

after World War II. He received his bachelor's degree in social science from California State University, Fresno, in 1950 and his master's in political science from Harvard in 1954. He then entered the Marine Corps, graduating first in his class from Officer Candidate School at Quantico in 1955, and was commissioned and stationed at Camp Pendleton. After two years of active duty, he joined the reserves and the California State University, Los Angeles, faculty in 1957. He continued in the reserves, rising to the rank of major, until 1967. He received his Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University in 1971.

At Cal State, Los Angeles, he taught a variety of courses in the American and California government and politics areas, specializing toward the end of his career in a lower division writing and research seminar required of all political science majors. He chaired the department of political science from 1977 to 1980, the era when Proposition 13 was passed and led to many cutbacks, and he was associate chair both before and after his term as chair. For many years, he was the interdisciplinary social science adviser. In many ways, he was a faculty member's faculty member, the only person who, in the memory of the department, ever systematically straightened out the student files, and a wise adviser to several department chairs. His knowledge and advice regarding department, school, and university internal politics was superb. Several faculty from his era remember his wise counsel and encouragement of good quality instruction and rigorous research. Many faculty who served with Stan on campus committees may remember his wonderfully roundabout mode of speech, in which he would discuss a problem by talking about something seemingly unrelated, and then several minutes later, you would realize that he had been circling the problem, producing insights you never realized were there.

He sat on several university-level committees, including faculty affairs, the committee on committees, fiscal affairs, and academic freedom and professional ethics, as well as numerous school-level committees and every committee in the department. He advised in the university's academic advisement and information center. He was a member of the Advisory Committee to the Joint Legislative Committee for the Revision of the Election Code of the California state senate and assembly in 1973 to 1974, as well as the Los Angeles

County Citizens Planning Council in 1972 to 1973. He was an active member of the AAUP campus chapter and served on its executive committee.

He authored articles on cross-filing, the history of the Republican party in California, and partisanship in the U.S. Senate in the nineteenth century in the *Western Political Quarterly*, the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, and *Social Science History*.

He is survived by his wife, Carol, three brothers, four children, 11 grandchildren, and two great-grandchildren. A memorial service was held on February 14 at Palmdale United Methodist Church in Palmdale.

J. Theodore Anagnoson  
*California State University, Los Angeles*

#### ARTHUR KALLEBERG

Our friend and colleague, Arthur Kalleberg, passed away peacefully on October 3, 2009, at the age of 78. He had been in retirement for the past 15 years. He was born in 1931 in Minneapolis and spent his youth there. After serving in the Navy during the Korean Conflict, he attended the University of Minnesota, where he received his BA (with honors), MA, and Ph.D.

He was an instructor at Mt. Holyoke College from 1960 to 1961 and served on the faculty of the University of Missouri–Columbia from 1961 until his retirement. He was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Liberal Arts/Humanities at Wesleyan University from 1963 to 1964. He also served as a visiting associate professor at the University of Minnesota from 1967 to 1968.

Professor Kalleberg had a reputation as a good and conscientious teacher at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. He was a political theorist through and through and taught courses from classical to contemporary theory. He was always available to meet with students to answer questions they had about political theory and the theorists who spun them. His course in Scope and Methods was a pillar in our graduate program and introduced students to the rigors of research in the discipline.

Professor Kalleberg was a substantial scholar. His publications addressed topics that were timely and appeared in among other sources, *World Politics*, *The American Political Science Review*, *The Journal of Politics*, and *Polity*.

He served as the director of graduate studies from 1969 to 1970 and as chair of political science from 1970 to 1973. As an

administrator, he was the epitome of fair-mindedness; as a faculty member, he brought sound judgment to collegial discussions. Professor Kalleberg was always available to listen to the concerns of others, and he was intensely devoted to the department. Late in his career, when no other faculty member came forward to be graduate director, he volunteered and served another three years in that office, even though he had already had that experience. In the department and on campus, he spoke up for an expanded role of faculty in governance and for sound academic values.

He was awarded an American Council of Learned Societies Fellowship for the 1963–64 school year. In 1981, he was awarded the Byler Distinguished Professor Award and appointed to the Frederick A. Middlebush Chair in Political Science in recognition for excellence in teaching and research, a post which he held from 1980 to 1983.

