Repression," under the direction of Michael Barnett, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

The E. E. Schattschneider Award for the best dissertation in the field of American Politics presented to **Markus Prior**, Princeton University. Prior completed his dissertation, "Post-Broadcast Democracy: How Greater Media Choice Changes Politics" under the direction of Shanto Iyengar of Stanford University.

The Leonard D. White Award for best doctoral dissertation in the field of public administration was awarded to **Sergio Fernandez** of Indiana University. Guided by Hal Rainey of the University of Georgia, Fernandez's dissertation was entitled, "Explaining Contracting Effectiveness: An Empirical Analysis of Contracting for Services among Local Governments."

The Leo Strauss Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted in 2003 or 2004 in the field of political philosophy, was presented to **Douglas Casson** of St. Olaf College. He completed his dissertation, "Liberating Judgment: John Locke and the Politics of Probability," under the direction of Ruth Grant of Duke University.

Two awards were presented in the paper and article category in 2005. For the first time the Heinz Eulau Award was given for both the best article published in the *American Political Science Review* and the best article published in *Perspectives on Politics* during 2004. The prize for the best *APSR* article was given to **Jonathan Bendor** of Stanford University and **Adam H. Meirowitz** of Princeton University for their work entitled, "Spatial Models of Delegation," published in the May 2004 issue. M**ala N. Htun** from the New School for Social Research was recognized for her work entitled, "Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups," published in the September 2004 issue of *Perspectives.*

The 2005 Franklin L. Burdette/Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the best paper presented at last year's Annual Meeting was presented jointly to **William T. Bernhard** of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and **David Leblang** of the University of Colorado, Boulder, for their work, "When Markets Party: Stocks, Bonds and Cabinet Formations."

Five book awards were also presented. **Seyla Benhabib** of Yale University and **Richard M. Valelly** of Swarthmore College were co-winners of the Association's Ralph Bunche Award. Benhabib's book is entitled, *The Rights of Others* (Cambridge University Press) while Valelly's is entitled, *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (University of Chicago Press). The Bunche award is given for the

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year's best scholarly work(s) in political science which explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism.

The Gladys M. Kammerer Award, given for the best political science publication in 2004 in the field of U.S. national policy, was awarded to **Charles T. Clotfelter** of Duke University for his work, *After Brown: The Rise and Retreat of School Desegregation* (Princeton University Press) and to **Geoffrey R. Stone** of the University of Chicago for his book, *Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime from The Sedition Act of 1798 to The War on Terrorism* (W. W. Norton & Company).

The 2004 Victoria Schuck Award, for the best book published in 2004 on women and politics was awarded to **Saba Mahmood** of the University of California, Berkeley for *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton University Press).

Finally, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award, for the best book published in 2004 on government, politics, or international affairs was awarded to both **Kathleen Thelen** of Northwestern University and **Steven I. Wilkinson** of Duke University. Thelen's was presented the award for her work, *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan* (Cambridge University Press). Wilkinson was recognized for his book, *Votes on Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India* (Cambridge University Press).

APSA recognizes the achievements of these scholars, and looks forward to presenting 20 awards at the next Annual Meeting to be held in Philadelphia from August 31–September 3, 2006. Nomination information can be found on the APSA web site at www.apsanet.org.

New 2005–2006 APSA Officers Elected

Ira Katznelson, the Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History at Columbia University, became the Association's 102nd president on September 3rd at the Association's Annual Business Meeting when outgoing APSA President Margaret Levi of the University of Washington, Seattle, presented Katznelson with the Association gavel. Joining Katznelson in guiding the Association are six new officers. Eight new members of the council will be elected in an all member electronic election during the month of October. Details on the results of the election will be available on the web and in the January issue of *PS*.



Ira Katznelson (L) accepts the APSA gavel from outgoing President Maragaret Levi during the Annual Business Meeting.

Katznelson earned his B.A. from Columbia in 1966 and his Ph.D. from Cambridge University in 1969. Before returning to Columbia in 1994, he was a member of the department of political science at the University of Chicago (where he was chair) and the New School for Social Research (where he was dean of the graduate faculty).

His scholarship at the boundary of political science and history on the liberal state, inequality, social knowledge, and institutions primarily concerns the United States, but is indebted, and seeks to contribute to, the discipline's other subfields. Katznelson is currently finishing a short book on affirmative action and a long volume on the New Deal. His most recent book is *When Affirmative Action was White* (2005). Other books include: *Desolation and Enlightenment: Political Knowledge after Total War, Totalitarianism, and the Holocaust* (2003), *Black Men, White Cities* (1973), *City Trenches* (1981), *Schooling for All* (with Margaret Weir, 1985), *Marxism and the City* (1992), and *Liberalism's Crooked Circle* (1996), which won the Michael Harrington and Lionel Trilling Book Awards. He also co-edited *Working Class Formation* (with Aristide Zolberg, 1986), *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship* (with Pierre Birnbaum, 1995), and *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development* (with Martin Shefter, 2002).

His APSA responsibilities include serving as vice president of the Association, co-chairing, with Helen Milner, the 2000 Program Committee and editing *Political Science: The State of the Discipline, Centennial Edition* (Norton Publishers, 2002). He has also served as president of the Politics and History Section of APSA, president of the Social Science History Association, and chair of the Russell Sage Foundation Board of Trustees. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow, and is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Assuming the position of president-elect is Robert Axelrod, the Arthur W. Bromage Distinguished University Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the University of Michigan. He has appointments in the department of political science and the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy. Prior to coming to Michigan he taught at the University of California, Berkeley (1968–1974). He holds a B.A. in mathematics from the University of Chicago (1964), and a Ph.D. in political science from Yale (1969).

He is best known for his interdisciplinary work on the evolution of cooperation that has been cited in over 3,000 articles. His current research interests include complexity theory (especially agent-based modeling) and international security. Axelrod has been elected to the National Academy of Sciences, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Council on Foreign Relations. Among his honors are a five-year MacArthur Prize Fellowship, the Newcomb Cleveland Prize of the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences for an outstanding contribution to science, and the National Academy of Sciences Award for Behavioral Research Relevant to the Prevention of Nuclear War.

Recently, Axelrod has consulted and lectured on promoting cooperation and harnessing complexity for the United Nations, the World Bank, the U.S. Department of Defense, and various organizations serving health care professionals, business leaders, and K–12 educators. Axelrod's service contributions to APSA include service as vice president and secretary of the Association, member of the Nominating Committee, and chair of the APSA panel on the Perestroika debate.

