

Association News

Charles O. Jones: Political Institutional

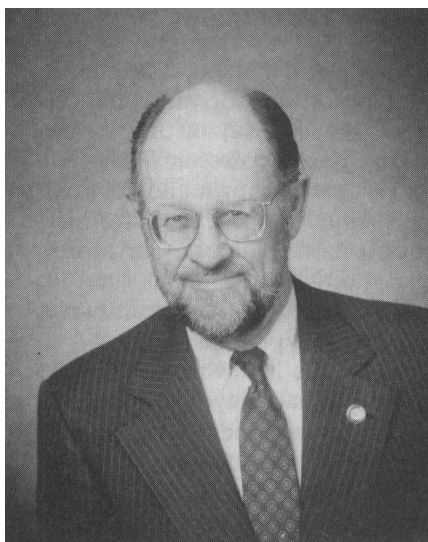
Samuel C. Patterson
Ohio State University

Charles O. Jones, presently Glenn B. and Cleone Orr Hawkins Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, will serve as the eighty-ninth president of the American Political Science Association during 1993-94. No political scientist more richly merits the recognition the presidency of the Association brings to him or her than Chuck Jones, who has served on the faculty of five colleges and universities, won various accolades for professional and scholarly achievement (including a Guggenheim fellowship, a fellowship in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and an honorary doctorate from his alma mater), served on the editorial boards of nine journals and as editor of both the *American Political Science Review* and the *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, and served in several association offices including treasurer, chair of the Trust and Development Fund, vice president, and president-elect.

He has been an active member and officer of two regional associations—the Midwest Political Science Association and the Southern Political Science Association—and served as president of the former. Moreover, his presidencies also include the Policy Studies Organization and Pi Sigma Alpha. And, he chaired both the executive committee of the Social Science Research Council board of directors and the council of the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. On a much broader canvas than the strictly academic, Jones has been a consultant or adviser to a wide variety of government agencies and commissions, congressional committees, universities, and private research institutes, epitomized by his long-time and continuing relationship with the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C.

The Emerging Scholar

We observe Charles O. Jones today as a mature, sophisticated, and very productive scholar, but I remember our days together in graduate school at the University of Wisconsin when both of us figured our chances of success were modest



Charles O. Jones

at best, and neither of us imagined what the road ahead would be like. For Chuck, the road ahead entailed an outpouring of scholarly research and writing, a lifetime of commitment to the life of a teacher and scholar. I vividly remember Chuck's elation upon the occasion of his first publication, a brief article on interviewing members of Congress published in the *Public Opinion Quarterly* (in 1959). Two years later, his first paper appeared in the *American Political Science Review*. From this beginning, there flowed fifteen books and monographs (the fifteenth just completed), and nearly ninety articles and book chapters.

But, to me Chuck Jones is not merely a distinguished political scientist of immense scholarly achievement. I have been a close personal friend of Chuck Jones for about forty-four years now. Both of us

grew up in small towns in South Dakota—Chuck was born in the jerkwater of Worthing, but he grew up in Canton, a town of some “2,600 friendly citizens” in those days. He was raised by his grandparents, Ruby and Oscar B. Jones, both loving and devoted parents who sacrificed much to see that Chuck was properly raised. Oscar Jones, “Pa” to Chuck, was a crusty but very endearing man, whose cussing and irascible expressions often were a source of amusement and affection to Chuck (and to me) for as long as he lived.

In 1949, we both went to college at the University of South Dakota in Vermillion. We met the first day, accidentally seated side-by-side in William O. “Doc” Farber’s American government class. We have been fast friends since that day. We were avid political science majors, guided by our devoted professors Bill Farber and Tom Geary. For one summer during our college days we both won internships (then called “student assistantships”) in the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors’ Insurance, and we went off to work in the Bureau offices in Baltimore. That was the first time we lived together, enduring a sweltering top floor room of a boarding row house near the Enoch Pratt Free Library. We never had been much in cities, and we had very little money. As I recall, we survived the summer on crab cakes and a lot of sightseeing on foot.

We had done well in college courses at South Dakota U., so well that on graduation day in 1953 we led our graduating class down the aisle of Slagle Hall to get our bachelor degrees with *laude*'s. Since we both were in ROTC, we got Army commissions when we graduated, as well. I took off for a stint in the infantry, but Chuck's commission as a second lieutenant was in the Adjutant General's corps of the army. He spent his two-year tour of duty mostly in Washington, D.C. and on South Pacific atolls—watching

atomic weapons explode, and writing the official history of the testing program.