Professor Kalleberg was an avid photographer and won several awards for his work in this area. He is survived by a son and a daughter and six grandchildren. Joan, his wife of 50 years to whom he was devoted, passed away two months following his death.

Dean L. Yarwood  
Professor Emeritus  
*University of Missouri*  
David M. Wood  
Professor Emeritus  
*University of Missouri*  
David A. Leuthold  
Professor Emeritus  
*University of Missouri*  
Richard R. Dohm  
Professor Emeritus  
*University of Missouri*

#### STANLEY KELLEY, JR.

Stanley Kelley, Jr., a creative scholar and legendary teacher at Princeton University, died on January 17, 2010, at the age of 83.

Kelley joined the Princeton faculty in 1957 and stayed for more than half a century. His career-long commitment to Princeton, its students, and its faculty made him a model of dedicated university citizenship. He retired from teaching in 1995 but remained active in the Princeton community, participating in colloquia, advising senior thesis students, and working on his final book, a distillation of his career as a student and teacher of party politics.

Kelley created a substantial scholarly legacy through his pioneering studies of party politics, political campaigning, partisan mobilization, and electoral interpretation. While he did not covet professional prestige, the quality and significance of his scholarly work brought him many professional honors, including a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship, a stint on the Board of Overseers of the National Election Studies, and election in 1993 to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Princeton repeatedly honored Kelley's skill and dedication as a teacher. He received the university's Distinguished Teaching Award; a Visiting Professorship for Distinguished Teaching bears his name; and the Department of Politics annually presents the Stanley Kelley, Jr., Teaching Award to one of its most outstanding teachers. These are fitting tributes to a colleague for whom teaching was a career-long passion.

Kelley was born on December 7, 1926, in Detroit, Kansas. He attended the University of Kansas for one year before serving in the U.S. Army in the Pacific theater during World War II. After the war, he returned to earn his A.B. and M.A. degrees, followed by a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University. His studies at Johns Hopkins were interrupted by a year as a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Rome—the beginning of a lifelong attachment to a city he would revisit many times. Following the completion of his Ph.D., he spent two years at the Brookings Institution before arriving in Princeton.

During his time at Princeton, Kelley performed every conceivable sort of university service. He served as chair of the politics department; a member of the powerful campuswide Advisory Committee on Appointments and Advancements; a mentor to successive generations of junior faculty; and a cherished friend to philosophers, sociologists, and scientists. As chair of the Committee on the Structure of the University from 1968 to 1970, he played a major role in designing the institutions that continue to shape Princeton. The report of the Kelley Committee led to the creation of a more open governing process with greater participation by students and nontenured faculty members. William Bowen, a colleague and friend who went on to serve as president of Princeton, described the Kelley Committee's report as "the best commentary I have

ever seen on how universities should be run."

When the journalist and Princeton alumnus Don Oberdorfer wrote the history of Princeton University several years ago, he characterized Kelley as an "advocate and architect of constructive change," highlighting both his official role as chair of the Kelley Committee and his unofficial role as a voice of reason during the tense period of political unrest during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Oberdorfer recounted the "anger and frustration" expressed at an impromptu gathering of some 2,500 students and faculty in the University Chapel in response to President Nixon's bombing of Cambodia in the spring of 1970. The turning point of the meeting, according to Oberdorfer, came when Kelley "issued a stirring appeal to channel anger into constructive action for change." Other universities erupted in violence; Princeton erupted in activism.

Kelley's influence in university affairs stemmed from his fair-mindedness, diligent preparation, and clear, persuasive reasoning. He was justly proud of his rhetorical skills. A former colleague once complained about being on the losing side of a committee debate. "I was right," the former colleague said, "but they voted nine to one against me. I wish you'd been there; it would have been nine to two." "If I'd been there," Kelley replied, "it would have been nine to two the other way." It was a rare moment of immodesty, but he was probably right.

Kelley's party politics course was a highlight of Princeton's undergraduate curriculum for more than three decades. Every lecture was a gem, brilliant and carefully polished. Kelley's style was rigorous, creative, and often humorous, encouraging students not only to absorb facts but to engage ideas. Alumni speak glowingly about their experience in the course, and Kelley's files include dozens of warm letters from former students reporting on their careers, their reactions to the political news of the day, and their gratitude for what he taught them. Amazingly, Kelley had his own recollections of many of his hundreds of former students. A few years ago, when Samuel Alito was appointed to the U. S. Supreme Court, Kelley recalled his impressions of Alito as a smart, hard-working undergraduate some 35 years earlier.

