

toral turnout and voting behavior. Here are the evolution of party systems, the profound impact of presidential as against parliamentary institutions, the electoral basis for responsible party government, the rise of the modern mass media, and the “vanishing marginals” of subsequent congressional election scholarship, all encompassed in twenty highly readable pages with nine tables and figures. One would be hard pressed to find a more impressive display of originality, erudition, and analytic resourcefulness in the whole literature of voting studies.

Stokes's last great work of electoral scholarship, written in collaboration with David Butler, was *Political Change in Britain*. In many ways this book harked back to *The American Voter*, embracing more completely than in any of the Michigan school's other international collaborations the model of a comprehensive, survey-based analysis of national voting behavior in a particular political era. The analytical framework of *The American Voter* was elaborated in *Political Change in Britain* to distinguish more explicitly among generational changes in the composition of the electorate, fundamental shifts in partisan loyalties, and the effects of candidates, campaigns, and valence issues in specific elections. The fundamental findings of the earlier book regarding the limits of issue awareness and ideological competition, the structuring role of parties, and the interplay of long-term and short-term forces were reiterated and extended. At the same time, the distinctive features of the British electoral system—the prominent role of social class and trade unions, the impact of a nationalized, partisan press, and the distinctive interplay of national and local forces in a parliamentary system—received prominent attention both in their own right and for the light they shed on broader theoretical questions of cross-national interest. Finally, Butler and Stokes exploited their panel survey design to provide a more direct analysis of political dynamics than in *The American Voter*, approaching a synthesis of the historical and systemic perspective of Campbell, Key, and Stokes himself on one hand and the

campaign-specific analyses of the Columbia school and the Nuffield studies on the other. It was a bravura performance, unmatched in the subsequent cumulation of electoral research, and a fitting capstone to the first phase of Stokes's remarkable professional life.

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Donald Stokes at Princeton

Donald Stokes joined Princeton's faculty in 1974 as Professor of Politics and Public Affairs and as Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School. Five years later he was named to the Class of 1943 University Professorship. He served as Dean for 18 years, before stepping down in 1992 to return to full-time teaching and scholarship.

Stokes guided the Woodrow Wilson School through a remarkable period of growth and diversification. The School grew from a faculty of 26, most of them in economics and political science, to a faculty of 51, with added specialists in geography, demography, sociology, urban planning, and science policy.

Central to this expansion was Stokes's creative management of the School's budget in the mid-1970s that allowed expenses to lag behind the growth of income from the Robertson endowment (which supports the School's graduate program). This one change built a financial cushion for the School that allowed the investment advisors for the Robertson Foundation to manage the endowment very aggressively and all this just as the stock market began its own remarkable period of growth. Stokes was also a tireless fund raiser, increasing the number of endowed chairs at the School from four to thirteen, creating four endowed preceptorships for assistant professors, and raising money for graduate fellowships, research, and building expansion.

Stokes also championed curricular innovations. At the undergraduate level, he continued the School's reliance on policy conferences and policy task forces, where students work in teams to develop solutions to important policy problems; but he also

stimulated the creation of a rich array of undergraduate courses, including those on the mass media, the American city, quantitative analysis, ethics and public policy, geography and public affairs, science and technology, and organization and management. The master's program in public affairs added new courses in public management, demography, science policy, and urban planning. The Ph.D. program transformed itself from a tiny program for a few graduates of the School's own M.P.A. program into a residential Ph.D. program which could admit students from anywhere.

Stokes was an active teacher, both while he was Dean and during the subsequent five years. But he never once taught his “Michigan courses” on voting behavior or research methodology (except to run a few preceptorials in Michael Kagay's undergraduate course on public opinion). Instead he immersed himself in new forms of teaching, including interdisciplinary teaching on science policy, organizations, and management. As an administrator, he championed the creation of a required course for first-year M.P.A students on political and organizational analysis. Then, when he found it difficult to draft a sufficient number of his political science colleagues to teach the course, he volunteered and co-taught it for twelve of the last thirteen years.