Other 2005–2006 officers include:

Vice Presidents: Gary Cox, University of California, San Diego; David Laitin, Stanford University; Katherine Tate, University of California, Irvine

Treasurer: Tony Affigne, Providence College

Secretary: Dvora Yanow, California State University-Hayward

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Graduate Students Attend Meeting with APSA Assistance

In an effort to increase graduate student participation in the Annual Meeting, the Association awarded 62 Advanced Graduate Student Travel Grants for the 2005 meeting in Washington, D.C. The names and institutional affiliations of the 2005 winners follow.

Jimi Adams, Ohio State University
Amel F. Ahmed, University of Pennsylvania
Linda Allegro, Rollins College
Brandon L. Bartels, Ohio State University
Sarah Bermeo, Princeton University
Eric Brahm, University of Colorado
Kelly Burke, Louisiana State University
Jason Caro, University of Houston
Royce A. Carroll, University of California, San Diego
Andrew J. W. Civettini, University of Iowa
Tom Clark, Princeton University
Daniel Cordes, Columbia University
David Cunningham, University of California, San Diego
Kathryn A. DePalo, Florida International University
Alexis J. Diamond, Harvard University
Brendan J. Doherty, University of California, Berkeley
Rose Ernst, University of Washington
Michele A. Gilbert, Kent State University
Bruce Gilley, Princeton University
Katherine Adams Gordy, Cornell University
Devashree Gupta, Cornell University
Sally Hansen, University of South Carolina
Eric H. Hines, University of Iowa
Brandy Jones, University of Michigan
Sara R. Jordan, Texas A&M University
Diana Kapiszewski, University of California, Berkeley
Sara Kendall, University of California, Berkeley
Julia Hyeyong Kim, University of California, Los Angeles
Anessa L. Kimball, SUNY, Binghamton
Daniel Kinderman, Cornell University
Yanna Krupnikov, University of Michigan
Shana Kushner, Princeton University
Edward Lai, University of Western Ontario
Mary Frances Rosett Lebamoff, Loyola University, Chicago
Adrienne LeBas, Columbia University
Michael Lerma, University of Arizona
Laura C. Lucas, Boston University
Neil Malhotra, Stanford University
Ronald Eric Matthews, Jr., Kent State University
Susan J. McWilliams, Princeton University,
Molly M. Melin, University of California, Davis
Claire Margaret Metelits, Northwestern University
James Edward Monogan, III, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Davin J. Montgomery, University of Colorado, Colorado Springs
Chandra Mudaliar, Michigan State University
Simeon C. Nichter, University of California, Berkeley
Nhu-Ngoc T. Ong, University of California, Irvine
David Palmieri, Université de Montréal
Erin E. Richards, Washington State University
Rebecca Kathreen Root, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Idean Salehyan, University of California, San Diego
Elisha Carol Savchak, University of South Carolina
Laura U. Schneider, Purdue University
Becki Scola, University of California, Irvine
Zachary Coleman Shirkey, Columbia University
Salmon A. Shomade, University of Arizona
Shyam K. Sriram, Georgia State University
Brent Strathman, Ohio State University
Holley E. Tankersley, University of Georgia
Melody Ellis Valdini, University of California, San Diego
Gloria C. Walker, University of California, Davis
David Dahua Yang, Princeton University

International Scholar Travel Grants

Fifty-one senior and graduate student international scholars benefited from the APSA travel grant program this year. Twenty-six grants to scholars representing 21 countries were awarded for travel expenses and lodging in Washington, D.C. All award winners were APSA members and participants in the 2005 Annual Meeting program.

Twenty-five international advanced graduate students studying at U.S. institutions were also awarded travel grants to help defray their costs in attending the 2005 meeting. All awardees presented papers or posters at the meeting and all were advanced graduate students who had almost completed their dissertations.

International Graduate Students at U.S. Institutions

Naazneen Barma, University of California
Deborah A. Boucoyannis, Harvard University
Guillermo M. Cejudo-Ramirez, Boston University
Els de Graauw, University of California
Cyril Ghosh, Syracuse University
Choong-Nam Kang, SUNY, Buffalo
Doo-Rae Kim, Michigan State University
Hunjoon Kim, University of Minnesota - Twin Cities
Soonjeong Kwon, University of Oklahoma
Terence C. Lee, University of Washington, Seattle
Claudia Leeb, New School University
David Leon, University of Minnesota
Zihua Liu, University at Buffalo
Aleksander Lust, Cornell University
Mara Gabriela Marin, University of Chicago
Katja Michalak, Ohio State University
Sangay K. Mishra, University of Southern California
Bappaditya Mukherjee, Wayne State University
Nam Tae Park, Texas A&M University
Nicole Richardt, Northwestern University
Julio Rios-Figueroa, New York University
Tatiana Petrova Rizova, University of California, Los Angeles
Tobias Schulze-Cleven, University of California, Berkeley
Yongseok Seo, University of Hawaii at Manoa
Wu Zhang, Cornell University

International Scholars and Graduate Students

Anette Ahrnens, Lund University, Sweden
Alexander Baturo, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland
Sean Carey, University of Sheffield, United Kingdom
Clare Elizabeth Chambers, Oxford University, United Kingdom
Oliver S. Curry, London School of Economics, United Kingdom
Rita Dhamoon, University of British Columbia, Canada
Sebastien Dube, Universite de Montreal, Canada
Andreas Duer, University of Mannheim, Germany
Jessica Fortin, McGill University, Canada
Yaprak Gursoy, University of Virginia
Indridi Haukur Indridason, University of Iceland
Niraja Gopal Jayal, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India
Joseph S. Joseph, University of Cyprus
Ivan Katchanovski, Smith College, Ukraine
Thomas A. Koelble, University of Cape Town, South Africa
Peter A. Kraus, University of Frankfurt, Germany
Yu-Kang Lee, National Sun Yat-sen University, China
Tove T. Lindén, Stockholm University, Sweden
Aurelian Daniel Muntean, National School of Political Studies, Romania
Luis A. Ordonez, Universidad Simon Bolivar, Venezuela
Diana Panke, Free University of Berlin, Germany
Susan Park, Deakin University, Australia
Dmitry Shakin, Institute for Open Economy, Russia
Jeanne W. Simon, Universidad de Concepcion, Chile
Wouter Teepe, Universiteit Groningen, Netherlands
Chia-hung Tsai, Election Study Center, Taiwan

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Political Studies Association (UK)

Terrell Carver, University of Bristol
Wyn Grant, University of Warwick
Neil Collins, University College Cork, Dublin
John Benyon, University of Leicester

