WINTER 2007

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

PostScript

Herbert Weisberg is chair of the department. His research and teaching interests include voting behavior, legislative behavior, and research methods, with a focus on survey research methods and scaling techniques. His recent publications include The New Science of Survey Research: The Total Survey Error Approach *(University of Chicago Press, 2005) and "The Structure and Effects of Moral Predispositions in Contemporary American Politics"* (Journal of Politics, *2005).*

Letter from the Chair

Another fall—always an exciting time at Ohio State. At the Columbus campus, 51,818 students started classes, making it once again the nation's largest. Quality, of course, is what really matters, and this year's class is the most talented and best prepared ever, as shown by their test scores and class ranks. The number of political science majors climbed to over 1,300, and the number of new graduate students in our department grew to over 30. Again, quality is what really matters, and both our undergraduate majors and graduate students are very impressive.

Departments inevitably change. Two of our long-time International Relations faculty are retiring. Donald Sylvan is now president of the Jewish Educational Service of North America in New York City, and Brian Pollins will be moving to western North Carolina in a few months. We very much value their teaching, scholarship, and friendship over the years, and we wish them the best in their new adventures. Four faculty members have moved to other universities: Timothy Frye, Dean Lacy, John Parrish, and Kira Sanbonmatsu. We also miss them very much. At the same time, we are happy to report that we have two new young political theorists on board this fall: Eric MacGilvray (formerly an assistant professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison) and Sonja Amadae (formerly an assistant professor at the Central European University in Budapest). And we are busy this fall recruiting new faculty members in American politics, comparative politics, and international relations, with multiple positions in each field.

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Our faculty continue to receive important recognitions. We have three presidents in our midst this year...

Our faculty continue to receive important recognitions. We have three presidents in our midst this year: Gregory Caldeira (Midwest Political Science Association), Jan Box-Steffensmeier (Political Methodology Society), and Brian Pollins (Peace Science Society). Two of our international relations faculty have won prestigious prizes: Alexander Wendt, whose book *Social Theory of International Politics* was selected by the International Studies Association as the best book published in international studies in the past decade, and John Mueller, whose book *The Remnants of War* was awarded the Lepgold Prize by Georgetown University for the best book in international relations published in 2004. And our faculty's scholarship continues to be recognized on campus: Richard Gunther won the 2006 University Distinguished Scholar Award for his work in comparative politics, and Kathleen McGraw was named a Joan N. Huber Fellow by the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences for being a leading specialist in the field of political psychology.

Our undergraduate students also continue to win recognition and accomplish wonderful things. Ben Jones, an autumn 2006 graduate and an Honors student majoring in political science and French, was named a 2006–2007 Beinecke Scholar—one of only 20 in the country. Ben will receive $32,000 towards a terminal degree in the arts, humanities, or social sciences. He will use his award towards doctoral studies in political theory at Harvard, Princeton, or the University of Chicago. Last summer, Charlene Chi, a senior majoring in political science and economics, participated in an Atlantic Youth seminar in Riga, Latvia, with students from all over Europe. Charlene studied the impediments of fostering democratic participation in post-Soviet states through lectures and workshops facilitated by NATO representatives, diplomats, and non-governmental leaders. She recently completed an internship at the American Council of Young Political Leaders in Washington, D.C., where she worked on developing strategies to increase international cooperation. Kenneth Ferenchak spent the summer of 2006 in Uganda getting a firsthand account of the conflict that has been waged between rebel and government forces for 20 years. Such a study joins a growing niche within academia that is looking at civil conflict resolution and post-conflict development. During his stay, Kenneth conducted about 30 in-depth interviews with various experts on the situation in northern Uganda, gathered firsthand qualitative observations on life conditions in areas directly affected by the violence, and collected a great wealth of various reports and documents detailing the conflict and reintegration efforts.

It is always special to talk to Ohio State alumni and hear their deep feelings for their university.

We also continue to honor our top undergraduates at an honors reception. Over 200 students and their parents attended this annual session in the Fawcett Center the afternoon before the June commencement. Michael Lanese (B.A., Political Science, 1986) spoke. Mike recounted how he applied his academic training when he was co-captain of Ohio State's football team, when he went on to be a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, when he attended the U.S. Naval Officer Candidacy School, when he was a Surface Warfare Officer, and now as an entrepreneur.

On a personal note, my wife and I had a special opportunity to bond with Ohio State alumni this summer, joining an Alumni College abroad tour to Italy. It is always special to talk to Ohio State alumni and hear their deep feelings for their university. Sure enough, we met the parents of an alum of our department: the parents of Greg Lestini, who began working in practical politics as a student in Herb Asher's class and is now a legislative aide to the Columbus City Council.

So, another school year is underway, the department has changed a bit, faculty and students received well-deserved recognitions, and we are teaching another generation of students who soon will be joining the ranks of Ohio State alumni.

Herb Weisberg

Some Reflections on What, if Anything, "Are We Safer?" Means

—by John Mueller

A question repeatedly asked is whether the United States has become safer from international terrorism in the five years since 9/11. I have never quite understood precisely what this question means, but let me explore six possibilities.

1. Is the likelihood that an individual American will be killed by international terrorists higher or lower than before 9/11?

John Meuller

This is a tricky concept because the number of Americans killed within the United States by international terrorists in the five years since 9/11 is the same as the number killed in the five years before: zero. Although polls continue to show Americans notably concerned that they or members of their families might die at the hands of terrorists, astronomer Alan Harris has calculated that, at present rates and including the disaster of 9/11 in the consideration, the chances that any individual resident of the globe will be killed by an international terrorist over the course of an 80-year lifetime is about 1 in 80,000, about the same likelihood of being killed over the same interval by the impact on Earth of an especially ill-directed asteroid or comet. At present, Americans are vastly more likely to die from bee stings, lightning, or accident-causing deer than by terrorism within the country. That seems pretty safe.

2. Are al-Qaeda and al-Qaeda types more or less capable of inflicting damage on the United States?

International terrorists would have to increase their capabilities considerably to change such astoundingly low probabilities. Even if they were able to pull off "another 9/11" every three months for the next five years, the chance of an individual American being killed in one of them would still be two one-hundredths of one percent. Although there is concern that they will become vastly more dangerous by obtaining and setting off nuclear weapons or something like that, they do not seem to have become more capable generally since 9/11. Outside of war zones, the number of people worldwide (few of them American) killed in explosions set off by al-Qaeda or al-Qaeda types stands at 900 or so—notably smaller than the number who have drowned in bathtubs (300-400 per year) in the United States alone during the same period.

Moreover, whatever they may be doing overseas, they don't seem to be here. Some attribute this to luck, good protection, the distractions of the war in Iraq, patience in planning additional attacks, or the breaking up of the Afghan training camps, but the evidence could be taken to indicate either that they aren't trying very hard or that they are far less dedicated, diabolical, and competent than the common image would suggest.

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3. Are there more people out there who hate the United States?

Polls around the world strongly suggest the answer to this is a decided "yes." The post-9/11 event that seems to have inspired this change is the American attack upon (and, increasingly, it seems, debacle in) Iraq.