Serving as a teaching assistant for Party Politics was a prized assignment not only for Princeton graduate students, but also for faculty colleagues. Many of them still recall

the transformational educational experience of watching a master teacher at work. Jonathan Krasno of SUNY-Binghamton wrote,

He is a great teacher—a fluid and accessible lecturer, a master of his subject, beloved by his students. While it seems silly, I looked for the "secret" of his success. To my disappointment there is none. There is no gimmick that makes him an outstanding instructor, and there is no style that someone else could easily imitate. If Stanley Kelley has a secret it is an old fashioned one of hard work.

Krasno added that even after 30 years in the classroom, Kelley would be "unavailable the night and morning before a lecture; he uses the time to immerse himself once again in the subject, to weigh and reconsider each word. It is an exceptional effort, but the results are evident when he speaks."

Kelley was similarly dedicated to graduate teaching. His first Ph.D. student, Gerald Pomper of Rutgers, called him a "consummate teacher," observing that Kelley "had a witty and knowing love of language, always seeking the perfect phrasing of his own excellent scholarship, always prodding his students toward exact and clear expression." He demanded precision from his students and stressed the importance of clear writing, the essential role of well defined concepts, and the critical need for compelling evidence. Well-crafted arguments mattered to Kelley. Students wanting feedback on dissertation chapters or papers had to give him a good deal of lead time to offer comments. The lead time was necessary not because Kelley was slow to make time to read the work—on the contrary, he always made time for his students. Rather, he would painstakingly read the chapter or paper, offering detailed comments on every page, rewriting sentences, questioning assumptions, suggesting better ways to test hypotheses, and prodding the author to think more precisely about key terms. He was not only a consummate teacher, but also a consummate critic.

Kelley demanded the same excellence from himself that he demanded from others. He would not let any piece of work out of his possession that was not polished and ready to shine. As his sometime-collaborator William Bowen put it, Kelley was about "getting it right." That perfectionism—and his dedication to teaching and university service—ensured that

Kelley would never be a prolific publisher of scholarly work. His career as a scholar is a classic example of the importance of quality rather than quantity. Nevertheless, he succeeded in publishing three masterful books and a score of articles and book chapters over the course of his 40-year career.

Kelley's first book, *Professional Public Relations and Political Power* (1956), provided the first scholarly account of the role of political consultants in postwar American politics. Writing at a time when the application of public relations techniques to political campaigns was still in its infancy, Kelley shrewdly anticipated that the rise of a new breed of political consultants would alter the conduct of elections. He provided a series of richly textured case studies of the actions of public relations specialists, contemplating their emergence as key figures in what has come to be called "candidate-centered" politics. Tracing their influence to the demise of party machines in the wake of Progressive Era reforms, he also provided a characteristically clear-headed assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of this new style of campaigning. On one hand, he noted, the politics of public relations make for a "closer approach of democracy to its own ideal" by encouraging citizens to cast their votes on the basis of broad appeals rather than narrow personal benefits. On the other hand, he noted that those broad appeals would not always be high-minded or informative, and that the huge expense of modern public relations campaigns would significantly disadvantage less affluent candidates and causes.

Kelley's second book, *Political Campaigning: Problems of Creating an Informed Electorate* (1960), was in significant part an outgrowth of his first book. It offers a superb deductive, normative analysis of what constitutes a good campaign. Kelley developed a clear and compelling set of standards by which to judge the quality of campaigns in the era of professional public relations. Contending candidates should have equal access to the electorate; issues and alternatives should be clearly spelled out; candidates should debate policy differences without stooping to personal attacks; persuasive messages should be clearly attributed to their sponsors. These considerations may seem obvious from the perspective of 50 years later, but that reflects the extent to which they have been absorbed into the thinking of generations

of campaign reformers, including proponents of televised debates, "ad watches," and campaign spending disclosure requirements. Kelley's interweaving of empirical and normative analysis is both sophisticated and practical, providing an admirable model for political scientists who aspire to bring scholarly understanding to bear in the political arena.