Japanese Political Science Association

Takashi Oshimura, Aoyamagakuin University
Toshio Ochi, Niigata University

Ralph Bunche Summer Institute Participants Present Work at Annual Meeting

Twelve outstanding students from the 2005 Ralph Bunche Summer Institute (RBSI) presented their research at this year's Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C. The students presented their research at the American Politics II and Teaching and Learning Poster Session, with topics ranging from the Black media to Latino voting to the role of religion in politics. Students were accompanied to the Annual meeting by RBSI 2004 student Cheryl Laird, University of Maryland. This year's class of RBSI students and the research they presented at this year's meeting:

Amir T Ayres, Rutgers University, Camden
"Examining the Contradiction: Black Patriotism in America"

Karen Ellis, William Patterson University
"If Democracy Doesn't Work for Most, It Doesn't Work: A Comparative Look at the Role of Efficacy in Democracies Around the World"

Justin Hall, Andrews University
"Is Racism the Reason? Underlying Factors of White Opposition Towards Racial Policies"

Erin K. Melton, Lincoln University
"A Nativity Scene? Political Participation among the Latino Electorate"

DeReal R Moore, Texas Christian University, *Prestage-Fenno Fellow*
"The Virtuous Voter: Religion, Republicans, and Politics"

Melissa Swaby, Hartwick College
"Black Media: Motivator of the Black Electorate?"

Dianna A. Vazquez, University of Hartford
"The Politics of Exclusion: Political Alienation and Powerlessness Among Latinos"

Robert Walsh, Texas A & M University
"Arts and Democracy: Social Capital and its Cultivation through Art"

Candis Watts, Duke University, *Prestage-Fenno Fellow*
"Elephant Food: White Partisanship and Racial Resentment"

Shaun Williams-Wyche, Southern Methodist University
"A New Bloc of Latino Voters? The Prospects for Latino Non-Partisanship"

Christopher Wilson, Pennsylvania State University
"Black Democrats and Positive Thinking: Measuring the Effect of Optimism on Black Democratic Affiliation and Partisanship Strength"

Reymundo Zambrano, Marquette University
"The Double-edged Sword of Immigration on Native-born Latinos: A Study on Native-born Latino Opinion Regarding Immigration Policy and Immigrants"

APSA's Ralph Bunche Summer Institute is a five-week program for minority undergraduate students interested in pursuing a doctoral degree in political science. The Institute is hosted by Duke University and is supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation. For more information or to download an application for next summer's Institute, visit the APSA web site at www.apsanet.org/section_397.cfm.

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Pi Sigma Alpha Award Winners, 2005

Pi Sigma Alpha, the National Political Science Honor Society, proudly announces the following award winners for 2005.

Student Award Winners

Washington Internship Scholarships

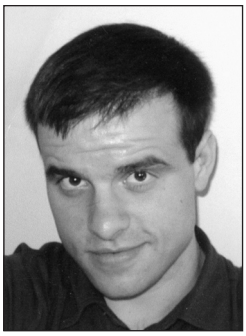
Washington Intern Scholarships were awarded tor five Pi Sigma Alpha members spending the summer or fall semesters in a Washington internship program:

Ashley Pichon, *Hofstra University*
Adam Reiser, *University of Utah*
Devin Rhinerson, *Emory University*
Meggin Rutherford, *Austin College*
Luke Wake, *Elon University*

Howard Penniman/Pi Sigma Alpha Scholarships

Howard Penniman/Pi Sigma Alpha Scholarships for Graduate Study in Political Science were awarded to three members entering graduate programs in the fall of 2005:

Stephanie Burchard, *University of New Orleans (photo unavailable)*



Michael Woodruff, *Emory University*



Kristen Hudak, *Mercyhurst College*

Best Undergraduate Class Papers

FIRST PLACE
"Candidates' Use of the Media in the Most Recent Elections in Canada, Great Britain and the United States"
Kate Metcalf, *University of Richmond*

RUNNER-UP
"The Publication of Polls and Voter Selection"
Caitlin Dwyer, *Hartwick College*

RUNNER-UP
"In the Coverage of the *Rolling Stone:* The Significance of Politics in a Medium of Popular Culture"
Andrew Bloeser, *University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point*

Best Undergraduate Honors Theses

FIRST PLACE
"Understanding Civil Liberties Judgements after September 11: An Experimental Study"
Chase Samples, *Furman University*

RUNNER-UP
"Affecting Citizen Satisfaction: Transitions to Mixed-Member Electoral Systems in Latin America and the Effects on Citizen Satisfaction"
Jason Eichorst, *Texas A&M University*

RUNNER-UP
"Amoral Liberals, Liberal Democrats, and Moral Republicans: Some Explanations for the Democratic Party's Apparent Debility"
Jacqueline Chattopadhyay, *University of California, Irvine*

Best Chapter Awards

Schools with under 6,000 enrollment:
Gamma Sigma, Sewanee: University of the South
Omicron Lambda, Illinois Wesleyan University
Pi Iota, Ohio Northern University
Pi Nu, Benedictine University

Schools with 6,000–15,000 enrollment:
Beta Tau, University of Pennsylvania
Epsilon Mu, University of Montana
Kappa Eta, Austin Peay State University
Mu Pi, Winthrop University

Schools with over 15,000 enrollment:
Nu, University of Washington
Alpha Zeta, University of Maryland
Alpha Iota, Utah State University
Beta Mu, Brigham Young University
Sigma Mu, University of Central Oklahoma

Best Chapter Advisors

Michelle Brophy-Baermann, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point
Jan Hardt, University of Central Oklahoma
Scott Huffmon, Winthrop University

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Organized Sections Distribute Awards at 2005 Annual Meeting

In addition to awards conferred at the Association's Award Ceremony on Thursday, September 1, the following recognitions are being made at the business meetings and receptions of APSA's Organized Sections.

Section 1: Federalism & Intergovernmental Relations

Martha Derthick Book Award

Conferred for the best book on federalism and intergovernmental relations published at least 10 years ago that has made a lasting contribution to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations.

Award Committee: Ann O'M. Bowman, University of South Carolina; Martha Derthick, University of Virginia; John J. Dinan, Wake Forest University

Recipient: **Richard Simeon**, University of Toronto

Title: Federal-Provincial Diplomacy (University of Toronto Press, 1972)

Deil S. Wright Best Paper Award

Conferred for the best paper in the field of federalism and intergovernmental relations presented at the previous year's APSA Annual Meeting.