4. Do the haters see more or less value in striking the United States?

In his excellent book, *The Far Enemy*, Fawaz Gerges argues that mainstream Islamists—the vast majority within the

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John Mueller's research interests include international politics, foreign policy, defense policy, public opinion, democratization, economic history, post-Communism, terrorism, musical theater, and dance history. His recent books include The Remnants of War *(Cornell University Press, 2004) and* Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them *(Free Press, 2006).*

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Islamist political movement—have given up on the use of force except perhaps against Israel, and that the remaining jihadis who are still willing to apply violence constituted a tiny minority before 9/11. But he goes on to note that the vast majority even of this small group primarily focuses on various "infidel" Muslim regimes and consider those among them who carry out violence against the "far enemy"—mainly Europe and the United States—to be irresponsible and reckless adventurers who endanger the survival of the whole movement. From this perspective, suggests Gerges, the 9/11 attacks proved to be substantially counterproductive by massively heightening concerns about terrorism around the world. The key result among jihadis and religious nationalists was a vehement rejection of al-Qaeda's strategy and methods, particularly after reactions to the 9/11 attacks and subsequent terrorism in Muslim countries brought suppression of the movement.

Thus a reasonable conclusion is that, while we are less safe in that more people around the world hate the United States (or at least its foreign policy) than did so before 9/11 (or, actually, before the U.S. invasion of Iraq), we are more safe in that even fewer people than before 9/11 think striking the United States directly makes much sense.

5. Are we more or less vulnerable to attack?

Compared to what (as Henny Youngman replied when asked, "How's your wife?")? Being invulnerable? All societies all the time are "vulnerable" to tiny bands of suicidal fanatics in the sense that it is impossible to prevent every terrorist act. There is no way to make everything completely safe from that any more than every store can be protected against shoplifting or every street can be made permanently free of muggers. This fundamental condition has hardly altered since 9/11—and, essentially, it cannot substantially be altered. Nor is it new or dependent on modern technology. As a friend of mine has pointed out, 19 dedicated, suicidal, and lucky terrorists could probably have scuttled the Titanic, drowning all aboard.

It would seem to make more sense to substantially abandon the quixotic policy of seeking to make everything (or even a lot of stuff) safe, and then use the money saved to police and to repair any terrorist damage and to compensate any victims.

6. Are we more or less likely to commit suicide if attacked?

In 2003, General Richard Myers, chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, ominously suggested that if terrorists were able to engineer an event that managed to escalate 9/11's damage by killing 10,000 Americans, they would successfully "do away with our way of life." The sudden deaths of that many Americans—although representing less than four-thousandths of one percent of the population—would indeed be horrifying and tragic, the greatest one-day disaster the country has suffered since the Civil War. But the only way terrorist acts could conceivably "do away with our way of life" would be if we did it to ourselves in reaction. The process would presumably involve repealing the bill of rights, boarding up churches, closing down newspapers and media outlets, burning books, abandoning English for North Korean, and refusing evermore to consume hamburgers.

The process would presumably involve repealing the bill of rights, boarding up churches, closing down newspapers and media outlets, burning books, abandoning English for North Korean, and refusing evermore to consume hamburgers.

However, we already absorb a great deal of tragedy and unpleasantness and still manage to survive. We live with a considerable quantity of crime, and the United States regularly loses 40,000 lives each year in automobile accidents. Thus, the country can readily absorb considerable damage if necessary, and it has outlasted far more potent threats in the past. To suggest otherwise is to express contempt for America's capacity to deal with adversity.

However, although the alarmists may exaggerate, the subtext of their message should perhaps be taken seriously: ultimately, the enemy, in fact, is us. Thus far at least, terrorism is a rather rare and, appropriately considered, not generally a terribly destructive phenomenon. But there is a danger that hysteria over it could become at least somewhat self-fulfilling should extensive further terrorism be visited upon the Home of the Brave. A key element in a policy toward terrorism, therefore, should be to control, to deal with, or at least productively to worry about the fear and overreaction that terrorism so routinely inspires and that generally constitutes its most damaging effect.

This essay draws on Overblown, *a book published by Free Press in November 2006.*

Ohio Patterns of Congressional Representation

—by John H. Kessel

In 2004, both George W. Bush and John Kerry campaigned in Ohio time and again. In 2006, President Bush and Senator Kerry crisscrossed Ohio again and were joined by many other Republican and Democratic luminaries. Why? In 2006 Ohio chose a U.S. Senator and 18 members of the House of Representatives.

John Kessel

With the possibility that the Democrats might wrest control of the Senate, the House, or both from the Republicans, Ohio's choices were once again critical.

Why is Ohio so important in national politics? The answer begins with history. Ohio was settled from both the North and the South. By considerably simplifying a very complex pattern, we can say immigrants from the North tended to be Whigs, and immigrants from the South tended to be Democrats. Yankees in the northern sections were a bit more prosperous and connected to the East first by canals and then by railroads. Butternut counties in southern Ohio tended to be rural, localized, and connected to the South by river travel. These divisions were sealed by the Civil War. A classic study of Ohio voting showed that voting habits in many counties in the 1950s could be accurately predicted by votes cast during the Civil War period.

The early immigration pattern was modified by succeeding waves of settlers: Irish and German in the mid 19th century, those from southern and eastern Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, black and Appalachian immigrants in the mid 20th century, and the newest settlers from Latin America, Africa, and Asia. These succeeding waves of immigration produced areas of strength for both political parties.

Additional reasons may be found in Ohio's political geography. As with all states, there are rural and urban differences. These were thrust into bold relief in 1948 when Democrat Frank Lausche won the governorship while carrying only eight of Ohio's 88 counties. The counties he carried were all urban. Moreover, Ohio's metropolitan population is spread among several counties. This produces a very different political pattern from Illinois where Chicago dominates the state, or Pennsylvania where Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have outsized impacts on the rest of the state.

Neither party controls all of Ohio's metro areas. Cleveland, Akron, and Youngstown in the northeast are disproportionately Democratic, as is Toledo. (But George Voinovich was once mayor of Cleveland, and Ray C. Bliss, who became Republican National Chair, was from Akron.) Cincinnati, home of the Tafts, is a Republican stronghold. Dayton leans to the Democrats, but has been known to elect Republicans. Compared to the others, Columbus and Canton are relatively neutral. In addition, there are partisan differences in the middle-sized and rural counties. Consequently, both Democrats and Republicans have areas of strength that sustain them over time. With this political geography, it is no surprise that Ohio's Senate and House delegations are sometimes Republican and sometimes Democratic. It is startling to see how clear the patterns are.

The Senate. Since there are only two senators, their arrangements are a little simpler. ***Table 1*** gives the Senate delegations beginning in the 1930s. The years are those in which the elections took place. This makes it easier to observe the electoral tides as they ebbed and flowed. I have simplified things a bit by ignoring senators who served for very brief periods. For example, I excluded the successor to Harold Burton when Burton was appointed to the Supreme Court, and the person who filled the vacancy caused by Robert Taft's death

The dominant pattern has been for both senators to come from the same party. Two Democrats spoke for Ohio for 34 years, and two Republicans represented Ohio for 30 years. In contrast to 64 years of single-party delegations, Ohio has had split delegations for only 10.

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Table 1: Patterns of Senate Representation

Election Years:		
1934–38	D	D
1938–40	D	R
1940–56	R	R
1956–58	D	R
1958–68	D	D
1968–70	D	R
1970–74	R	R
1974–94	D	D
1994–98	D	R
1998–06	R	R

John Kessel is a generalist in American politics. In recent years, his research has focused on the presidency and political parties. His books include The Goldwater Coalition, The Domestic Presidency, Presidential Campaign Politics, *and* Presidential Parties. *His articles have appeared in the* American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Social Science Quarterly, Public Opinion Quarterly, *and other journals. He has been editor of the* American Journal of Political Science *and president of the Midwest Political Science Association.*

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Having both senators from the same party usually occurred when a generally admired person held a seat for some time, while the second senator also came from the same party. Robert A. Taft (1939–53) was selected (along with Clay, Calhoun, Webster, and LaFollette) as one of the five most distinguished senators in American history. John Glenn's (1975–99) short biography includes the words "first American to orbit the earth." Another source of senatorial longevity is that popular former governors—John Bricker, Frank Lausche, and George Voinovich—are often elected to the Senate for at least two terms.