During our service in the army, we were able to meet occasionally for visits, and at some point we both decided to go to graduate school in political science somewhere. "Doc" Farber advised us to apply to the University of Wisconsin, where he had gotten his Ph.D. We followed his advice, were offered assistantships there, and both decided to go to graduate school at Wisconsin. We moved into a seedy lakefront flat (landlorded by an odd chap we called "Father Divine") to attend the summer school in 1955. I'll never forget the day we both went to South Hall, where the political science department was then located, to meet the chairman, the acerbic William S. Young, who did not give us much hope for success in graduate study. Our leading faculty lights were David Fellman, Ralph K. Huitt, Henry Hart, and, above all, Leon D. Epstein. We both were avid students of Ralph Huitt's, with whom Chuck completed his Ph.D. dissertation. We worked equally with Leon Epstein, who was our idea of what a university professor should be like. He still is.

Over the years since we lived and worked together as Wisconsin graduate students, we have remained in close touch. I liked and admired Chuck Jones when we were college friends, and I still like and admire him. Now, I admire him as a leading scholar in political science, a craftsman of research and teaching. He is my best friend, and, like a brother, has enriched my life. But, more important, his scholarly work has enriched the intellectual and professional development of political science over the last 35 years or so.

Investigating the Congressional Institution

From the beginning, Jones's interest lay in political institutions—how they are ordered, how their processes work, what decisions are made within them, how public policies are shaped by them. His contributions to political science fall rather neatly into three classes: congressional politics, public policy, and the presidency.

NOMINATIONS SOUGHT FOR 1994 APSA AWARDS

Nominations are invited for the APSA awards to be presented at the 1993 Annual Meeting in New York City. Dissertations must be nominated by departments and submitted by January 15, 1994. Books must be nominated by publishers and submitted by February 1, 1994. Members are invited to nominate individuals for the career awards. Further details may be obtained by contacting the national office.

Until the late 1960s, his writing focused mainly upon the United States Congress. Three books about Congress developed during this period—*Party and Policy-Making: The House Republican Policy Committee* (1964), *Every Second Year: Congressional Behavior and the Two-Year Term* (1967), and *The Minority Party in Congress* (1970). These books illustrate Jones's interest in the party organization within Congress, and particularly in the peculiar role of the minority, usually Republican, party.

He was fascinated with the adaptation of the Republicans to their fate as the seemingly permanent congressional minority. He began to investigate this by dissecting the House Republican Policy Committee by way of personal interviews with committee members. This effort led him to a larger analysis of the minority party's role in Congress, which he conducted under the aegis of Ralph K. Huitt's Study of Congress project. Jones analyzed crucial conditions inside and outside Congress since the turn of the 20th century affecting the capacity of the minority party to perform as an effective "loyal opposition." Interestingly, in *The Minority Party in Congress* Jones particularly considers the phenomenon of the "minority party mentality," the proclivity of members of the permanent minority to pursue individual goals and satisfy individual motivations rather than seeking to convert the minority into a majority party.

In the midst of these concerns, Jones turned to a matter of the institutional design of Congress—the term of office for members. He conducted a very thorough study of the issue of the congressional two-year term, under the auspices of the Brookings Institution. Nowadays, public attention is focused on the

proposal to limit the number of terms legislators may serve. But in the mid-1960s public discussion addressed a proposal, made by President Lyndon B. Johnson, to extend the term of office of House members from two to four years. Jones concluded that the term change was not a good idea. In the course of the argument in *Every Second Year*, by the way, he made himself one of the first congressional scholars to identify the "incumbency effect" in elections, although he had shown the high incumbent return rate in congressional elections in a seminal 1964 article in the *Western Political Quarterly* (long before "incumbency" was worked to a frazzle by scholars in the 1980s and 90s).

In the late 1970s, Jones wrote a synoptic book on Congress—*The United States Congress: People, Place, and Policy* (1982)—where he elaborated and adumbrated themes from his earlier congressional research. One theme was that of the formidability of Congress as a political institution, a constitutional body grown more powerful over recent years. Another was that of the ubiquity of reform, in the form of the argument that "Congress changes whether or not specific reforms are enacted." Finally, Congress plays a central role in policy making as the institution is drawn into various salient "policy networks."