Award Committee: Jody Neathery-Castro, University of Nebraska-Omaha; Troy E. Smith, Drury University; Deil S. Wright, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Recipient: **Megan Mullin,** University of California, Berkeley

Title: "Fighting Over Land and Water; Venues in Local Growth Disputes"

Daniel Elazar Distinguished Federalism Scholar Award

Recognizes distinguished scholarly contributions to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations.

Award Committee: Jocelyn M. Johnston, American University; Paul L. Posner, George Mason University; Barry G. Rabe, University of Michigan

Recipient: **Robert Agranoff,** Indiana University

Section 2: Law and Courts

American Judicature Society Award

Given annually for the best paper on law and courts presented at the previous year's annual meetings of the American, Midwest, Northeastern, Southern, Southwestern, or Western Political Science Associations.

Award Committee: Lori A. Johnson, Mercer University; Wendy L. Martinek, SUNY, Binghamton; Chad Westerland, University of Arizona

Co-Recipients: **Gregory A. Caldeira,** Ohio State University, **Kevin T. McGuire,** University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and **Charles E. Smith, Jr.,** University of Mississippi

Title: "A Spatial Model of Supreme Court Voting"

C. Herman Pritchett Award

Given annually for the best book on law and courts written by a political scientist and published the previous year.

Award Committee: Lisa M. Holmes, University of Vermont; Robert M. Howard, Georgia State University; Jeff Yates, University of Georgia

Co-Recipients: **William T. Haltom,** University of Puget Sound and **Michael W. McCann,** University of Washington, Seattle

T*itle: Distorting the Law: Politics, Media, and the Litigation Crisis* (University of Chicago Press, 2004)

CQ Press Outstanding Student Paper

Given annually for the best paper on law and courts written by a graduate student.

Award Committee: Rachel Paine Caufield, Drake University; Mark Kemper, Bridgewater State College; Emery G. Lee, III, Case Western Reserve University

Recipient: **David Glick,** Princeton University

Title: "Strategic Retreat and the 1935 Gold Clause Cases: Upholding the New Deal to Challenge the New Deal"

Lifetime Achievement Award

Honors a distinguished career of scholarly achievement and service to the Law and Courts field.

Award Committee: Scott Barclay, SUNY, Albany; Charles R. Epp, University of Kansas; Laura L. Langer, University of Arizona; Christine L. Nemacheck, College of William & Mary; Jeffrey A. Segal, SUNY, Stony Brook

Recipient: **Joel B. Grossman,** Johns Hopkins University

McGraw Hill Award

Recognizes the best journal article on law and courts written by a political scientist and published during the previous calendar year.

Award Committee: Sara C. Benesh, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; Keith J. Bybee, Syracuse University; Scott A. Comparato, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

Co-Recipients: **Kevin T. McGuire,** University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill and **James A. Stimson,** University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Title: "The Least Dangerous Branch Revisited: New Evidence on Supreme Court Responsiveness to Public Preferences" *Journal of Politics* 66 (4): 1018–1035

Teaching and Mentoring Award

Recognizes innovative teaching and instructional methods and materials in law and courts. The Award is supported by a contribution from the Division for Public Education of the American Bar Association.

Award Committee: Chris W. Bonneau, University of Pittsburgh; Michael W. McCann, University of Washington, Seattle; Howard Schweber, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Recipient: **Lawrence Baum,** Ohio State University

Wadsworth Publishing Award

Given annually for a book or journal article, 10 years or older, that has made a lasting impression on the field of law and courts.

Award Committee: Paul Frymer, University of California, Santa Cruz; Lori J. Hausegger, Boise State University; Stefanie A. Lindquist, Vanderbilt University

Co-Recipients: **Jeffrey A. Segal,** SUNY Stony Brook and **Harold J. Spaeth,** Michigan State University

Title: The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model (Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Section 3: Legislative Studies

Alan Rosenthal Prize

In the spirit of Alan Rosenthal's work, this prize is dedicated to encouraging young scholars to study questions that are of importance to legislators and legislative staff and to conduct research that has the potential application to strengthening the practice of representative democracy.

Award Committee: Joseph Cooper, Johns Hopkins University; Cherie Maestas, Florida State University; Daniel Palazzolo, University of Richmond

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096505260420 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Recipient: **Thad Kousser,** University of California, San Diego

Title: Term Limits and the Dismantling of State Legislative Professionalism (Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Carl Albert Award

Given annually for the best dissertation in legislative studies. Topics may be national or subnational in focus-on Congress, parliaments, state legislatures, or other representative bodies. Dissertations must have a copyright date of one or two years previous to the year in which the award is presented.

Award Committee: Christian R. Grose, Vanderbilt University; Noelle Helen Norton, University of San Diego; Jack Wright, Ohio State University

Co-Recipient: **Gail McElroy,** Trinity College

Title: "In Pursuit of Party Discipline: Committees and Cohesion in the European Parliament"

Co-Recipient: **Robert Van Houweling,** Harvard University

Title: "Legislators' Personal Policy Preferences and Partisan Legislative Organization"

CQ Press Award

For the best paper on legislative studies presented at the previous year's APSA Annual Meeting.

Award Committee: Samuel Kernell, University of California, San Diego; Lynda W. Powell, University of Rochester; Sean M. Theriault, University of Texas, Austin

Recipient: **Tracy Sulkin,** University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign

Title: "Legislative Responsiveness to Campaign Challenges"

Jewell-Loewenberg Award

For the best article in the *Legislative Studies Quarterly* in the previous year.

Award Committee: Garrison Nelson, Brandeis University; Charles Stewart, III, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Michele L. Swers, Georgetown University

Co-Recipients: **Sarah A. Binder,** George Washington University and **Forrest Maltzman,** George Washington University

Title: "The Limits of Senatorial Courtesy"

Richard F. Fenno Prize

In the tradition of Professor Fenno's work, this prize is designed to honor work that is both theoretically and empirically strong. Moreover, this prize is dedicated to encouraging scholars to pursue new and different avenues of research in order to find answers to previously unexplored questions about the nature of politics.

Award Committee: Scott Adler, University of Colorado, Boulder; Sarah A. Binder, George Washington University; Gary W. Cox, University of California, San Diego

Recipient: **Diana Evans,** Trinity College

Title: Greasing the Wheels: Using Pork Barrel Projects to Build Majority Coalitions in Congress (Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Section 4: Public Policy

Aaron Wildavsky Enduring Contribution Award

Given for a book or article published in the last 10 to 20 years that continues to influence the study of public policy.

Award Committee: Ann Chih Lin, University of Michigan; Mark A. Peterson, University of California, Los Angeles; Paul Rich, Policy Studies Organization

Recipient: **Gosta Epsing-Anderson,** European University Institute

Title: *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Polity Press, 1990)

Best Public Policy Paper

Given to the best paper presented at previous year's Annual Meeting.