The House of Representatives. Since there are roughly 10 representatives for each senator, and each representative speaks for a different constituency, the House patterns are more complex. In general the House delegations are shaped by three tendencies.

First, the power of incumbents—a candidate may have a tight race when first elected, but once in office most incumbents stay as long as they wish. This isn't to say incumbents can't be beaten, only that they are usually reelected. Incumbents have well known advantages of name familiarity and the ability to raise more campaign funds. But in addition, incumbents can often persuade the legislature to shape districts favorable to their chances of reelection when reapportionment takes place.

Second, the relatively slow growth of Ohio's population, when combined with the effects of "one man, one vote," and the constitutional requirement that each state's seats shall be based on population sharply restrict choices about congressional districts. From 1970 to 2000, Ohio's population increased from 2.6 million to 3.45 million. But since other states grew more rapidly, the size of Ohio's House delegation was reduced from 24 to 18. Ohio's population grew 35 percent, but the state's House delegation was diminished by 25 percent. Each reapportionment began with the knowledge that one or more districts must be eliminated, and the most sparsely populated was often where redistricting began.

Third, the congressional districts were drawn by the Ohio legislature. The legislators, of course, did not have a completely free hand; they were subject to the influence of the incumbents and the realities of population shifts. Still, they were partisans themselves. When the Republicans were in control, as they were for the 1962, 1992, and 2002 apportionments, they tried to find opportunities for Republicans. (The year 02 is used because that is when the reapportionment comes into effect.) Similarly when the Democrats were in charge, as they were for the 1972 apportionment, they sought ways to help Democrats. In 1982, when both parties had a degree of control, the approach was more bipartisan. ***Table 2*** reflects the combined influences of incumbency, population changes, and partisanship.

While all three influences shaped the House delegation, Table 2 shows they did not cause a great shift in any one election. The changes take place

Ohio's population grew 35 percent, but the state's House delegation was diminished by 25 percent. Each reapportionment began with the knowledge that one or more districts must be eliminated, and the most sparsely populated was often where redistricting began.

Table 2: Patterns of House Representation, 1970–2006

Election Year	Number of Republicans	Number of Democrats
1970	17	7
1972	16	7
1974	15	8
1976	13	10
1978	11	12
1980	13	10
1982	11	10
1984	10	11
1986	10	11
1988	10	11
1990	10	11
1992	10	9
1994	12	7
1996	11	8
1998	10	9
2000	11	8
2002	12	6
2004	12	6

one district at a time. If you look at the partisan balance, you see a gradual drift in one district or another. During the 1970s when the Democrats had drawn the district lines, the number of Democratic representatives slowly increased while the number of Republican members gradually decreased. In the 1990s when Republicans handled reapportionment, the number of Republicans remained about the same while the number of Democrats dropped a little.

Since changes take place one district at a time, the best way to understand them is through the stories of individual districts. The Third District, in which Dayton is the largest city, has swung back and forth for a long time. When our story began in 1970, the seat was held by Charles Whalen. Whalen, who taught economics at the University of Dayton, was picked as the Republican candidate after long service in the Ohio House and Senate. First elected in 1966, he had a liberal voting record and an interest in foreign policy and was so popular that he was unopposed in 1974. But after a dozen years in Congress, he decided not to seek reelection in 1978. Tony Hall, also from Dayton, then captured the seat for the Democrats. He followed the same career path as Whalen, moving from the Ohio House to the Ohio Senate, and then to Congress. Soon appointed to the Rules Committee, Hall was becoming powerful. But his passion was better reflected in his chairing the Select Committee on Hunger. In 2002, when he was in his seventh term, Hall accepted a Bush administration's appointment as U.S. Ambassador to the Food and Agricultural Organization in Rome. The next day, Republican Mike Turner, who had been mayor of Dayton from 1994 to 2001, announced his candidacy. In its 2002 reapportionment, the Ohio legislature had added two rural counties to the Third District making it more Republican. Turner faced opposition in both the primary and general elections, but won with substantial margins. Seated on the Armed Services and Government Reform committees, he was reelected in 2004. The Third District had once again swung back to the Republicans.

The Thirteenth District presents another interesting example of changing boundaries and changing incumbents. The one common area through many reapportionments was a portion of Lorain County, containing the industrial cities of Lorain and Elyria and the college town of Oberlin. Other areas were appended or dropped in each redistricting. In the 1970s, the additions were parts of Erie County to the west, suburban Medina to the southeast, and the Akron suburbs of Barberton and Norton. Although the district had many blue-collar residents, its representative had the openness and tolerance of Oberlin College. Prior to his election in 1960, Republican Charles Mosher had been editor- publisher of the *Oberlin News-Tribune* and was a thoughtful and respected member of the Ohio Senate. Along with Charles Whalen, he was a liberal Republican and was continually reelected with comfortable margins. When he reached the age of 72 in 1978, Mosher chose to retire. His successor, Donald J. Pease, had been a member of the Ohio legislature, and, in fact, was editor-publisher of the same Oberlin newspaper. There was just one difference: Pease was a Democrat. The 1982 reapportionment added two rural counties southwest of Lorain and Medina, and the 1992 reapportionment wrapped the Thirteenth District around Cuyahoga (Cleveland) County with portions on the west, south, and east side of Cuyahoga. These constituency changes didn't seem to affect Pease. A member of Ways and Means, he continued to have a moderate record on economic questions and cast liberal votes on foreign and social policies. He also won reelection after reelection with comfortable margins. When Pease retired in 1992, his successor was one of the rising stars of the Democratic Party, Sherrod Brown. Brown had been Secretary of State for eight years. Republicans thought they had prevented a Brown candidacy by keeping Mansfield (Brown's home) out of the Thirteenth District, but Brown rented a cottage in Medina county and won the primary and general elections. A member of the International Relations and Energy and Commerce committees, Brown was a strong voice for the liberal causes he supported with his votes. Some questions were raised about the district during the 2002 reapportionment, but a more coherent Thirteenth District emerged. It now runs from Lorain in the northwest to Akron in the southeast. Over time it had been transformed from a rural-suburban district that a Republican could carry to an urban district that was decidedly Democratic.

There was a Democratic tide in 2006, but no Democratic tsunami. Every Democratic incumbent got more votes than in 2004, and every Republican incumbent got fewer.

The final example is a new Nineteenth District created by the Republican led

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1992 reapportionment. Lake County, just east of Cleveland, tended to be Republican, as did adjoining Ashtabula County. But portions of other counties were added in ways that countered these Republican leanings. The 1992 reapportionment kept Lake and Ashtabula together. A youthful Democrat named Eric Fingerhut won the first election. In 1994, however, Fingerhut was beaten by Lake County prosecutor Steven LaTourette. Although he took very liberal positions for a Republican, LaTourette won reelection with some ease. In 2002, the district was renumbered as the Fourteenth, and almost all of Geauga County was added. It is not so Republican that just any Republican candidate could hold it, but LaTourette has been able to do so.

The 2006 Election. What does this tell us about the 2006 election? In the Senate race, Democrat Sherrod Brown and Republican Mike DeWine were both experienced candidates, but Brown had some advantages over DeWine. Brown was the better speaker, and except for voters who noticed DeWine's superior knowledge of the Senate, the more attractive candidate. Moreover, being a Democrat is more helpful in a Senate race. Remember Table 1 showed two Democratic senators more often than two Republican senators, while Table 2 revealed Republican majorities in the House Delegation more often than Democratic majorities. This paradox arises from the greater concentration of Democratic voters in large metropolitan areas. Democratic votes are "wasted" in large majorities in Democratic congressional districts, but they are all used in constructing statewide majorities. In short, Sherrod Brown had personal advantages and structural advantages in the 2006 Senate race.