Analyzing Public Policies

The more deeply Jones plumbed the institutional life of Congress, the more interested he became in wider analysis of public policy processes. In a long-surviving and widely-used textbook (*Introduction to the Study of Public Policy*, 3rd ed., 1984), he marshalled the concepts and dynamics needed to comprehend the public

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS APSA Council and President

The APSA Nominations Committee seeks suggestions to fill eight upcoming vacancies on the APSA Council and the positions of APSA president-elect, secretary, treasurer, and three vice-presidents. Council members serve three-year terms; the treasurer serves a two-year term; president-elect, vice-presidents, and secretary serve one-year terms. Send names of nominees by January 1994. The Committee will meet in February and will report to the president no later than April 15.

In the spaces below, you may name up to three individuals to serve on the APSA Council and one individual to serve as president, vice-president, secretary, or treasurer. Elections will take place at the 1994 Annual Meeting in New York City, September 1-4.

Be sure to include address, phone number(s), and, if possible, a current vita of the nominee(s).

I nominate the following for the APSA Council:

(1) _____ Name	(2) _____ Name	(3) _____
_____ Address	_____ Address	_____ Address
_____ City, State, Zip	_____ City, State, Zip	_____ City, State, Zip
_____ Phone	_____ Phone	_____ Phone

I nominate for Secretary:

(1) _____
Name

Address

City, State, Zip

Phone

Treasurer:

(2) _____
Name

Address

City, State, Zip

Phone

Vice-President:

(3) _____

Address

City, State, Zip

Phone

I nominate for President-Elect:

(1) _____
Name

Address

City, State, Zip

Phone

Your Name: _____

Your Phone: _____

RETURN TO:
APSA-Nominations
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036

Nominations Sought for Managing Editor
of
American Political Science Review

In July 1995 APSR Managing Editor G. Bingham Powell, Jr.'s four-year term will end. The Council has appointed a search committee to work with APSA President Charles O. Jones to identify Powell's successor.

The Council will elect the next editor at its August 31, 1994 meeting after learning of the Search Committee's deliberations and hearing the recommendation of the President. The new editor will begin mid-summer 1995.

The purpose of this notice is to invite you to submit suggestions for editor to the Search Committee. Please send your nominations to the APSA headquarters by December 15, 1993.

Members of the Search Committee are:

- Emanuel Adler, University of Wisconsin-Madison
- Jean Bethke Elshtain, Vanderbilt University
- John Hibbing, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
- Matthew Holden, University of Virginia
- Keith Krehbiel, Stanford University
- G. Bingham Powell, Jr., University of Rochester
- Kay Schlozman, Boston College
- Sidney Verba, Harvard University, Chair
- Charles O. Jones, University of Wisconsin-Madison, ex officio

Please send nominations to: APSR Managing Editor Search Committee, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Fax (202)483-2657.

policy process as a whole. His variant of an organizational scheme, a typology, for analyzing policy processes became the standard of practice. The typology emphasizes policy “problems” that make it to the agenda, and their fate in policy formulation, legitimation, appropriation, implementation, and evaluation.

Jones’s policy interests have always been diverse: his writing about public policies has included illustrations from a wealth of arenas. He edited an anthology on urban policies (*The Urban Crisis in America*, 1969), and served as a consultant to the National Academy of Sciences on energy policy, among other things. But his most sustained research effort concerned air pollution policy. His book, *Clean Air: The Policies and Politics of Pollution Control* (1975) developed while Jones was on the faculty of the University of Pittsburgh, located in an historically-polluted industrial environment. Naturally, the conceptualization for this study carries the typology he elaborated in his introductory public policy book.

Clean Air begins with the highly polluted air of industrial Pittsburgh, but the purview is explicitly federal. One of this study’s signal contributions is that it shows unmistakably the intertwining of policy making at multiple levels of government. Jones analyzed air pollution policy as a case of what he called “speculative augmentation,” where policy solutions are imposed that lie beyond what is technically or administratively feasible at the time the policy is hammered out. His air pollution policy case study convinced Jones that speculative augmentation is a basis for decision making fraught with grave shortcomings. Firmly grounded in John Dewey’s rationalism, Jones concluded that policy making in a scientific and technical arena like that of air pollution “must be based on research as well as full awareness of the consequences of choices made,” so that decisions can be made “within a realistic range of available knowledge.”