Award Committee: Alesha E. Doan, Cal Poly University; William R. Lowry, Washington University; Deborah R. McFarlane, University of New Mexico

Co-Recipients: **Michele A. Gilbert,** Kent State University, **Karen Mossberger,** Kent State University, and **Caroline J. Tolbert,** Kent State University

Title: "Race, Place, and Information Technology"

Excellence in Mentoring Award

This is the inaugural offering of this award, which recognizes excellence in mentoring junior scholars in the field of public policy research.

Award Committee: William T. Gormley, Jr., Georgetown University; Michael Mintrom, University of Auckland; Saundra K. Schneider, Michigan State University

Recipient: **Frank R. Baumgartner,** Pennsylvania State University

Section 5: Political Organizations and Parties

Emerging Scholars Award

Given to a scholar who has received his or her Ph.D. within the last five years and whose career to date demonstrates unusual promise.

Award Committee: Scott H. Ainsworth, University of Georgia; David C. Kimball, University of Missouri, St. Louis; Barbara Norrander, University of Arizona

Co-Recipients: **Barry C. Burden,** Harvard University and **Beth L. Leech,** Rutgers University

Jack Walker Award

"Honors an article published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties."

Award Committee: Andrea Colleen Campbell-Francis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Anne N. Costain, University of Colorado – System; Thomas Ferguson, University of Massachusetts, Boston

Co-Recipients: **James W. Boyd,** Kent State University, **Ping Cheng,** Florida Atlantic University, **Alan J. Ziobrowski,** Georgia State University, and **Brigitte J. Ziobrowski,** Augusta State University

Title: "Abnormal Returns from the Common Stock Investments of the United States Senate." 2004. *Journal of Financial and Quantitative Analysis* 39 (4).

Leon Epstein Book Award of Political Organizations and Parties Section

"Honors a book published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties."

Award Committee: Robin A. Kolodny, Temple University; Mark A. Smith, University of Washington; Daniel J. Tichenor, Rutgers University, New Brunswick

Co-Recipients: **Pradeep Chhibber,** University of California, Berkeley and **Kenneth W. Kollman,** University of Michigan

Title: The Formation of National Party Systems (Princeton University Press, 2004)

POP/Party Politics Award

Honors the best paper delivered on a Political Organizations and Parties-sponsored panel at the preceding APSA Annual Meeting. The award recipient is offered the opportunity to publish the paper in *Party Politics.*

Award Committee: Andrew S. McFarland, University of Illinois, Chicago; Jennifer Nicoll Victor, University of Pittsburgh; Christina Wolbrecht, University of Notre Dame

Recipient: **Michael T. Heaney,** University of Florida

Title: "Reputation and Leadership Inside Interest Group Coalitions"

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Samuel Eldersveld Career Achievement Lifetime Award

Honors "a scholar whose lifetime professional work has made an outstanding contribution to the field."

Award Committee: Nicol C. Rae, Florida International University; Susan Scarrow, University of Houston; Byron E. Shafer, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Recipient: **James Q. Wilson,** University of California, Los Angeles

Section 6: Public Administration

Herbert Kaufman Award

Given for the best paper presented at the preceding year's APSA Annual Meeting.

Co-Recipients: **Richard C. Feiock,** Florida State University, **Meeyoung Lamothe,** University of Nebraska, Omaha, and **Scott Lamothe,** University of Nebraska, Lincoln

Title: "Vertical Integration in Municipal Service Provision: In-House Production of Previously Outsourced Services"

Herbert A. Simon Best Book Award

Conferred annually for the best book on public administration published in the last three to five years that has made a significant contribution to public administration scholarship.

Co-Recipients: **Steven Maynard-Moody,** University of Kansas, and **Michael C. Musheno,** Arizona State University

Title: Cops, Teachers, Counselors: Stories from the Front-Lines of Public Service (University of Michigan Press, 2003)

Co-Recipient: **John A. Rohr,** Virginia Tech

Title: Civil Servants and Their Constitutions (University of Kansas Press, 2002)

Paul Volcker Endowment Grant

This annual grant provides support in research and theory building on public administration issues affecting governance in the U.S. and abroad.

Recipient: **Alisa Hicklin,** Texas A&M University

Section 7: Conflict Processes

Lifetime Achievement Award

Created to honor lifetime achievement in the study of conflict and peace.

Award Committee: William J. Dixon, University of Arizona; Kelly M. Kadera, University of Iowa; Jack S. Levy, Rutgers University

Recipient: **Anatol Rapoport,** University of Toronto

Section 8: Representation and Electoral Systems

George H. Hallet Award

Presented annually to the author of a book published at least 10 years ago that has made a lasting contribution to the literature on representation and electoral systems.

Award Committee: John C. Courtney, University of Saskatchewan; Todd Donovan, Western Washington University; Miki Caul Kittilson, Arizona State University

Recipient: **V. O. Key, Jr.,** late of Harvard University

Title: Southern Politics in State and Nation (University of Tennessee Press, 1984)

Leon Weaver Award

Given for the best paper presented at a panel sponsored by the Representation and Electoral Systems Division.

Award Committee: Henry Milner, Universite Laval; Burt L. Monroe, Michigan State University

Recipient: **Mona Lyne,** University of South Carolina

Title: "Endogenous Institutions: Electoral Law and Internal Party Dynamics in Brazil"

Section 9: Presidency Research

Founders Paper Award

Given for the best paper presented at the previous year's Annual Meeting.

Award Committee: David Gray Adler, Idaho State University; Peri E. Arnold, University of Notre Dame; John P. Burke, University of Vermont; Janet M. Martin, Bowdoin College

Co-Recipients: **James N. Druckman,** University of Minnesota and **Lawrence R. Jacobs,** University of Minnesota

Title: "Lumpers and Splitters: The Public Opinion Information that Politicians Collect and Use"

Neustadt Award for the Best Book on the Presidency

Given for the best book published during the year that contributed to research and scholarship in the field of American presidency.

Award Committee: MaryAnne Borrelli, Connecticut College; Jeffrey E. Cohen, Fordham University; Kenneth R. Mayer, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Bert A. Rockman, Purdue University; David A. Yalof, University of Connecticut

Recipient: **Kevin J. McMahon,** Trinity College

Title: Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race: How the Presidency Paved the Road to Brown (University of Chicago Press, 2003)

Best Undergraduate Paper Award

Award Committee: Patricia D. Conley; David E. Lewis, Princeton University; John M. Orman, Fairfield University

Recipient: **Rebecca Stark,** Carleton College

Title: "The Influence of Foreign Affairs in Presidential Elections: 1992–2004"

Section 11: Religion and Politics

Best Publication Award

Inaugural presentation of award for the best publication by an APSA member.