In the House of Representatives, we can clearly see the effects of partisan congressional districting, incumbency, and the 2006 political environment. Let's begin with the three congressional districts that were examined in some detail. Election results were fully consistent with these accounts written before the election. The Third District, which most recently had swung back to the Republicans, was kept in the GOP column by Mike Turner's reelection. The Thirteenth District, which had become more Democratic, was open because of Sherrod Brown's Senate candidacy. Betty Sutton had little trouble in keeping it Democratic. And Steven LaTourette was easily reelected from the Republican Fourteenth District in northeastern Ohio.

With one exception, the same continuity was evident in all the congressional voting. There was a Democratic tide in 2006, but no Democratic tsunami. Every Democratic incumbent got more votes than in 2004, and every Republican incumbent got fewer. For those candidates who ran in both 2004 and 2006, the mean Democratic gain was 5.8 percent, and the mean Republican loss was 6.2 percent. And in three of the four open seats, the successful candidate wore the same party colors as the incumbent. The only Republican seat lost to the Democrats had been held by Bob Ney who was convicted in the Jack Abramoff scandal. Ney was not even on the ballot, but Democrat Zack Space effectively portrayed Republican Joy Padgett as associated with Republican scandals. In 17 of the 18 districts, however, previously Democratic districts remained Democratic, and previously Republican districts remained Republican. The pattern of Ohio's House representation was virtually unchanged.

Ohio State Political Scientists Lead Worldwide Research Project

—by Richard Gunther

The Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP) is a major collaborative effort to study elections across democratic nations. Now including research on national elections in 19 political systems (soon to be 20), the CNEP is one of the three largest survey research projects in the world (the others are the World Values Study and the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems). The CNEP was founded and is currently led by Ohio State political science faculty Paul Beck, Bradley Richardson, Richard Gunther, and Bill Liddle, who all have played key roles in its evolution. The principal investigators in this project also include three former Ohio State graduate students: Mariano Torcal (Ph.D. 2002, now professor and chair of Political Science at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona), Pedro Magalhães (Ph.D. 2003, associate professor, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, University of Lisbon), and Saiful Mujani (Ph.D. 2003, executive director, Indonesian Survey Institute, Jakarta).

Richard Gunther

The first phase of this project has culminated in the forthcoming publication by the Oxford University Press of a major book: *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents* (edited by Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero, and Hans-Jürgen Puhle). And in the course of a three-day meeting in Kunming, China, in July 2006, the researchers made plans for cross-national collaborative research that will culminate in additional scholarly publications over the coming years.

The CNEP's comparative analysis is primarily based upon national election surveys, using a common core of questionnaire items, in the United States, Germany, Japan, Britain, Spain, Chile, Uruguay, Greece, Italy, Bulgaria, Hong Kong, Hungary, Indonesia, South Africa, Taiwan, Mozambique, Mexico, and the People's Republic of China. A survey of the Argentine presidential election will be added to the project in 2007.

The Nature of the Project: Something Old, Something New

The CNEP entails systematic, cross-national analyses of two themes that are central to the study of politics of both new and long-established democracies. One examines the ways in which political attitudes and values are related to one another and to partisan preferences. The second deals with channels through which messages flow from parties and candidates to voters, and the ways in which such information flows affect voting decisions and levels of political participation.

A third major analytical focus is particularly important for newly established or reestablished democratic systems. It deals with the mass-level attitudinal underpinnings of democratic consolidation and the relationship between fundamental support for democracy, on the one hand, and other opinions and beliefs regarding satisfaction with democratic performance and the quality of citizen participation in democratic politics, on the other.

The centerpiece of the project is a systematic examination of what we call political intermediation—that is, of the varying channels and processes through which voters receive information about partisan politics during the course of election campaigns and are mobilized to support one party or another. This focus marks a return to the very origins of the modern empirical study of voting behavior, since these intermediation processes were the central focus of the very first modern survey-based election studies undertaken by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and his collaborators at the Bureau of Applied Social Research of the Columbia University in the late 1940s.

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Richard Gunther has research interests in southern Europe, transitions to and consolidation of democracy, electoral behavior, and comparative political institutions and public policy. His current research focuses on the institutionalization and legitimation of partisanship in new democracies and the changing nature of politics in the new southern Europe. His publications include Democracy in Modern Spain *(Yale University Press, 2004);* Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges *(Oxford University Press, 2001);* Political Parties and Democracy *(Johns Hopkins, 2001);* Parties, Politics, and Democracy in the New Southern Europe *(Johns Hopkins, 2001); and* Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective *(Cambridge University Press, 2000).*

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They culminated in path-breaking contributions to political science—including such major works as *The People's Choice* (1944), *Voting* (1954), and *Personal Influence* (1955), but have largely been ignored by scholars since the mid 1950s.

In another respect, the CNEP includes some substantial methodological and theoretical innovations. Foremost among these is the inclusion in the surveys of a battery of questions that tap into attitudes towards not just democracy but durable and deeply rooted sociopolitical values. The systematic cross-national study of the electoral impact of values is a relatively new enterprise in comparative politics, and the approach that we adopt is a substantial departure even from other studies included within this new school.

The Origins of the CNEP: The Focus on Intermediation

Before he came to Ohio State, Paul Beck—and three of his Florida State colleagues—envisaged a comparative electoral research project that would reexamine and revive interest in intermediation processes. Intermediation processes involve (1) the direct transmission of political information through face-to-face, personal contacts, (2) the flow of messages through the mass communications media, and (3) indirect flows of political information through membership in secondary associations (such as trade unions, religious groups, or fraternal organizations). Accordingly, all CNEP surveys include batteries of questions dealing with flows of information through primary social networks (among family members, friends, neighbors, and co-workers), and secondary associations (especially trade unions, religious organizations, and political parties), as well as flows of information from the communications media.

Despite our very conservative analytical approach, the additional explanatory power resulting from the addition of these intermediation variables into our research efforts is substantial, especially with regard to the influence of face-to-face discussions with family and friends on electoral choice. With the recent addition of a number of Third World countries to the project, we will be able to expand the theoretical relevance of these kinds of contacts to examine the extent to which traditional notables or patron-client relationships influence voting behavior in rural areas.

Contrary to economic-reductionist assertions that support for democracy is dependent on satisfaction with the performance of democratic institutions and the economy...we find no significant link between political discontent and democratic support.

The New Spanish Steps: Democratic Support and Values

When we added Spain to the CNEP countries in 1993, we also added a second major theoretical focus on consolidation of new democratic systems. We also expanded the core questionnaire to question how attitudes towards democracy and citizen participation affect the legitimacy and sustainability of new democracies.

Analyses of these data, drawn from new democracies in southern and eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia, lead to strong and consistent conclusions that clash with much of the conventional disciplinary wisdom. Contrary to those who see support for democracy as constituting one or two attitudinal domains, our results find three sets of attitudes that are distinct from one another and have different correlates and behavioral consequences.

These three domains are democratic support (the lack of which correlates strongly with votes for anti-system parties), political discontent (which leads to votes against the incumbent party), and political disaffection (which leads to low levels of emotional and behavioral involvement with politics).