Kelley's article on "Registration and Voting: Putting First Things First" (with Richard Ayres and William Bowen, *American Political Science Review*, 1967) spawned a considerable literature on the concomitants of electoral turnout. By demonstrating the significance of burdensome registration procedures in reducing turnout, Kelley and his coauthors shed significant light on why Americans turn out at lower rates than citizens of other advanced democracies—and at lower rates than their counterparts in the nineteenth century, before the adoption of voter registration requirements. This work also helped to lay the scholarly foundation for the 1993 "motor-voter" law, which makes it possible for citizens to register to vote while engaging in such routine actions as renewing a driver's license.

Kelley next turned to voting behavior, publishing a masterful article on "The Simple Act of Voting" (with Thad Mirer, *American Political Science Review*, 1974). Kelley showed that voters' choices could be well predicted and understood by a simple tally of the positive and negative considerations they mentioned in response to open-ended questions about the competing candidates and parties. In *Interpreting Elections* (1983), he used those same responses to open-ended survey questions to provide an elegantly transparent analysis of the substantive considerations shaping specific election outcomes. Kelley's analysis challenged the value of the concept of "mandates" in modern democracies, demonstrating that informal assessments of the "message" sent by the electorate often distort the complex mix of considerations underlying actual voting behavior. Even the historic landslide of 1972 turns out to be a "close landslide" in Kelley's account, with much of Nixon's majority coming from conflicted voters unenthusiastic about both candidates. *Interpreting Elections* is a subversive book, both conceptually and methodologically. (Anyone doing survey research should ponder Kelley's six-page critique of the "pseudo-opinions" elicited by fixed-

choice survey items.) At the same time, the book represents a signal achievement in Kelley's self-proclaimed effort "to puzzle out how elections contribute to, or impair, the health and stability of democratic government."

In the 1980s, Kelley's abiding interest in the relationship between scholarship and practical politics led him to play a central role in the creation of the Graduate School of Political Management, a pioneering professional school for politicians and political operatives. As founding provost, Kelley helped to design the school's curriculum, establish procedures for recruiting faculty, and admit the first class of students. When the Graduate School of Political Management was subsequently incorporated into George Washington University, Kelley expressed satisfaction with its success in achieving a distinctive mission: "not only to teach about politics, as most of us in departments of political science do, but about how to do it."

Kelley's intellectual and personal influence can be seen in many corners of the discipline. When he retired from active teaching, former students and friends organized a conference in his honor. Several of the many scholars whose lives and work have been touched by Kelley's intellect and dedication served as presenters or discussants—Douglas Arnold, Larry Bartels, Nancy Bermeo, Anthony Broh, James DeNardo, John Geer, Fred Greenstein, Amy Gutmann, Jennifer Hochschild, Michael Kagay, Jonathan Krasno, David Mayhew, Tali Mendelberg, Walter Murphy, Ronald Rogowski, Thomas Romer, Thomas Rochon, Carol Swain, Dennis Thompson, and John Zaller. A volume dedicated to Kelley, *Politicians and Party Politics* (John Geer, ed., 1998), includes several essays presented at the conference as well as Kelley's own final lecture from his Party Politics course, a reflection on Max Weber's famous essay on "Politics as a Vocation."

Stanley Kelley was an original. His warmth and good humor were evident to everyone who encountered him, even at the end of his life. Those of us who knew him will miss him for those qualities and for his keen intellect, integrity, and deep and unflagging loyalty to his friends and students.

Kelley is survived by his brother, Glenn, of Hannibal, Missouri, and five nieces and nephews. Memorial contributions may be made to the Stanley Kelley Teaching Prize, Princeton University, Department of

Politics, 130 Corwin Hall, Princeton, NJ 08544. (Checks may be made payable to the Trustees of Princeton, and in the memo field, donors should write: Stanley Kelley Teaching Prize.)

Larry M. Bartels  
*Princeton University*  
John G. Geer  
*Vanderbilt University*  
Fred I. Greenstein  
*Princeton University*

#### PAUL FABIAN MULLEN

Paul Mullen passed away at his home in Savannah, Georgia, on December 24, 2009. Paul had been our graduate student and remained our friend. His sense of humor was legendary: mordant, witty, and always to the point. His untimely death brought to an end a life filled with accomplishment. Paul Mullen had managed to fill his life with several careers. His first career had been as an attorney. As well as working in private practice for several years, he also was Assistant Attorney General for the state of West Virginia. He specialized in labor law and was head of the section in the Attorney General's Office responsible for litigation in that field.