The Enduring Presidency

Beginning in the early 1980s, Jones turned to the presidency as the focus

for his intellectual curiosity. He had not written extensively about the presidency of Richard M. Nixon, although he fantasized once about what subsequent history might have been like if Watergate had not transpired (in a clever book, *What If . . . ?*, edited by Nelson W. Polsby). He argued that Nixon’s relations with Congress would have been about what they came, in fact, to be like; and, “Jimmy Carter would have remained ‘Jimmy who?’ in 1976.”

Long interested in presidential elections, Jones’s affiliation with the White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia beginning in 1981 involved him in an emerging oral history study of the presidency of Jimmy Carter. The Miller Center project entailed interviews in depth with members of the Carter White House staff, conducted in Charlottesville, Virginia by a number of scholars of the presidency. Moreover, President Carter was interviewed in Plains, Georgia by the research group. Jones’s participation in these oral history interviews, and the availability to him of the extensive transcripts they yielded, led him to think in a searching way about the presidency as an institution, and about the particular presidential experience of Jimmy Carter. The ultimate product of this thinking was his book, *The Trusteeship Presidency: Jimmy Carter and the United States Congress* (1988).

Jones analyzes Carter as a “trusteeship” president, a president whose conception of his representative role centered around the notion that he was “an official entrusted to represent the public or national interest, downplaying short-term electoral considerations.” Jones masterfully unfolds the story of Jimmy Carter’s rise to the presidency. But it is in Carter’s relationship to Congress that Jones sees the key to understanding the trusteeship presidency. Nevertheless, the heart of the analysis is the portrayal of changes taking place in Congress in the 1970s, and the particular relations between the Carter White House and Capitol Hill. Jones insightfully characterizes the ways in which the White House organized itself to deal with Congress, and dissects the public policy issues which

the Carter administration worked on the Hill during the 95th and 96th Congresses.

Like other presidencies, much of the time the Carter administration enjoyed successes in the congressional reception of its policy proposals and initiatives. The thrust of Jones’s critique of the Carter presidency goes not primarily to its victories and defeats in Congress, but to Carter’s own syndrome of attitudes about congressional representation, the natural proclivities of politicians, and his own trusteeship orientation. Carter, Jones argues, thought “it was far better to lose for the right reasons than to win for the wrong reasons”; he rejected “a politics based on bargaining among special interests with inside access to decision makers”; he persisted as a dedicated “outsider” in Washington; he was “anti-political.” Yet, Jones acquired a grudging admiration for Jimmy Carter; in the end, Jones acknowledges that “it will be difficult in the long run to sustain censure of a president motivated to do what is right.”

Like Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan had not enjoyed congressional experience prior to becoming president; the main pre-presidential political experience of both had been as state governors. Like Carter, Reagan was an outsider, a moralizer, a president determined to make important changes in the system. Yet, Jones considers the two presidents to be fundamentally different. At least during the early years of the Reagan era, the president enjoyed good personal relations with Congress, he cultivated and nursed congressional leaders, and he won striking legislative successes in 1981. Jones treats the Reagan legislative “triumph”—reducing taxes and spending, cutting federal welfare and health programs, and substantially increasing defense spending—as on a par with the Great Society programs of the 1960s (in *The Reagan Legacy: Promise and Performance* (1988), which he edited).

In their relations with Congress, Carter and Reagan differed in their approaches and agenda entries: Carter remained distant, and “overloaded” the congressional agenda; Reagan “achieved a policy breakthrough in his first year and then

engaged in a holding action” (remarked in a chapter in *The Reagan Presidency and the Governing of America* (1985), edited by Lester M. Salamon and Michael S. Lund). But it is Reagan’s personal appeal and popularity that seem to have endeared him most to Jones. In the end, he quotes (in his *The Reagan Legacy* chapter) a *Wall Street Journal* story: “Ronald Reagan is going to be a tough act to follow.”