He was also an institution builder. Stokes helped two of the Schools research programs grow and prosper the Office of Population Research and the Center of International Studies and he created a new Center of Domestic and Comparative Policy Studies and a small Program for New Jersey Affairs. He was an active member of the Department of Politics, where he played a major role in personnel decisions; by his actions it was clear that he cared equally for faculty jointly appointed with the School and those with Department-only appointments. He was endlessly supportive and a pleasure to work with. He believed that the School could not thrive unless the Departments of Politics and Economics prospered, and he used the School's resources to help insure that both became stronger.

Stokes's efforts at the Woodrow

Wilson School immersed him in a long-term commitment to the intellectual and organizational revitalization of the professions of public administration and policy analysis. His contributions to that profession were recognized by his election to the presidencies of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM), the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA), and the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. (NASPAA). He also received the Elmer B. Staats Award for a distinguished career in public service.

At the time of his death, Stokes was just completing his book, *Pasteur's Quadrant: Basic Science and Technological Innovation*, which will be published by the Brookings Institution. In this book, Stokes challenges the view, which has been at the core of the compact between government and science since World War II, that there is a basic dichotomy between basic and applied science. He argues that technology has become increasingly science-based and science has become increasingly technology-based, with the choice of problems and the conduct of research often inspired by societal needs. On this revised, interactive view of science and technology, Stokes argues that by recognizing the importance of use-inspired basic research we can frame a new compact between science and government.

Stokes was as committed to public service and to community life as he was to scholarship. In 1981 and 1991, he served the State of New Jersey as the tie-breaking public member of the Legislative Apportionment Commission, winning the admiration of partisans from both

sides of the aisle for his wit, wisdom, and fairness. More recently, he co-chaired the Princeton Consolidation Study Commission that published a report last October favoring the merging of Princeton Borough and Princeton Township into a single municipality. He also served as clerk of the school committee of the Princeton Friends School.

No reference to Don's academic and civic leadership would be complete without mentioning his personal qualities. He was an original. There was nothing bureaucratic about him. Even his most routine exchanges with colleagues were marked by wit, grace, and erudition. Leading his associates in the aggregate, he never failed to connect with them as individuals.

The most frequent comment recently heard at Princeton during the past two months is that "Don Stokes was the Woodrow Wilson School." Indeed, it is difficult to think about one without the other. Longevity is surely part of the reason. He was Dean for a longer period than the other four deans combined; only eight of the School's 54 faculty members were there before he arrived. More fundamentally it is because he embodied the values of the place, including the School's commitment to research and teaching, to disciplinary excellence in an interdisciplinary environment, and to training leaders who can make a difference in the world of public affairs. Although we still call it the Woodrow Wilson School, it is, in fact, the School that Don Stokes built.

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Ernest J. Walters, Jr.

Ernest J. Walters, Jr., longtime professor of political science at Furman University, died January 31, 1997, at Greenville South Carolina Memorial Hospital. He was 69.

Walters was best known as a teacher of political theory. He joined the political science department at Furman in 1962 and served as chairman of the department from 1979 to 1984. He retired in 1989 as professor of political science emeritus. In recent years he taught courses in the Furman University Learning in Retirement program.

In 1971 he was one of the earliest recipients of the Alester G. Furman, Jr., and Janie Earle Furman Award for Meritorious Teaching. He was a Distinguished Visiting Professor at the University of Nebraska at Omaha and president of the South Carolina Political Science Association. He was the author of a number of professional papers and served as a panelist at numerous professional conferences throughout the country. He was also the recipient of a Danforth Teaching Grant.

He served as president of the Furman Chapter of the American Association of University Professors and the Western South Carolina Torch Club.

A native of Pine Bluff, Ark., he was the son of the late Ernest J. and Moree M. Walters. He received the B.S. degree from Louisiana State University and the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago. He served in the U.S. Army during World War II and was an investigator with the U.S. Civil Service Commission from 1952 to 1962.

Surviving are his wife, Terrill Duke Walters; a daughter, Amy Rebecca Walters; and a sister, Jeannine Walters Alvis.