Contrary to economic-reductionist assertions that support for democracy is dependent on satisfaction with the performance of democratic institutions and the economy (as boldly stated by Przeworski in *Democracy and the Market*), we find no significant link between political discontent and democratic support. Contrary to "social capital" hypotheses, we find no significant relationship between affiliation and active involvement with secondary associations, on the one hand, and democratic support, on the other. Finally, since the great majority of respondents in these surveys had been raised under authoritarian regimes, and since most had been exposed to explicitly anti-democratic indoctrination in school, the standard "childhood socialization" explanation of the origins of democratic attitudes is irrelevant.

Instead, we find that the strongest and most consistent predictor of democratic support is the stand taken by political elites during the crucial early stages of the transition to democracy. Where the elites of the non-democratic predecessor regime resisted democratization (as in Bulgaria and Chile), there is a strong correlation between vote for the parties that they or their followers created and the holding of non- or anti-democratic attitudes.

Conversely, where the predecessor elites were either irrelevant to the process of democratization (as in Uruguay and Greece) or played active, constructive roles in the transition (as in Spain and Hungary), there is no such empirical relationship. In short, this "transition and consolidation effect" (as described by Torcal) is very much an "intermediation story."

Finally, the incorporation of the "values battery" of questions into the CNEP core beginning with the 1993 Spanish survey represents a conceptual and methodological innovation. The

behavioral impact of these sociopolitical values had not been previously examined in cross-national empirical studies of voting. The World Values studies rigorously compare the distribution and some of the behavioral correlates of values in over 80 countries, but these values are generally quite abstract dimensions of personality rather than issues and objects of partisan conflict. In sharp contrast, most election studies include questions dealing with campaign "issues," which tend to be transient, specific to individual countries and elections, and not susceptible to cross-national analysis.

The sociopolitical values incorporated into the CNEP surveys are located between these two extremes on the specificity/abstractness continuum. They were initially derived from the political ideologies that have fueled partisan conflict in Western industrialized democracies over the past century. In the forthcoming Oxford Press volume, this West-Eurocentric template was subjected to empirical tests in eight democratic systems.

Our predicted dimensional structuring emerged very strongly (albeit with some slight country-specific modifications) in Spain, Greece, the United States, Uruguay, and Chile; but in political systems with different cultural or social-structural characteristics, and, especially with different trajectories of political evolution, these patterns do not hold up. In four of the five countries where the predicted clustering of values exists, value cleavages exerted a substantial impact on electoral behavior.

This impact was especially strong in the United States, where they explained nearly 40 percent of the variance in the vote in the 2004 presidential election, even after the causal impacts of religiosity, age, income, gender, and education had been controlled in previous steps of the analysis.

In order to accommodate the broader array of cultures and societies that have been incorporated within the CNEP recently, we have added an expanded set of values items (drawn from the Asian Barometer and Afrobarometer projects) to the initial "West European template." Future analysis will determine the extent to which values cleavages may be taking the place of waning social-structural determinants of the vote around the world.

We will bring you additional updates on the results of this global research as they become available.

Meet the Babies

On December 15, 2006, the department greeted all our recent family arrivals. Adults (l-r) are Jennifer Lange (wife of Prof. Alex Thompson), Prof. Mary Cooper, Prof. Alex Thompson, Prof. Michael Neblo, Prof. Craig Volden, Jeff Cooper (husband of Prof. Mary Cooper), and Prof. David Paul. Children (l-r) are Vivian Cooper, Lucy Thompson, Anna Neblo, Isabel Volden, Lily Cooper, and Abigail Paul.

The Evolution of the Wine Wars

—by Alan E. Wiseman

In May 2005, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a ruling that affected wine drinkers throughout America, and Ohioans in particular. In a 5-4 ruling, the Court mandated that state laws that allowed intrastate direct shipment of alcohol but prohibited or limited interstate direct shipments were discriminatory and violated the commerce clause. In other words, states (such as Ohio) that had laws that allowed in-state wineries and retailers to ship directly to in-state consumers, but banned out-of-state producers from shipping directly to those same consumers were unconstitutional. As a consequence of this ruling, more than 20 states (including Ohio) would be compelled to change their state alcohol regulations to ensure that they treated in-state and out-of-state producers and retailers in an equivalent manner. As to what these legal changes will mean to the average Ohio consumer (and consumers in other states) depends on the interactions between various political and market forces that have been striving for prominence over the past 100 years.

Alan E. Wiseman

As a bit of background, different states and localities have been concerned with how they could regulate the consumption and use of alcohol within their borders as early as the late 19th century. To address these issues, the U.S. Congress passed the Webb-Kenyon Act in 1913, which explicitly gave states the power to regulate the transportation and distribution of alcohol into, and within, their borders. This power was effectively codified into the U.S. Constitution with the ratification of the 21st Amendment. The 21st Amendment, as is well known, repealed the prohibition (as established in the 18th Amendment). What is less-well known, however, is the effect of Section 2 of the 21st Amendment, which states, "The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited."

Following the passage of the 21st Amendment, states quickly moved to establish legal and regulatory frameworks for handling the distribution and sale of alcohol within and across state lines. The pattern that most states adopted has come to be known as the "three-tier" system. This system requires that any alcohol coming into a state has to come from the producer (tier one) to a distributor (tier two) and finally to a retailer (tier three) before arriving in the hands of any consumers. By the 1980s, almost every state in the United States had adopted some variant of the three-tier distribution system, and, with the exception of Alaska, California, and Rhode Island, interstate direct shipment of wine (meaning shipments directly to consumers across state lines) was generally illegal.

The legal landscape changed dramatically in 1986 when California began prohibiting direct shipment of wine from other states to California residents, unless exporting states allowed their residents to receive direct shipments from California wineries. California's policy paved the way for "reciprocity" agreements between 13 states to recognize two-way shipping rights between each other for direct interstate shipments of wine from producers and/or retailers to consumers. Besides the 13 reciprocity states, 14 other states (and the District of Columbia) eventually relaxed their prohibitions on interstate direct shipments to allow limited quantities of wine and alcohol to be imported without going through the state sanctioned (or administered) distribution system. At the same time, several other states altered their direct shipping laws so that as of 2003, 24 states had bans on direct shipments, including five states where direct shipment was a felony.

These legal changes corresponded to the rise of distribution and wholesaler interests, which actively lobbied state legislatures to pass laws that (arguably) established and maintained privileged positions for them in the wine market. In many cases, several laws were created that clearly restricted competition in a manner that would normally be deemed unconstitutional if they were applied to

These legal changes corresponded to the rise of distribution and wholesaler interests, which actively lobbied state legislatures to pass laws that (arguably) established and maintained privileged positions for them in the wine market.

Alan Wiseman has research and teaching interests in American political institutions and positive political economy, focusing on legislative and electoral politics, regulation, bureaucratic politics, and Internet economics and public policy. He is the author of The Internet Economy: Access, Taxes, and Market Structure *(Brookings Institution Press, 2001) and has published research in journals including* American Politics Research, Economics and Politics, Legislative Studies Quarterly, *and* Political Research Quarterly. *Current projects include a study of the political effects of partisan redistricting in legislative districts, developing theoretical models of legislative bargaining over particularistic and collective policies, and examining the effects of presidential management on rulemaking processes in the United States. He also helps direct the Colloquium on Positive Political Economy.*

any industry other than alcohol. Due to the 21st Amendment, however, the courts ruled that wine and alcohol were not like any other industries. Hence, state legislatures could pass laws that effectively restricted interstate commerce by barring the importation of products from other states and establishing something tantamount to state-specific protectionist trade regimes.