The act that followed was, of course, the presidency of George Bush. Jones entitled his essay on the Bush presidency “Meeting Low Expectations. . .” (in *The Bush Presidency: First Appraisals*, edited by Colin Campbell and Bert Rockman and published in 1991). Since Bush espoused little in the way of a program and won no mandate in 1988, he did not need to “hit the ground running” in his relations with Congress. Jones characterized the politics of the Bush years as “co-partisanship,” believing that both political parties won the 1988 election, and each could thereafter govern through negotiation with the other. The unfolding consequences of divided party control of government during the Bush administration increasingly agitated Jones’s curiosity. Political reality, as Jones perceived it, had become a condition in which competition between the national political parties “has occurred within the context of institutional balance, with each party rather solidly staked out at each end of Pennsylvania Avenue.” Because “policy and political processes have adjusted to that reality . . . it is time,” Jones asserted, “that we understand what those processes are. . . .”

That understanding has preoccupied Chuck Jones for the past few years. In a book soon to be published, *The Presidency in a Separated System*, he anatomizes the condition of the presidency and the strategic position of presidents in the context of split party control of White House and Capitol Hill. Noting that divided control has been the usual state of affairs in Washington in the post-World War II era—mainly with a Republican president and a Democratic congressional majority—he

argues that “responsible party government” advocates are simply unrealistic. Our system, says Jones, is one of diffused responsibility, mixed representation, and institutional competition. Political actors at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue adjust their behavior accordingly in order to make the system work. Jones observes:

The participants in this system of mixed representation and diffused responsibility naturally accommodate their political surroundings. Put otherwise, congressional Democrats and presidential Republicans learn how to do their work. Not only does each side adjust to its political circumstances, but both may be expected as well to provide itself with the resources to participate meaningfully in policy politics.

The institutional matrix molds and shapes the behavior of those who count themselves part of the existing structure.

The particular form of adaptation can vary. Jones develops a four-fold typology of patterns of adaptation. Where the president’s party enjoys a congressional majority, the pattern is one of *partisanship*, as in the first two years of the Johnson administration. This is the type “that best suits the conditions of the party government model.” Where split party control develops, with a Republican in the White House and a Democratic majority in the congressional houses, the pattern is that of *co-partisanship*, “typified by parallel development of proposals at each end of the Avenue or by the two parties in each house of Congress.” Presumably, this mode was exemplified by much of the Eisenhower administration, or by the first year of the Reagan presidency, or by moments early in the Bush administration.

When the two parties, and president and Congress, cooperate a good deal, the pattern is one of *bipartisanship*, classically illustrated by the foreign policy comity of the years immediately after World War II. This type differs from co-partisanship mainly in the timing of negotiations between contending sides, and in the breadth and sweep of support from partisans. Finally, where a segment of one congressional party collaborates persistently with the other

party so that it can be counted on for support, the pattern is one of *cross partisanship*, as occurs when there is a “conservative coalition” vote in the House of Representatives or Senate. This mode usually is negative in character, seeking to stop or inhibit rather than to construct policy, and probably occurs most notably when a Republican president employs a “southern strategy”—seeking to win over the support of congressional conservative Democrats from the South. In *The Presidency in a Separated System*, Jones dissects these varying patterns or conditions with an especially keen eye to the role and performance of the president (a teaser for the forthcoming book is Jones’s chapter, “The Separated Presidency—Making It Work in Contemporary Politics,” in the revised edition of *The New American Political System* (1990), edited by Anthony King). Because split party control has been commonplace, Jones asserts that we do not have “presidential government” in the United States, we have “separated government.”

The Methodology of “Doing Before Knowing”

Jones, always the perceptive analyst, does not take his institutions lightly, nor merely dabble at the periphery with weak politics or particularistic rules. With the study of Congress, the public policy process, and the presidency, his purposes are to plumb deeply, to work beyond the institutional formation itself to analyze the broader contexts and circumstances, and to bring order out of disarray by classifying, constructing working typologies, and engaging in thick description or rich illustration.