Award Committee: Clarke E. Cochran, Texas Tech University; Dale S. Kuehne, Ph.D., Saint Anselm College; Laura R. Olson, Clemson University

Co-Recipients: **Brian S. Krueger,** University of Rhode Island, **David C. Leege,** University of Notre Dame, **Paul D. Mueller,** University of Notre Dame, and **Kenneth D. Wald,** University of Florida

Title: The Politics of Cultural Difference: Social Change and Voter Mobilization Strategies in the Post-New Deal Period (Princeton University Press, 2002)

Section 13: Urban Politics

Norton Long Lifetime Achievement Award

Recipient: **Martin Shefter,** Cornell University

Best Book in Urban Politics

Presented for the best book in urban politics for 2004.

Recipient: **James DeFilippis,** Baruch College, CUNY

Title: Unmaking Goliath: Community Control in the Face of Global Capital (Roultledge, 2003)

Best Paper, 2004 APSA Annual Meeting

Recipient: **Michael Jones-Correa,** Cornell University

Title: "Racial and Ethnic Diversity and the Politics of Education in Suburbia."

Byran Jackson Award

Recipient: **Paru Shah,** Rice University

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096505260420 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Best Dissertation in Urban Politics
Recipient: **Christine Kelleher,** University of Michigan, Dearborn
Title: "Representation and Responsiveness in American Local Governments."

Section 15: Science, Technology & Environmental Politics

Don K. Price Award
For the best book on science, technology, and environmental politics published in the last year.
Award Committee: Bruce Bimber, University of California, Santa Barbara; David M. Hart, George Mason University; J. P. Singh, Georgetown University
Recipient: **Thomas C. Bernauer,** Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich
Title: Genes, Trade, and Regulation: The Seeds of Conflict in Food Biotechnology (Princeton University Press, 2004)

Lynton K. Caldwell Award
For the best book on environmental politics and policy published in the past three years.
Award Committee: Christopher J. Bosso, Northeastern University; Michael E. Kraft, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay; Judith A. Layzer, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Recipient: **Barry G. Rabe,** University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Title: Statehouse and Greenhouse: The Emerging Politics of American Climate Change Policy (Brookings, 2004)

Virginia M. Walsh Dissertation Award
Named in honor of a young scholar who tragically passed away in 2003 and given for the best dissertation in the field of science, technology, and environmental politics.
Award Committee: Mark B. Brown, California State University, Sacramento; Renee Marlin-Bennett, American University; Mark C. Stephan, Washington State University, Vancouver
Recipient: **Daniel J. Sherman,** University of Puget Sound
Title: "Not Here, Not There: The Federal, State, and Local Politics of Low-Level Radioactive Waste Disposal in the United States"

Section 16: Women and Politics Research

Best Dissertation Award
For the best dissertation on women and politics. To be eligible, a dissertation must be completed and successfully defended in the previous calendar year.
Award Committee: Jennifer Leigh Disney, Winthrop University; Susan Hekman, University of Texas, Austin; Elora Shehabuddin, Rice University
Recipient: **Carisa R. Showden,** University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Title: "Mythologies of Choice: The Politics of Domestic Violence and Alternative Reproduction"

Best Paper Award
For the best paper presented at the previous year's Annual Meeting in the field of women and politics.
Award Committee: Alice L. Hearst, Smith College; Nancy J. Hirschmann, University of Pennsylvania; V. Spike Peterson, University of Arizona
Co-Recipient: **Liesl Haas,** California State University, Long Beach
Title: "Intergovernmental Relations and Feminist Policy Makings: A Case Study of Domestic Violence in Chile"

Co-Recipient: **S. Laurel Weldon,** Purdue University
Title: "Inclusion, Solidarity and Transnational Social Movements: The Global Movement Against Gender Violence"

Section 17: Foundations of Political Thought

Best Paper Award
Given for the best paper presented on a Foundations panel at the 2005 Annual Meeting.
Award Committee: Susan Bickford, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Alfonso J. Damico, University of Iowa; Emily R. Gill, Bradley University
Recipient: **Samuel A. Chambers,** University of Wales, Swansen
Title: "The Alterirty of the Present: Reading Sexuality in *Six Feet Under*"

David Easton Award
Recognizing a book that broadens the horizons of contemporary political science by engaging issues of philosophical significance in political life through any of a variety of approaches in the social sciences and humanities.
Award Committee: Seyla Benhabib, Yale University; William A. Galston, University of Maryland, College Park; Jeffrey C. Isaac, Indiana University, Bloomington
Recipient: **Ira Katznelson,** Columbia University
Title: Desolation and Enlightenment. Political Knowledge after Total War, Totalitarianism and the Holocaust (Columbia University Press, 2003)

First Book Award
Recognizing the best first book published in 2004 by a scholar in the early stages of his or her career in the area of political theory/philosophy.
Award Committee: Christine DiStefano, University of Washington; Leslie Thiele, University of Florida; Simone Chambers, University of Toronto
Recipient: **Corey Robin,** CUNY Brooklyn
Title: Fear: The History of a Political Idea (Oxford University Press, 2004)

Section 20: Comparative Politics

Data Set Award
Given for a publicly available data set that has made an important contribution to the field of comparative politics.
Award Committee: Thomas R. Cusack, WZB; Lane Kenworthy, University of Arizona; Nicholas Sambanis, Yale University
Recipient: **Timothy M. Smeeding,** Syracuse University
Title: Luxembourg Income Study

Leubbert Best Article Award
Given for the best article in the field of comparative politics published in the previous two years.
Award Committee: Edward Gibson, Northwestern University; Pauline Jones Luong, Brown University; George Tsebelis, University of California, Los Angeles
Co-Recipients: **Scott J. Basinger,** Stony Brook University, SUNY and **Mark Hallerberg,** Emory University
Title: "Remodeling the Competition for Capital: How Domestic Politics Erases the Race to the Bottom." *American Political Science Review* 98 (May, 2004).

Co-Recipients: **Ernesto F. Calvo,** University of Houston and **Maria Victoria Murillo,** Columbia University
Title: "Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market." American Journal of Political Science 48 (October 2004): 742–757.