While certain states had started tightening up their alcohol regulations, the wine industry as a whole had undergone dramatic changes over the previous 70 years. As of 2003, there were nearly 2,700 bonded wineries in the United States, nearly 80% of which were very small-scale, producing less than 25,000 cases a year. This sizable market followed from a 500% increase in the number of wineries over the previous 30 years. While production had expanded, there had been a dramatic consolidation on the distribution side of the business, from nearly 5,000 distributors in the 1950s to approximately 400 wholesalers in 2002.

With the expansion of production, contraction in distribution, and the rise of electronic commerce, various tensions emerged. First, producers alleged that the current distribution framework was simply unable to meet their needs. Second, consumers who sought wines from smaller-production vineyards, but who lived in jurisdictions where direct shipment was illegal (e.g., Ohio) were becoming increasingly frustrated. Finally, distributors and wholesalers, in light of recent consumer and producer mobilization, combined with the prospects of an Internet-facilitated virtual wine market, feared that their control of distribution might erode.

These tensions culminated in the filing of several lawsuits challenging the constitutionality of various direct shipment bans. Among the states whose laws were targeted were Michigan, Florida, New York, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia—all of which had laws that banned interstate direct shipments, but allowed intrastate direct shipments. The decisions in these lawsuits were mixed. In 2002 and 2003, federal courts decided that the alcohol restrictions in Michigan, Texas, North Carolina, and Virginia violated the commerce clause. As a result of the courts' decision, Virginia changed its law in April 2003 to allow legal widespread door-to-door shipment of both beer and wine if out-of-state firms obtained a permit and remitted the relevant taxes. In contrast to the Virginia outcome, the 2nd circuit decided to uphold New York's law that banned direct shipments from out of state, but allowed New York wineries to deliver directly to New York residents and consumers. These contradictory federal circuit decisions were finally reconciled with the aforementioned May 2005 Supreme Court ruling, which stated that such discriminatory laws were unconstitutional.

In many cases, several laws were created that clearly restricted competition in a manner that would normally be deemed unconstitutional if they were applied to any industry other than alcohol.

Having mandated changes in numerous state laws, questions have naturally arisen about the likely consequences of these changes as certain states strive to make their laws nondiscriminatory. To address these questions, a recent study authored by myself and Dr. Jerry Ellig of the Mercatus Center at George Mason University analyzes how the wine market in northern Virginia responded to the repealing of the state's direct shipment ban. Drawing on data that was collected in the summers of 2002 and 2004 (one year before and after Virginia legalized direct shipment in July 2003), we were able to identify how prices and variety were responsive to the legalization of widespread direct shipment.

Our analysis built on our earlier study of Virginia's direct shipment ban whereby we drew data from *Wine and Spirits* magazine's 13th Annual Restaurant Poll (published in 2002) to identify whether Virginia's direct shipment ban negatively affected consumers by depriving them of access to highly desirable wines and/or lower prices that would otherwise be available to them if direct shipment was legal. Having answered both of these questions in the affirmative, we turned to collect data that would be directly comparable to the sample we used in this earlier study—*Wine and Spirits* magazine's 15th Annual Restaurant Poll (published in 2004). After collecting price and variety data from the Internet and bricks-and-mortar stores within a 10-mile radius of McLean, Virginia, we were able to engage the following questions: Following the legalization of direct shipment, was there any difference in product availability in online and offline markets? Similarly, was there a price difference between identical products offered in both brick-and-mortar retailers and online wine shops? Finally, how did the product

continued on page 14

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and price differences (if they existed) in the 2004 sample compare to the 2002 sample? Were any differences consistent with the hypothesis that removal of the ban fostered a more competitive market environment by giving consumers an alternative to Virginia's three-tier distribution system?

Our analysis indicated that, similar to prior to the repeal of the direct shipment ban, even for a highly popular sample of wines, consumers in northern Virginia could still find greater product selection and more competitive prices online (in other states) than in their neighborhood stores. Furthermore, in regards to the impacts of the ban's repeal, the lowest online prices were, on average, about 9 percent lower than the lowest offline prices in 2004 than in 2002. In other words, following the legalization of direct shipment, the online-offline price differential decreased by approximately 7 percentage points, or by nearly 40 percent between 2002 and 2004. Legalization also reduced the spread between the lowest online and average offline prices by approximately 6 percentage points, or by nearly 26 percent, between 2002 and 2004.

First, wine prices in Ohio are generally higher than most places in the United States (as can be easily observed by the fact that Trader Joe's "Two-Buck Chuck" is roughly $3.39 in Ohio).

While these results would suggest that the repeal of direct shipment bans will generally benefit consumer interests, there are reasons to believe that such benefits might not be realized in all states affected by the Court's ruling. As more than 20 states now find themselves having to revise their alcohol laws in ways that will clearly benefit one section of the polity over another, one would suspect that the Court's ruling will serve as a shock to the policy equilibrium in these states, generating intense interest group activity, as parties attempt to carve out and insulate market niches.

As just one example of how these different factors can combine to influence policy, consider Illinois, where, prior to the Supreme Court decision, it was classified as a reciprocity state, in that it recognized two-way direct shipping rights between itself and the 12 other reciprocity states. Under Illinois law, out-of-state wine sellers (wineries and retailers) could ship up to two cases per year directly to Illinois consumers; in-state wineries were allowed unlimited direct shipment to Illinois consumers and to retailers and restaurants. The Illinois law technically conflicted with the Court's decision because the law discriminated against out-of-state wine sellers from reciprocity states in its two-case limit and its prohibitions on direct shipment to Illinois retailers and restaurants. By barring direct shipment altogether, Illinois law also discriminated against out-of-state wine sellers from non-reciprocal states.

In an effort to comport with the Court's ruling, legislation (strongly supported by Illinois beer wholesalers) was introduced in the Illinois House and Senate in January 2006 that would have prohibited direct shipment of wine to Illinois consumers from both in-state and out-of-state wineries unless a consumer had first consummated an on-site purchase at the winery. After an initial on-site purchase, a consumer would be limited to receiving two cases per year, and wineries would be barred from shipping directly to restaurants and/or retailers without going through a distributor. Although the proposed legislation clearly afforded significant economic benefits to wholesalers and distributors, advocates of the legislation downplayed these aspects. Instead, they argued that the legislation was necessary to provide for appropriate excise tax collection, and, more importantly, to prevent underage consumers from acquiring wine through direct shipment.

The proposed legislation met significant opposition from consumers and wineries, which eventually paved the way for compromise legislation permitting wineries to ship up to 12 cases per year to each Illinois consumer, even if a consumer did not first purchase wine on site. Illinois wineries would be able to have two, at most, retail outlets from which to sell wine; however, they would no longer be permitted to sell directly to retailers and restaurants. Thus, all wine sellers—in-state and out-of-state—would have to sell their products through an Illinois distributor as parts of the existing three-tier system. Despite the strong endorsement of the Illinois Grape Growers and Vintners Association (IGGVA) and a unanimous 52-0 vote in the Senate, the compromise ran into trouble in the House.

Claiming that the IGGVA had acted without consulting its winery members, several wineries spoke out against the compromise legislation, arguing that revoking their distribution privileges would severely harm their business. Retailers also voiced opposition, as they realized that they would be unable to ship directly to Illinois consumers under the proposed law; and nearly 50,000 consumers were mobilized by the newly formed Specialty Wine Retailers Association, a Sacramento-based pro-retailer-direct shipment interest group, to oppose the legislation. Consequently, the legislative compromise was stalled in the House Rules committee, when the Illinois General Assembly adjourned in summer 2006, and Illinois still needs to revise its law to comport with the Court's ruling.