Jones’s work consistently demonstrates his close attention to the problems and promise of clear conceptualization. His writing is replete with examples of his self-consciousness and a sense of obligation to other scholars regarding conceptual ideas, and his research persistently features typological and classificatory efforts. He especially elaborated his broadly methodological commitments in a “workshop” paper for the *American Journal of Political Sci-*

ence in 1974 ("Doing Before Knowing: Concept Development in Political Research"). Drawing very much on the notions adumbrated by Abraham Kaplan, Jones argues the necessity for working out conceptualization of a research problem at the stage of the design of the study. Classification can take on three distinct purposes—for general understanding, to order research expectations, and to sort out empirical results. His argument runs as follows:

The first is *classification for general understanding*—ordering a universe of discourse with a set of concepts so as to state one's own best understanding of that subject matter and be able to communicate with others about it. We do this whenever we write about a subject, whether we intend to do research about it or not. The second is *classification of research expectations*—projecting what is to be found. The concepts used here may be identical with or logically derived from the preceding, and aid one in designing a specific research project. The third is *classification of empirical findings*—ordering findings so as to add to, modify, or reject the expectations. . . .

Jones's research corpus strongly reflects this straightforward set of intellectual practices, this process of "doing before knowing."

Epilogue

I often think about my friend Chuck Jones. Over the years, I have gotten his books, received offprints of his articles from him, and read each publication as it came into print. Still, I never before this read the scholarly productivity of his entire career in one swoop. My admiration for my friend as a fellow political scientist has grown with this experience, though I always held his research in very high esteem.

Still, in the end it is my personal relationship with Chuck Jones that counts the most. A friend is a precious gift. Not too many people are blessed with a close and lifetime friend. Henry Adams thought "one friend in a lifetime is much; two are many; three are hardly possible." He perceptively added, "friendship needs a certain parallelism of life, a community of thought, a rivalry of

aim." It may have been an accident that Chuck Jones and I came to experience parallel life experiences, but this has reinforced our lifelong friendship. "A friend," wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson, "is a person with whom I may be sincere. Before him, I may think aloud. . . ." Chuck Jones and I "think aloud" whenever we meet. I am proud of my friend that he has achieved eminence in our discipline so substantial as to earn him the presidency of the American Political Science Association.

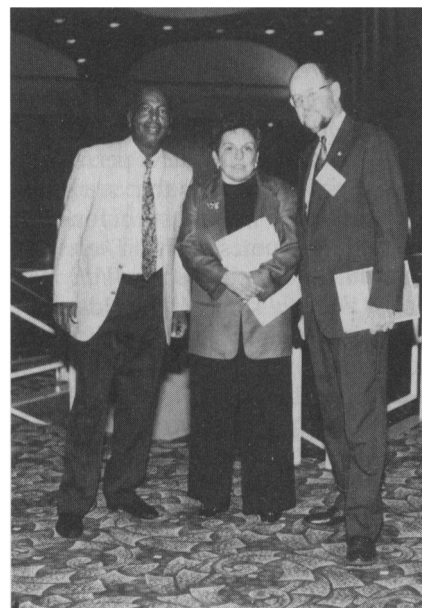
Washington Annual Meeting Largest Ever

The 89th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association set a new attendance record for APSA meetings, drawing 5,635 participants to the Washington Hilton. The previous record for attendance was the 1991 meeting, also in Washington, which drew 5,179 people.

Featured at the meeting was the Presidential Address by Lucius J. Barker, Stanford University, titled "Limits of Political Strategy: A Systemic View of the African-American Experience." President Barker was introduced by Jack Peltason, President of the University of California. The James Madison Lecture was given by Sidney Verba, APSA's President-Elect; and the John Gaus



APSA President Lucius Barker and University of California President Jack Peltason.



President Barker and President-Elect Jones with Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala.

Lecture was presented by Francis E. Rourke, Johns Hopkins University. Barker's address will appear in the March 1994 issue of *APSR* and Verba's and Rourke's are featured in this issue of *PS*.

The meeting also included two experimental activities—Poster Sessions and Hyde Park Sessions. The former were display presentations in which key elements of papers were posted, and presenters stood by to discuss them individually with viewers; the latter were open assemblies guided by a chairperson addressing timely political topics. Attendance at both formats was strong—the Hyde Park sessions in particular were attractive, drawing 24 participants to the discussion on humanitarian intervention in Bosnia and Somalia led by Miles Kahler, University of California, San Diego, and 52 to Gays in the Military—What Is to be Done, led by Theodore Lowi, Cornell University. APSA was also able to distribute a large block of tickets to members, on a first-come-first-served basis, to visit the newly opened Holocaust Museum during the meeting.

The meeting was co-organized by Peter Gourevitch, University of California, San Diego, and Paula McClain, University of Virginia, and a 42-member program committee,