After becoming somewhat disenchanted with the practice of law, Paul decided to return to graduate school at the University of Pittsburgh. While there, he specialized in European politics and used his background in law to good effect in studying judicial politics in the United States and the European Union. He received his Ph.D. and a Certificate in West European Studies in 2002. During his time in graduate school, he also spent one semester at the European University Institute on a European Community Studies Association Marshall Fellowship. His experience at the EUI was important, because it allowed him to make contact with major scholars in EU law, such as Giuliano Amato. While there, he became interested in the governance implications of the multilingual nature of the Union, a subject he had planned to develop in his future research.

After leaving graduate school, Paul took his first academic job at Florida International University, where he taught European politics and public law. Using experience gained assisting in writing proposals for the Center for West European Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, he was active in writing proposals for the European Union Center while at Florida

International. He also spent time doing research at the Vrije University of Brussels during his time there. In 2007, Paul moved to Armstrong Atlantic State University, again teaching European politics and public law. In both positions, he demonstrated an outstanding ability to communicate with his students and his commitment to developing their abilities in and out of the classroom.

Paul had a range of research interests that integrated European studies and his knowledge of public law. He was interested in the comparison of American and European law, especially the development of court politics in the European Union. He also was one of the few people to investigate the importance of translation within an increasingly polyglot European Union and how that affected not only implementation, but also the administrative processes within the Union itself. He had a very lively mind that led him in a number of interesting directions and promised an impressive scholarly record.

Everyone who knew Paul Mullen appreciated his amazing sense of humor. His e-mail messages may have had a serious purpose, but they would be filled with political and social commentary that was at once humorous and very pointed. A phone call with Paul was a combination of an academic discussion and a stand-up comedy routine. Perhaps most remarkable was his capacity to retain this good humor in the face of life-threatening health problems and other challenges. He was facing serious challenges but tried not to let his friends understand just how serious they were.

Paul Mullen's passing is a great loss for his many friends, colleagues, and students. He was an all-too-rare combination of academic ability and personal warmth. He will be greatly missed by us all.

B. Guy Peters  
*University of Pittsburgh*  
Alberta M. Sbragia  
*University of Pittsburgh*

#### LEONARD S. ROBINS

Dr. Leonard S. Robins died on November 9, 2009, at the age of 71, from complications following major surgery. Lenny, as he was known to his friends and colleagues, received his undergraduate degree in political science at the University of Minnesota and went on to study public affairs at the University of Michigan. After several years

working in public service and research organizations, he returned to the University of Minnesota for his Ph.D., which was awarded in 1975. In 1982, he took a position in public administration at Roosevelt University in Chicago, where he stayed until his retirement in 2003.

Lenny was enamored by politics. He carefully followed political events at the local, state, and national level and never tired of analyzing and discussing them whenever the opportunity arose. He was also a careful and devoted scholar of public policy. His major interest throughout his academic life was health policy. This began with his Ph.D. dissertation, in which he analyzed the Partnership for Health Act (PL 89-749, 1966). He was an editor and a prime mover of *Health Politics and Policy*, which went through four revised editions, the last appearing after his retirement. Up until his final sickness, he was hoping that a major health reform act would pass, and that he could add a chapter on it to his book.

Lenny was also very involved in the Jewish community. Until recently, he served on the Board of Directors of the Shari Chesaed Congregation in Minnetonka, Minnesota.

Lenny will be missed by his colleagues, friends, and students, to whom he was a mentor who challenged them to realize their full potential. I personally feel a particular loss. I was his undergraduate advisor, his dissertation advisor, and co-author of his last article, which appeared in print just days before his death.

Robert T. Holt  
Professor Emeritus  
*University of Minnesota*

#### ROBERT E. WARD

Professor Emeritus Robert E. Ward of Stanford University died at the age of 93 on December 7, 2009, in Portola Valley, California. Dr. Ward was a professor of political science and the first director of the Center for Research in International Studies at Stanford University from 1973 to 1987. He was also a senior fellow of the Hoover Institution. Dr. Ward received his B.A. degree from Stanford University in 1936 and his Ph.D. from the University of California (Berkeley) in 1948. During World War II, he served in U.S. Naval Intelligence, receiving the Legion of Merit award. From 1948 to 1973, Dr. Ward was