Closer to home, Ohio's discriminatory shipment ban was repealed in October 2005 in response to the Court's ruling; but Ohio consumers might experience few clear benefits from the ban's repeal when they are shopping at their corner wine stores. More specifically, while retailers in Virginia and other states are flexible to adjust their prices in response to increased competition from out-of-state competitors, Ohio retailers do not have such options, given state laws that mandate a minimum price markup of 33.33% between producers and distributors, and an additional 50% price markup between distributors and retailers. These mandated minimum markups have certain consequences. First, wine prices in Ohio are generally higher than most places in the United States (as can be easily observed by the fact that Trader Joe's "Two-Buck Chuck" is roughly $3.39 in Ohio). Second, in most local markets, there is no viable price competition between Ohio retailers, because they are constrained, by law, as to how much they can cut prices. Given that Ohio law prevents Ohio retailers from effectively competing with each other on price grounds, these retailers will also clearly not be able to vigorously compete with out-of-state retailers and producers who are not subject to such pricing constraints. Hence, Ohio's legalization of direct shipment will likely not translate into reduced retail prices in the near future.

As a side note, to address this obvious pricing disparity between in-state and out-of-state retailers, legislation was considered in the Ohio legislature in spring 2006 that would require out-of-state sellers to sell their products no lower than state-mandated minimum prices when they ship directly to Ohio consumers. While such legislation would effectively guarantee that any form of price competition for wine would be a dead-letter for Ohioans, proponents of the law argued that it would achieve several goals including: limiting alcohol consumption (due to higher prices), maintaining tax revenue (due to taxes placed on higher retail prices), and ensuring that in-state and out-of-state retailers were treated the same under Ohio law, as was presumably the intention of the Supreme Court's 2005 ruling. As to whether mandating that out-of-state interests be required to sell their products for certain prices when they sell into Ohio is constitutional, under the commerce clause, seems to be an open question, which will likely be explored if the legislation goes further. These legal issues aside, the proposed legislation had been stalled as of summer 2006; and with the recent Democratic shakeup in Ohio state government, there are broad questions over whether certain regulatory priorities of the previous Republican administration (e.g., alcohol) will be embraced by the incoming Democrats. Regardless of what develops in Ohio, however, it is fair to say that the political conflicts accompanying the wine wars are far from over and will be contested within the states for the foreseeable future.

FURTHER READING:

Wiseman, Alan E., and Jerry Ellig. 2004. "Market and Nonmarket Barriers to Internet Wine Sales: The Case of Virginia." *Business and Politics*. 2004. 6 (2): Article 4 (available at http://www.bepress.com/bap/vol6/iss2/art4/).

Wiseman, Alan E., and Jerry Ellig. 2006. "The Politics of Wine: Trade Barriers, Interest Groups, and the Commerce Clause." To be published in the *Journal of Politics* (available from author upon request).

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University funds are always scarce, so the successes of the Department of Political Science—the support of important scholarship, the education of our undergraduate and graduate students, the presence of visiting speakers and distinguished scholars on campus—all these and more are supported in greater numbers by the generosity of our alumni.

We invite you to make a gift to the department through one of our existing funds, which we describe below. Please use the check box on the return card to indicate the fund to which you are donating.

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Jacobina Aman Award
Established January 12, 1959, with a bequest from Katherine A. Seibert in memory of her mother. Income provides a student award recognizing good will, understanding, and practical cooperation in international affairs and/or race relations among fellow students.

Francis R. Aumann Fund
Established February 4, 1983, by alumni, friends, and associates of Dr. Aumann, professor emeritus. Income rewards scholastic excellence of political science students and promotes academic goals of the Department of Political Science.

William Jennings Bryan Prize
Established July 20, 1898, by Mr. Bryan. Income supports a prize for the best essay on *The Principles Which Underlie Our Form of Government.* If no prize is awarded, income is reinvested to principal.

Lawrence J.R. Herson Fund
Established May 7, 1999, by alumni, friends, and associates of Professor Herson, in honor of his retirement and distinguished career in the Department of Political Science. Income enhances academic goals of the department and promotes scholarly excellence among political science majors.

Madison H. Scott Memorial Fund in Political Science
Established April 4, 1997, by family, alumni, friends, and associates of Mr. Scott, former vice president for human resources and former secretary of the Board of Trustees. Income provides research grants and scholarships for minorities in the Department of Political Science.

Walter J. Shepard Foundation
Established June 30, 1936, by friends of Dean Shepard. Income supports lectures by distinguished scholars in political science.

Henry Russell Spencer Fund in Political Science
Established July 11, 1949, by friends, colleagues, and former students of Professor Spencer. Income supports lectures or fellowships in political science.

Harvey Walker Sr. Memorial Fund in Political Science
Established September 8, 1972, by family, colleagues, and friends. Income funds fellowships for outstanding students in political science for purposes of advancing the study of political science.

Political Science Advancement Fund
At the discretion of the chair, the income from this fund is used to support student and faculty educational activities for the advancement of the department.

Political Science Development Fund
At the discretion of the chair, this fund's income is used for teaching, research, faculty travel and recruitment, student aid, public service, publications, and other similar purposes.

UNDERGRADUATE INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

2005–2006 has been an exciting year for the internship program at Ohio State. Not only have we witnessed increased enrollments in our various internship offerings but we have also become involved in a university-wide effort to emphasize the importance of internships and experiential learning. To this end, our internship coordinator, Charles Smith, has been active at the university level to improve communication between students, academic units, and the greater Columbus community. We are also pleased to be part of a college and university initiative to increase internship opportunities with our alumni.

Our primary internship offering, Political Science 589, continues to prosper. During the 2005–2006 academic year, we saw enrollment increase to 78 students, a 150% increase over the previous year's enrollment. PSC 589 students pursue a wide range of internship opportunities. The U.S. Senate office of Senators DeWine and Voinovich, the Ohio General Assembly, the Ohio Republican Party, and the Ohio Democratic Party, and the Law Offices of Melanie Mills continue to provide steady internships for Ohio State students. Additionally, students are gaining valuable experience while working with the National Federation of Independent Businesses, the Supreme Court of Ohio, and the Franklin County Department of Jobs and Family Services. In addition to the Law Offices of Melanie Mills, students are gaining an appreciation of the legal field through work with the Huron Municipal Court as well as the law firm of Niehaus & Associates (Sylvania, Ohio) and the Law Offices of Simina Vourlis (Columbus).

While political science majors continue to dominate 589 enrollments, students from other disciplines are

Tell me and I will forget. Show me and I will remember. Involve me and I will understand.
—Benjamin Franklin

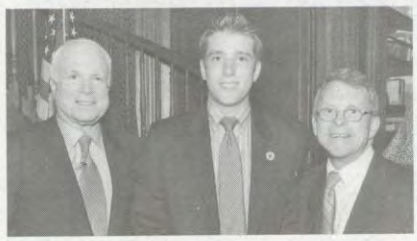
taking advantage of this offering. We are delighted that English, history, accounting, and engineering majors are earning academic credit through our program.

Each spring, we send students north to work as interns for members of the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa. Dr. James Baker of Western Kentucky University provides students a great opportunity to study a parliamentary government without traveling overseas. In 2006, two Ohio State students, Christina Amatos and Cory Bantilan, accompanied Dr. Baker to take part in this wonderful experience. Our students completed a pre-travel seminar directed by Dr. Randall Ripley and attended Dr. Ripley's winter quarter course on Canadian politics to prepare them for their internships.