Leubbert Best Book Award
Given for the best book in the field of comparative politics published in the previous two years.
Award Committee: Jeffrey Kopstein, University of Toronto; Ashutosh Varshney, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Recipient: **Elisabeth Jean Wood,** Yale University
Title: Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador (Cambridge

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096505260420 Published online by Cambridge University Press

University Press, 2003)

Sage Best Paper Award

Given to the best paper in the field of comparative politics presented at the previous year's APSA Annual Meeting.

Award Committee: Carol A. Mershon, University of Virginia; Daniel N. Posner, University of California, Los Angeles; J. Nicholas Ziegler, University of California, Berkeley

Co-Recipients: **Macartan Humphreys,** Columbia University and **Jeremy M. Weinstein,** Stanford University

Title: "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War: Determinants of the Strategies of Warring Factions"

Co-Recipients: **Lianjiang Li,** Hong Kong Baptist University and **Kevin J. O'Brien,** University of California, Berkeley

Title: "Popular Contention and its Impact in Rural China"

Section 21: European Politics and Society

Best Book Award

Given for the best book on European Politics and society published in the previous year.

Award Committee: Valerie Bunce, Cornell University; Miriam A. Golden, University of California, Los Angeles; Jacques J. Thomassen, University of Twente

Recipient: **V. P. Gagnon,** Ithaca College

Title: The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s (Cornell University Press, 2004)

Ernst B. Haas Best Dissertation Award

Given for the best dissertation on European Politics and Society filed during the previous year.

Award Committee: Christopher K. Ansell, University of California, Berkeley; Amie Kreppel, University of Florida; Martin A. Schain, New York University

Recipient: **Uwe Puetter,** Central European University

Title: "The Eurogroup as a Forum for Informal Deliberation Among Ministers"

Section 24: Politics and History

J. David Greenstone Book Prize

For the best book in history and politics in the past two calendar years.

Award Committee: Howard Gillman, University of Southern California; Alberta M. Sbragia, University of Pittsburgh; Eric Schickler, Harvard University

Recipient: **Richard M. Valelly,** Swarthmore College

Title: The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement (University of Chicago Press, 2004)

Mary Parker Follett Prize

For the best article on politics and history published in the previous year.

Award Committee: Mabel Berezin, Cornell University; Sarah A. Binder, George Washington University; Herman Schwartz, University of Virginia

Recipient: **Peter A. Swenson,** Yale University

Title: "Varieties of Capitalist Interests: Power, Institutions, and the Regulatory Welfare State in the United States and Sweden" *Studies in American Political Development* 18 (spring 2004): 1–29.

Section 25: Political Economy

Best Paper Award

Given for the best paper in Political Economy presented at the previous year's APSA Annual Meeting.

Award Committee: Torben Iversen, Harvard University; Layna Mosley, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Frances M. Rosenbluth, Yale University

Co-Recipients: **William T. Bernhard,** University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign and **David Leblang,** University of Colorado, Boulder

Title: "When Markets Party: Stocks, Bonds and Cabinet Formations"

Mancur Olson Dissertation Award

Given for the best dissertation in political economy completed in the previous two years.

Award Committee: Scott G. Gehlbach, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Gerry Mackie, University of California, San Diego; Joe A. Oppenheimer, University of Maryland

Recipient: **Christopher Adolph,** Harvard University

Title: "The Dilemma of Disretion: Career Ambitions and the Politics of Central Banking"

William H. Riker Book Award

Given for the best book on political economy published during the past three calendar years.

Award Committee: Sarah M. Brooks, Ohio State University; Stephan Haggard, University of California, San Diego; John D. Huber, Columbia University

Recipient: **Fiona McGillivray,** New York University

Title: Privileging Industry: The Comparative Politics of Trade and Industrial Policy (Princeton University Press, 2004)

Section 27: New Political Science

Christian Bay Award

For a New Political Science paper presented at the previous year's Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Award Committee: Jennifer Leigh Disney, Winthrop University; Khalil M. Marrar, Loyola University Chicago; Daniel J. O'Connor, California State University, Long Beach

Recipient: **Hamideh Sedghi,** Columbia University

Title: "Islamization, Globalization, and Gender in Iran: Compatible or Not?"

Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven Award

For an activist group, in the region of the Annual Meeting, that puts the ideals of the New Political Science Section, "to make the study of politics relevant to the struggle for a better world," into practice.

Award Committee: Stephen L. Elkin, University of Maryland; Carol C. Gould, George Mason University; R. Claire Snyder, George Mason University

Recipient: **Institute for Policy Studies**

Charles A. McCoy Career Achievement Award

For a progressive political scientist who has had a long, successful career as a writer, teacher, and activist.

Award Committee: John C. Berg, Suffolk University; John Ehrenberg, Long Island University; Laura Katz Olson, Lehigh University

Recipient: **Stephen Eric Bronner,** Rutgers University

Michael Harrington Book Award

Given for an outstanding book that demonstrates how scholarship can be used in the struggle for a better world.

Award Committee: Christine A. Kelly, William Paterson University; Joseph Kling, St. Lawrence University; Selma K. Sonntag, Humboldt State University

Recipient: **Katherine Van Wezel Stone,** University of California, Los Angeles

Title: From Widgets to Digits: Employment Regulation for the Changing Workplace (Cambridge University Press, 2004)

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096505260420 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Section 28: Political Psychology

Robert Lane Best Book Award

For the best book in political psychology published in the past year.

Award Committee: Cynthia Burack, Ohio State University; Michael A. Diamond, University of Missouri, Columbia; James M. Glass, University of Maryland, College Park

Recipient: **Kristen Renwick Monroe,** University of California, Irvine

Title: The Hand of Compassion (Princeton University Press, 2004)

Section 29: Undergraduate Education

Best Presentation Award

For the best presentation on undergraduate education at the past year's APSA Annual Meeting.

Award Committee: Bernard L. Bray, Talladega College; Larry W. Chappell, Mississippi Valley State University; Joseph Kahne, Mills College; Joel Westheimer, University of Ottawa

Co-Recipients: **Kerstin Hamann,** University of Central Florida, **Philip H. Pollock, III,** University of Central Florida, and **Bruce M. Wilson,** University of Central Florida

Title: "Teaching and Learning Online: Assessing the Effect of Gender Context on Active Learning"

Section 30: Politics, Literature, and Film

Best Paper Award

For the best paper presented at the previous year's APSA Annual Meeting.

Award Committee: Lilly J. Goren, Carroll College; Ann Ward, University of Regina

Recipient: **John Uhr,** Australian National University

Title: "Inequality and Inequity in Political Leadership: Henry Fielding's Satire in Jonathan Wild"

Section 31: Foreign Policy

Best Paper Award

For the best paper on foreign policy presented at the previous year's APSA Annual Meeting.