Two of the 2005 Canadian Parliament alumni traveled to the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs to participate in the 48th Academy Assembly, held February 7–10, 2006. J.T. Holt and Jonathan Glick were chosen to represent Ohio State at this prestigious event. At this year's assembly, U.S.-Canada Relations: Bridging the Common Border, our students were able to work with prominent scholars, business leaders, and government and military officials.

Our department is pleased to continue its association with the John Glenn School of Public Affairs. The school's Washington Academic Internship Program enrolled 39 students for autumn 2005 and winter and spring 2006.

As our enrollments indicate, students increasingly are realizing the value of experiential learning. The political science department remains dedicated to providing students opportunities to increase their understanding of, and involvement in, politics and public service while maintaining a firm anchor in academics.



Undergraduate Christy Amatos with Maria Minna of the Canadian Parliament during Christy's internship in Ottawa

Intern Seth Waugh with Senators John McCain (left) and Mike DeWine during a DeWine 2006 campaign event in Youngstown

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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Kathleen McGraw Named Joan N. Huber Fellow

Professor Kathleen McGraw has been named a Joan N. Huber Fellow by the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences in recognition of her being a leading specialist in the field of political psychology. She is best known for her research on how voters evaluate political candidates. Her recent research covers citizen response to legal change, media priming, voter ambivalence, and implicit political attitudes. She has served as chair of Ohio State's Department of Political Science.

Richard Gunther Wins the 2006 University Distinguished Scholar Award

Professor Richard Gunther won the 2006 University Distinguished Scholar Award, which was given by President Karen Holbrook during a surprise visit to his undergraduate International Studies class on January 24, 2006. Gunther is this country's leading scholar in the study of southern European politics, especially regarding Spain. He has published 11 books and over 70 articles and book chapters. His work has also been published in eight foreign languages. His research contributes to theories of democratic consolidation, with empirical and theoretical work on political parties and electoral behavior. Professor Gunther has previously won the Faculty Award for Distinguished University Service and has been selected by our College of Social and Behavioral Sciences to be a Joan N. Huber Faculty Fellow.

John Mueller's Book Wins Lepgold Prize

Professor John Mueller's book The Remnants of War has been awarded the Lepgold Prize by Georgetown University for the best book on international relations published in 2004.

Alex Wendt's Book Wins Best Book in International Studies; Wendt among Most Influential International Relations Scholars

Professor Alex Wendt's book Social Theory of International Politics has been selected as the best book published in international studies in the past decade. The award was given at the 2006 annual meeting of the International Studies Association. In addition, a recent survey by Susan Peterson and Michael Tierney of the College of William and Mary titled, "Teaching and Research Practices, View on the Discipline, and Policy Attitudes of International Relations Faculty at U.S. Colleges and Universities," has ranked Professor Wendt among the most important scholars of that field. The survey included questions asking over 2,000 current scholars in international relations to list those individuals (1) whose work has had the greatest impact on the field over the past 20 years, (2) who have been doing the most interesting

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work in recent years, and (3) whose work has most profoundly affected their own research and thinking about international relations. Professor Wendt was the only individual among the top five in each category, and he was ranked third, second, and fourth, respectively.

Gregory Caldeira Is President of the Midwest Political Science Association
Professor Caldeira, an Ohio State faculty member who works in the field of judicial processes in the United States and Europe, organized interests, and American political institutions, is the president of the Midwest Political Science Association. In addition to this honor, he has recently accepted the Ann and Darrell Dreher Chair in Political Communication and Policy Thinking in the Department of Political Science, as well as a joint appointment as a professor of law at Ohio State's Moritz College of Law. He is also a recent recipient of a University Distinguished Scholar Award.

NEW FACULTY

Sonja Amadae
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Political Theory
Professor Amadae has research and teaching interests in political theory. She is the author of Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy: The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism (Chicago, 2003) and has written articles for Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science, Economics and Philosophy, and the American Journal of Economics and Sociology. She is currently working on a book manuscript titled Let Freedom Reign: Clarifying Liberty from the Time of the Enlightenment.

Eric MacGilvray
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Political Theory
Professor MacGilvray has research and teaching interests in political theory. He is the author of Reconstructing Public Reason (Harvard University Press, 2004), as well as articles in Political Theory and the American Journal of Political Science. He is currently working on a book manuscript titled Two Faces of Freedom.

Robert E. Bennett (B.A. 1970) is semi-retired, working for Goodwill Industries and as custodian of St. Luke's Lutheran Church, in Lima, Ohio.

Norman Carpenter (B.A. 1997) reports that, after leaving Ohio and living in three states in three years, he returned to Ohio in 2001. He is married and his first daughter was born in 2005. Norman is a software design consultant.

Todd Clark (B.A. 1995) earned an M.P.P. from the University of Southern California in 1998 and worked in the California Legislative Analyst's office for seven years. He has recently returned to Columbus to work in the education office of the Ohio Office of Budget and Management.

Vivian Rivkin Friedkin, Esq., (B.A. 1969) was recently appointed administrative law judge for the City of New York at the Environmental Control Bureau. She is past president and current director of the board of Greater Westhampton Civic Association and former assistant district attorney in New York County.

Evangeline Gomez (B.A. 1998) is staff attorney in the Community Economic Development Law Unit of Northeast New Jersey Legal Services Corporation. She is the creator, host, and producer of "Legally Speaking," a legal information show, and she is a trustee of the Paterson Education Fund, the Hyacinth AIDS Foundation, and St. Paul's Community Development Corporation, responsible for building affordable housing in Paterson, New Jersey.

William S. Livingston (B.A., M.A. 1943) joined the faculty at the University of Texas at Austin in 1949 and has "been here ever since." Professor Livingston "had a hand in the creation of the LBJ School" at Texas and was a guest of Ohio State's president, Karen Holbrook, before the Buckeye-Longhorns football games.

George Lovett (M.A. 1985) was elected mayor of Tipp City, Ohio, in January 2006. George and his wife, Rosalyn, are principals of Lovett and Lovett Co., a law firm in Tipp City. Their daughter, Beatrice, is eleven.

Connie Lutz (B.A. 1982) retired from the U.S. Air Force after 22 years and 10 months of service.

Dr. Carol Nechemias (Ph.D. 1976) serves as coordinator for the Public Policy program at Penn State Harrisburg. She spent academic year 2004–05 as a Fulbright scholar in Russia at Vologrd State University. Her current research focuses on women's issues in Russia and on the development of civil society in Russia.

Dean Swanson (Ph.D. 1976) is the chief of the International Fisheries Division in the National Marine Fisheries Service at the Department of Commerce. He manages a staff of 10 experts in international negotiations for the conservation and management of living marine resources. Dean is the winner of two Department of Commerce bronze medals and one silver medal for distinguished service.

Glen W. Sutcliffe (B.A. 1989) lives in Washington, D.C., where he has worked as the assistant to the staff director of the Subcommittee on Disability Policy (responsible for passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act and the Television Decoder Act), as an assistant in the transition team for the White House, and as a lobbyist for different interests, most particularly attorney-advocates who work pro-bono on behalf of people with disabilities. He moved from lobbying to real estate eight years ago and is currently with W.C. and A.N. Miller in Washington, D.C.

Hugo Trux (B.A., M.A. 1971) just completed his 25th year as owner of his own marketing research and strategy consulting firm in Columbus. In December 2005, the Columbus Rotary selected him Rotarian of the Year.

Christina Tuff (B.A. 2004) is now press secretary for Congressman John Sullivan from the First District of Oklahoma, having spent over three years as an aide to U.S. Senator George Voinovich.

Matthew Wigton (B.A. 2005) is currently pursuing a Master of Divinity at Gordon Conwell Theological Seminary in Hamilton, Massachusetts.

PostScript

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