Award Committee: Paul Kowert, Florida International University; Peter A. Furia, Wake Forest University; Elizabeth G. Matthews, Rochester Institute of Technology

Recipients: **William J. Josiger,** Georgetown University and **George E. Shambaugh,** Georgetown University

Title: "Public Prudence and its Support for Counter-Terrorism Initiatives"

Section 32: Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior

Best Paper Award

Given for the best paper delivered at the previous year's APSA Annual Meeting.

Award Committee: Jane Y. Junn, Rutgers University, New Brunswick; Caroline J. Tolbert, Kent State University; Clyde Wilcox, Georgetown University

Recipient: **David E. Campbell,** University of Notre Dame

Title: "Community Heterogeneity and Participation"

Emerging Scholar Award

Awarded to the top scholar in the field who is within 10 years of her or his Ph.D.

Award Committee: Darren Davis, Michigan State University; Leonie Huddy, SUNY, Stony Brook; George E. Marcus, Williams College

Recipient: **James N. Druckman,** University of Minnesota

Philip E. Converse Best Book Award

Given for an outstanding book in the field published at least five years before.

Award Committee: Elisabeth L. Gidengil, McGill University; M. Kent Jennings, University of California, Santa Barbara; Jon A. Krosnick, Stanford University

Co-Recipients: **Stanley Presser,** University of Maryland and **Howard Schumann,** University of Michigan

Title: Questions and Answers in Attitude Surveys: Experiments on Question Form, Wording, and Context (Academic Press, 1981)

Section 33: Race, Ethnicity and Politics

The APSA Section on Race, Ethnicity and Politics presents various best book awards for outstanding publishing in four major categories.

Award Committee: Co-Chairs: John G. Bretting, University of Texas at El Paso and Ange-Marie Hancock, Yale University

General Committee: Lawrie Balfour, University of Virginia; Henry Flores, St. Mary's University at San Antonio; Vince Hutchings, University of Michigan; Angela Lewis, University of Alabama, Birmingham

Comparative Racial and Ethnic Research

Recipient: **James L. Gibson**

Title: Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation? (Russell Sage Foundation).

Recipient: **Sherene H. Razack**

Title: Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping and the New Imperialism (University of Toronto Press).

Legal Dimensions of Ethnic and Racial Politics

Recipient: **Albert L. Samuels**

Title: Is Separate Unequal? Black Colleges and the Challenge to Desegregation (University of Kansas Press).

Racial and Ethnic Political Identities, Ideologies and Theories

Recipient: **Melissa V. Harris-Lacewell**

Title: Barbershops, Bibles and BET: Everyday Talk and Black Political Thought. (Princeton University Press).

Intersectionalities: Race, Gender, Ethnicity and Politics

Recipient: **Michele T. Berger**

Title: Workable Sisterhood: The Political Journey of Stigmatized Women with HIV/AIDS (Princeton University Press).

Section 34: International History and Politics

Jervis and Schroeder Best Book Award

For the best book on international history and politics published in the previous two years.

Award Committee: Emily O. Goldman, University of California-Davis; Ted Hopf, Ohio State University; Richard Samuels, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Recipient: **Jeffrey W. Taliaferro,** Tufts University

Title: Balancing Risks: Great Power Intervention in the Periphery (Cornell University Press, 2004).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096505260420 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Section 35: Comparative Democratization

Best Article Award

Given for the best article published on Comparative Democratization within the last year.

Award Committee: Timothy Frye, Ohio State University; Mark P. Jones, Rice University; Ellen M. Lust-Okar, Yale University

Recipient: **Lisa Baldez,** Dartmouth College

Title: "Elected Bodies: The Gender Quota Law for Legislative Candidates in Mexico," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29 (May 2004): 231–258

Best Book Award

For the best single authored, multi-authored, or edited book on comparative democratization published in the previous year.

Award Committee: William Case, Griffith University; M. Steven Fish, University of California, Berkeley; Wendy Hunter, University of Texas, Austin

Co-Recipient: **Kurt Schock,** Rutgers University, Newark

Title: Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies (University of Minnesota Press, 2004)

Co-Recipient: **Charles Tilly,** Columbia University

Title: Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650–2000 (Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Best Field Work Award

New award that will be presented for the first time at the 2005 APSA Annual Meeting

Award Committee: Joseph L. Klesner, Kenyon College

Recipient: **Lily Tsai,** Harvard University

Title: "The Informal State: Governance, Accountability, and Public Goods Provision in Rural China," Ph.D. dissertation at Harvard University

Juan Linz Best Dissertation Award

For the best dissertation in the comparative study of democracy. Will be presented for the first time at the 2005 APSA Annual Meeting.

Award Committee: Jonathan Hartlyn, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Richard Snyder, Brown University

Recipient: **Staffan I. Lindberg,** Lund University

Title: "The Power of Elections: Democratic Participation, Competition, and Legitimacy in Africa"

Section 37: Qualitative Methods

Alexander L. George Article Award

Honors Alexander George's contributions to the comparative case-study method, including his work linking that method to a systematic concern with research design, and his contribution of developing the idea and the practice of process tracing. This award may be granted to a journal article or to a chapter in an edited volume that stands on its own as an article.

Co-Recipients: **Gary Goertz,** University of Arizona and **James Mahoney,** Northwestern University

Title: "The Possibility Principle: Choosing Negative Cases in Comparative Research." *American Political Science Review* 98 (November 2004): 653–669.

Co-Recipient: **Henry E. Hale,** Indiana University

Title: "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse." *World Politics* 56 (January 2004): 165–193.

Giovanni Sartori Book Award

Given by the Qualitative Methods organized section, honors Giovanni Sartori's work on qualitative methods and concept formation, and especially his contribution to helping scholars think about problems of context as they refine concepts and apply them to new spatial and temporal settings. The award is intended to encompass two types of contributions: new research on methodology *per se,* i.e., studies that introduce specific methodological innovations or that synthesize and integrate methodological ideas in a way that is in itself a methodological contribution; and substantive work that is an exemplar for the application of qualitative methods.

Co-Recipients: **Henry E. Brady,** University of California, Berkeley, and **David Collier,** University of California, Berkeley

Title: Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004)

Sage Paper Award

Honors Sara and George McCune, who founded and sustained Sage Publications as a leading publisher of social science methodology—including very centrally qualitative methods. Given to a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Recipient: **Colin Elman,** Arizona State University

Title: "Theoretical Typologies in the Qualitative Study of International Politics"

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